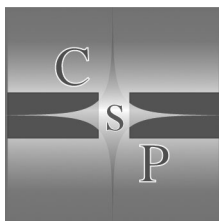


Migrations

Migrations
Medieval Manuscripts in New Zealand

Edited by

Stephanie Hollis and Alexandra Barratt



CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING

Migrations: Medieval Manuscripts in New Zealand, edited by Stephanie Hollis and Alexandra Barratt

This book first published 2007 by

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

15 Angerton Gardens, Newcastle, NE5 2JA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN 1-84718-321-2; ISBN 13: 9781847183217

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors wish to thank the following for digital images of manuscripts and photographs and for permission to reproduce them: Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries (illustrations 1–3, 9–10, 13–14, 16–19, 22a–24); Heritage Collections, Dunedin Public Libraries (illustrations 11–12, 20–1); Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington (illustrations 4a–8); and the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries, New York (illustration 15). We would also like to thank the staff of these libraries for their assistance, particularly Kate de Courcy, Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries, and the Reed Rare Book Librarians at Dunedin Public Library, Anthony Tedeschi and his predecessor, Ian Stewart.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to our respective universities for financial assistance received. This collection of essays originated with a series of public lectures held at the Auckland Central City Library in February 2005, sponsored by The University of Auckland Centre for Medieval and Early Modern European Studies with the aid of a grant received from the Vice-Chancellor's Emerging Research Activities Fund. This seminal assistance, and the funding of a graduate assistant by the Arts Faculty of The University of Auckland in 2006, is much appreciated. We would also like to thank the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato, for a Small Research Grant to assist in the preparation of this volume, and for a generous Contestable Research Grant to subsidise its publication.

Our thanks are due to the graduate assistant for this project, Laura Caygill, for her contribution to sub-editing and associated research. We also wish to thank the editorial advisor, Donald Kerr, Special Collections Librarian, University of Otago Library, for his help and assistance. We are warmly appreciative of the support given by Professor Felicity Riddy, University of York, and Professor Nigel Morgan, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

We are deeply indebted to Michael Wright, Honorary Research Fellow of The University of Auckland, for his generous help and advice throughout and for his indispensable assistance with the technical production.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

THE FORMATION AND RECEPTION OF MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN NEW ZEALAND

STEPHANIE HOLLIS
AND ALEXANDRA BARRATT

I suspect that I am not the first New Zealander to have looked wistfully towards the sumless treasures of Europe's art and literature as if they lay altogether out of reach here. I have met my fellow countrymen—and, more often, my fellow countrywomen—patiently plodding through learned libraries, or gazing with glazed eyes at showcase after showcase in the Bodleian or the British Museum. We might all have done better and learnt more by staying at home and taking the tram to the Auckland Public Library.¹

So said New Zealand graduate J. A. W. Bennett, Oxford fellow and subsequently Cambridge Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English, in a radio broadcast during a visit to his homeland in 1953. Christopher de Hamel, in the masterly essay he has contributed to *Migrations*, takes issue with Professor Bennett's remark. Like other New World collections of medieval manuscripts, he points out, the character of the collections in New Zealand is very different from that of the majority of older libraries in Europe, where the manuscripts "have hardly moved since the Middle Ages."²

The New World collections of medieval manuscripts in North America, South Africa, and Australasia, by contrast, have travelled a very long way, and sometimes by a very circuitous route, to their present locations. They are, no less significantly, the result of individual purchases made by antiquarian book collectors or by institutions. Most of the manuscripts now held in New Zealand were selected and imported by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century bibliophiles ordering from British dealers'

catalogues, and their choices were determined, Dr. de Hamel explains, not merely by their tastes and financial resources, but by the market availability of manuscripts. In his view, what Professor Bennett and his fellow expatriates would have seen at the Auckland Public (now Central City) Library, if they had stayed at home, was not a collection representing in microcosm the surviving corpus of medieval manuscripts, but a reflection of “the unfolding availability of books for sale in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the ever-changing response of the buyers.” He concludes:

Professor Bennett in 1953 or early readers of Taylor’s *The Oldest Manuscripts in New Zealand* [1955] may have been amazed to find so many medieval books in New Zealand, but their presence there is logical and very satisfying. They are a microcosm of the evolving taste of collectors and of the waves of the availability of manuscripts, from the fall-out of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, from the evangelical fervour for Bibles, from the fashionable early twentieth-century gentlemen’s delight in books of hours, to the modern break-up of volumes to supply a thirst for leaves. New Zealand certainly takes its place in world manuscript migrations, and the phases of these migrations have determined the scholarship initiated in New Zealand and always will.³

Whether New World holdings of medieval manuscripts offer a sufficient basis for the training and future careers of a new generation of manuscript scholars (particularly art historians) is a question likely to be more frequently debated in New Zealand and Australia as local resources are increasingly supplemented by facsimiles and digitized versions of manuscripts held in Europe.⁴ Who, these days, in their heart of hearts, would not rather stay at home than fly twelve thousand miles to Heathrow? But de Hamel is, of course, right to rebut Professor Bennett’s implication that the medieval manuscripts held in New Zealand can be studied in isolation from the European collections from which they were derived (although it is worth recalling that collections of manuscripts, however arbitrarily assembled, can be appreciated by non-specialists without the comparative contextualisations on which scholarly study depends, and the philanthropic book-collectors who donated their manuscripts to public libraries in New Zealand chiefly had in mind the enjoyment and edification of the general public).

Assailable as Professor Bennett’s remark is—and it may have been intended as little more than a graceful compliment to his hosts—it deserves its place at the head of this introduction because it testifies not only to the unexpected richness of the New Zealand manuscript collections but also to their neglect. As an undergraduate at Auckland

University College in the early 1930s—a few minutes walk away from the Auckland Public Library (scarcely worth waiting for a tram)—Bennett was already committed to the study of medieval English literature, to which he was to make a distinguished contribution as an Oxbridge academic. He does not claim to have been ignorant of the fact that the Auckland Public Library had a collection of medieval manuscripts, and it is hard to believe that he was; but he did not go to look at it until he returned to Auckland in 1953. Such was, and perhaps still is, the essentially *distant* allure of Europe's “sumless treasures.”

Migrations is the first book-length study of the medieval manuscripts in New Zealand collections. It can, indeed, claim to represent the only concerted study that has been made of the New Zealand manuscripts since the appearance in 1989 of the indispensable catalogue compiled by Australian scholars Margaret Manion and Vera Vines in collaboration with Christopher de Hamel. Their catalogue lists 181 items in institutional and private collections, roughly half of which are complete or near complete manuscripts.⁵ Like the study of medieval manuscripts in Australia, the study of the New Zealand holdings is deeply indebted to the pioneering vision and achievements of Professor Manion (University of Melbourne) who, in 1978, embarked on a project “which had as its objective the consolidation of the illuminated manuscripts of Australia and New Zealand into a single corpus accessible to scholars and the interested public world-wide.”⁶ Following the publication of *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australia* in 1984, Manion and Vines invited Christopher de Hamel to collaborate with them in compiling *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in New Zealand*. In strikingly interesting contrast to his compatriot Jack Bennett, de Hamel, during his years as a undergraduate student at the University of Otago in the late 1960s, had begun to acquire his still unrivalled knowledge of the New Zealand collections by studying the manuscripts donated to the Dunedin Public Library by A. H. Reed, and, subsequently, the manuscripts at Auckland and Wellington. His publications on New Zealand manuscripts in the 1970s (when he, too, became an expatriate) included *A Descriptive Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts in the Dunedin Public Library's Alfred and Isabel Reed Collection* and a study of a Carmelite book of hours in Wellington's Turnbull Library.⁷

Prior to the publication of the 1989 catalogue, only a dozen or so scholarly articles on New Zealand manuscripts had appeared, together with an edition of the University of Canterbury's Maude Roll and an eight-page pamphlet on the Canterbury Sallust; almost without exception,

the authors were resident in New Zealand.⁸ Particularly notable among these were Glynnis Cropp's studies of the Boethian manuscripts, which have born fruit in her recently published edition of a medieval French translation of the *Consolatio* based on a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Grey Collection at the Auckland Central City Library.⁹ Only a handful of scholarly articles have appeared since 1989. What has changed is that New Zealand manuscripts have begun to figure occasionally in studies by Northern Hemisphere scholars. A few of the manuscripts held in New Zealand have been known to overseas scholars for some time, most notably the twelfth-century illustrated copy of Boethius's *De Musica* and Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus* held by the Turnbull Library, since it once belonged to the library of Christ Church Cathedral Priory in Canterbury, and is closely associated with four other copies of *De Musica* which are thought to have come from the Christ Church scriptorium.¹⁰ The two-volume Missal of Charles de Neufchâtel also has an international profile, chiefly owing to the ongoing research of Vera Vines, who recognized its artistic importance during the early stages of the compilation of the 1989 catalogue.¹¹ As de Hamel observes, the missal was

cited in the core groups of a now clearly defined Besançon style in both of the two great seminal exhibitions of French illumination, those at the Morgan Library, New York, in 1982, and at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris in 1993.¹²

In 2000 it travelled to the National Gallery of Australia where it was included in a major exhibition of manuscripts featuring the Book of Kells. More recently, an early fifteenth-century illuminated psalter given by Beatrice Cornburgh to a women's religious house, held by the Turnbull Library, has attracted the attention of U.K. scholars with a particular interest in medieval women's book ownership;¹³ and the depiction of St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read in a fragment of an early fifteenth-century English book of hours held by the Dunedin Public Library which is studied by U.S. art historian Michael Orr, in his chapter in *Migrations*, came to his attention through an incidental reference to it in Kathleen Scott's *Later Gothic Painting*.¹⁴ Both manuscripts are associated with the London workshops of Herman and Johannes Scheerre.

Migrations aims to contribute to the two-directional internationalisation of the medieval manuscripts held in New Zealand. For if the medieval manuscripts in New World collections cannot be understood and appreciated without reference to the European collections from which, for a variety of reasons, they have been severed and transported across the globe by individual and institutional collectors of rare books, it is also the

case, as the preceding paragraph endeavours to suggest, that New Zealand's manuscripts merit the attention of the international community of scholars and the interested public world-wide, whether, like the Turnbull Library's compendium of music treatises, Auckland's Besançon Missal, or Dunedin's Wycliffite Gospels,¹⁵ they are acknowledged gems closely associated with manuscripts held by renowned libraries in the Northern Hemisphere, or whether, like the Turnbull's illuminated psalter once owned by Beatrice Cornburgh and the Dunedin Public Library's Fitzherbert Hours, they have a contribution to make to the study of a particular topic or theme. Ultimately, as de Hamel puts it, "every medieval book has its own tale to tell and a unique place, both in its origin and its survival and interaction with owners since the Middle Ages."¹⁶

Most of the contributors to this collection of essays are New Zealand academics or manuscript librarians; others are based in Australia, Canada, England, or the United States, and not all of them are New Zealand expatriates. Part Two of the collection comprises new contributions to the study of particular manuscripts or fragments, which locate their subjects in a broader context and relate them to manuscripts held in Northern Hemisphere collections. Two of the chapters study items held in the Dunedin Public Library's diverse collection of single leaves and fragments. Richard Gameson identifies the three leaves he examines as having been taken from a gospel-book originating in northern Francia or Flanders in the later ninth century.¹⁷ Elizabeth Towl examines a recently acquired leaf from a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century book of hours which records prayers in Latin and French.¹⁸ The eight leaves which include the historiated initial studied by Michael Orr are also held by the Dunedin Public Library, having been inserted, perhaps in the eighteenth century, into a Flemish book of hours for English use which was adapted in the late fifteenth-century for Margery Fitzherbert. Glynnis Cropp describes a group of four Boethian manuscripts held in New Zealand, and examines an anonymous Latin commentary on Boethius's *Consolatio* preserved in a fifteenth-century French manuscript held at the Auckland Central City Library.¹⁹

Three manuscripts of particular note, two of them in the Auckland Central City Library, are studied by the remaining contributors. The Rossdhu Hours is one of a small number of medieval books of hours known to have been owned in Scotland. Anne McKim, in her study of the ownership of the Rossdhu Hours, adds to our knowledge of the Scottish association established in the 1989 catalogue.²⁰ She suggests that the first owner of the book is most likely to have been Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, the second wife of Sir John Colquhoun, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and

that “the book became an heirloom, preserved by her descendants within the wider family.”²¹ Margaret Manion examines the finely illuminated breviary of the Augustinian friar Antonio da Macerata, which is unusual in its reference to the patron and to the order to which he belonged.²² She locates it in a Perugian context; this, she concludes:

means that the breviary may now take its place beside the choir book, the missal, and the psalter in the list of extant liturgical genres known to have been illuminated in that city in the second half of the quattrocento.²³

Fiona McAlpine, in her study of the Turnbull Library’s copy of the music treatises by Boethius and the eleventh-century monk Guido of Arezzo, reveals a new dimension to the acknowledged importance of the manuscript by pointing out that, although there are many copies of Boethius’s *De Musica* and Guido’s *Micrologus*, the Turnbull manuscript is one of a very small number of manuscripts in which these two works were copied together. Bringing to bear her expertise as a medieval musicologist, she explains what the manuscript has to tell us about medieval transmission and redefinition of classical musical theory.

The chapters in Part One bear more centrally upon the transmission of the manuscripts to New Zealand and their subsequent reception. Detached from their Old World countries of origin, medieval manuscripts in New Zealand—in Australia and South Africa, too, if not in Canada and the United States—acquire new dimensions of significance. Tangible signs of connectedness and continuity with the culture of the European past, they are redolent also of discontinuity, of severance and relocation. They are part of the history of a new country, embedded (implicated, some might say) in the narrative of its colonization and settlement, but, as European Heritage, they are antipathetic to the sense of a distinctive New Zealand national identity, already making its presence felt in the 1890s. Unrepresentative of the older libraries of Europe as the New World collections are, the manuscripts held in them also have a recent history of transmission and ownership quite different from that of their European counterparts. Both directly and indirectly, the chapters in Part One touch upon aspects of that.

De Hamel’s essay emphasizes the formative effect of market availability on the manuscript collections acquired by two of the country’s principal rare book collectors, A. H. Reed and Sir George Grey, governor of the colony and subsequently its premier. His broad overview is complemented by Donald Kerr’s detailed study. Focusing on the dealers’ catalogues perused by Grey and Henry Shaw (who, like Grey, donated his manuscript collection to the citizens of Auckland), Kerr foregrounds the

acts of choice and personal taste that determined the character of the manuscript collections held at the Auckland Central City Library.

Kate de Courcy and Georgia Prince, current custodians of the Auckland Central City Library collections, offer a case study of the institutional life of a manuscript in public ownership, detailing some of the ways in which custodial attitudes and public response have changed in the last century and a quarter. The presence of medieval manuscripts in a public library, they point out, is unusual, and in continuing to allow unrestricted public access to them, the library sees itself as acting in accordance with the spirit of Grey's desire to make available to ordinary citizens of the New World colony he had been sent to govern the cultural treasure he had amassed—which, he observed in his presentation speech, was deplorably prone in the Old World to be handed down as inheritance within a privileged elite.²⁴

Rebecca Hayward's examination of the pedagogic use of manuscripts in New Zealand (and the lack of it) is informed by her consciousness of changing attitudes to European cultural heritage in the course of the twentieth century and the way that this is reflected in university curricula. She draws attention to the colonial and postcolonial implications of the acquisition of the Maude Roll by Canterbury University College in 1918,²⁵ and these are further developed by Robert Rouse. Instrumental in the acquisition of the roll (a genealogy of English kings from Edward III to Henry VI, beginning with their legendary origins) was Arnold Wall, who was among the British (usually Oxbridge) graduates who emigrated to the colonies to take up academic positions in the early twentieth century. Wall's introduction to his edition of the Maude Roll, Robert Rouse shows,

is marked by a mode of early twentieth-century medievalism that goes to great lengths to give meaning to the present through the power of medieval analogy, thus constructing explicit links between the two periods,²⁶

and he connects this phenomenon with the reluctance to sever ties with Britain manifest in many aspects of New Zealand political and cultural life in the first half of the twentieth century. Christine McCarthy, in her chapter, communicates her sense of the way in which New Zealand manuscripts are overlain by significances acquired from their recent transmission history by weaving into her study of some of the illuminated initials in manuscripts collected by Sir John Ilott, and presented to the Turnbull Library, her thoughts on the ambitious and successful businessman who collected them and his experience of the eternal verities.

The issues raised in these chapters, then, though pursued in a local context, are cognate with the study of the role of European heritage in

other former colonies, and relate more broadly to study of the ways in which the medieval past has been utilized in the discourse of national and cultural identity.²⁷ We offer below an outline of the compilation of the three principal New Zealand collections, in the hope that it may stimulate further research in this area as well as help to contextualize the chapters in the present volume.

New Zealand's foundational collection of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts was included among the fifteen thousand books formally presented by Sir George Grey (1812–98) to the citizens of Auckland in 1883. Grey (see ill. 17) had arrived as Governor of New Zealand in 1845, but from 1853 to 1861 he was Governor of Cape Town. When he left South Africa to return to Auckland, he presented his library to the Public Library of Cape Town (now the National Library of South Africa). This is a pity, from a New Zealand point of view, because Grey's first collection of manuscripts was much larger—over a hundred items, compared with the twenty-seven donated to the Auckland Public Library. The manuscripts in Grey's South African collection are also regarded as being, in general, of higher quality, and cover a broader range.²⁸ Grey's gift to Auckland is thus somewhat reminiscent of Shakespeare's bequest to his wife of his second-best bed. New Zealanders cannot even complain that Grey's South African dalliance has resulted in his first collection languishing inaccessibly, for, although a catalogue comparable to that of Manion, Vines, and de Hamel did not appear until 2002 (compiled by Carol Steyn), the entire collection was microfilmed by the Hill Monastic Library in 1989,²⁹ which is more than can be said of any of the collections in New Zealand, or in Australia either, although digitization of Grey's Auckland collection has now begun.³⁰

Unrepresentative as Grey's collection is of those held in the older libraries of Europe, he was conscious of bestowing on the two colonies he had governed a library representative of European culture (he also collected Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopian manuscripts).³¹ The library he gave to the citizens of Cape Town was originally assembled for his personal use—he had hoped, he confided in a letter to a friend, that it “would form the charm and recreation of my middle life and my old age.”³² His New Zealand library was similarly assembled with a view to his own future enjoyment, but as the prospect of a long, quiet retirement to bookish pursuits receded, public benefaction is likely to have played a more influential part in his collecting,³³ and, as Donald Kerr shows, he continued to add to the manuscripts he had presented to the Auckland Public Library even after his return to England in 1894.

It was perhaps not inevitable that, with only one exception, New Zealand's philanthropic book collectors should have regarded public libraries rather than universities as the appropriate inheritors of the vast libraries they amassed (for they were collectors of books—and in many cases, of artefacts and works of art as well—not specialist collectors of manuscripts). The Australian collector to whom Grey can in some respects be compared, Sir Charles Nicholson (1808–1903), directed his munificence to the University of Sydney, which he was instrumental in founding.³⁴ Grey, however, was pre-eminently a political figure and more importantly, notwithstanding his reputation as an autocrat, a Gladstonian Liberal who espoused universal (male) suffrage. In presenting the libraries he had accumulated, first to the citizens of Cape Town and then to the people of Auckland, he was making a gesture in keeping with his vision of a New World society in which wealth and educational opportunities were more widely distributed than they were in the Old World. Speaking in the New Zealand House of Representatives in 1890, four years before his final return to England, he seems to have felt that his vision had failed to materialize:

Honourable members will scarcely believe now the kind of fervour which existed in Great Britain in the time of my youth to found a New World differing greatly from the Old World.³⁵

But in his speech on the opening of the Auckland Public Library in 1887, he spoke of his desire to contribute to a more broadly based dissemination of education and of his hope of “raising and elevating the minds of the youth of the present generation, fitting them for the arduous duties on which they are about to enter.”³⁶ If, then, his repeatedly expressed hope that his library would contribute to the “civilizing” of the colony is now suggestive, at best, of the superior attitude of an upper-class colonialist, it is worth bearing in mind that the lifting up of minds and hearts that this term signified to Grey was also the expression of his political commitment to the creation of a more egalitarian society. For Grey personally, however, as he reveals in a meditation on a fifteenth-century devotional printed book in his Cape Town collection, his old books were a tangible means of connectedness with the faith and values of the past, bearers of cultural continuity rather than agents of social change,³⁷ and a contemporary echo of this is found in one of the recorded responses of visitors to the Grey Collection quoted by de Courey and Prince: “Absolutely chronic. I can almost imagine seeing the monks write these manuscripts centuries ago . . . creepy but very cool.”³⁸

Similarities between Grey's Auckland and Cape Town collections suggest that Grey had a clearly defined conception of culturally representative manuscripts. In particular, both collections include a number of Renaissance Italian copies of classical texts, as well as copies of Boethius, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.³⁹ The gems of his collections are, not surprisingly, the richly illuminated liturgical books of high-status clerics. The most notable of these in the Auckland collection, the Missal of Archbishop Charles de Neufchâtel (ills. 1–3), was singled out for particular mention by Grey in his presentation speech. Notable also, though by no means as well known, is the Breviary of Antonio da Macerata (ills. 13–14 and 22a–23b) whose decoration is examined by Margaret Manion in her chapter. In marked contrast to Grey's Cape Town collection, however, his Auckland collection contains only a single book of hours (the Rossdhu Hours), whose chief distinction (unknown to Grey) resides in its Scottish provenance and not in its artistic value; de Hamel describes it as “of rather second-rate merit.”⁴⁰ But books of hours have considerable popular as well as scholarly appeal, and it is the Rossdhu Hours (ills. 9–10) which is the most frequently requested of the manuscripts held at the Auckland Central City Library. It has featured on a popular postcard and in a poem by a former Rare Books librarian (Robert Sullivan, of Nga Puhi affiliation), and it is the only Auckland manuscript to have been fully digitized.⁴¹

Grey was given to understand (incorrectly) that the Rossdhu Hours was the work of an English scribe.⁴² But like the Cape Town collection, the Auckland collection contains only two, or perhaps three, manuscripts of English provenance, presumably a reflection of market availability rather than a deliberate act of choice on Grey's part.⁴³ His collections are noticeably continental European—remarkably, the Auckland collection includes two Bohemian manuscripts (extremely rare), one containing vernacular prayers and psalms, the other a Czech translation of Guido de Columna's *History of the Destruction of Troy*.⁴⁴ Despite Grey's role as the official representative of the British Empire, then, the manuscripts in his collections are redolent of neither Britishness nor of Empire, except for the late fifteenth-century Latin and French copy of the statutes of England from 1 Edward III to Henry VI (1445–6), which was among the manuscripts he presented to Auckland.⁴⁵ De Hamel, however, identifies the twelfth-century east Mediterranean Greek lectionary, mirrored in the Cape Town collection by a Greek lectionary of the same provenance and a somewhat earlier date, as a signifier of British imperialism.⁴⁶ To put the matter much less delicately than he does, these manuscripts (and others, such as the Greek Gospels held in Australia by the National Gallery of Victoria) were looted by British soldiers from Greek Orthodox monasteries. This

fascinating insight is perhaps not at odds with the symbolic significance that the Greek lectionary was doubtless intended to carry at the opening ceremony of the Cape Town Public Library, as a foundational document of Christianity.⁴⁷

In the 1883 speech in which Grey formally presented his library to the citizens of Auckland, he identified the markedly Continental character of his manuscript collection as a reflection of his awareness (unusual in his time) that the settlers of the new colony were not in fact homogeneously British but of diverse national origins (including eighty-three Bohemian settlers who arrived at Puhoi, not far to the north of Auckland, in 1863),⁴⁸ but de Hamel undoubtedly identifies its material cause in the dispersal of Continental libraries as a consequence of the Revolution in France and the Napoleonic conquest and restructuring of Italy which was taking place at the time that Grey assembled his manuscript collections. The Italian Renaissance copies of classical texts which de Hamel identifies as a distinctive and unusual feature of Grey's collections, however, reflect Grey's intellectual interests as well as contemporary market availability, for, as Rebecca Hayward points out in her chapter, Grey cherished the idea that he might some day have the leisure to edit his classical texts. As she also points out, notwithstanding Grey's essential concern with popular education, he intended local university students to benefit from his library. It was, indeed, news of the establishment of Auckland University College that prompted Grey to announce his decision to present the city of Auckland with his library.⁴⁹ But here, too, as in the case of Grey's religious manuscripts, there was a mismatch between his selection of manuscripts and the intended beneficiaries, for although his Italian Renaissance copies of classical texts include some fine examples of decoration and calligraphy,⁵⁰ they are too late to be of interest to modern editors of the classics, and at the University of Auckland, as at most universities, Renaissance copies of classical texts have as yet found no place in academic curricula.

In terms of the linguistic expertise of New Zealand textual scholars, Grey's fifteenth-century French translation of Boethius's *Consolatio* was a much more fortuitous acquisition, since it provided the impetus, as indicated above, for Glynnis Cropp's development as the leading authority on medieval French translations of Boethius.⁵¹ Had Grey acquired even a single vernacular English manuscript—or had his two or three manuscripts of English provenance been of scholarly significance—his collection would undoubtedly have received a great deal more attention from local university students and their teachers over the last century and a quarter.⁵² Like all of the New Zealand manuscript collectors in the century

following, Grey gravitated towards Latin manuscripts. His French translation of Boethius, together with his two manuscripts in Czech and his fifteenth-century copy of Petrarch's Italian *Canzoniere* (thought to have been made for a member of the Sforza family) account for most of the vernacular manuscripts in the country; and the market scarcity of English manuscripts throughout the twentieth century—particularly vernacular manuscripts—is reflected in the fact that whereas two of the most valuable manuscripts in New Zealand are of English provenance (Wellington's twelfth-century music treatises and Dunedin's Wycliffite Gospels), there are relatively few other manuscripts of English provenance in the country.⁵³ Of these, the Wycliffite gospel-book is the only Middle English codex; indeed, it contains almost all of the Middle English inscribed by a medieval hand known to exist in New Zealand.⁵⁴ Medieval French is somewhat better represented. There are five books of hours in institutional collections containing additions in French, as well as the single leaf recording prayers in Latin and French which Elizabeth Towl's chapter examines; there is also as a second French translation of Boethius's *Consolatio*, held by Massey University Library, and a French translation of a theological work by Albertus Magnus.⁵⁵ A Dutch book of hours is owned by Knox College, Dunedin.⁵⁶

The medieval manuscripts in New Zealand institutional collections are, then, predominately Latin rather than vernacular, ecclesiastical rather than secular, Continental rather than English (or even British) in provenance. The collectors themselves, Grey included, had at best a sketchy knowledge of Latin, and only A. H. Reed and Albert Clemas appear to have been deeply devout. All but one of them were either born in England or were of British parentage, and mainland European settlers in New Zealand have never been as visibly part of the country's national identity as they are in Australia, Canada, the United States, or South Africa. Notwithstanding all this, the manuscripts that New Zealand collectors acquired were to them representative of the nation's Old World cultural heritage as they, in their differing ways, conceived it, and their manuscript collections played a part in their construction of their personal and social identities as citizens of a New World country. For them, as for the New Zealanders who have appreciated their benefactions over the last century and a quarter—predominately British descended, not classically educated nor devout—the manuscripts have evoked a sense of connectedness with the culture of the Old World, of a shared European past.

Grey's gift in turn prompted Henry Shaw (1850–1928) to donate his library, including sixteen early manuscripts, to the Auckland Public Library; most were acquired between 1901 and 1905.⁵⁷ Shaw (ill. 18a)

stood in a very different relation to Old World culture. Arriving in New Zealand from Birmingham at the age of nine with his settler parents, he never travelled abroad, and was an accountant who invested in gold mining. But Grey—whom Shaw knew as a customer of the book shop he ran in the 1880s—was his model, and he compiled the first descriptive catalogue of Grey’s manuscripts. Shaw’s manuscripts, however, are much less geographically diverse in origin (the majority are from Italy and France and none is of English provenance); and the nearest approximation in his collection to the Italian Renaissance copies of classical texts that Grey was in time to purchase is a fifteenth-century Latin translation of a history of the nations conquered by the Romans, written in Greek in the second century by Appian—it is the only secular text that Shaw purchased.⁵⁸ The easy conclusion to draw is that his rare book collecting was an expression of an aspiration to the gentlemanly cultivation that Grey represented—and his letter to Frank Reed, also a much more eminent philanthropic bibliophile than Shaw, does suggest a certain conscious straining to establish himself as a man of refined and educated taste.⁵⁹ Further study of his personal papers might conceivably cast a more interesting light on the psycho-historical significance of this first-generation New Zealander’s collection of medieval manuscripts. Like Alexander Turnbull as represented by the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (see below), though less flamboyantly, Shaw perhaps was “never at home in colonial society.” Always overshadowed by the Grey Collection, none of Shaw’s manuscripts has achieved iconic status or attracted scholarly attention. Donald Kerr’s contribution to *Migrations* is thus especially welcome in drawing attention to the coherence and quality of Shaw’s collection. So, too, is Margaret Manion’s extension of her study of the Breviary of Antonio da Macerata to a consideration of “two other fine Italian breviaries,” both in the Shaw Collection (ills. 16 and 24),⁶⁰ and the commentary on Boethius examined by Glynnis Cropp is found in one of the manuscripts donated by him.

Shaw, Kerr shows, was attracted to high quality workmanship, and his rather restrained taste may help to explain why, in 1905, with no known Catholic connections, he presented a boldly illuminated Italian gradual he had ordered to Bishop Lanihan and the Catholic diocese of Auckland instead of to the Public Library,⁶¹ and why his collection contains no book of hours, despite the precedent set by Grey and the presumably greater availability of books of hours at the time he was collecting. He was presumably aware that the Catholic diocese had earlier been presented with one of the first two medieval manuscripts to reach New Zealand, an early sixteenth-century book of hours with prayers and other entries added

in French, which was brought out from England in 1840 by Walter Mantell (1820–95).⁶²

Another institutional acquisition of the early twentieth century was Christchurch University College's 1918 purchase of the Maude Roll, instigated by an émigré Professor of English, Arnold Wall (1869–1966). It is remarkable that the overt icon of British Empire and cultural ties with Britain which is absent from Governor Grey's collection should have been acquired in this manner. Redolent with the culture against which postcolonial New Zealand defined itself, though not perhaps very strenuously (as Robert Rouse suggests in his chapter), it has languished out of public view since 1965, but as the chapters by Rebecca Hayward and Robert Rouse demonstrate, it is precisely for this reason that it is now of interest to scholars concerned with the use of the medieval past to articulate the ideas of national and cultural continuity with Britain that figured in public and intellectual life in the early twentieth century. The absence of New World counterparts to the Old World benefactors of university libraries—for which (Robert Rouse shows) Wall attempted to compensate by creating the impression of aristocratic patronage underlying the acquisition of the Maude Roll—continued almost unabated. The only New Zealand collector who donated his manuscripts to a university library was Willi Fels (1858–1946), exceptional also in being New Zealand's only non-Anglo philanthropic antiquarian. A German Jew who immigrated in the 1880s, he retained a lifelong interest in classical literature and history, having been dissuaded from university study by his merchant father.⁶³ The four hundred rare books presented by him to the Otago University Library in 1946 included three Franciscan manuscripts from Italy (a breviary and two copies of the constitutions of the order) and two books of hours, one from Italy (mid-fifteenth-century), the other from France (ca. 1500), with near-contemporary additions in French.⁶⁴

The establishment of the Auckland manuscript collection by Grey and Shaw was to some extent replicated in Wellington by two prominent local businessmen, Sir Alexander Turnbull (1868–1918) and Sir John Ilott (1884–1973). Born in Wellington but educated in England, Turnbull chose to return to New Zealand in 1892. The *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* describes him as

a man of two worlds: a dandy and an aesthete, at home in the cultural and social world of *fin de siècle* London; a New Zealander by birth and, from 1892, by commitment, although never at home in colonial society; and this double allegiance characterises his collecting. As a book collector in the European tradition he selected from well-established subject areas to document the high culture of the Old World.... As a colonial collector,

sensitive to the nationalism of the 1890s, he committed himself to the creation of a national collection of everything relating to New Zealand and its environs.⁶⁵

Turnbull bequeathed his monumental library (consisting of some fifty-five thousand volumes “assembled with breathless determination and ruthless connoisseurship”) to King George V,⁶⁶ a seemingly clear declaration of the continuing allegiance to British heritage in the aftermath of World War I that Robert Rouse remarks upon. In contrast to Grey, Turnbull chose to represent the Middle Ages not by a diverse collection of European manuscripts but by a single, magnificent manuscript of English provenance, the oldest and most expensive of the manuscripts brought to his attention by Quaritch in 1900.⁶⁷ But for a representative manuscript, its contents are decidedly arcane, and the illustrations and diagrams that accompany the treatises on music by Boethius and Guido of Arezzo, though they have an immediate visual appeal, are to most viewers of the manuscript a bizarrely incomprehensible testimony to the alterity of the Middle Ages (ills. 6–8). This is, however, the oldest complete manuscript in New Zealand, and was described in the 1989 catalogue as “probably the most important book in the country.”⁶⁸ The highly technical nature of the manuscript conceivably explains why it has failed to achieve iconic status among the citizens of Wellington—but seems scarcely adequate to explain why the Turnbull Library’s web pages appear to contain no visible sign of its ownership of this manuscript. This is in marked contrast to the State Library of Victoria’s evident pride in its possession of a copy of Boethius’s *De Musica*, which is significantly older (tenth century), but contains only a few, rather rudimentary, illustrations.⁶⁹

As Shaw followed in the footsteps of Grey, so, Christine McCarthy suggests, Sir John Illott’s presentation of his library to the nation in 1958 manifested his life-long emulation of Turnbull. A patron of the arts and of numerous charities, he was an avid collector in many fields, particularly of engravings. His library at the time he donated it (much having been sold for lack of space) included five medieval manuscripts. Four of these were bought by him at Sotheby’s in 1922 while he was travelling abroad, and came from the collection of Michael Tomkinson (“a discriminating collector from the circle of William Morris”);⁷⁰ these are a late thirteenth-century Latin Bible from northern France, a fifteenth-century Italian copy of Boethius’s *Consolatio* (ills. 4b and 5), an early fifteenth-century English missal associated with the workshops of Johannes and Herman Scheerre (ill. 4a), and a book of hours, Use of Besançon, dated 1555, containing additions in French. The initials of the noble couple for whom this book of hours was made appear several times, as well as portraits of

them.⁷¹ The fifth manuscript is also a book of hours (eastern France, early sixteenth-century), and is highly unusual in having been made for a Carmelite friar.⁷²

Prior to Ilott's presentation of his manuscripts, the Turnbull Library, finding itself in possession of a single, though splendid, medieval manuscript, as well as incunabula, had been prompted, in the 1940s and 50s, to purchase seven other manuscripts in order to display the history of the book in a more comprehensive manner (these include a late twelfth-century French copy of a rare text of Papias of Lombardy's Latin dictionary, and a collection of Latin sermons and other rare texts from Yorkshire, ca. 1435).⁷³ The Turnbull's collection also includes seven manuscripts on permanent loan from the Bible Society of New Zealand. All but two of these were purchased by the society in 1932 from Albert Clemas (1880–1956), who was a Masterton printer.⁷⁴ Like Shaw, Clemas was a first-generation New Zealander, having emigrated with his parents at the age of twenty-one. De Hamel doubts his claim that some of his rare book library was inherited from his family (though he identifies only three of Clemas's five manuscripts as having been acquired by post from Sotheby's a few years before he offered to sell them to the Bible Society).⁷⁵ But if Clemas was fictionalizing his past, what he was fictionalizing was not so much descent from an aristocratic family as a deep embeddedness in the past by the inheritance of old books which ameliorated his sense of existential isolation from "the heart of the Empire." His manuscripts, he wrote, had been "real friends—joy in happy times—a solace in trouble—their companionship ever a comfort, turning my humble cottage into a temple."⁷⁶

The Bible Society raised the money to buy Clemas's manuscripts by mounting an appeal, and it says a good deal for the enthusiasm for medieval religious manuscripts among the supporters of the society (then known as the British and Foreign Bible Society) that, in the midst of the Depression, over 180 people contributed to the appeal, their donations ranging from one shilling to twenty-five pounds; over half of them were women. For them, as for Grey and for A. H. Reed in their different ways, ancient books of devotion were a tangible connection with a continuity of faith that linked the present to the past, the endurance of the written text figuring the permanence of the Word. Visitors to the society's 1932 exhibition, Clemas wrote, called it "the most sacred spot," and described the manuscripts as "the greatest treasures in the Dominion."⁷⁷ The secretary of the society, writing to thank one of the subscribers, affirmed that "for the present generation, and for generations to come, [the manuscripts] will be the means of giving a very great insight into the way

the Bible has come down to us.”⁷⁸ More prosaically, he also anticipated that future exhibitions of the collection would “bring in some little income to the Bible Society in the form of contributions.”⁷⁹

The biblical texts sold to the Bible Society by Clemas were a mid-twelfth-century Latin copy of St Matthew (from Italy) and a mid-thirteenth-century Latin Bible (from Italy or France). Inevitably, in the light of de Hamel’s chapter in *Migrations*, the collection also included a book of hours (from either Dijon or Besançon, ca. 1460, with additions in French).⁸⁰ But what now makes the Bible Society’s collection of particular interest is that it includes two fifteenth-century manuscripts with inscriptions identifying them as having been owned by female communities. One of these is an illuminated psalter given by Beatrice Cornburgh to a Franciscan nunnery in London, mentioned above, the other a Netherlandish antiphonal written for the Augustinian Sisters of the Common Life at Amersfoort, near Utrecht.⁸¹ Female ownership was not, perhaps, a feature which stirred the interest of early manuscript collectors, but it would be interesting to know whether the number of manuscripts owned by women to be found in the New Zealand collections is representative of market availability at the time of their acquisition, or of the corpus of surviving medieval manuscripts. They include Grey’s most expensive purchase, a four-volume lectern Bible bearing an inscription identifying it as having been copied in 1419 for the Dominican nunnery of Wijk-bij-Duurstede, also in the vicinity of Utrecht,⁸² and one of the breviaries in Shaw’s collection examined in Margaret Manion’s chapter, which belonged to the Benedictine nunnery of San Lorenzo on the island of Gemine in the Venetian lagoon (ill. 16).⁸³

A. H. Reed (1875–1975), the benefactor of the Dunedin Public Library, forms a striking contrast to Grey, but, in a very different way—from motives of piety rather than political conviction—Reed too assembled a collection of manuscripts representative of his conception of cultural heritage that he wished to share with the general public. Another first-generation New Zealander, he arrived at the age of twelve with his impoverished family; he worked his way up from gum digging to become, with his brother Frank, the owner of an international publishing house, and was knighted at the age of ninety-eight.⁸⁴ He began collecting manuscripts in 1919; having made over his collection of rare books to the Dunedin Public Library in 1948, he continued to add to it during the next twenty-five years. The Wycliffite gospel-book (ca. 1440), for which Reed was prepared to pay “almost any price” in 1956, was intended by him to “form a crowning piece in the Library’s already comprehensive collection of the English Bible and its antecedents.”⁸⁵ In addition to this manuscript, which

was for Reed an “icon of English proto-Protestantism,” his manuscript collection of Bibles includes two, perhaps three, thirteenth-century English Latin Bibles.⁸⁶ The central portion of one of the two books of hours that Reed bought for the Dunedin Public Library (the Hours of Margery Fitzherbert) was made in Flanders for English use, but to it has been added two different sets of leaves which are of English workmanship (ca. 1400). The more substantial of these additions includes a miniature showing Margery Fitzherbert and her husband at prayer, and Latin prayers for female use, some of which specifically name her as the petitioner; the other includes the historiated initial depicting St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read discussed by Michael Orr (ill. 11). The second book of hours bought by Reed for the Dunedin Public Library (late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century) includes entries in French, and was perhaps made in Rouen.⁸⁷

As de Hamel recalls him:

Reed was a fundamentalist Christian, hard-working and thrifty, and an outspoken evangelist for a religious faith which he found comfortably expressed in the beauties of nature and in the acquisition of rare books and gothic manuscripts.⁸⁸

De Hamel explains him as a descendant of the age of Ruskin and the Arts and Crafts movement, but whereas Ruskin sometimes cut a leaf from his illuminated manuscripts to give away as a present to friends or deserving institutions, Reed seems to have dismembered his with unholy glee. The institutions which were the beneficiaries of Reed’s desire to share the pleasure and inspiration he derived from his manuscripts were, as is to be expected, chiefly theological colleges.⁸⁹ Both St. John’s College, Auckland, and Knox College, Dunedin, have in their keeping a book of hours donated by Reed; one of these is in Dutch, the other originates from Cologne.⁹⁰ Both colleges also have leaves from the early fourteenth-century Cistercian lectern Bible now identified by de Hamel as Polish, which, he remarks, Reed divided among at least ten individuals and institutions.⁹¹ But Reed was by no means averse to scholarly study of his manuscripts, and the Otago University Library was also presented with some leaves from this Bible, as well as a leaf from a French book of hours, of which St. John’s College also has a fragment donated by Reed.⁹²

Reed’s devout egalitarianism clearly underlies the astonishingly open access policy in place at the Dunedin Public Library in the 1950s and 60s. De Hamel’s recollection of how, in his boyhood when he began studying the Reed manuscripts, readers were able to borrow framed leaves of medieval manuscripts and take them home to enjoy at their leisure is