

The Album and the Scrapbook

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This essay considers the fixing of fragments of medieval manuscripts into blank books during the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth centuries. In many instances such volumes provided only temporary accommodation for their contents and most have subsequently been disassembled, either for reasons of conservation or more frequently to facilitate the more lucrative sale of individual cuttings. Much scholarly energy has been spent on linking fragmentary parchment survivals to their original medieval codices, an impetus for restoration and completion that may be observed even during the nineteenth century. When a number of “Ancient Illuminations” that had belonged to Sir John Fenn (1739-94) were offered for sale in 1866 this statement prefaced their description:

As these fragments are from volumes of great value, the beginning and ending have, in some cases, been described, in the hope of assisting to their replacement in the books from which they have been taken, and which, doubtless, are in this country.¹

Sometimes this activity has extended to the attempted reconstruction of entire manuscripts.² Far less attention has been paid to the pre twentieth-century albums and scrapbooks which were these fragments’ transitory homes. These objects were typical conduits through which observers

¹ *Catalogue of the Extraordinary Collection of Autographs, Historical Manuscripts, Deeds, Charters, etc. formed by Sir John Fenn ... to be sold by Auction, on Monday, July 16th, Tuesday, July 17th, Wednesday, July 18th by Messrs. Puttick & Simpson... 1866*, 84, note prefacing lots 865-72. Similarly twenty full page miniatures separated from a thirteenth-century French psalter and hours were reunited after the sale of William Young Ottley’s collections in 1838 (lots 127 and 244), and the restored volume subsequently sold to Robert Holford (now New York, The Morgan Library, MS M.729; see A. N. L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 68.

² See for example the work of Margaret Rickert to reassemble the Carmelite Missal (p. 00 below), and of Judith Oliver, “Medieval Alphabet Soup: Reconstruction of a Mosan Psalter-Hours in Philadelphia and Oxford and the Cult of St. Catherine”, *Gesta*, 24 (1985): 129-40; and more recently the efforts of Lisa Fagin Davis to create a digital reconstruction of the Beauvais Missal, <https://brokenbooks2.omeka.net/>.

encountered medieval illustration and script: divorced from their original contexts the mounting of selected parts of the medieval codex on blank modern paper leaves influenced perceptions of the medieval book and guided a sense of its value and importance from the Regency period onwards. In the case of some now dismantled examples there are records of the process of disassembly but in most instances no such documentation exists, frustrating attempts to recover exactly how these confected books organised and displayed their medieval treasures. A few remain intact and much can be gleaned about others from descriptions in sale catalogues. A preliminary overview was offered by Sandra Hindman in 2001, and Scott Gwara's more recent survey of collections of manuscript fragments in North America identifies a number of albums assembled by American collectors.³ The aim of the present essay is to indicate the ubiquity of the nineteenth-century practice of presenting and preserving manuscript fragments in such contexts, and to consider when, why, by whom, and how albums and scrapbooks were composed. The list of extant and now disassembled examples presented at the end of the essay is far from exhaustive, and a longer study would be needed to provide a systematic analysis.

Some comment about the terminology used in this essay may be helpful. Rather like the terms "anthology" and "miscellany", the words "album" and "scrapbook" are often used interchangeably and without care as to their exact meanings. There are many nineteenth-century descriptions where the precise usage of the terms portfolio, album, and scrapbook cannot now be verified, and if items cited in sale catalogues cannot be traced, in the absence of other information I simply repeat their contemporary descriptors. The term "portfolio", whilst capacious, has a clearer significance in indicating a collection in which the items were kept unbound, and a solander case or box housed items in a similar manner; in both contexts materials might be entirely loose or mounted, and drawn from a single original source or from several. Albums and scrapbooks on the other hand

³ Sandra Hindman, Michael Camille, Nina Rowe, Rowan Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age* (Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, 2001), 80-91; Scott Gwara, "Collections, Compilations, and Convolutives of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900", *Fragmentology*, 3 (2020): 73-139.

were objects in which their contents were fixed in some way, either by inlaying or hinging, or most usually by pasting. An album of medieval fragments might be formed from entire leaves or from extracted materials (miniatures, initials, borders), whereas a scrapbook was more likely to be made up only of cuttings, but either type of volume might draw upon a single original manuscript or on multiple codices. Small cuttings could only be preserved by sticking or mounting; whole leaves on the other hand could be pasted or mounted or inlaid, or kept in folders either entirely loose or individually mounted. Individual fragments might also be preserved in other ways such as by framing under glass, or in collages, but these forms of preservation, whilst of much related interest, are beyond the scope of this essay.

* * *

A single medieval manuscript that belonged to the Augustinian cathedral priory of St Andrews remains in St Andrews today: this large codex, a selection of eighteen works by St Augustine of Hippo, was copied towards the end of the twelfth century by a single hand.⁴ This volume has an extensive decorative hierarchy but it retains none of its illuminated initials: indeed, the presence of this highest level of decoration is indicated only by a single sliver of gold remaining on the upper rim of a jagged square excision on fol. 26v. Such excisions, some repaired with paper, affect ten of the manuscript's leaves. Some of the excised letters seem to have been of the same type as the "E" that was cut from fol. 26v: its narrow pale blue squared border is touched with white and outlined in black, and the continuation of its word (*Epistolam*) is set two lines high in orange and white on a

⁴ St Andrews, University Library, MS BR65.A9, described by N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, IV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 241-42; see also N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), 169. For an account of the library of the Augustinian cathedral priory see John Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (London: British Library and British Academy, 2006), 230-38.

pink ground, also outlined in black.⁵ The other excised initials may have been different, and it is less easy to be sure that they were also illuminated, but even if they were not they were still attractive enough to merit cutting out. Precisely when that action occurred, by whom, and why, is impossible to determine. Such depredations are often assumed to relate to commercially-motivated attempts to feed a demand for miniature pictures: thus nine miniatures were cut from a copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* in the 1770s by Thomas Worth, a chemist of Diss, who sold them to Sir John Fenn whilst the codex itself went to another buyer.⁶ This form of excision is very different from the context most frequently invoked as the environment for mutilation which is the bookbinder's shop, where parchment leaves were recycled in the construction of other books, as, for example, in explanations offered to account for the damaged state of the Auchinleck manuscript.⁷ Yet the St Andrews manuscript has never passed through trade hands: between the priory and the university it has enjoyed a very long history of institutional ownership.⁸ Such ownership however is no guarantee of safety from interference, and the lack of protection afforded to old books by early modern custodians is indicated by the ease with which Samuel Pepys procured samples of Anglo-Saxon gospel books kept at Durham cathedral library in 1700.⁹ In the aftermath of the Scottish Reformation

⁵ Traces of this combination of features may be observed in the surroundings of several other cut-outs: fol. 37va: [D]ebitor; fol. 82ra: [D]ixisse; fol. 146ra: [V]olventi; fol. 164rb: [Q]uoniam; fol. 180rb: [O]mnis.

⁶ New York, The Morgan Library, MS 126; the way in which the cuttings came to be reunited with their parent codex in 1926 is described by Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures*, 32, and see more recently A. S. G. Edwards, "Buying Gower's *Confessio Amantis* in Modern Times", in R. F. Yeager and Ana Sáez-Hidalgo, eds, *John Gower in England and Iberia: Manuscripts, Influences, Reception* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), 279-90 (287-88).

⁷ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.2.1; see Margaret Connolly and A. S. G. Edwards, "Evidence for the History of the Auchinleck Manuscript", *The Library*, 7th series, 18, no. 3 (2017): 292-304.

⁸ The earliest record that suggests its possession by the university is the first entry ("Augustini Opera") in the "Inventarie of the buikes in the commoun Bibliothek of the Neu College Anno 1598", MS UYUY152/3 fol. 82r.

⁹ Durham, Cathedral Library, MSS SA.II.16 and A.II.17; the fragments survive in Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2981, nos 18 and 19, described by Pepys as "a Present to me from my most hon^d & reverend Friends, the Dean & Chapter of Durham, An^o Domⁿⁱ 1700", see M. R. James, *Biblioteca Pepysiana. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys, Part III: Medieval Manuscripts* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1923), 115-22 (119-20), and also Rosamund

the St Andrews copy of Augustine's works may have been preserved by the sub-prior John Winram (1492-1582), though it is not identifiable in the inventory of his goods.¹⁰ The names inscribed within the manuscript all relate to the previous generation of his family: his uncle James Wynram and Margaret Lauder his wife, and Margaret's brother William Lauder, laird of Haltoun, Anies Wynram, and William Velke. The Lauder and Winram (Wynram) families were both connected with Ratho in Midlothian, and the Winrams were associated with the Wilkie (Velke) family by marriage.¹¹ On fol. 138r James Wynram wrote: "Jacobus Wynram and Margrat Lauder my suyt hart", and on fol. 159v, more extensively: "James Wynram and Margrat Lauder my suyt hart and louf and Naudder bot scou allond amen". The playful tone of these pre-Reformation inscriptions and their secretive location, upside down in the heart of the book, perhaps suggests that this group of youthful and presumably unauthorised users might have engaged in other informal interactions with the codex, including the cutting out of some of its initials. That type of souvenir hunting is more usually associated with the connoisseurship of much later periods, and with the construction of albums of fragmented illuminations, but even then some encounters with medieval manuscripts involved children.

The best known example of such engagement involves the family of the book collector Philip Hanrott (1776-1856). Some of his children comprehensively dissected a late fourteenth-century Carmelite missal to create fresh configurations of its decorative contents, their painstaking cutting out of miniatures, borders, and prodigious numbers of letters allowing some imaginative collaging and the composition of their own names in illuminated capitals. Three of their personalised scrapbooks were included in the 1833 sale of Hanrott's library: these were handsome volumes, the first two folio-sized and "splendidly bound in two vols. morocco, gilt leaves", the third smaller (it appears in the "octavo and infra" section) but still finely bound "morocco, with morocco lining,

McKitterick and Joyce Irene Whalley, "Calligraphy", in *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, Volume IV: Music Maps and Calligraphy* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 6-7.

¹⁰ 28 September 1578, NAS NP 1/35, fols 57r-58r.

¹¹ See Linda Jane Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church: John Winram (1492-1582) and the Example of Fife* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 176-91.

richly tooled, contained in a morocco case”.¹² In a further dispersal of Hanrott’s library in 1857 after his death a fourth scrapbook is visible, similarly “splendidly bound in brown morocco, super extra, gilt edges, with morocco linings and fly leaves tooled in the Grolier style, in a morocco case”.¹³ A fifth scrapbook, bound in green morocco, remained in the family until 1936. The smaller volume sold in 1833 is untraced, but the other four eventually entered public collections.¹⁴ The two-volume folio set (sold as lot 1525* in 1833) passed through the hands of the architect Sir William Tite (1798-1873), and after the sale of his collections in May and June 1874 at Sotheby’s to the British Museum where they became MSS Add. 1 29704 and Add. 29705. The volume sold in 1857 became the property of William Euing (1788-1874), a Glasgow insurance underwriter, and was bequeathed by him to Glasgow University Library where it is now MS Euing 26. The fifth volume was given to the British Museum in 1936 and became MS Add. 44892.

The distribution of the cut-out materials between the various Hanrott scrapbooks seems to have been governed by a pragmatic hierarchy with the largest initials and those containing miniatures assigned to the two folio volumes. This is implied by the fuller entry in the catalogue of the sale of Tite’s library:

¹² *Catalogue of the Splendid, Curious, and Valuable Library of P. A. Hanrott Esq. ... which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Evans, at his house, no. 93, Pall-Mall, On Tuesday, July 16, and Eleven following Days, (Sundays excepted). 1833, lots 1525* (a 2-volume set) and 1764; identified by Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English manuscript of the late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704-5, 44892)* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), 17-19; see also Rickert’s earlier account, “The Reconstruction of an English Carmelite Missal”, *Speculum* 16 (1941): 92-102.*

¹³ Quoted by Rickert p. 20 from the *Catalogue of the select remaining library of the late Philip Augustus Hanrott, Esq. ... which will be sold by auction by S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson ... on Wednesday, 28th of January, 1857, & two following days, lot 14.*

¹⁴ Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, noted (p. 20) that the small volume was bought by J. Bohn for £5 but I have not been able to verify this. John Henry Martin Bohn (ca. 1757-1843) and his son James George Stewart Burges Bohn (1803-80) were London booksellers, see *ODNB*.

Illuminations. A Collection of Magnificent Ornamentations ...comprising 56 beautiful initial letters (each containing an Exquisite Miniature), above 1600 very large Capital letters, upwards of 400 other Ornaments (consisting of Borders, Flourishes, etc).¹⁵

It is also confirmed by other mid nineteenth-century descriptions. Tite loaned the volumes for an exhibition at the Ironmonger's Hall in London in 1861 and the subsequent catalogue offered detailed accounts of several initials including their dimensions and the pages on which they were located.¹⁶ Margaret Rickert also recorded that the first section of the first scrapbook (BL MS Add. 29704) was devoted to the presentation of the historiated initials, and that, by contrast, BL MS Add. 44892 contained smaller letters and fragments of border decoration and only a single historiated initial.¹⁷ These three volumes were disassembled at the British Museum in the quest to reconstruct the original fourteenth-century missal to which their contents belonged, and despite Rickert's care to record that process and the catalogue descriptions available from the British Library's website, it is now difficult to grasp a proper sense of the physical nature of the nineteenth-century scrapbooks. Their actual dimensions seem to be nowhere recorded, and there is no indication that their bindings and covers were retained, in contrast to some other now disassembled volumes.¹⁸

Fortunately MS Euing 26 offers the modern viewer the opportunity to replicate much of the experience of the Victorian scrapbook browser, at least in terms of its inner leaves. The volume begins with a proto-title page (fol. 3r) bearing the words "Ornaments" assembled from small gold capitals with blue decoration, and "Letters", assembled from black capitals of the same size; in both sequences each letter has been neatly cut out and pasted onto the page. Various foliate designs are

¹⁵ *Catalogue of the Extensive, Important and Valuable Collection of Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, and Engravings of the Late Sir William Tite ... which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge ... On Monday, the 18th of May, 1874, and Five following Days, and on Wednesday, the 27th of May, and Nine following Days...*, lot 1561.

¹⁶ *A Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall ... May 1861*, 2 vols (London: Harrison, 1869), 245-53.

¹⁷ Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, 116 n. 2 and 137.

¹⁸ See, for example, the Rothschild (Ascott) album, now BL MSS Add. 60630 (dismantled) and Add. 60630 Old Covers; similarly the Rogers Album, BL MSS Add. 21412 (dismantled) and Add. 21412 Old Covers.

arranged on fol. 4 (only the recto sides are used throughout the volume), with other whole words cut out and displayed on fols 5-6.¹⁹ An alphabetical sequence consisting of black capitals is presented over fols 7-24, each leaf offering many examples of the same letter; some other leaves present whole alphabets in smaller letters of different colours (fol. 25 in black), whereas others arrange selections of letters into different patterns and designs (fol. 49 has gold letters surrounding the abbreviated name of Jesus).²⁰ The most splendid sequence, set over fols 50-65, consists of single large letters in gold with pink and blue decoration, often with elaborate tracery and detail, all painstakingly cut round. On the last two leaves cut-out gold letters have been used to spell out statements about the scrapbook's construction: "From A (MS.) of the (XU) Century" (on fol. 142, the final "y" is actually a "p") and "Finis Anno Domini MDCCC XXVIII" (fol. 143). The volume as a whole measures 163 x 123 mm; it lacks its original covers and is in a binding added by its last private owner, William Euing, yet despite these changes it probably offers a good impression of the size and shape of the untraced smaller Hanrott volume sold in 1833. Its rebinding makes it impossible to be certain that the order of leaves has not been rearranged, nor that all the original contents are still present, though Philip Hanrott's description of it as a "Collection of various small Alphabets and Letters in different colours with curious small miniature figures and devices in many of them - and ornaments" indicates that it never contained miniatures.²¹ Nevertheless MS Euing 26 allows us to perceive some of the particular ways that fragments of medieval illuminated manuscripts were selected and organised in nineteenth-century scrapbooks. To those interested only in recovering the appearance of the original medieval manuscript it might seem, as it did to Rickert, that "the cuttings were merely jumbled

¹⁹ The choice of words does not seem to carry any particular significance. On fol. 5r: "concepcions", "ORACIO"; on fol. 6r: "OFFICIUM";, "iohanne baptista", "Ad magnam", "ORACIO", Gloria TIBI DOMINE", "omnium sanctorum", "APOSTOLJ", "[I]N medio ecclesie" "beata uirgi[n]e". Similar collections, again without apparent significance, occur elsewhere, e.g. on fols 68r, 77r, 87r.

²⁰ Pepys formed alphabets from cut-out initials in a similar way in his first calligraphy album, MS Pepys 2981, see McKitterick and Whalley, "Calligraphy", 13.

²¹ Front flyleaf, recorded by N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries II: Abbotsford-Keele* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 877.

together”.²² However, their arrangement reveals much about taste and perceived value in the Victorian era. These collections of letters were exquisite examples of calligraphy, and the lining up of apparently identical examples of individual A B Cs on a single page closely accords with the way that the teaching of handwriting in this period relied upon repetition. Some sections of the scrapbook resemble a particularly accomplished copybook, whilst other pages, filled with foliate tracery, carry the appeal of fine drawings and are reminiscent of the artistic arrangements of flowers pressed into albums of botanical specimens.

William Euing’s handsome rebinding of this volume in red leather with gold tooling, and the stamping of the words “Illuminations on Vellum Capital Letters” on its spine transforms the personal scrapbook into a more formally presented collection. From its description in 1857 it is clear that the volume’s earlier binding was brown morocco, and its original appearance was probably similar to BL MS Add. 44892 which has a green morocco outer cover stamped with the initials “E.A.H.”. On the inside front cover of BL MS Add. 44892 is the name “Ellen A Hanrott” formed by cut-out illuminated capitals; the names “Philip A H”, “Mai”, and various combinations of these and other initials are spelled out in a similar way in BL MSS Add. 29704 and 29705.²³ These were the three younger children of Philip Augustus Hanrott: Mary, known as May, born in 1813, Ellen in 1814, and Philip in 1816. Their cutting up of the Carmelite missal is well known, but it is worth pausing to consider the implications of their ages since even the oldest of them would barely have been a teenager, assuming that the scrapbooks were used shortly after their dates of manufacture in the late 1820s.²⁴ It seems unlikely that such young children would have been unsupervised, and equally improbable that their father, a professional lawyer, would have had the time or inclination to oversee their activities. Women’s involvement can be detected here, if we read the evidence closely. MS

²² Rickert, “The Reconstruction”, 102.

²³ In Ms Euing 26 the initials “PH” surrounded by foliate designs, also occur (fol. 29); some other instances, which may or may not carry personal significance, are: fol. 41: “PS”; fol. 46 “SH”; fol. 47 “DD”.

²⁴ Watermarked paper leaves date BL MSS Add. 1 29704 and Add. 29705 to 1826-27 and MSS Add. 44892 to 1828, as observed by Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, 19-21.

Euing 26 was the handiwork of Esther Cory whom de Hamel describes as the children's cousin, implying that she was the same age as they were, but Philip Hanrott's note on its flyleaf styles Esther only as "my dear relative".²⁵ This might more readily refer to his sister-in-law, Esther Seaman Cory (1777-1837), who, as the children's maiden aunt also seems like a very suitable supervisor. Hanrott's wife Caroline seems a likely participant too, not just because she was the children's mother but because the collecting and display of precious items within personalised volumes was an inherently feminine activity.

In the Regency lady's drawing room the hand-made collection of poems and watercolours was a familiar part of the furnishings, offering amusement and distraction to maker and onlookers alike.²⁶ Combining the earlier traditions of personal commonplace book and collaborative household anthology, these volumes showcased womanly accomplishments such as sketching, painting, and good penmanship. Over time these hand-crafted collections absorbed other material items such as cartes de visite and photographs, and were aped in print by annual publications like *The Keepsake* and *Drawing Room Scrap-Book*.²⁷ These volumes were usually referred to as albums, a term which initially implied care and worth though broader usage led to those senses becoming degraded. Since the early seventeenth century an album had been a book of poems where occasional verses were personally inscribed by the poets themselves: the contents therefore had unique and special connotations and the added value of autographed authenticity. The use of the term "album" was gradually applied to other contexts until such volumes became the repositories of other non-literary items including prints, photographs, flowers, and stamps, and eventually the making of "personalised" collections was even facilitated by the mass-production of printed materials.

²⁵ Christopher de Hamel, *Cutting up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit*, The 1995 Sol. M. Malkin Lecture in Bibliography (Charlottesville, VA: 1996).

²⁶ On the ubiquity of these types of volumes see William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 224-29.

²⁷ On annuals see Sara Lodge, "Romantic Reliquaries: Memory and Irony in The Literary Annuals", *Romanticism* 10 (2004): 23-40, and on nineteenth-century album culture and the particular involvement of women see Patrizia di Bello, *Women's Album and Photography in Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 29-52.

Assemblages of more ephemeral materials were more properly described as scrapbooks, a distinction that may be readily observed in a pair of books created by Anna Margaret Birkbeck (1793-1875), second wife of George Henry Birkbeck (1776-1841).²⁸ Her album, which she kept between 1825 and 1862, contains largely handwritten content, some prose but mostly verses, interspersed with some drawings, watercolours, and paintings; the only pasted-in printed item is the notice of her husband's funeral arrangements in 1841. Her scrapbook, on the other hand, consists almost entirely of inserted items of much greater variety including prints, engravings, letters, tickets, certificates, and newspaper cuttings.²⁹ The album has green leather covers with gold tooling and gilt edged leaves, and the word "Album" stamped in gold letters on the spine; inside Anna's ownership is formally proclaimed in an oval stamp that reads "Mrs G. Birkbeck, ALBUM", with the date September 1825. The scrapbook is also bound in green leather with a marbled central panel; it has a small leather label with her name "Mrs. Birkbeck" on its front cover but it does not pronounce itself to be an album. Nevertheless its contents do not seem to have been any less valued by its compiler. In a note on its inside front cover Anna wrote: "This book was given me by Dr Birkbeck and the prints etc placed it in by myself", indicating both personal pride in her labours and a sense that such activities had been sanctioned and encouraged by her husband.

Books such as these were kept not in the library or study but in the drawing room, which bespeaks their feminine sphere of reference, and it is the drawing room that seems the most promising environment for the assembly of the Hanrott scrapbooks. Women's familiarity with the format of the album, and their experience of making scrapbooks, suggests that they would have been useful helpers in the physical construction of collections of illuminated miniatures, even though their involvement may have gone unrecorded. The task of cutting was one especially more suited to

²⁸ London, Birkbeck University of London, *The Album of Anna Birkbeck and The Scrapbook of Anna Birkbeck*; images of both, and of the album during conservation, may be viewed at birkbeck.lunaimaging.com.

²⁹ On scrapbooks more generally see Alexis Easley, "Scrapbooks and Leisure Reading Practices, 1825–60", *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 15, no. 2 (Summer 2019): n. p. (online).

women's smaller hands, and to hands that had learned dexterity from needlework and embroidery; pastimes such as silhouette-making and paper-cutting or decoupage can only have further enhanced women's fine motor skills. It is also worth considering whether male collectors of albums of cuttings were really likely to have undertaken all the labour of assemblage themselves. Would they not have been more likely to delegate the mundane tasks of cutting and pasting to a skilled and trusted companion? The only nineteenth-century collector who admitted to cutting up medieval manuscripts personally was John Ruskin who recorded that it was "hard work".³⁰ Would other men who were accustomed to their wants and needs being smoothly met by their wives and servants really commit their time to such a task when it could so easily be accomplished for them? The fact that we cannot easily identify the involvement of wives in the creation of their husbands' collections does not mean that such involvement did not occur. Close parallels may be found in the invisible labour of women at all levels in modern publishing, and in particular in the unseen assistance contributed by scholarly wives towards the completion of books and editions; their contributions, if they are acknowledged at all, are mentioned not on title pages but in prefaces, usually couched as thanks for clerical assistance in checking and typing, that is, precisely those more mechanical activities that would save their husbands valuable time and effort.³¹

Inferring the involvement of *Mrs* Hanrott and her sister in the making of the Hanrott scrapbooks raises awareness of women's potential participation in both the creation and the consumption of this type of object, something which is effectively elided in historical records. The nature of nineteenth-century sale catalogues is overwhelmingly patriarchal. In line with the times these catalogues almost exclusively presented libraries and collections for sale as the property of men, either by name or discreetly as "The Property of a Gentleman"; less frequently items were

³⁰ Entry in Ruskin's diary for 3 January 1854, quoted in Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, eds, *The Works of John Ruskin, Vol. XII: Lectures on Architecture and Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), lxx.

³¹ See Rebecca E. Lyons, "Thanks for Typing: Women's Roles in Editions and Translations of Arthurian Literature in Penguin Classics, 1959-1985", *Journal of the International Arthurian Society* 7 (2019): 140-62.

identified as “The Property of a Lady”, though an album now in Toronto was sold as such in 1894.³² Sale catalogues also sometimes record details of previous ownership of individual items, again by other men. This contributes to an impression that it was men, and men alone, who handled books, yet many of these collectors had wives and children, at least some of whom must have engaged with the collections that took up space in their homes. For example, Sarah Harrieta Lilla Hailstone (1832-1908), wife of the Yorkshire antiquary Edward Hailstone (1818-90), was an authority on lace, collecting and exhibiting specimens, and publishing several books on this topic.³³ It is inconceivable that she did not use the “large series of books on lace” that was part of his collection: it is also notable that these books were headlined in the sale of “his” library in 1891 even though she survived him.³⁴

At the very least family members would have been viewers and admirers of collections of illuminated cuttings and leaves. An album provided a secure location for otherwise vulnerable fragments but it was also inherently a means of display, and such a volume, because it was largely pictorial, would have been more accessible to less highly educated members of the household than the majority of books in the library, and especially so if it were not actually shelved out of sight in that room. The boundaries between library and drawing room were not impermeable: for example, Leopold Rothschild (1845-1917) kept a thirteenth-century psalter, now BL MS Add. 60629, in the drawing room at Ascott and his album of miniatures in the Jacobean room.³⁵ At Waddesdon Manor,

³² Toronto Royal Ontario Museum MS 997.158.157, sold at the Fountaine sale, Christie’s 6 July 1894, lot 146. On attempts to identify the lady in question, “Mrs M”, see Stella Panayotova, “From Toronto to Cambridge: the Illuminated Manuscripts of Lord Lee of Fareham”, *University of Toronto Quarterly* 77 (2008): 673-710 (688).

³³ Mrs S. H. Lilla Hailstone, *Designs for Lace-Making* (London: E. J. Francis, 1870); *Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Framed Needlework Pictures* (London: Barnes and Scarisbrook, 1897).

³⁴ For details of the sale of Hailstone’s library see below, p. 00.

³⁵ Drawing Room, Case C, Shelf 4, recorded on his bookplate on the inside front cover; the Ascott album is now BL MS Add. 60630, its former location similarly indicated on the inside front cover. See also Christopher de Hamel, *The Rothschilds and their Collections of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2005), 14.

the Rothschild family property in Buckinghamshire, two albums of miniatures that belonged to James Rothschild (1792-1868) remain in their eighteenth-century bindings.³⁶

Distributing books across rooms other than the library was a pragmatic solution to the pressures introduced by a growing collection, but it may have led to non-standard books being recorded in unexpected places or being missed altogether when collections were sold. An example of an album of cuttings that may have been overlooked in this way was the collection owned by Robert Holford (1808-92), subsequently inherited by his son George Lindsay Holford (1860-1926) and noted by Robert's son-in-law Robert Benson as having been rediscovered in the 1920s. Peter Kidd suggests that the album may have easily dropped out of sight because Dorchester House, where it was kept, was rented out for a period and then used as a military hospital during World War I, saying that its 1840s binding probably looked too shabby to warrant its removal "from the Library" for safekeeping.³⁷ Yet the volume might not have been in the library at all. Certainly wherever it was kept it no longer attracted regular attention: Benson describes the sixty illuminations as having been "lying hid in a scrapbook", not stating how or where it was found but revealing that by the early twentieth century a scrapbook was not the object of interest it had once been, and that by this time it could serve more to conceal its contents than to display them.³⁸

Even an unsystematic examination of nineteenth-century sale catalogues reveals that individual leaves, or sets of leaves, or cuttings, from medieval illuminated manuscripts were familiar elements in the private collections of this period. But it is not always apparent from these descriptions just *how* their owners actually kept these items, in particular whether they were kept loosely or bound; similarly it is impossible to tell whether bound collections had been purposely

³⁶ Waddesdon MSS 3748 and 3957, see L. M. J. Delaissé, James Marrow, John de Wit, *Illuminated Manuscripts: The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* (Fribourg: Office du Livre for the National Trust, 1977), 95-105 and 59-64 respectively.

³⁷ Peter Kidd, "The Holford Album", *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance Blog*, 20 June 2020, <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2020/06/the-holford-album.html>.

³⁸ Robert Benson, *The Holford Collection, Dorchester House, with 200 Illustrations, from the Twelfth to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols (London: Humphrey Milford), cited by Kidd.

disbound for sale. In the 1856 sale of the collections of Samuel Rogers (1763-1855) twenty-eight lots were listed under the heading: “Illuminated Miniatures - Unframed” comprising a total of 353 individual items.³⁹ The term “unframed” suggests that these items were loose, and certainly some were single miniatures, presumably whole leaves that might be easily kept in this way; lot 1000 specifies that its set of eight miniatures from the life of the Virgin was on eight leaves. However, the descriptions of other small sets of between two and seven items seem to imply that these had been chosen and arranged together, implying some kind of mounting at least, as for example, in lot 1005* “A set of four small miniatures of St. John and saints”. Lot 1001, which was a collection of seven miniatures of Venetian doges, was in “an old velvet binding”, which suggests an album, and five other lots describe collections of substantial size that must have been secured in some format:

985 A series of thirty-eight small illuminated miniatures, on vellum ...

990 A collection of fifty-five beautiful illuminated borders, with birds, flowers, and arabesques, on gold ground - from ancient missals

991 A collection of sixty-five capital letters, in black, red, and blue, on vellum - from choral books

992 A collection of twenty-four capital letters, beautifully illuminated in brilliant colours and gold

...

1006 A collection of ninety-two exquisite arabesque illuminated borders, some of them with miniatures ...

Yet in none of these descriptions are the terms “album”, “scrapbook”, or “portfolio” used, though these words do occur in other sections of the sale in conjunction with collections of drawings and

³⁹ *Catalogue of the very celebrated collection of works of art: the property of S. Rogers, Esq., deceased... also, the extensive library ... Which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Christie and Manson ... on ... April 28, 1856, and eighteen following days... .*

engravings.⁴⁰ And although BL MS Add. 21412 is known as the “Samuel Rogers Album”, this collection of 110 cuttings is itself a confection, assembled after the 1856 sale from five different lots. Furthermore this album is now dismantled: it was taken apart for conservation reasons in 1989 and each separately mounted cutting is now stored in a box. The old covers are preserved at the same shelfmark meaning that it is possible to recapture a view of this mid nineteenth-century album with its gold tooled dark blue morocco covers, though this is not a view that was ever enjoyed by its eponymous owner.⁴¹

Rogers likely stored his collections differently: when Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1744-1868) visited him in the 1830s he reported seeing “several cabinets and portfolios” which held “valuable miniatures of the middle ages” amongst many other treasures; he also saw “portfolios with ancient miniatures” at the house of William Young Ottley.⁴² In general, where the term “portfolio” occurs I have assumed this implies a folder in which the contents were kept loosely, but there are many variations in the descriptions and it can be hard to be sure of precisely what is implied. The final entries in the Hanrott sale of 1833 were all portfolios, of different shapes and sizes:

1501 An Imperial Portfolio, lettered “Shakespeare,” *in russia*, with leaves.

1502 A large Portfolio, *in russia*, with leaves.

1503 A Portfolio, imperial size, with leaves, *russia backs and corners*.

1504 A Solander Portfolio.

1505 A Portfolio, *russia*, with leaves, lettered “Paysages.”

1506 Portfolio, with coloured paper.

The lack of detail about the contents of four of these six might imply they were unused, and that perhaps their leaves were blank ones, ready for mounting. An alternative to the portfolio was the

⁴⁰ Lot 1127 was an album (of drawings); lots 1280-83 were scrapbooks, eight in total; lots 1284-87, 1291, 1602 and 1687 were portfolios, eighteen in total.

⁴¹ Details taken from the British Library’s online catalogue.

⁴² G. F. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1838), II, 133 and 128.

solander case, which Edward Hailstone used to store his four collections of miniatures, each labelled “Excerpta ex Veteris Codicibus cum Figuris Illuminata”, but even this method permitted much variation in practice. The cases might contain either cuttings or whole leaves, either mounted or loose. In the first of two sales of Hailstone’s library in February 1891 lots 1465 (“most beautiful miniatures”) and 1466 (twenty-eight miniatures) were mounted, but lot 1467 (thirty miniatures) was unmounted, and lot 1468 consisted of five illuminated initial letters and a quantity of loose leaves.⁴³ In the second sale two months later four more lots show further variations in presentation: lot 1786 (eight leaves) was in a portfolio and lot 1787 (two miniatures) was framed; lot 1785 (six leaves) is described only as “a collection”; and lot 328, “A Collection of 25 Initial Letters (8 historiated with figures) richly illuminated in gold and colours on vellum, and evidently cut from early Church Service Books” was “fastened on blank paper”, that is, presumably pasted onto individual unbound leaves.⁴⁴

Catalogues frequently rely on the term “collection” alone, affording little insight into the precise physical nature of the object described. Fortunately some descriptions are more revealing. In the sale of the library of William Horatio Crawford (1815-88) of Lakelands, Cork, in 1891 there were four collections of miniatures, amounting to 319 individual items:

2114 MINIATURES, a collection of 50 BEAUTIFUL PAINTINGS ON VELLUM . . . pasted in blank paper album . . . lettered RECUEIL DE PEINTURES ANTIQUES.

2115 MINIATURES. A COLLECTION OF 116 BEAUTIFUL INITIAL LETTERS . . . *in an Album of tinted paper, bound in blue morocco.*

⁴³ *Catalogue of the First Portion of the Valuable and Extensive Library of the late Edward Hailstone, Esq, F.S.A. of Walton Hall, Wakefield, Yorkshire ... which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, ... on Wednesday, the 4th February, 1891, and Nine following Days*

⁴⁴ *Catalogue of the Second Portion of the Valuable and Extensive Library of the late Edward Hailstone, Esq, F.S.A. of Walton Hall, Wakefield, Yorkshire ... which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, ... on Thursday, the 23rd of April, 1891, and Seven following Days*

2116 MINIATURES. A COLLECTION OF 109 VERY BEAUTIFUL ILLUMINATIONS ON VELLUM OR PORTRAITS, *pasted in an album with tinted leaves, half morocco.*

2117 MINIATURES. a collection of 44 EXTREMELY BEAUTIFUL ILLUMINATIONS, *in gold and colours on vellum . . . inserted in an album of tinted leaves, half red morocco, lettered "PALAEOGRAPHICA"*.⁴⁵

Clearly two of these collections (lots 2114 and 2116) were of a pictorial nature and the other two were calligraphic, but all had been similarly organised into albums, not necessarily by Crawford. Such a method pragmatically responded to the needs of the materials themselves. Parchment reacts to changes in environmental conditions, and the edges of individual leaves or cuttings would curl up very quickly once removed from the weighty context of their original books; the lively movements of parchment could only be restrained by pasting down or by mounting and framing. Samuel Pepys stuck down his calligraphic samples very firmly in his albums, but the disadvantage of not having access to the dorse of the items led other early collectors to inlay leaves in paper frames or to construct guardbooks where single leaves were pasted only onto stubs. This method of organising historical documents is now infrequently encountered as sets of charters have been subsequently disassembled for individual cataloguing and conservation. One example that remains intact is a collection related to Rumburgh Priory in Suffolk, owned by the antiquary Craven Ord (1756-1832), and perhaps before him by Thomas Martin of Palgrave (1697-1771), and Martin himself had a collection of Norfolk charters that was housed in just this manner but in the shell of a seventeenth-century book rather than in a blank album.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *The Lakelands Library: Catalogue of the Rare and Valuable Books, Manuscripts and Engravings, of the late W. H. Crawford, Esq., Lakelands, Co. Cork, which will be Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, Auctioneers ... the 12th March, 1891, and Eleven Following Days.* I am grateful to A. S. G. Edwards for checking the copy of this catalogue at the British Library for me.

⁴⁶ See Margaret Connolly, "Mixed Media: the Abbotsford Book of Deeds", in Julian Luxford, ed., *The Medieval Book as Object, Idea, and Symbol* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2021), 313-33
(forthcoming)

A fifth album in Crawford's collection may also have derived from Thomas Martin's collections. Lot 695 was described as: "CHARTAE ANGLO-SAXONICAE. A very important Collection of ancient Charters . . . *in an album with leaves*, old gilt Russia, oblong folio. Saec. VIII-XII." This was purchased by Quaritch at the 1891 sale and sold to the Bodleian Library where it is now MS Eng. hist. a. 2.⁴⁷ The first editors of these charters recorded that Crawford had bought the collection from Quaritch in the 1870s, but that its binding was (in 1895) "about a hundred years old"; from this, and from evidence of the ownership of its individual documents they traced its collective origins through Robert Austen (1739-97) of Shalford Hall Surrey, Thomas Martin, and Peter le Neve (1661-1729).⁴⁸ They also noted its appearance: "a large oblong scrap book, bound in Russia leather", and that some of its contents (fifty-one later charters) had been removed and transferred to other classes in the Bodleian; thus in its present state although the album remains outwardly intact and consists of 197 leaves, it only contains twenty-one items. Although this is a different type of collection - of historical documents rather than fragments of illuminated manuscripts - it is a reminder that in the nineteenth century a DIY approach was not the only way to acquire an album, nor was there any need to start completely from scratch. Collections that had been assembled by earlier owners could be purchased through the second-hand trade in just the same way that other manuscripts and books passed from collector to collector. Thus after the landmark sale of William Young Ottley (1771-1836) in 1838 his collections of miniatures flowed into the hands of many others. Peter Kidd has noted that the particular way Ottley arranged small sets of cuttings together on individual sheets was reflected in the grouping of items in lots in the sale. The purchase of such mounted sets would have got a would-be album-maker off to a very good start, whether Ottley's mounts were discarded or not, and sometimes, as Kidd has shown, those mounts were long preserved.⁴⁹ Ready-made collections in

⁴⁷ *Summary Catalogue*, no. 31346. This was a volume of substantial size: 352 x 537 mm, 197 leaves.

⁴⁸ A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, eds, *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895), v-vii.

⁴⁹ Peter Kidd, *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance*, 2 January 2021, discussing the album sheets of Robert Hoe (1839-1909) now at Harvard, <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2021/01/>

albums could also be purchased as “new” in the nineteenth century, having been put together professionally, either on commission or as part of a speculative sales venture. In this albums were not really any different from other types of hand-made books, and dealers were acting in a tradition that had its roots in the pre-print book trade. Robert Holford’s album had not been assembled by him personally: instead he purchased it in 1845 from the London booksellers Payne and Foss who had bought its miniatures at Ottley’s sale and made up the volume as a commercial undertaking. Another set of illuminations from Ottley’s collection that was bound for Payne and Foss is BL MS Add. 18196, an album of ninety leaves with parchment cuttings mounted on card guards; this survives intact in its gold tooled dark blue morocco binding. Undoubtedly the most famous album that was professionally constructed, this time on commission, was the enormous collection of approximately 475 illuminated cuttings assembled by the French landscape-painter and dealer Peter Birmann (1758-1844) for the Swiss silk ribbon manufacturer Daniel Burckhardt-Wildt (1759-1819); this album remained at Basel within the hands of the family until it was sold in the 1980s.

A systematic analysis of albums and scrapbooks would be a much easier undertaking if more of them remained undisturbed. The many examples that have been disassembled for sale or conservation have to be forensically reconstructed from references and descriptions which are not always comprehensive. The introduction to the catalogue for the 1983 sale at which the Burckhardt-Wildt collection of miniatures was presented explains that:

The album was dismembered for the present sale. A complete photographic record has been kept and the descriptions here record the folios of the album from which the miniatures come. Cuttings from the same manuscripts were scattered throughout the volume and we have endlessly shuffled them into the groups from which they originally came and it is in these sets that they will be offered for sale.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *Catalogue of Single Leaves and Miniatures from Western Illuminated Manuscripts ... which will be sold by auction by Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. ... Monday, 25th April, 1983, [7].*

The endless shuffling referred to here is manifest also in the ordering of lots in the sale catalogue where items from the Burckhardt-Wildt collection were mixed in with those from several other sources.⁵¹ It is also a feature that characterised the fate of cuttings and extracted leaves from the moment that they were freed from their respective codices. The quest to establish their origins leads modern researchers to track provenance histories as completely as possible, and descriptions of individual cuttings usually attempt to record whatever such information can be retrieved, in many instances tracing the histories of individual manuscript fragments back to the foundational fragmenters William Young Ottley and Abate Luigi Celotti (c. 1768-1846). As whole collections changed hands their exact composition was also prone to change, most often by further fragmentation and wider dispersal, as in the case of the Burckhardt-Wildt album, and more rarely by augmentation or rearrangement on new principles. These types of shuffling characterised the protean life histories of albums and scrapbooks and are more likely to have gone undocumented in ways that are now difficult to discern. Items could be taken out of albums almost as easily as they could be put in: their contents were less fixed than we might assume. John Malcolm of Poltalloch (1805-93) possessed a number of Italian illuminated cuttings and leaves (now BL MS Add. 35254 A-V) and it is unclear how these were kept, but the description of another of his collections, a set of drawings attributed to Bellini and Mantegna, is revealing of the changes such assemblages might experience: “These were brought from Italy three or four years ago, mounted in an old parchment-covered scrap-book. The drawings have since been removed from it, remounted, and put into a solander case ...”.⁵² Sandra Hindman’s swift account of the album of cuttings compiled by James Dennistoun (1803-55)

⁵¹ Lots that contained miniatures or sets of miniatures from the Burckhardt-Wildt album were: 31-68, 73 (noted as having been part of an earlier album), 99-100, 102-107, 111-112, 115-116, 119, 127-29, 134-35, 137, 147, 148, 151, 153-77, 179-83, 186, 188-93, 195-96, 199-206, 208-210, 212, 215, 219, 221.

⁵² J. C. Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings by the Old Masters, Forming the Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, Esq.*, 2nd edn (London: privately printed, 1876), [viii]. The catalogue description of BL MS Add. 35254 A-V gives an indication of the physical state of just one item, C (an initial “R” depicting the Annunciation), which is “kept in a double-sided window mount, in a box” with items A-B and D-G.

reveals the many iterations that such an ostensibly fixed form could undergo.⁵³ Initially assembled by Dennistoun himself as he toured the Continent in the 1830s and 1840s, his red morocco album contained approximately sixty miniatures, organised chronologically by national school, regional style, and artist. After Dennistoun's death the album was retained in the family but perhaps not wholly intact: Hindman notes that a number of whole leaves were excised at an unknown date and that at least four miniatures were sold in 1855, though whether these had been part of the album or had been kept separately is not entirely clear.⁵⁴ The album descended to his great-niece Isabella Henson (1870-1949) from whom Kenneth Mackenzie Clark (1903-83) acquired it, but he too sold miniatures, framed others separately, and further remounted the remaining contents in a two-volume set of different design and format.⁵⁵ The 1984 sale of Clark's collections generated a further reshuffling as the Dennistoun-Clark album was dismembered and its contents sold separately.⁵⁶ This example demonstrates the ways in which albums, which in many senses had offered remakings of medieval books, were themselves subject to processes of refashioning and change.

What impulses prompted the making of these new kinds of books from bits of old ones?

Possibly the format of calligraphic manuals, with their rows of individual letters detached from other contexts, might have encouraged the practice of cutting initials from medieval manuscripts. Other collecting practices, especially of autographs and photographs, may have cast an influence too.

⁵³ This section is indebted to Hindman, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 86-89, and to Christopher de Hamel, *The Medieval World at Our Fingertips: Manuscript Illuminations from the Collection of Sandra Hindman* (London: Harvey Miller, 2018), 65-73 and 224-5.

⁵⁴ *Catalogue of the Highly Interesting Collection of Pictures, and Other Works of Art, of that Distinguished Amateur, James Dennistoun, of Dennistoun Esq., Deceased ... Which Will be Sold at Auction, by Messrs. Christie & Manson, ... on Thursday, June 14, 1855*. Lot 44 comprised "two illuminated miniatures", and lots 46-47 were both described as beautiful miniatures on vellum with rich borders.

⁵⁵ Clark sold some items in the 1960s including a historiated initial of the ascension (London: Sotheby's, 2 February 1960 lot 250) which is now University of Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, BIRBI-60.2; its former album context is briefly discussed by Hugh Brigstocke, "James Dennistoun's Second European Tour 1836-1839", *The Connoisseur* 184 no. 742 (1973): 240-49 (242-44). Two years later Clark sold a collection of eighteen large historiated initials "mounted and bound in a folio volume", Sotheby's, 18 June 1962, lot 125.

⁵⁶ *Paintings and Works of Art from the Collections of the Late Lord Clark of Saltwood: Sale Catalogue June-July 1984* (London: Sotheby, 1984), lots 77-117.

Faced with letters and pictures that had been cut out of a book (whether or not they had done the cutting themselves) it seems that most collectors then decided that the best thing to do was to stick the cuttings into another book; the alternative - framing for display as pictures - required a great deal of wall space. Individual examples arose from a variety of motivations - childish entertainment, a desire for neat scholarly organisation, the ambition to create an object of interest and admiration - but fundamentally albums and scrapbooks of manuscript fragments were formed as secure repositories for those small things. And yet such volumes could never provide permanent and suitable homes for their contents. As objects they were misconceived: pasting materials onto their pages served only to obscure half the object displayed, and the combination of acidic paper and glue plus parchment created an unstable environment. Nor has their aesthetic appeal endured. Any initial admiration for the clever arrangement of medieval letters into modern patterns quickly gives way to a queasiness at the concomitant destruction of much older and more valuable books.

For reasons related to commercial profit, conservation, or sometimes sheer neglect, many albums of manuscript fragments no longer retain their original form or have ceased to exist altogether; as with the listing of buildings deemed to be at risk of destruction, proactive intervention is needed to prevent the total disappearance of all examples of this particular kind of book. Despite their fragility and confected nature there is an inherent value in preserving these objects. The nineteenth-century album was an important episode in the history of medieval manuscripts, and one that is indicative of what Victorian collectors appreciated in medieval art and how that appreciation formed, or was informed by, contemporary taste. Albums of leaves and cuttings also influenced perceptions of medieval manuscripts in this period and arguably for longer. By presenting miniatures and cut-out initials in isolation, divorced from their original codicological and textual contexts, the album context disturbed the co-operative function that image and text had possessed within their medieval settings. Through the juxtaposition of fragments from different manuscripts, the album could create novel visual connections which could then be recalibrated by refreshed arrangements.

At the same time, pasting and mounting meant that what nineteenth-century viewers of albums experienced was usually a restricted perspective that privileged image over script, affecting what could be deduced about dating and origins. In these multiple ways albums refashioned medieval manuscript materials, preserving aspects of medieval codices whilst also damaging those books, and simultaneously displaying and obscuring the fragments they housed.

The study of nineteenth-century albums of manuscript fragments contributes to the realisation that the medieval book itself was not a fixed entity. Far from being static objects since their creation, medieval books are dynamic, their precise nature changing with every age, similar to the sex-changing long-living hero/heroine of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*. When we consult any medieval manuscript in the twenty-first century the form and shape it presents to us is not necessarily exactly the same form and shape that it took before, either when it was first made or in the periods since the Middle Ages. Binding and re-binding are only the most obvious changes, and they may have introduced other alterations such as trimming, or re-orderings of leaves, both intentional or accidental, or the removal of flyleaves and pastedowns; cleaning and repair, including that undertaken by modern conservators, not only alters the appearance of an object but removes or obscures evidence of its handling and use. To understand the opinions that have been formed about manuscripts it matters that we know about all of these things, and about the different ways that individual medieval books have presented themselves to their readers over time.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ With the exception of manuscripts in St Andrews and Glasgow I have not been able to see the items discussed in this essay in person due to Covid restrictions in force in 2020-21. For assistance of various kinds I would like to thank A. S. G. Edwards, Marc Lawson, Robert MacLean, Matthew Westerby, Roger Wieck, and Catherine Yvard.

Preliminary List of Albums

A	Intact Albums (or where disassembled components have been kept together)	Former Owner(s)
1	BL, Additional 18196	Made up for Payne & Foss from William Ottley's fragments
2	BL, Additional 29704	Philip Hanrott (1776-1856) then William Tite (1798-1873)
3	BL, Additional 29705	Philip Hanrott (1776-1856) then William Tite (1798-1873)
4	BL, Additional 39636	Robert Curzon (1810-73), by descent to son Robert (1851-1914) then daughter Darea (1860-1917)
5	BL, Additional 44892	Philip Hanrott (1776-1856) (made by Ellen A. Hanrott)
6	BL, Additional 21412 and BL, Additional 2142 Old Covers	Samuel Rogers (1763-1855) owned the cuttings but album made up <i>after</i> his sale, Christie's 28 April 1856
7	BL, Additional 60630 and BL, Additional 60630 Old Covers	Leopold Rothschild (1845-1917)
8	BL, Additional 35254 A-V loose items in a box	John Malcolm of Poltalloch (1805-93)
9	Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a. 2	William Horatio Crawford (1815-88) of Lakelands, Cork
10	Bodleian Library, Douce f. 2 (SC 22000)	Francis Douce (1757-1834)
11	Bodleian Library, Douce d.13 (SC 21989)	Francis Douce (1757-1834)
12	Bodleian Library, Douce d. 19 (not in SC)	Francis Douce (1757-1834)
13	Bodleian Library, Douce 381 (SC 21956)	Francis Douce (1757-1834)
14	Bodleian Library, Douce b.5 (not in SC)	Francis Douce (1757-1834)
15	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2981	Samuel Pepys (1633-1703)
16	Glasgow University Library, Euing 26	Philip Hanrott (1776-1856) (made by Esther Cory), then William Euing (1788-1874)
17	Waddesdon 3957	Baron James de Rothschild (1792-1868), then his wife Betty (1805-86), by descent to her son Edmond (1845-1934), by descent to his son James (1878-1957); inherited by James's wife Dorothy (1895-1988), given to Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust) 1971
18	Waddesdon 3748	Baron James de Rothschild (1792-1868), then his wife Betty (1805-86), by descent to her son Edmond (1845-1934), by descent to his son James (1878-1957); inherited by James's wife Dorothy (1895-1988), given to Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust) 1971
19	Collegetown, MN, Hill Museum and Monastic Library, MS Bean 3	Christopher Lennox-Boyd (1941-2012), sold Christie's 9 December 1981, lot 229; gifted by Atherton Bean (1910-98) and Winifrid Bean
20	University of Missouri,	John Bagford (1650-1716); then Tenison Library by 1707,

	Fragmenta Manuscripta [now disbound]	then Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), sold Sotheby 19-23 May 1913, lot 742; then Sydney Cockerell (1867-1962), sold Sotheby 3 April 1957 lot 2; then H. C. Drayton, sold Sotheby 12 December 1967 lot 51
21	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.360 [now disbound]	Giovanni Battista Saluzzo (1579-1642), sold Sotheby 18-24 June 1896 (4th day of sale) lot 939, to Tregaskis; purchased in April 1909 from Rossi of Rome by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913)
22	Toronto Royal Ontario Museum MS 997.158.157	“Property of a Lady”, Fountaine sale, Christie’s 6 July 1894 lot 146; Lord Arthur Hamilton Lee of Fareham (1868-1947)
B	Dismantled (or presumed dismantled) Albums, and Untraced Examples	
1	Sold by Evans 16 July 1833, lot 1764; untraced	Philip Hanrott (1776-1856)
2	Sotheby 12 March 1891, lot 2114; untraced	William Horatio Crawford (1815-88) of Lakelands, Cork
3	Sotheby 12 March 1891, lot 2115; untraced	William Horatio Crawford (1815-88) of Lakelands, Cork
4	Sotheby 12 March 1891, lot 2116; untraced	William Horatio Crawford (1815-88) of Lakelands, Cork
5	Sotheby 12 March 1891, lot 2117; untraced	William Horatio Crawford (1815-88) of Lakelands, Cork
6	Sotheby 23 April 1891, lot 328; untraced	Edward Hailstone (1818-90)
7	Sold intact, Anderson Auction co. New York, 1 May 1911, lot 2151; untraced	Robert Hoe (1839-1909)
8	Sold intact, Anderson Auction co. New York, 1 May 1911, lot 2152; untraced	Robert Hoe (1839-1909)
9	Sold intact, Anderson Auction co. New York, 1 May 1911, lot 2153; untraced	Robert Hoe (1839-1909)
10	Sold intact, Anderson Auction co. New York, 19 November 1912, lot 2361; untraced	Robert Hoe (1839-1909)
11	Sotheby 12 July 1927; dispersed	Made up for Payne & Foss from William Ottley’s fragments, sold in 1845 to Robert Holford (1808-92), then to George Lindsay Holford (1860-1926)
12	Sotheby 10 November 1952 lot 22 <i>two albums</i> ; dispersed	John William Bradley (1830-1916) then W. Charles Fewtrell, Liverpool, sold to Edwards
13	Sold intact, Sotheby 18 June 1962, lot 125; untraced	James Dennistoun (1803-55), by descent to Mrs Henson, then Kenneth Mackenzie Clark (1903-83)
14	Disassembled for sale, Sotheby 25 April 1983	Prepared by dealer Peter Birman (1758-1844) for Daniel Burckhardt Wildt (1759-1819), by descent through family

15	Disassembled for sale, Sotheby 3 July 1984, lots 77-117	James Dennistoun (1803-55), by descent to Isabella Henson, then Kenneth Mackenzie Clark (1903-83)
16	Sotheby 3 July 1984 lot 23; sold to Braunschweig	Alexander Hamilton, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1757-1852), sold in Hamilton Palace sale, Sotheby 23 May 1889 lot 83; then Henry Hucks Gibbs, first lord Aldenham (1819-1907), sold Sotheby 23 March 1937; then Martyn Skinner. Album of 19 large miniatures on leaves of a Book of Hours “ <i>mounted in a late nineteenth-century red morocco album</i> ”.
17	Sotheby 23 June 1998, lot 61	Album of 7 miniatures from Dutch and Italian books of hours, <i>c.</i> 1500