

## Yates Thompson MS 36: History of the Manuscript

### **Yates Thompson MS 36 from the 15th to the 19th century**

As has been shown above in the chapter by Gennaro Toscano, Yates Thompson MS 36 belonged to Alfonso V ‘The Magnanimous’, king of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, and it passed after his death, with the rest of his library and the throne, to his heirs. In 1501, when the kingdom was invaded by French and Spanish armies, King Federico of Naples (reigned 1496–1501) fled with his library, first to the nearby island of Ischia, and then to France, where he died at Tours in 1504. After his death his wife Isabella del Balzo (1465–1533), together with most of their children, fled first to France, then in 1508 to Ferrara, taking part of the library with her.

Meanwhile, the eldest son of Federico and Isabella, Fernando of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, had been taken to Spain in 1502, under order of King Ferdinand ‘the Catholic’ of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and in 1526 he married Germana de Foix, widow of the Margrave John of Brandenburg and former consort of the late king Ferdinand.

In October 1527 Isabella del Balzo, still in Ferrara, had an inventory drawn up of goods belonging to her son Fernando, including approximately 830 books from the former royal library at Naples.<sup>1</sup> It is arranged by language and subject-matter: first is the ‘Biblioteca latina’, then the ‘Biblioteca volgare’, arranged in groups such as ‘Theologia’, ‘Philosophi vulgari’, and so on. Among the ‘Poeti vulgari’ the first entry describes Yates Thompson MS 36 as follows:

‘Et primo Danti senza comento, de volume de foglio reale, scripto de littera formata in carta bergamina. Miniato de oro brunito et azuro: de historiale Inferno so’ 38 historie, e lo Purgatorio so’ 15, el Paradiso so’ 64 historie, et nella prima fazata son le arme reale cimer aragonie. Coperto de broccato rizo verde. Signato Dante 50; notato alo imballaturo a ff. 96, partita 2<sup>a</sup>.’<sup>2</sup>

Germana died in 1536 and requested in her will that a Hieronymite monastery should be established to serve as a mausoleum for her and her relatives, on the site occupied by the Cistercian convent of San Bernardo de Rescanya, outside the northern walls of Valencia. The abbot objected, but Fernando obtained papal permission in 1545 to eject the Cistercians and convert the foundation to a Hieronymite one named San

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<sup>1</sup> This inventory is now University of Valencia Library, MS 947; the section dealing with books has been edited by Paolo Cherci and Teresa de Robertis, ‘Un Inventario della biblioteca aragonese’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 33 (1990), pp. 109–347, from whom the transcription is taken; it begins ‘Inventario de robbe de la guardarrobba de lo illustrissimo signore Don Ferrante de Aragona Duca de Callabria, le quale per ordine de la serenissima signora Regina Ysabella, matre de lo preditto illustrissimo signore ... Incomenzando al primo de ottobre 1527’. Various parts of the library had already been sold, notably to Cardinal Georges d’Amboise and King Louis XII in France; and in 1523 Isabella had sold another group (including a copy of Dante, now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 676) to the humanist and book collector Celio Calcagnini (see Santiago López-Rios, ‘A New Inventory of the Royal Aragonese Library of Naples’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 65 (2002), pp. 201–43, especially p. 236).

<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of the ‘imballaturo’ and ‘partita’ numbers, see Cherci and de Robertis, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–18 and 126–28. They also provide a detailed discussion of the terms used to describe script, bindings, etc., which reveals, for example, that three other manuscripts were described as ‘broccato rizo verde’.

Miguel de los Reyes.<sup>3</sup> The new foundation was formally re-consecrated in July 1546, and an ambitious re-building project was begun by Alonso de Covarrubias, the royal architect and builder of Toledo cathedral. Fernando's death a few years later, and a consequent lack of funds, prevented Covarrubias's plans being carried to completion, however, and building work progressed only fitfully into the 19th century.

At his death in 1550, Fernando bequeathed his library to the monastery, and it was housed in a room leading off the south side of the south cloister, on the side parallel to the church. An inventory of almost 800 of Fernando's books drawn up for the purpose has been printed by de Marinis as 'Inventory G'.<sup>4</sup> It includes five copies of Dante, as follows:

[637] Un Dante en pergamino, cubierto de cuero leonado.

[642] Un Dante en lengua Toscana, cubierto de cuero azul.

[727] Un Dante, cubierto de cuero bermejo.

[759] Un Dante de pergamino, cubierto de terciopelo naranjado y blanco con dos manezilla de plata.

[763] Un Dante de forma mayor, de mano, in pergamino, cubierto de brocado sobre seda verde.

The last of these is doubtless Yates Thompson MS 36: it is a large manuscript written on parchment, and we know from the 1527 inventory that its binding was green.<sup>5</sup>

In 1603, as part of the ongoing building work at San Miguel, the library was moved from its room on the ground floor, to a room on the first floor on the west side of the cloister. Ten years later, passages of text were effaced on ff. 19, 34v, and 146 of the manuscript. The reasons are not hard to find: in 1612 Bernard de Sandoval y Rojas, Grand Inquisitor of the Spanish Inquisition, published the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum ... D. Bernardi de Sandoval et Roxas ... Generalis Inquisitoris ...*; on pp. 291-2 are listed passages to be expurgated, and in Yates Thompson MS 36 they are indeed effaced. On the final page of the manuscript the inscription: 'Ex commissione dominorum Inquisitorum Valentiae vidi et expurgavi secundum expurgatorium novum Madriti 1612. et subscripti die 14 Septembris 1613. ego [signed:] Fr. Antonius Ollet(?)'.<sup>6</sup>

A very similar inscription, undated but signed by the same Inquisitor, is present in New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 428, another copy of the *Divina Commedia* that was also in the library of San Miguel de los Reyes, and which probably stayed together with Yates Thompson MS 36 until the beginning of the 20th century, as we shall see in due course.

Like most manuscripts in the library at San Miguel, the Yates Thompson Dante was inscribed in the late 17th or early 18th century with a note of ownership: 'Es de la

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<sup>3</sup> For an account of the history of the monastery, and photographs, see Ramon Andreu Gonzalbez, *El Monasterio de San Miguel de los Reyes* (Valencia, 1935).

<sup>4</sup> Tammaro de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, 4 vols (Milan, 1947, 1952), II (1947), pp. 207-24; it was previously printed by G. Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1897), pp. CXXVIII-CLV.

<sup>5</sup> No. 637 is probably New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 428; it retains its early 16th-century dark brown stamped leather binding.

<sup>6</sup> Despite considerable effort on my behalf by Dr Andrea Clark, it has not been possible to find out any biographical details of Antonio Ollet.

librería de S. Miguel de los Reyes' (f. 1). The inscription was later erased, but can be partially read with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp.

I am not aware of any specific written references to the Yates Thompson Dante manuscript in the 18th century, but a number of visitors to the library record having seen fine illuminated manuscripts, and works by authors including Dante. Carlos Beramendi in 1794, for example, wrote of:

‘doscientos sesenta manuscritos, algunos de ellos miniaturas, cuya perfección y colorido tiene gran mérito. Entre éstos ... una buena porción de poetas e historiadores: están los obras de ... el Dante ... etcetera ...’.<sup>7</sup>

San Miguel de los Reyes was suppressed in 1835.<sup>8</sup> About 233 of the books in the library went to the university library at Valencia, but according to a note added at the end of ‘Inventory G’ many were sold: ‘pensando que por ser de mano y de lengua toscana no valiant nada, y esta venda fue sin numeros ni memoria.’<sup>9</sup>

By the end of 1860 the manuscript was in private hands in Madrid, owned by ‘Señor Don Luis Mayans’, presumably Luis Mayans y Enríquez de Navarra (1805–1880), Ministro que de Gracia y Justicia, who had been born in Valencia and died in Madrid.<sup>10</sup> He had the manuscript rebound in that year by Miguel Ginesta,<sup>11</sup> as is apparent from a letter addressed to Mayans by Don Pascual de Gayangos, of the Palacio Archivo de la Real Casa, Madrid, dated 18 December 1860, which is now preserved with the Yates Thompson manuscripts at the British Library.<sup>12</sup>

## **Henry Yates Thompson**

Before continuing the story of the Dante into the twentieth century, it will be useful to know a little about its former owner and his extraordinary collection.

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<sup>7</sup> Carlos Beramendi y Freyre, *El país valenciano a fines del siglo XVIII*, edited with an introduction by Emilio Soler Pascual (Alicante, 1994), p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, III (Madrid, 1973), p. 1652. Since 1935 it has been the home of the Biblioteca Valenciana, the technical and administrative centre for the entire library network of Valencia; see <http://bv.gva.es/>

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, p. CXXVII, and Cherchi & de Robertis, *op. cit.*, p. 110; for a list of more than thirty cities to which manuscripts from the library have been scattered, see José Alcina Franch, *La Biblioteca de Alfonso V de Aragón en Nápoles: Fondos Valencianos*, 2 vols (Valencia, 2000), I, pp. 212–13.

<sup>10</sup> On whom see *Semblanzas de los 340 diputados a cortes que han figurado en la legislature de 1849 a 1850* (Madrid, 1850), pp. 127–28, and Idefonso Fernández y Sánchez, *Año Biográfico Español* (Barcelona, 1899), pp. 285–86.

<sup>11</sup> For a very brief biography and reproduction of one of his bindings, see *Enciclopedia de la encuadernación* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 136–37.

<sup>12</sup> Yates Thompson MS 53, f. 44 begins:

‘Ex<sup>mo</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Luis Mayans

Muy Señor mio de toda mi consideracion:

Habiéndome enseñado Ginesta, el encuadernador de esta Real Casa, un bellissimo volumen que V. deseaba encuadernar de nuevo, y habiéndome dicho que deseaba saber mi opinión en el particular, he ido á V. tres veces sin tener nunca el gusto de hallarle en casa. El volumen está escrito é iluminado en Italia á mediados del siglo XV, pero en material de MSS es muy difícil fijar la época precisa.

Así pues he aconsejado a Ginesta que no ponga indicacion alguna en el lomo; pues aun cuando cotejada la letra con otros MSS italianos que yo poseo, tengo la seguridad que se escribió entre los años de 1430 á 1460 no es posible fijar con certeza la época de un codice que no tiene fecha.’

I am grateful to Dr. Andrea Clarke for help reading this letter.

Henry Yates Thompson (1838–1928) was the eldest son of Samuel Henry Thompson, a wealthy banker, and grandson on his mother’s side of Joseph Brooks Yates (1780–1855), a successful merchant and antiquary.<sup>13</sup> He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he excelled in Classics. After university he trained to be a lawyer, but never practiced; he tried and failed three times to become a Member of Parliament, but worked in politics for several years and travelled widely from 1862 to 1875 (including Europe, the USA, Egypt, Asia, and nearly a year in India).<sup>14</sup> In 1878 he married Elizabeth (‘Dolly’) Smith (1855–1941),<sup>15</sup> eldest daughter of George Smith, the publisher and founder of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, who in 1880 gave his new son-in-law a popular daily newspaper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Running the journal exhausted Yates Thompson both physically and financially,<sup>16</sup> and in 1892 he sold it to the American multi-millionaire William Waldorf Astor, who had settled in England two years earlier.

When he was 18 years old Yates Thompson had inherited nine illuminated manuscripts from his grandfather Joseph Brooks Yates,<sup>17</sup> and from about 1886 to 1891 he occasionally bought another. But it was not until early 1893, the year after he sold the *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, that he started collecting manuscripts really seriously.<sup>18</sup> In May 1897 he bought, for the huge sum of £30,000, about 245 manuscripts collected by Bertram, 4th earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878). Ashburnham’s manuscripts consisted of four collections, the first three of which were bought in 1847 and 1849: the Barrois collection;<sup>19</sup> the Stowe collection;<sup>20</sup> and the

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<sup>13</sup> The details of Henry Yates Thompson’s life and collection are well known in English-speaking bibliographic circles, but are perhaps less well known to many readers of this facsimile commentary; it will therefore be worth while to repeat (occasionally correcting errors) some of what has been published before. The main publications are: E. G. Millar, ‘Henry Yates Thompson’, in *The Dictionary of National Biography ... 1922–1930*, edited by J. R. H. Weaver (London, 1937), pp. 836–37; Josiah Q. Bennett, ‘Portman Square to New Bond Street or, How to Make Money though Rich’, *The Book Collector*, 16 (1967), pp. 323–39; 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*, edited by R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester, 1991), pp. 77–89.

<sup>14</sup> In 1863 he spent six months in America, and his diaries of this trip have been published as *An Englishman in the American Civil War: The Diaries of Henry Yates Thompson 1863*, edited by Christopher Chancellor (London, 1971).

<sup>15</sup> On Mrs Yates Thompson, see Elizabeth Robins, *Portrait of a Lady, or, The English Spirit Old and New* (Published for private circulation, London, 1941); reprinted for private circulation with an afterword by Jean Gooder (Newnham College, Cambridge, 2002). I am grateful to Deborah Hodder, Librarian of the College, for kindly giving me a copy of the reprint.

<sup>16</sup> Frank Hermann, *Sotheby’s: Portrait of an Auction House* (New York and London, 1981), p. 185.

<sup>17</sup> Nos. 3, 7, 36, 41, 47, 48, 76, 95, and 96 came from his grandfather, and were exhibited in Liverpool in 1876 (see *Liverpool Art Club: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Liverpool, 1876), nos. 80–88); the final catalogue of Yates Thompson’s manuscripts (on which see below) is dedicated ‘To the memory of my grandfather Joseph Brooks Yates, whose example made me a collector of MSS.’, and a photograph of him appears as a frontispiece.

<sup>18</sup> According to the data in Seymour de Ricci, *Les manuscrits de la collection Henry Yates Thompson*, Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 10 (Paris, 1926), pp. 42–72 (also issued as an offprint paginated [1]–35), we can see that, of the manuscripts published in his catalogues, he bought five in 1893, ten in 1894, fifteen in 1895, and nine in 1896, the Ashburnham Appendix and three others in 1897, and another nine in 1898.

<sup>19</sup> About 702 manuscripts bought from Paul Barrois (1784–1855), Deputy for Lille, and sold by auction in 1901.

<sup>20</sup> About 996 manuscripts from the trustees of Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (1776–1839), Duke of Buckingham, whose library had been at Stowe House, near Buckingham; these were bought by the British Museum in 1883.

Libri collection.<sup>21</sup> In addition to these three *en bloc* purchases, Ashburnham made individual acquisitions over a longer period of time from a variety of sources, which he called the ‘Appendix’. Yates Thompson, having increased by the purchase of the Ashburnham ‘Appendix’ the size of his collection from fewer than fifty to nearly 300,<sup>22</sup> proceeded to weed out all those that did not meet his high standards, and sold them within a few years both privately<sup>23</sup> and at two public auctions in 1899<sup>24</sup> and 1901.<sup>25</sup> Of the 245 or so Ashburnham manuscripts, only thirty-nine were to be published as part of his famous collection.<sup>26</sup> In the process of selecting the finest manuscripts, Yates Thompson was helped by Sydney Cockerell, who at this time was rapidly becoming one of England’s most knowledgeable experts on illuminated manuscripts,<sup>27</sup> whom he employed part-time to help him decide which to keep and which to sell.<sup>28</sup> Having sold most of the Ashburnham manuscripts and brought the size of his collection down to about ninety items, Yates Thompson continued to buy more selectively.<sup>29</sup> Despite his considerable wealth his resources were not limitless, and he did not get everything that he wanted: he was the underbidder, for example, for the manuscript now known as the ‘Rothschild Canticles’<sup>30</sup> at the sale of Walter Sneyd’s manuscripts in 1903, which went instead to Quaritch for £2500.<sup>31</sup>

The numbering of the Yates Thompson manuscripts can be extremely confusing, and it will therefore be necessary to describe his catalogues in some detail, to explain how the Dante came to be number ‘CV’ in his collection.

The first catalogue of Yates Thompson’s was published in 1898, and contains 50 manuscripts, numbered 1–50 in arabic numerals.<sup>32</sup> The manuscripts are arranged

<sup>21</sup> About 1,923 manuscripts bought from Guglielmo Libri, on whom see P. Alessandra Maccioni Ruju and Marco Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri (1802-1869): Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief: A Nineteenth-Century Story* (Hilversum, 1995); now mainly in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, except for a number of stolen manuscripts which were returned to Paris.

<sup>22</sup> He bought the entire ‘Appendix’ except for ten copies of the *Divine Comedy* that had been sold in 1884 to the Italian government; a Register of Innocent III that had been given to Pope Leo XIII in 1885; and the Lindau Gospels, which had been sold to J. Pierpont Morgan for £10,000, and is now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. M 1.

<sup>23</sup> Within a few months he sold fourteen manuscripts in Middle English to Mrs Rylands; they are now Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MSS. Eng. 75–87 and 92.

<sup>24</sup> *Catalogue of a Portion of the Collection of Manuscripts Known as the ‘Appendix’ Made by the Late Earl of Ashburnham, from whose Printed catalogue the Descriptions are Taken ...*, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 1 May 1899, lots 1–177. For a concordance of the lot numbers and the numbers in Ashburnham’s 1861 catalogue of the collection, see Léopold Delisle, ‘Vente de manuscrits du Comte d’Ashburnham’, *Journal des savants* (June–August 1899), at p. 6 in the offprint paginated 1–40.

<sup>25</sup> *Catalogue of Valuable Illuminated Manuscripts, the Property of a Well-Known Collector*, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 14 May 1901.

<sup>26</sup> Nos. 32 (vol. 1), 52, 54, 56–71, 73–75, 77, 79, 81, 84, 86–89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, LXXVI, LXXXI, XCI, and XCIII. For an explanation of the arabic and roman numbering, see below.

<sup>27</sup> On Cockerell (1867–1962) see the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Wilfred Blunt, *Cockerell: Sydney Carlyle Cockerell, Friend of Ruskin and William Morris and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London, 1964).

<sup>28</sup> Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>29</sup> He bought four in 1901, three in 1903, two in 1904, at least five in 1905, four in 1906, and so on.

<sup>30</sup> Now New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 404.

<sup>31</sup> According to the report of the auction in *The Times*, 19 December 1903, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1898). For an account of James’s cataloguing for Yates Thompson, see Richard W. Pfaff, *Montague Rhodes James* (London, 1980), pp. 192–94; James compiled the whole of Yates Thompson’s first catalogue, and described ten of the manuscripts in the second, five in the third, and one in the fourth. Yates Thompson paid 5 guineas per manuscript, regardless of the length and ease

according to textual content: Bibles (nos. 1-5); Service Books (nos. 6-28) including French (nos. 9–10), Flemish (nos. 20–23), Italian (nos. 24–25) and English (nos. 26–29) Books of Hours; Psalters (nos. 29–30); Breviaries (nos. 31–33); and so on. The second catalogue was published in March 1902, and contains another 50 manuscripts, numbered 51–100 in arabic numerals.<sup>33</sup> In this volume the arrangement is in two chronological series: nos. 51–67 are arranged in date order from circa 1150 to circa 1500, and nos. 68–96 from circa 900 to 1550; nos. 97-100 are in no particular order.

By the time that this second catalogue was printed and bound,<sup>34</sup> however, Yates Thompson had already consigned for sale six of the manuscripts it contained, and another six from the previous catalogue.<sup>35</sup> Another fourteen manuscripts from among the hundred manuscripts described in these two catalogues were auctioned in 1903,<sup>36</sup> 1904,<sup>37</sup> and 1905.<sup>38</sup>

The third catalogue was published in 1907,<sup>39</sup> and contains as a preliminary note an explanation of what has always been, in addition to its superlative quality, the most famous aspect of Yates Thompson's collection:

‘Since the publication in two volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of my Illuminated Manuscripts in 1898 and 1902 I have for various reasons found it expedient not to increase the number of these precious books in my library beyond the one hundred therein described. My plan has been never to buy any additional volume unless it was decidedly superior in value and interest to one at least of my original hundred, and upon its acquisition pitilessly to discard the least fascinating of the said hundred.’

He continues:

‘In pursuance of this scheme there have now disappeared from my first fifty the following Nos.: 3, 5, 9, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26, 35, 36, 41, 43 and 47, fifteen volumes in all. Of these fifteen two were bibles and ten were books of

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or difficulty of the description.

<sup>33</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (Nos. 51 to 100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1902).

<sup>34</sup> In his own copy of the catalogue Yates Thompson records a list of the people he gave copies to, alongside dates; the first twenty-five copies were apparently distributed on 22 March 1902.

<sup>35</sup> *Catalogue of a Small Collection of Choice Illuminated Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books, the Property of a Well-Known Collector*, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 14 May 1902; the manuscripts sold were nos. 5, 9, 18, 20, 35, 36, 60, 61, 64, 76, and 91; no. 65 was also in the catalogue but it did not reach a high enough price, so it was bought back on behalf of Yates Thompson by Sydney Cockerell for £275.

<sup>36</sup> *Catalogue of a Small Collection of Valuable Illuminated Manuscripts and Printed Books, the Property of a Well-Known Amateur*, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 30 March 1903; the manuscripts sold were nos. 16, 23, 26, 41, 54, 78; no. 65 was offered again, and was again bought back by Cockerell (for only £140) when it failed to reach a price that Yates Thompson was willing to accept.

<sup>37</sup> *Catalogue of Valuable Books and Illuminated and Other Manuscripts*, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 1904, in which lots 1–56 belonged to Yates Thompson; the manuscripts sold were nos. 15, 21, 47, and, at last Yates Thompson was willing to let no. 65 go, even though it fetched a paltry £91, much less than had been offered the year before, which in turn was less than the price it reached the year before that.

<sup>38</sup> *Catalogue of Valuable Books, Ancient and Modern Illuminated Manuscripts, Historical Documents and Autograph Letters ...*, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 1 June 1905, in which lots 654–697 belonged to Yates Thompson; they included no. 3; nos. 43, 53, and 82 were sold to Sydney Cockerell the same year.

<sup>39</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of Twenty Illuminated Manuscripts, Nos. LXXV to XLIV. (Replacing Twenty Discarded from the Original Hundred:) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1907).

Hours, among which none of special interest. From my second fifty Nos. 53, 54, 60, 61, 64, 65, 76, 78, 82, 87 and 91 have been withdrawn, eleven volumes in all .... In all then 26 volumes have disappeared out of my hundred, and the object of the present volume is to describe twenty of the substitutes. The remaining six with possibly a few further additions will, I hope, form the material for a fourth volume.'

The twenty new manuscripts in this catalogue are numbered in roman numerals from LXXV to XCIV; apparently the intention was for the 26 substitutes to be numbered from LXXV to C, so that the final one would be number C, keeping the idea that the number of manuscripts in the collection would never go beyond 100 (or C). By the time that the 'Hundred' was complete, thirty-three other manuscripts had previously been a member of this select group, and still others were owned by Yates Thompson without formally being part of the 'Hundred'.<sup>40</sup> In addition, he continued to acquire manuscripts of a quality high enough to enter his 'Hundred' until a few years before his death in 1928, including the Camaldoli Psalter, which he bought as late as March 1925.<sup>41</sup>

Several previous writers have suggested that Yates Thompson had already had the plan to keep the total number of his manuscripts to a hundred as early as 1899, when he disposed of most of the manuscripts in the Ashburnham 'Appendix' collection, but I have found no firm evidence of this plan prior to his statement in the 1907 catalogue. Doubtless the general idea of discarding lower quality items in favour of higher quality ones came as early as his acquisition of the Ashburnham 'Appendix' in 1897, but at that time the main consideration was perhaps to recoup a proportion of his £30,000 outlay by discarding manuscripts of no particular interest to him.<sup>42</sup> This sort of weeding and upgrading of a collection is, in any case, quite normal among collectors of all kinds. But there are several pieces of evidence that strongly suggest that the idea of keeping his collection to the 'Hundred' came later. First, the opening sentence from the introduction to the 1907 catalogue, quoted above, seems to make it plain that the idea of keeping his collection to 100 came *after* the publication of the 1898 and 1902 catalogues. Second, in Yates Thompson's own copy of the first volume of his catalogue,<sup>43</sup> he inserted a table listing the prices he paid for the first hundred manuscripts, and the numbering of further manuscripts (which include acquisitions made until 1904)<sup>44</sup> continues in Arabic numerals from 101 to 122. Third, even after the publication of his first two catalogues, describing 100 manuscripts, he still owned manuscripts from the Ashburnham 'Appendix', bought ten years earlier, that would subsequently be published as part of the 'Hundred'.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> The description of the final lot of the final auction catalogue states 'Although this dainty little volume has never been formally admitted to my Hundred, I have always regarded it as one of the gems of my collection ...'. After Yates Thompson's death there were at least eleven other manuscripts in his collection: they are now British Library, Yates Thompson MSS 40–50.

<sup>41</sup> Now British Library, Yates Thompson MS 40.

<sup>42</sup> The sale realised £8,595 5s., including £1,750 for a single item, lot 177, the 'Bramhall' Wycliffite Bible.

<sup>43</sup> Now owned by the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library.

<sup>44</sup> The list includes the Christine de Pizan *Othea* (no. 112 in this list, now Cambridge, Newnham College, MS. 5), bought in March 1904, and the Salvin Hours (no. 121 in this list, now BL, Additional MS. 48985), bought in July 1904.

<sup>45</sup> Nos. LXXVI and XCIII.

In the same year that the third catalogue was published, Yates Thompson began another publishing venture that would make his manuscripts much better known: a series of seven large-format volumes of reproductions of his manuscripts.<sup>46</sup> As we have seen, the composition of the ‘Hundred’ had been continually changing since the publication of the first catalogue, but these ‘*Illustrations*’ volumes represent the ‘Hundred’ in its most stable form, because none of the manuscripts included were sold before the series of volumes was complete. The first volume (1907) contains ten French manuscripts; the second (1908) contains ten Italian manuscripts (not including the Dante); the third (1912) contains ten manuscripts of various origins; the fourth (1914) contains sixteen English manuscripts; the fifth (1915) contains another sixteen manuscripts, ‘each of which belonged to some individual of note in France or Italy in the XIVth or XVth century’ (the Dante is again absent); the sixth (1916) contains seventeen manuscripts of various origins; and the seventh (1918) contains ‘the remaining twenty-two manuscripts’ (including, as the very last item, the Dante). At first glance it is puzzling that Yates Thompson did not include the Dante in either of the two volumes to which it would apparently have been most suited, but the reasons are not hard to find: when the second volume of plates was published in 1908 he had not yet published a description of the manuscript, and when he did finally publish the description, he stated that it was his intention to devote a separate illustrated monograph to the manuscript,<sup>47</sup> as he had done with a number of other treasures in his collection.<sup>48</sup> It is especially remarkable that Yates Thompson was able to produce such lavish volumes, considering that the last four were published during the war years.

In 1908 knowledge of Yates Thompson’s collection came to a wider audience, when he lent seventeen to a landmark exhibition of illuminated manuscripts in London.<sup>49</sup> Today it seems surprising that the Yates Thompson’s Dante was not included, especially as the much less important Dante now at the Beinecke Library was exhibited, but as we shall see below, Sydney Cockerell, the organiser of the exhibition, had mixed feelings about the manuscript.

The fourth and final catalogue was published in 1912, and contains 14 manuscripts, numbered XCV–CVII and 79A, ‘completing the hundred’, and replacing another

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<sup>46</sup> *Illustrations of one hundred manuscripts in the Library of H. Y. Thompson. Volume 1, containing forty-eight plates illustrating ten French MSS. from the XIth to the XVIth centuries* (London, 1907). *Illustrations ... Containing fifty plates illustrating ten Italian MSS. from the XIth to the XVIth centuries* (London, 1908).

*Illustrations ... Consisting of sixty-nine plates illustrating ten MSS. of various countries from the IXth to the XVIth centuries* (London, 1912).

*Illustrations ... Consisting of eighty-two plates illustrating sixteen MSS. of English origin from the XIIth to the XVth centuries* (London, 1914).

*Illustrations ... Consisting of ninety plates illustrating sixteen MSS., each of which belonged to some individual of note in France or Italy in the XIVth or XVth century* (London, 1915).

*Illustrations ... Consisting of ninety plates illustrating seventeen MSS. with dates ranging from the XIIIth to the XVIth century* (London, 1916).

*Illustrations ... The seventh and last volume, with plates from the remaining twenty-two MSS* (London, 1918).

<sup>47</sup> *Catalogue* (1912), p. 73.

<sup>48</sup> He published monographs devoted to his manuscript of the Life of Bertrand Dugesclin by Jean Cuvelier in 1909, and to the Savoy Hours in 1910, for example.

<sup>49</sup> [Sydney Cockerell], *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1908), nos. 5, 17, 46, 61, 62, 66, 68, 72, 119, 130, 135, 140, 144, 153, 159, 174, and 257; only J. Pierpont Morgan and C. W. Dyson Perrins lent a larger number of manuscripts to the exhibition.

eight manuscripts sold since the publication of the previous catalogue.<sup>50</sup> Even at this stage, however, Yates Thompson did not exclude the possibility of making further substitutions: in a note preceding the catalogue he wrote,

‘I am astonished that I have been able in about twenty years to gather together so fine a series of first-rate manuscripts, and I must admit that if I have the good fortune to obtain others, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to make room for them in my hundred’ (p. xiv).

The Dante appears in this final catalogue as no. CV. Its description is unusual in that Yates Thompson himself described the manuscript and started to describe the miniatures (pp. 66–74), but he then stopped, having completed only those of the *Inferno*. After the printing of the catalogue had begun, however, he decided that the catalogue should include descriptions of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* miniatures, and these were therefore included much later in the catalogue (pp. 125–40), having been prepared by Thomas Okey (1852–1935), a basket-maker and self-taught linguist who had recently published translations of the *Purgatorio*, *Vita nuova*, and other works by Dante, and who would go on to become Professor of Italian at Cambridge University despite having no formal qualifications.<sup>51</sup>

As will be clear from the above, Yates Thompson could not resist refining his collection by almost continuous buying and selling. There can have been very few moments in Yates Thompson’s life when he owned exactly 100 manuscripts, and these occasions were almost certainly accidental. But before the series of *Illustrations* volumes was complete, he had made the dramatic decision to sell almost the entire collection. Although the news did not leak out until 1918, and did not become public until the end of that year, Yates Thompson had apparently made the decision by the beginning of 1917: we know this because he wrote in the *Taymouth Hours*, ‘This volume one of the choicest of my English MSS I gave to my dear wife on her birthday January 10th 1917 to mitigate her grief at the news that I intended to sell my collection of 100 illuminated MSS.’<sup>52</sup> Sydney Cockerell, who had been so instrumental in forming and cataloguing the collection, did not hear of the decision until a year later.<sup>53</sup>

In a postscript added to the final volume of the series of *Illustrations*, Yates Thompson publicly announced his intention ‘with three or four exceptions, to sell the whole collection by auction’. Several eminent manuscripts specialists tried to talk him out of this plan of action, notably Cockerell and M. R. James, saying that the collection belonged in a national institution such as the Fitzwilliam or British Museum. But Yates Thompson was adamant. As he wrote, ‘I prefer that the volumes should be in private hands, rather than be merged in any public collection. I have decided, therefore, that these precious manuscripts, which have been to me such absorbing interest, shall go, in the language of Edmond de Goncourt’s will, “aux héritiers de mes goûts”.’ Doubtless in part to appease them, Yates Thompson gave two of his finest manuscripts to public collections: the Metz Pontifical to the

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<sup>50</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fourteen Illuminated Manuscripts Nos. XCV to CVII and 79A) Completing the Hundred in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1912).

<sup>51</sup> See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Okey’s autobiography, *A Basketful of Memories* (London and Toronto, 1930).

<sup>52</sup> BL, Yates Thompson MS 13, 2nd flyleaf.

<sup>53</sup> Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–46.

Fitzwilliam Museum, and the St. Omer Psalter to the British Museum.<sup>54</sup> In a preliminary note to the first auction catalogue, he elaborated his intentions: ‘I design to sell these MSS. in three portions, each containing about thirty lots, which will in the main follow the order in which the MSS. occur in the seven volumes of my ‘Illustrations’ ... in the present portion 28 of the 100 MSS. are included ...’. If this plan had been followed-though, the Dante would have been offered for sale in the third and final auction.

An interesting aspect of the proposed sale that has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned before, is Yates Thompson’s attitude towards American *versus* British owners of manuscripts. On hearing that Yates Thompson had decided to auction his manuscripts, M. R. James appealed to him that, having been brought together safely in an English collection, they should not ‘be dispersed again among Boches, Jews and Transatlantics.’<sup>55</sup> Cockerell displayed similar, if less strongly expressed, sentiments when he wrote begging Yates Thompson to ‘give me the chance of raising the money and securing them for the country and Cambridge ... I will at least try my utmost to save them from the hands of ignorant millionaires’.<sup>56</sup> Yates Thompson would have been completely unmoved by these nationalistic appeals. Neither James nor Cockerell had been to America, but Yates Thompson loved the country and had been there many times: he first spent six months there in 1863, concluding that ‘If ever a nation deserved to live it is the United States of America’;<sup>57</sup> he went again in 1866 to re-visit the friends he had made, taking his younger brother with him; he took his wife there soon after their marriage (her great-grandfather was from Virginia); and he and his wife were known for their hospitality to Americans in London: his obituary in *The Times* noted that ‘He became the warm friend of each succeeding American Ambassador in London and welcomed to his house in Portman Square all Americans of any intellectual standing who found their way there – and most of them did.’ The Yates Thompsons counted among their friends Henry James, Henry Adams, and Andrew and Louise Carnegie. ‘He always loved the company of Americans and after 1863 he returned to America again and again right up to the time of the 1914–18 war’.<sup>58</sup> In an attempt to make America better understood in England Yates Thompson even offered to endow an annual Lectureship at Harvard on the ‘History and Political Institutions of the United States of America’, but the offer was turned down by Cambridge University, where the lectures would have been delivered. When, in 1920, Cockerell told Yates Thompson that he was just about to make his first visit to America, Yates Thompson replied:

‘What excellent news! It is an episode of importance in your life. You will come back Americanised—in a good sense—especially [because] you will teach the British world how absurd their craze is for retaining all art and history treasures in England, when the truth is that such as they manage to

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<sup>54</sup> The gift was nominally made on his 80th birthday, 15 December 1918, but the manuscripts were not formally handed over until January 1919. The report of the gift in *The Times* on 14 January 1919 described the Metz Pontifical as ‘an accession far surpassing in beauty and importance any of the other 500 volumes in the collection.’ (p. 10).

<sup>55</sup> Quoted by Hermann, *op. cit.*, p. 187. James was a firm Anglican, which may explain his antipathy to Jews; and had lost many friends in the First World War, which explains his enmity towards Germans; but I have no reason to suppose that he had any particular ill-feeling towards Americans.

<sup>56</sup> Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 146–47; the reference to ‘ignorant millionaires’ was doubtless a reference to the Americans such as J. Pierpont Morgan who were buying many of the best items that appeared on the market in the preceding two or three decades.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted by Jean Gooder, *op. cit.*, pp. v–vi.

<sup>58</sup> Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

secure will be quite as much or more valued and cared for in America than here.’<sup>59</sup>

It has been written that financial gain was the primary reason for Yates Thompson’s decision to sell his manuscripts,<sup>60</sup> but this suggestion was quickly contradicted:

‘Yates Thompson decided to sell his collection because he had a cataract in both eyes and found that he could no longer look at the books and enjoy them. ... Operations for cataract used then to be delayed until the victim was almost blind. Yates Thompson had the operation before the last sale. It was successful; he recovered his sight and found he could again enjoy looking at his books. It was by then too late to cancel the third sale, though he seriously considered doing so, but he bought in [i.e. bought for himself] six lots ...’<sup>61</sup>

Yates Thompson died five months before his 90th birthday. His obituary paints a lively picture of the man: ‘First impressions of the large head, short, compact build, square, broad shoulders, the direct glance, shrewd and penetrating, under the heavy brows, the sudden glint of laughter lighting up the grim, bearded countenance, the gruff voice, and the bluntness, almost rudeness, of address, soon yielded to recognition of the breadth of his interests and the richness of his experience. Fuller knowledge revealed a man ... at once reserved and outspoken, whimsical and generous, humorous and austere.’<sup>62</sup>

He left his manuscripts to his wife, who was sixteen years younger than him, and when she in turn died, in 1941, they were bequeathed by her to the library of the British Museum (which became part of the British Library in 1973),<sup>63</sup> as part of one of the greatest single gifts of manuscripts that the Library has ever received. It has been suggested that the Fitzwilliam Museum might have been a more natural home for the Yates Thompson manuscripts, but

‘Mrs Yates Thompson had long been irritated by Cockerell’s domineering manner and by the tacit assumption that it was for him to decide where her husband’s collection should go; she therefore pointedly left it, not to the Fitzwilliam but to the British Museum’.<sup>64</sup>

Due to the Second World War it was not until 1952 that the gift was formally recorded in *The British Museum Quarterly*.<sup>65</sup>

## Yates Thompson MS 36 in the 20th Century

Having summarised some details of the life and collecting of Henry Yates Thompson, we may resume the story of his great Dante manuscript.

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<sup>59</sup> In a letter dated 9 October 1920 (BL, Additional MS. 52755, f. 224)

<sup>60</sup> Josiah Q. Bennett, ‘Portman Square to Bond Street, or, How to Make Money though Rich’, *The Book Collector*, 6 (1967), pp. 323–39.

<sup>61</sup> *The Book Collector*, 17 (1968), pp. 53–54.

<sup>62</sup> *The Times*, 10 July, 1928, p. 21.

<sup>63</sup> With the exception of Yates Thompson no. LXXIX, which she gave in memory of her husband to Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1939; and two leaves with miniatures attributed to Jean Fouquet, which she gave to the Louvre (the Louvre had already bought two other leaves from the MS from Yates Thompson in his 1912 and 1921 sales).

<sup>64</sup> Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>65</sup> Francis Wormald, ‘The Yates Thompson Manuscripts’, *The British Museum Quarterly*, vol. XVI for 1951–2 (1952), pp. 4–6.

As we have seen above, Luis Mayans had had the manuscript rebound in Madrid in 1860, and he died in 1880. Before the end of May 1901 an English dealer named Lionel Harris (d. 1943) had bought it. Harris was the founder and proprietor of the Spanish Art Gallery, in Bruton Street, London, and is credited as being ‘responsible for importing almost all the important works of art which came from Spain into England in the years before and after the First World War’.<sup>66</sup> He briefly owned another illuminated copy of the *Divina Commedia* from San Miguel de los Reyes:<sup>67</sup> it is therefore quite probable that he bought them both from the same source, and therefore that they had both been owned by Luis Mayans.<sup>68</sup> An intermediate French-speaking owner is possible, however, because there are late 19th-century(?) pencil inscriptions in French on flyleaves of Yates Thompson MS 36, and it seems unlikely that these would have been written either by Mayans (a Spaniard living in Madrid) or by Harris (an English dealer who was hoping to sell the manuscript in England).

As has been mentioned above, the Dante manuscript is described in the last of the four catalogues of Yates Thompson’s collection, and is also the very last manuscript in the last of seven volumes of Yates Thompson’s series of *Illustrations*. This might suggest that it was a late acquisition, but in fact it was one of his earliest purchases after the acquisition of the Ashburnham ‘Appendix’.

Yates Thompson recorded details of the acquisition, as usual, by writing notes on a bookplate stuck inside the front cover of the binding, as follows: “CV / bleee.e.e (Harris) / Madrid / May 29 / 1901”. CV is his number for the number of the manuscript, and “blee.e.e” is the acquisition price, 1900.0.0, written using Yates Thompson’s price code ‘bryanstole’ (‘b’ = 1, ‘r’ = 2, ‘y’ = 3, ‘a’ = 4, etc.).<sup>69</sup> Although the inscription suggests that Yates Thompson bought the book in Madrid, he states in his catalogue description “... purchased by me in May 1901 from a dealer named Harris who brought it from Madrid to London for sale.”<sup>70</sup>

The date 29 May inscribed on his bookplate is presumably the day on which Yates Thompson made the decision to buy the manuscript. Sydney Cockerell, in his diary for this day, records the somewhat surprising note:

‘Had tea with Mr Yates Thompson & saw a very important Dante MS that has been offered to him for sale - Rather ugly pictures but a great many of them.’<sup>71</sup>

Despite the fact that the illumination was not to his taste, Sydney Cockerell’s opinion of the manuscript’s importance was perhaps enough to persuade Yates Thompson to buy it on the same day.

A year later, on 9 June, 1902,<sup>72</sup> Yates Thompson showed the manuscript to Edward Moore (1835-1916), Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, founder of the Oxford

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<sup>66</sup> See the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), in the entry for Lionel’s son, Tomás Harris.

<sup>67</sup> New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS. 428.

<sup>68</sup> We know from the letter quoted above that Mayans owned other Italian manuscripts.

<sup>69</sup> The price-code has twice been incorrectly published by Christopher de Hamel as ‘Bryanstone’: *Hidden Friends*, and ‘Was Yates Thompson a Gentleman’, p. 83.

<sup>70</sup> *Catalogue* (1912), p. 67. Later the same year he bought no. LXXV, a *Bible historiale*, from Harris.

<sup>71</sup> British Library, Additional MS. 52638, f. 42v.

<sup>72</sup> As recorded in pencil on f. i of the manuscript.

Dante Society and probably England's leading Dante scholar,<sup>73</sup> and received from him a letter from him concerning the manuscript, written two days later.<sup>74</sup>

Presumably the following month, he showed it to G. F. Warner, Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, to whom are attributed notes on f. ii, dated 1 July 1902, concerning the heraldry of manuscripts from the Neapolitan royal library.

Charles Fairfax Murray<sup>75</sup> and Roger Fry,<sup>76</sup> independently identified the main artist as Giovanni di Paolo to Henry Yates Thompson,<sup>77</sup> and Fry published the attribution in 1905;<sup>78</sup> the opinion was confirmed by Bernhard Berenson, and the manuscript is attributed to by Giovanni in the second edition of Berenson's *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York, 1909).<sup>79</sup>

On a visit to the public library at Valencia shortly before the publication of the 1912 catalogue, Yates Thompson examined some of the manuscripts that had been removed there from San Miguel de los Reyes, and 'Don Isidore Fouriat' (sic), doubtless the scholar Isidore Furrat i Vallier (1845-1915), showed him the 1527 catalogue of the old library, which has been described above.

An anecdote recorded by one of her close friends after the death of Mrs Yates Thompson suggests that she and her husband may have been in the habit of using this manuscript before breakfast to study the *Divine Comedy*, or perhaps to practise their Italian. The friend recalls an occasion when she was staying with the Yates Thompsons at their county house at Oving, to the north-west of London, and records:

'I came upon my host and hostess in the billiard-room as they sat before a folio open on the green cloth. I think each held a smaller book. Mr Yates Thompson explained that they were doing their morning bit of Dante. What the book on the table was I cannot now say. but I think the illustrations were of the Inferno, and the book old and precious'.<sup>80</sup>

One might assume that the smaller books held by the couple were a printed copy of the text and a Italian-English dictionary, but Yates Thompson apparently knew Italian well: when he was due to leave Europe to go to America for the first time he delayed his departure, writing from Turin that:

'My object here is to carry on my Italian studies ... I have received a tempting offer from an Italian to join in taking lodgings with him for a month. The

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<sup>73</sup> See the *Dictionary of National Biography*; he had founded the Oxford Dante Society in 1863; become lecturer on Dante at University College, London, in 1886; wrote the monumental *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the 'Divina Commedia'* (1889); and co-wrote the *Oxford Dante* (1894).

<sup>74</sup> Yates Thompson MS 53, f. 45.

<sup>75</sup> An important book-dealer and book-collector.

<sup>76</sup> An influential connoisseur and art critic who later became Director of the Metropolitan Museum.

<sup>77</sup> On the second flyleaf of the manuscript, Yates Thompson has noted 'Mr F. Murray thinks he recognises in the illustrations of the Paradise the hand of Giovanni di Paolo of Siena who flourished about 1425 a.d. Mr Roger Fry (without collusion) says the same'; surprisingly, years later, after Fry and Berenson had published the attribution, Yates Thompson still treated the attribution with caution: The Paradiso ... is in the opinion of Mr Fairfax Murray and Mr Roger Fry, of Giovanni di Paolo of Siena, but this, of course, is somewhat uncertain' (*Illustrations*, VII, p. 20).

<sup>78</sup> 'A Note on Giovanni di Paolo', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 5 (1905), p. 312 and plate VII, p. 313.

<sup>79</sup> It is absent from the first edition (1907), which suggests that Berenson did not see it until 1907 or 1908.

<sup>80</sup> Gooder, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

temptation I fairly own is too great to be resisted, the Italian in question being a very nice fellow knowing everyone here and talking the purest Tuscan'.<sup>81</sup> He presumably also knew Dante well enough to be able to quote him in the original language: in 1865 he gave a lecture in which he recalled the Battle of Chattanooga in the American Civil War, which he had witnessed two years earlier:

'my walks the next day though those blood-stained woods (and if ever there was, as Dante has it, a *selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte che nel pensier rinova la paura*, it was there in my lonely walks over the battlefield)'.<sup>82</sup>

In 1921 the manuscript was lent to an exhibition in honour of the sixcentenary of Dante's death, at University College, London,<sup>83</sup> in 1949 it was displayed at the British Museum as part of an exhibition commemorating Mrs Yates Thompson's bequest,<sup>84</sup> and in 1965 it was the centrepiece of an exhibition at the British Museum commemorating the 700th anniversary of Dante's birth.<sup>85</sup> Partly due to exhibitions such as these and their accompanying publications, the manuscript became increasingly well known to art historians and Dante specialists as the twentieth century progressed: publications about, or referring to, the manuscript have increased in volume steadily, as a glance at the bibliography cited in the chapters of this volume will show. In the first years of the twenty-first century the worldwide knowledge of the book is set to increase beyond anything its makers and earlier owners could ever have dreamed of, because a description and some images have been made available on the internet.<sup>86</sup> As custodians of this wonderful book, the British Library is pleased that this facsimile will make every page available to a global audience, both to facilitate the study of its text and illumination, and also to provide the simple but profound pleasure of turning its pages.

Peter Kidd  
May 2006

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<sup>81</sup> Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>83</sup> Reported in *The Times*, 2 May 1921, p. 11.

<sup>84</sup> Reported in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 20 May 1949, p. 336.

<sup>85</sup> Dante Alighieri, 1265-1321: Exhibition to Celebrate the Seventh Centenary of the Poet's Birth, April to June 1965, the British Museum King's Library (London, 1965). There were negotiations for lending it to another in Cambridge; correspondence relating to the loan is in BL, Additional MS. 52755, ff. 228, 229, 231, 232.

<sup>86</sup> The British Library's online catalogue of illuminated manuscripts is at:  
[www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/](http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/)