The eighteenth century has an uneven track record in the study of medieval manuscripts. During the later part of the century medieval art found a newly appreciative audience, but it was often the case that where esteem was granted it was for the evidentiary value of illumination. As witnesses to the dress, habits and pastimes of the Middle Ages, manuscripts attracted the emerging breed of antiquaries who reproduced outstanding pictorial examples in engravings. Disseminated in this format, medieval illumination appeared to most audiences in visual translations that deferred to the tastes and prevailing ideologies of the era. At the same time, other antiquaries, like grand tourists of the medieval world, poached miniatures from their native habitats and arranged them in albums and picture frames to augment their private collections.¹

Both the victim and the beneficiary of these attitudes is a manuscript in the British Library that has gone unnoticed.² A Psalter that was originally produced in London during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Add. MS. 6894 (henceforth, ‘The Denyer Psalter’) is remarkable not for the damage that was done to it, but for the care taken to rectify this damage and to restore to the manuscript something resembling its former integrity. Interleaved among its six-hundred-year-old folios are parchment replacements from a different historical era, installed by a woman who has been forgotten by history and, in one instance, supplanted in it. However, as a very early conservator of rare books and manuscripts, Eliza Dennis Denyer was a woman well ahead of her time.

I am grateful to the American Trust for the British Library for supporting my research, and to Kathleen Doyle, Sarah Biggs, and Anna Ratner Hetherington for their help, advice, and encouragement. Many thanks also to Emily Shaw for assistance with images.


² The only published mention of this manuscript appears in Kathleen L. Scott, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, 6, 2 vols (London, 1996), vol. i, p. 72, n. 17; vol. ii, pp. 180, 201, Table I (p. 379). Scott discusses the two medieval miniatures, referring to the others only as ‘modern’.
This paper introduces Denyer and offers a preliminary assessment of her career. A substantial amount of information on Denyer has surfaced, although there is much yet to be discovered: my hope is that, in publishing a résumé of her activities, further information about Denyer might be brought forward by those who encounter details of her life and work not mentioned here. This essay is only a first attempt, but the findings published here suggest new avenues of inquiry into the modern origins of manuscript study. The historiography of this field has focused almost exclusively on the rapacity of its pioneers, whose looting we – as more enlightened still – have rectified and recompensed. Yet the career of Denyer troubles this metanarrative by presenting a different approach to the medieval object. Special attention to Denyer’s restoration methods reveals a logic that neither mirrors the irreverence of her contemporaries nor portends our own piety towards the artefact.

The Denyer Psalter

The Denyer Psalter is in many ways typical for the late medieval period in which it was originally produced (see Appendix A for a description of the manuscript). A deluxe volume made in London probably between 1430 and 1440, the Psalter contains a common sequence of texts: it opens with a prologue by Jerome, which is followed by a calendar, all one hundred and fifty psalms, canticles, and then finally the Athanasian Creed. The manuscript almost certainly once contained a historiated initial for each of the major divisions of the Psalms, but only two of these initials remain in the manuscript. The first, preceding Psalm 26, shows King David, seated between two rocky outcroppings, before a red-and-gold-filigree background (fig. 1). He wears a large gold crown and a sumptuous blue robe lined with ermine. In the upper right corner of the initial, the face of God looks down from a blue swatch of sky, while David points to his left eye, alluding to the opening verse of the Psalm. In the second miniature original to the manuscript (fig. 2), David appears outdoors again, this time standing and pointing to his mouth, a reference to the text of Psalm 38. The hand of God extends from the sky, with two fingers in a gesture of benediction. These two scenes feature regularly in Psalters made during the fifteenth century, and from their coherence with common iconography, we can infer that six other historiated initials once accompanied them, possibly depicting David with his harp, David with a fool, David drowning at sea, David playing bells, clerics before a lectern, and the Trinity. Whatever their precise iconography, the six other initials are now gone, extracted from the manuscript at some point between the mid-fifteenth century and 1792.

In 1792, a remarkable event in the life of the Psalter occurred. According to a note written on an added leaf (fig. 3),

This MS was presented in July 1792 by Mr Joseph Parker of Exmouth to Miss Eliza Dennis Denyer of Chelsea (mutilated) who perfected the MS and illuminations with the Assistance of Mr William Jones who presented the frontispiece and several of the vignets [sic].

What makes this event remarkable is the apparent intentionality with which this damaged book was brought to someone to repair. Little information on Joseph Parker (d. c. 1796) has yet come to light, although based on one published account, he appears to have been a
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Fig. 1. BL, Add. MS. 6894, f. 46. David pointing at his eye.
Fig. 2. Add. MS. 6894, f. 61v. David pointing at his mouth.
This MS was presented in July 1792 by Mr. Joseph Parker of Exmouth to Miss Eliza Dennis Denyer of Chelsea (untitled) who perfected the MS. and Illuminations, with the assistance of Mr. William Jones who presented the Frontispiece and several of the Vignettes.

[Image of a portrait with the text: "Museum Britannicum"

It is to be observed that in the Old Latin Psalter
The 11th Psalm contains the 14th and 15th in the present Translation.
The 146 Psalm is the eleventh and verse of our 147.
The 147 Psalm is the remainder of our 147.
social man with numerous contacts in London, through whom he may have learned about
Eliza Denyer. The other figure mentioned in this note, William Jones (1745-1818), was a
wealthy wine-merchant of Chelsea, an amateur lepidopterist and one of the first fellows of
the Linnean Society: a book containing a series of butterfly paintings from specimens in his
large collection was made by Eliza, which she bequeathed, along with the Psalter and three
early printed books, to the British Museum. Although it is difficult to determine from the
language of the note Jones’s exact contribution, as ‘a good Hebrew and Greek scholar’, he
perhaps assisted Eliza in writing out the Hebrew and Latin texts on the frontispiece that was
added to the manuscript, and he might also have collaborated with her in determining the
subjects to portray for the replacement initials. What is important about the note left in the
volume, beyond its precision and the cast of characters it enrolls, is the suggestion that Eliza
Denyer may have acquired a reputation as a manuscript restorer, a reputation that travelled
beyond her immediate circle to attract the attention of someone perhaps unknown to her.
Before turning to the work she executed in the Denyer Psalter, it seems appropriate to answer
the question of who she was.

Elizabeth Dennis Denyer and her books

Histories of manuscript study and conservation have remained unaware of Elizabeth Dennis
Denyer. Yet her presence lurks in printed books, manuscripts, memorial sculpture, civic
records, and even urban topography. She was born in 1765 or 1766, the only child of Martha
(c. 1731-1795) and John Denyer (c. 1730-1806), who lived at 9 Cheyne Row in Chelsea,
Middlesex. John Denyer’s occupation remains unknown, but he was chairman of the Chelsea
Armed Association (Royal Volunteers) and is described as a gentleman who ‘by industry
and frugality, with unblemished character, accumulated a decent competency, retired, and
devoted the last 20 years of his life to the exercises of a Christian’. During this period he
dedicated himself to the ‘forming of a collection of early printed Bibles, Manuscripts, and
Missals, which he pursued with great perseverance, and finally possessed one of the most

The only information on Joseph Parker that I have been able to locate appears in Samuel Eyles Pierce, A True
Outline and Sketch of the Life of S. E. Pierce with an Appendix, His Funeral Sermon Written by Himself in the Year
1822, and a Catalogue of All His Writings (London, 1824), pp. 94-7.

Index to the Additional Manuscripts, with Those of the Egerton Collection Preserved in the British Museum and Acquired
in the Years 1783-1835 (London, 1849), p. 139. The butterfly manuscript is Add. MS. 6895. I recently published
with R. I. Vane-Wright an article on this manuscript. See ‘Elizabeth Denyer’s Paintings of William Jones’
British Butterflies: Their Discovery and Significance’, Antenna: The Bulletin of the Royal Entomological

George Bryan, Chelsea in the Olden and Present Times (Chelsea, 1869), p. 142. On Jones, see Michael A. Salmon,
The Aurelian Legacy: British Butterflies and Their Collectors (Berkeley, CA, 2000), pp. 120-21; and R. I. Vane-Wright,
‘William Jones of Chelsea (1745–1818), and the Need for a Digital, Online “Icones”’, Antenna, xxxiv
(2010), pp. 16–21. Jones and his wife Sarah witnessed the will of John Denyer, Eliza Denyer’s father (TNA,
Prob, 11/1436).

Thomas Faulkner, An Historical and Topographical Description of Chelsea and Its Environs; Interspersed with
Biographical Anecdotes of Illustrious and Eminent Persons Who Have Resided in Chelsea During the Three Preceding
Centuries, 2 vols (London, 1829), vol. i, p. 261. On Martha I have only been able to find a brief obituary in The
Gentleman’s Magazine, lxvi (1795), p. 87.

Walter H. Godfrey, Survey of London, vol. iv: Chelsea, pt. ii (1913), p. 67; He also earned ‘a Reward of Merit,
and Superior Skill at the annual target practice at Batter sea, on June 12th. 1799’: Irwin D. Hastings, War
Medals and Decorations Issued to the British Military and Naval Forces and Allies 1588 to 1910 (London, 1910),
p. 310.

valuable collections in Europe; at that time, it could only be surpassed by the theological
library of the Duke of Wirtemburg; for His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex had not then
begun his invaluable Manuscript collections.\textsuperscript{11} Considering the luminaries who collected
manuscripts, incunables and early printed books during this era, we should probably
approach this assessment of Denyer’s collection with scepticism;\textsuperscript{12} nevertheless, he does
appear to have acquired in his own day a reputation as a regarded collector. He corresponded
with the better-known William Herbert (1718–1795),\textsuperscript{13} who even acknowledged Denyer in
the foreword to Ames and Dibdin’s \textit{Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain}, and from whom
he acquired at least one book.\textsuperscript{14} Little else about John Denyer is known beyond a brief line
in his daughter’s will, which intimates a creative character and perhaps a devoted father: to
her friend Henry Virtue Tebbs (1797–1876), Elizabeth left ‘all the manuscript ffables wrote
by my father in round frames now in my own room’.\textsuperscript{15} Before his death, John prepared a
will which bequeathed all of his possessions to his daughter Elizabeth, which we can take to
include his collection of rare books.\textsuperscript{16} In 1806, John died and was interred alongside his wife
Martha in Milman Chapel of Chelsea Old Church.\textsuperscript{17}

Despite her obscurity, a substantial will that Eliza prepared in 1821 avails at least some
information about her activities and character. She never married and had no children, which
led her to leave some of her estate to friends and extended family, and the vast majority to
charitable institutions. Among the charities she supported were the Society for Preventing
The Use of Climbing Boys as Chimney Sweepers,\textsuperscript{18} various organizations for the promotion of

\textsuperscript{11} Faulkner, \textit{An Historical and Topographical Description of Chelsea}, vol. i, p. 261. Other references to Denyer as
a collector of rare books include: George Bryan, \textit{Chelsea in the Olden and Present Times} (Chelsea, 1869), p. 91;
Charles Wentworth Dilke, ‘Chelsea: A Lecture Delivered in the Town Hall, Chelsea ... on Wednesday, January

\textsuperscript{12} Just some of the prominent names include Sir Hans Sloane, Francis Douce, William Hunter, James Edwards,
Sir Andrew Fountaine, Sir William Petty, Charles Burney, Richard Rawlinson, Edmund Malone, John Soane,
and Anthony Morris Storer. See Seymour De Ricci, \textit{English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930)
and Their Marks of Ownership} (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 54–70; William Baker and Kenneth Womack (eds.),
\textit{Pre-Nineteenth-Century British Book Collectors and Bibliographers}, Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. cxciii
(Detroit, 1999); and Nigel Ramsay, ‘Libraries for Antiquaries and Heralds’, in Giles Mandelbrote and K.
A. Manley (eds.), \textit{The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, 1640–1850} (Cambridge, 2006),

\textsuperscript{13} Robin Myers, ‘Herbert, William (1718–1795)’, \textit{Oxford Dictionary of National Biography}, Oxford University

\textsuperscript{14} J. Ames, T. F. Dibdin and W. Herbert, \textit{Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain} (London, 1810), p. 66. See
Appendix B, item 40, for a transcription of a letter written by Herbert to Denyer in 1786. Oxford, Bodleian
Library, Denyer 21 (1) contains the initials of William Herbert on a flyleaf.

\textsuperscript{15} TNA, Prob, 11/1685.

\textsuperscript{16} TNA, Prob, 11/1436.

\textsuperscript{17} An inscription on their memorial tablets reads: ‘Sacred to the memory of John and Martha Denyer / The
best of Parents, and the best of Friends / Who resigned this mortal life in a well grounded hope / of a Joyful
Resurrection to Eternal Life / through Faith in the alone merits / of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ / They
lived together in great connubial Happiness / Forty two years and died / Martha on the 18th Day of January. 1795 Aged 64 Years / and John on the 6th Day of January. 1806 Aged 76 Years’ (‘Chelsea Old Church:

\textsuperscript{18} This bequest was specifically intended ‘by way of reward to any person who shall invent or bring to perfection
any machine which shall be approved of by Parliament and which shall thereby prevent the use and employment
of climbing boys for sweeping chimneys’ (TNA, Prob, 11/1685). The invention that appears to have come
the closest to qualifying for this reward was denied parliamentary approval. See George L. Phillips, ‘The
Christianity, aged ‘spinster’s’ of Chelsea, and Christ’s Hospital: to the last named institution she allocated the sizable sum of £7000, which ultimately the Hospital refused to accept. Denyer also endowed an annual prize for the best two sermons in theology composed by students at Oxford University, a prize which continues to be granted, under the title of the ‘Denyer and Johnson Travelling Fellowship and Prize’. For her benevolence, Denyer Street in Chelsea was named for Eliza in 1871, and to this day the street retains her name. In the last years of her life, Eliza lived in Mecklenburgh Street, Chelsea, and upon her death in 1824, she was buried with her mother and father in Chelsea Old Church. Over all, the will that Eliza prepared depicts a woman with a considerable commitment to Christianity, education and philanthropy.

One portion of Denyer’s will gives some insight into her investment in what was, for all intents and purposes, her father’s book collection. She parcelled out items in her library for three separate institutions and one individual: the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, The Church Missionary Society, and her friend and neighbour, Henry Virtue Tebbs:

I give to the Trustees for the time being of the British Museum for the use of the public my quarto volume of English butterflies painted from nature, also my quarto manuscript Latin Psalter St Jerome translation, also the first edition of the Common Prayer book printed at Worcester by John Oswin in quarto in the year 1549, also the second edition printed at London in quarto by Edward Whychurch in the year 1552, and another edition printed by Richard Grafton in the same year wanting the title page, the same to be subject to all the care rules and regulations of the said Museum.

I give to the Trustees for the time being of the Bodleian Library in the University of Oxford such of the following books of which the said Library shall not at my decease already possess copies: namely, all my ancient printed Bibles, New Testaments and tracts of every description consisting of folio, quarto, octavo and duodecimo printed from the year 1491 to the year 1611, both inclusive the same to be subject to all the care, rules and regulations of the said Library. […]

I will and direct that all the remainder of my ancient Bibles, New Testaments and tracts printed prior to the year 1611 inclusive, by which I mean such of the said books as the Bodleian Library shall possess prior to my decease, shall be sold by auction for the benefit of the Church Missionary Society in Salisbury Court Ffleat Street. And I direct that the money arising by such sale shall be paid to the Treasurer for the time being of the said Society for the use of the said Society. I also give to the said Church Missionary Society for the use of said Society such part of the remainder of my Library as may be useful to their several missions, but it is my will that they do not take or remove from my dwelling house any of my books that will not be decidedly useful for those purposes.

19 Denyer calculated for this refusal and willed that the same sum devolve to Mr Hetherington’s Charity for the Blind should Christ’s Hospital reject the funds; Hetherington’s Charity also rejected the bequest. I have been unable to determine exactly why the Hospital and Hetherington’s Charity did not accept the money, although it may have been owing to the extensive and elaborate conditions attendant on their acceptance. The ensuing court case is detailed in John Tamlyn (ed.), Reports of Cases Decided in the High Court of Chancery by the Right Hon. Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls, vol. i (London, 1831), pp. 32-7. For more information, see Patricia E. C. Croot (ed.), The History of the County of Middlesex, vol. xii: Chelsea (London, 2004), p. 198.

20 For a description of the fellowship, see http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/statutes/354-051b.shtml#_Toc28142703. Documents in the university archives record a drawn-out legal case before Oxford finally accepted the legacy on 2 April 1835. Initially it was twice rejected on the grounds that the conditions of the legacy were not in accord with university statutes. After the case was taken to court, William IV absorbed the funds and then directed the university to hold the annual prize, according to Denyer’s wishes. See Oxford, University Archives, WPa/35/1-4 and NW/ 17/7.

I give to my my [sic] young friend Henry Virtue Tebbs Esquire the entire remainder of my library and also a legacy of £20 in money to enable him to purchase in case he should wish so to do any of the ancient books which I have directed to be sold for the benefit of the Church Missionary Society. I also give to him the said Henry Virtue Tebbs my large bookcase with glass doors, all my drawings and manuscripts [...].

Of the books referred to in her will, I have been able to locate forty-eight, which include the volumes that Eliza bequeathed to the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. Among those which I have been able to identify, but not locate, are thirty-nine volumes which were sold at auction on 4 August 1824 (see Appendix B for a summary catalogue of books owned by Denyer). Frustratingly, the books and manuscripts bequeathed to Henry Virtue Tebbs have not yet surfaced. But, interestingly enough, Tebbs’s son, Henry Virtue Tebbs (1833–1899), was a close friend of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, whose biographical notice he contributed in a preface to the exhibition catalogue of the artist’s works at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1883. An auction of the younger Tebbs’s library took place at Sotheby’s on 25 June 1900, where a number of early printed books and manuscripts were sold: it may be that some of these once belonged to Eliza Denyer, but none of the auction catalogue’s listings gives any indication of her former ownership. Almost all of the printed books that she left behind now bear a hand-written bookplate with the name of her father and the date of his death, 6 January 1806 (fig. 4), a feature which may help to recover the remainder of her dispersed library.
Denyer’s conservation and restoration practices

It is evidently through her father’s avocations that Eliza Denyer developed a talent for manuscript illumination and restoration. Scattered throughout their collection of rare books are traces of her ministrations, repairs and conservation work that vary widely from small patches over torn pages to the extensive restorative campaign in the Denyer Psalter. A note left in a 1537 Coverdale Bible gives an approximate date when she began this work: at the front of the volume, Eliza wrote, ‘Leaves supplied in MS in this New Test. By Eliza Dennis Denyer. The three last leaves in the Revelation, her first essay’ And on the final page of Revelation, she signed, ‘EDD 1782’, making her sixteen or seventeen at the time (fig. 5). Both this book and the Psalter embody a logic that informed Denyer’s work, what we might consider a conservationist methodology avant la lettre. Examination of these, her most ambitious campaigns that have so far come to light, reveals an intellectual, even academic, approach to conservation shot through with a creative and individualistic streak.

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28 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Denyer NT Eng b 1537.
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The Coverdale Bible

Although differing from techniques that prevail today, Denyer’s practices are recognizable as conservationist in two respects: first, through regeneration of missing components; and second, through documentation of her work. In what appears to be her earliest large-scale project, Denyer cleaved closely to the original artefact, a second edition Coverdale Bible with several missing or damaged pages. The three final leaves of this large printed book are replacements with re-copied text and hand-drawn renderings of the original woodcut images, all by Denyer. An opening that juxtaposes the first replacement page with the original that faces it shows Denyer’s copy to be an effort at facsimile reproduction that is nevertheless unconvincing (fig. 6). A hand, not a press, clearly produced these words, which materialize in thin, irregular and tentative strokes. Furthermore, an intact copy of the same book tracks Denyer’s improvement as she progressed through the page (fig. 7): whereas the words in the first paragraph do not match the spacing and lineation in the printed original, the words in the following paragraphs do (with the exception of two lines). Denyer referred to her labour in the preliminary note quoted above as ‘a first essay’, and the results recommend that we take her at her word.

Yet for all its deficiencies, any attempt at all at verisimilitude marks Denyer’s programme as conservationist. The work carried out in the book does not just compensate for the loss of textual content. In addition to matching the aspect of the type, Denyer replicated the book’s bibliographic code, preserving its paratexts and retaining its images. Each of the five woodcut illustrations on the final three pages of this edition of the Coverdale Bible is reinstated on the missing leaves, committed to the page in a free-hand reiteration of the original. The illustration to Revelation 18, for example, both recaptures the subject of the original woodcut and assimilates in penwork the imprecisions peculiar to that medium (figs 8 and 9): delineation summarizes rather than specifies, hatchwork alludes to shadow without modelling it, and a chaos of pen-strokes replaces cautious detail. In other words, the results of a sixteenth-century woodcut pass with minimal filtration through an eighteenth-century pen. While these facsimile pages are not technically proficient, the operating principles behind them betray an intelligence about the historicity and uniqueness of a given medium and the value of simulating its aspect. As a piece of juvenilia, this restored Coverdale Bible reveals much about the origins of Denyer’s conservationist methodology, sensitive to the historical character of both form and content. One question that this example raises, for which an answer may never be forthcoming, regards the model Denyer used for the replacement pages: did she re-copy damaged ones from the original book, or did she seek out a perfect copy from which to draw her new designs? If the latter, then there is an element of academic rigour in Denyer’s work that surpasses practicality.

The Denyer Psalter restored

Ten years later, Denyer both improved as a facsimilist and departed from her initial adherence to replication. In the Psalter that was given to Denyer by Joseph Parker, she supplied a parchment replacement for every damaged leaf and appears to have preserved as much of the material original to the manuscript as possible. A single mutilated page attached to a stub and bound back into the manuscript sits atop its replacement and records the vandalism that preceded Denyer’s work (fig. 10). On the new folios, she copied out the text in imitation of the original scribal hand. An opening that juxtaposes a fifteenth-century page with Denyer’s eighteenth-century replacement showcases the success of her simulation. Similarly, both her pen-flourished initials at the start of new verses and champ initials reproduce the medieval flourishing and illumination to a high degree of fidelity. One of the more historicist aspects

I am grateful to Elizabeth Perkins for discussing with me Denyer’s techniques in this volume and for the idea of filtration.
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Fig. 8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Denyer NT Eng b 1537. Coverdale Bible. Denyer’s facsimile of the woodcut for Revelation 18. With permission.

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Fig. 10. Add. MS. 6894, f. 21. Replacement historiated initial with the mutilated page on top.
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of her scribal work is the handling of the ruling: while the ruling in this manuscript has been carried out in black, Denyer has ruled her pages in red, presumably in deference to a common medieval practice.

Less imitative, but still in the spirit of the original, is Denyer’s execution of the manuscript’s graphic elements. On every page that replaces a folio from which a miniature was extracted, Denyer supplied a border that frames the main text block with a gold bar on each side (fig. 10). Strung vertically through the middle of each gold bar is a thick line, half of its length blue and the other mauve, terminating in a knot at each corner. Entwining each side of the border are feathered leaves in green, blue and mauve, which give rise to an array of sprigs, wisps, tendrils and minute gold spheres. None of these borders replicates the two medieval examples which remain in the manuscript; yet neither do they deny the tenor of the original design. Rather, each assimilates elements of the medieval borders, receptive to the original aesthetic tone. Similarly, rather than produce facsimiles of the medieval line-fillers on replacement leaves, Denyer gestured towards their form in several patterns of her own (fig. 11). Throughout the Psalter, the medieval scribe used three to four different designs for line filler, each one a variation on a theme. A blue or red line with bristled flicks or knuckled clubs rests atop a line that mirrors its pattern in the alternate colour. In Denyer’s hand, these fillers assume a more regular aspect and increasingly fluid ductus, while retaining the character and use of colour in the originals. Likewise, the large, replacement decorated initials extend and recast graphic elements from the medieval pages (fig. 12). In the first of these, a thatched design in gold stands in for the flourishing in the backgrounds of the two original miniatures, and the coloured leaves with white speckles that comprise the large ‘S’ are direct citations of the leaves that spring from the original bar-borders. The ‘tail-pieces’ added by Denyer similarly confect new motifs from the medieval illuminator’s marginal work (fig. 13). In restoring the manuscript without exact knowledge of its missing pieces, Denyer used the evidence of its remnants to reconstruct and reimagine new compositions in line with the decorative profile of the book.

In other aspects, Denyer deviated more decisively from the medieval artefact. Four of the historiated initials in the manuscript are substitutes painted by Denyer, three of which neither repeat the iconography common to Psalters from the fifteenth century, nor adopt their style. In the first of these, the ‘Beatus’ initial does not show, as we would expect, David with his harp. Instead, a leafy tree appears in the centre of a lush landscape, just beside the banks of a river (fig. 14). A note in the front of the manuscript states that this depiction, ‘allud[es] to the 3 verse. The good man is like a Tree planted by the rivers of waters’. In its naturalism, sense of scale, handling of colour and modelling, the depiction here bears no resemblance to the medieval examples of figural illumination in the Psalter, this in spite of the models for trees and exterior space they provide. The same applies to other initials, which portray revellers (Psalm 52) and Melchizedek presenting bread and wine to Abram (Psalm 109). Only the initial portraying clerics chanting (Psalm 97) depicts a subject commonly found in Psalter illumination, but here, again, the style is noticeably current.

Finally, the two frontispiece miniatures and title page are entirely Denyer’s invention. At the front of the manuscript, after the preliminary pages of added notes, is an opening that shows a full-page miniature on the verso and a title page on the recto, each bound within a bar-border, itself enframed within strands of garlands and bowed ribbons on all sides. On the verso, David appears with his harp, kneeling upon a pillow before a music stand (fig. 15). Beyond the subject of the scene, which is typically located in a historiated initial on the Beatus page, nothing allies this painting with medieval traditions of illumination. In its furnishings and geometric simplicity, the interior space is unmistakably classicizing: the chequered flooring, the rounded columns with thin Doric capitals, and the large cambered windows all appeal to late eighteenth-century taste alluding in no wise to the ‘Gothic’,

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30 Add. MS. 6894, f. 3.
31 Add. MS. 6894, f. 1.
Fig. 11. Add. MS. 6894, f. 76v. Replacement leaf with line fillers.
Fig. 12. Add. MS. 6894, f. 91. Replacement decorated initial.
Fig. 13. Add. MS. 6894, f. 13v.
Fig. 14. Add. MS. 6894, f. 21. Detail of replacement historiated initial.
Fig. 15. Add. MS. 6894, f. 4v. Replacement leaf with David kneeling in prayer.
even in the inchoate notions of the time as to what that constituted. Facing this image, on the recto, is a title page that contains the Hebrew words for Book of Psalms, followed by a description of the book’s contents in Latin (fig. 16). The script does emulate the Gothic hand used throughout the manuscript, but the title page is still an invention from the advent of print, effectively unheard-of in medieval manuscripts.32

The second frontispiece miniature similarly disregards the medieval style of the historiated initials in preference for a more contemporary mode (fig. 17). Here, Christ and two disciples amble in conversation along a road traversing a soft landscape. Loose and impressionistic brushwork creates puffy clouds that curtain the upper right corner of the image, a lush tree that caps the scene at the left edge, and a path that swerves off gently into the foreground—all techniques and compositional elements characteristic of academic painting in the eighteenth century, straight out of the scenes by Richard Wilson and Paul Sandby. Yet, given how closely Denyer hewed to the medieval aspect of decorative elements, it seems plausible that, in these instances, she opted out of authenticity or possibly even judged her skills unequal to the purposeful archaism that a large scene would require. Taken together, Denyer’s campaign was neither dogmatic in projecting the original look of the manuscript back on to its new leaves, nor insouciant to its historical character.

What elevates the project above beautification is the series of notes at the front of the volume, which serves as an internal dossier on the manuscript’s restoration. On the first folio, each miniature initial is described, and the choice of iconography explained. For example, ‘In the Capital of the 52 Psalm, A Reveling according to the 3 & 4 verses. God looked down from Heaven upon the Children of Men; But they are all gone out of the way’.33 On the following folio is the note quoted in full above, recounting how the manuscript came into the hands of Eliza Denyer. The note was written by Denyer’s father John, and beneath it is his own signature, as well as a cameo depiction of him in silhouette, made on a separate slip of thick paper and mounted on to the present page. Beneath his signature and cameo is a memo, apparently in Eliza Denyer’s hand, which explains the older numeration of the Psalms. Finally, on the last folio of preliminaries is a tally of all the illuminations in the Psalter.34 This note was written by Eliza’s mother, who appears, as her father did before, in a cameo depiction in silhouette, with her signature beneath. Although not its intention, Martha Denyer’s autograph note does give a terminus ante quem of 1796 for the entire project, since Martha died in that year.35

Despite the absence of technical information in these notes, they still have a testamentary value that appears to have been their point. Through a series of both textual and visual commemorations, they document key details of the restoration and its participants, presumably (although perhaps only subconsciously) for the benefit of later generations. Denyer voices in her will a similar awareness of the need for diligence in combating oblivion, in a passage that worries over the degradation of her parents’ memory. As an ‘indispensable condition’ of her bequest to Christ’s Hospital, Denyer insisted that its governors care in perpetuity for the memorial tablet honouring her mother and father in Chelsea Old Church. The condition is laid out at length with an arguably excessive number of provisos.36 In fact, Denyer’s

32 Admittedly, it is unlikely that Denyer would have been aware of this, especially given that she appears to have had far greater exposure to early printed books than manuscripts. Margaret M. Smith, The Title-Page: Its Early Development 1460-1510 (London, 2000).

33 Add. MS. 6894, f. 1.

34 ‘Paintings illuminations and Borders in this MS / Paintings with Borders before the Frontispiece and the first Psalm / 6 illuminated Letters [sic] / Ps. 1, 26, 38, 52, 87, 109 / 2 Blooming Letters / Ps. 68, 80 / 9 Borders / 2 Tail Pieces / 193 Leaves’ (Add. MS. 6894, f. 3).

35 A similar cameo, in which her parents appear together, was mounted in another manuscript with paintings by Eliza (Add. MS. 6895, f. 54).

36 For example: ‘in case the said parish church shall be pulled down, then to remove the said tablet or place a new one to be kept in repair in like manner with the same inscription in the new church of the parish of Chelsea aforesaid’ (TNA, Prob, 11/1685; punctuation added).
Fig. 16. Add. MS. 6894, f. 5. Replacement leaf with title page.
Fig. 17. Add. MS. 6894, f. 20v. Replacement leaf with Christ on the Road to Emmaus with two disciples.
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apprehensions were twice confirmed. At the end of the nineteenth century, a brief on the state of her charitable bequests ended on a sombre note: ‘[t]he stone over the grave of John and Martha Denyer is now covered up. No part of the income is applied towards the repair of the tablet, a plain marble slab’. And in the destructions of World War II, the tablet suffered even further, left as a collection of shards from the bombing of April 1943. This story of encroaching oblivion does, however, have a poetic ending: just as Denyer reconstructed the remains of the printed and illuminated books of the past, so the parishioners of Chelsea Old Church reassembled the Denyer memorial, which today can be seen intact in its original home.

Denyer and Late Eighteenth-Century Restoration

A number of later notices draw attention to Eliza’s ‘talents in illumination, miniatures and repairing old MSS’, and Thomas Faulkner’s panegyric to her gifts is effusive:

Miss Denyer [...] who possessed uncommon talents, was extremely clever in painting and illuminating on vellum, and in repairing old Manuscripts and printed books; her drawings and miniatures were equal to the finest specimens which the middle ages could produce. The inspection of these beautiful specimens of her pencil never failed to excite the most profound sentiments of admiration and esteem, which were ever augmented by the consideration that in her exemplary character was blended true Christian benevolence with the utmost diffidence, filial affection, and private worth.

Stripped of its saccharine ornaments, Faulkner’s praise still conveys a number of details useful to the appreciation of Denyer’s career: first, that her exercises were rare for the time, or at least that her talents were; second, that she was known to have repaired both printed books and manuscripts; third, that she created her own illuminations in a style evocative of medieval art; and finally, that she may have shared her work with others. Significantly, this as well as all other known references to Eliza as an illuminator were written well into the nineteenth century, when a critical mass of both participants and commercial support made such activities intelligible as a learned and cultured pursuit. But was she rare for her time? Or, were there others like her at this early period restoring rare books and manuscripts in a similar fashion? This question is one that I can only answer summarily here; but there is reason to believe that there was a small group of others who engaged in similar enterprises, or at the very least, that Denyer was on the

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38 I am very grateful to Trish Coleridge, Parish Administrator of Chelsea Old Church, who offered valuable information about the memorial tablets and their restoration after 1943.
41 See above, n. 1, as well as Janet Backhouse, ‘Pioneers of Modern Calligraphy and Illumination’, The British Museum Quarterly, xxxiii (1968), pp. 71-9. It is also worth noting that the activity of illumination and restoration became popular among women in the nineteenth century and included among its practitioners Queen Caroline (1768-1821) as well as a Lady Strange, who replaced a missing initial in a Book of Hours of York Use (Boulogne sur-Mer, MS. 93). See John Block Friedman, ‘Medievalism and a New Leaf by the Spanish Forger’, Studies in Medievalism, xi (2001), pp. 213-38; and Rowan Watson, Illumination and Illuminated Manuscripts: A Survey of Responses in England, France and Germany to the Revival of a Medieval Art Form (London, 1997).
cusp of what eventually became a common practice in the following century.\footnote{41}

An account offered by one later figure, John Harris (1791–1873), suggests that Denyer was not alone in restoring by facsimile rare books and manuscripts. Harris is well known as an artist who enjoyed a successful career as a facsimilist in the nineteenth century, restoring new paintings to damaged or incomplete manuscripts in some of England’s most renowned collections.\footnote{42} He showed his work in the Great Exhibition of 1851, for which he contributed information on his craft to the juries’ report. In this brief account, Harris credits the origins of his work to individuals who appear to have been contemporary with Denyer:

In the history of mankind there are few things so remarkable as that the press and the easel have been the means of producing works of art which have most conspicuously tended to the civilization of man and the unity of nations. The avidity with which these productions are sought after up to the present time is fully proved by the prices given either for early printed books or ancient paintings of which the former especially are often imperfect. From this latter circumstance the collector has been induced to seek the means of having ancient and valuable works in typography and painting completed by fac-similes, and thus restoring to the present generation works which most probably in a few more years would have been buried in oblivion. It was about the year 1815 that I was first employed by the late Mr John Whittaker, of Westminster, an eminent bookbinder at that period; and I believe the idea of having ancient books of the early printers, &c., perfected by facsimiles was first suggested to him by the late Earl Spencer, for whom many books were so done; and numerous specimens are preserved of some of the rarest productions of the press in the library at Althorpe. Specimens are also to be seen in the King’s Library, which were done in the lifetime of His Majesty King George III., the art of imitation by facsimile being patronized by him; also by the late Earl Fitzwilliam, the Hon. Thomas Grenville and many others.\footnote{43}

Harris’s report encourages the thought that Denyer did indeed have peers in the restoration of rare books and manuscripts. Were she a singular practitioner of this form of conservation, she would be an intriguing anomaly and interesting forerunner, but one who offers little by way of commentary on the broader cultural trends of her time. However, both Harris’s report and parallel developments in architectural preservation show that Denyer’s activities were not carried out in isolation: it was in this period that the ideas of historic preservation, restoration and cultural heritage were born, and if we broaden our purview to include other media, Denyer’s methodologies appear far from singular. They are, in fact, of a piece with the emerging historicism of the time, and the practices of monumental restoration, ‘improvement’ and ‘perfection’ that made beautiful mongrels of Durham, Hereford, Lichfield and countless other ecclesiastical structures.\footnote{44} To many – but not all – pioneers of conservatism, the greatest tribute to the past was to leave a piece of one’s self in it.


\footnote{43}{Reports by the Juries: Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. On the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition was Divided (London, 1852), p. 405.}

It is fitting that through her own restitution of the past Denyer has been able to secure her own place in history, albeit with both lacunae and obstacles. The challenges faced by women in establishing a presence in narratives of the past have been well documented, but one incident that exemplifies these challenges bears recounting as an epilogue. In praising Denyer’s donation of a first edition Coverdale Bible to the Bodleian Library, William Macray added, ‘[a] title had been supplied by Mrs. [sic] Denyer, who in several instances had supplied deficiencies very successfully in pen and ink; a perfect facsimile, however, by Mr. J. Harris, which might pass for the original, were not the minute mark ‘Fs. T. H.’ seen on the back of the page, has since been substituted. It is a marvel of calligraphic skill’. Denyer’s ‘uncommon talents’ may have been surpassed by John Harris’s marvellous skill, but as his forerunner she deserves recognition, for which there can be no substitute.

45 The seminal article by Linda Nochlin, ‘Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?’ Art News, lxix [1971], pp. 22-39, was the first to deal with this issue and was joined by an avalanche of scholarship over the subsequent thirty years that saw the establishment and growth of feminist art history. For a recent view of the silencing of women in the history of medieval art, see Madeline Caviness, Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries (2001), esp. chapter 1, online at: http://as.tufts.edu/art/facultyCaviness.asp.

APPENDIX A
Description of London, British Library Add. MS. 6894

London, c. 1425-1450; Chelsea, c. 1792-before 1796

Text 1
ff. 1-5v

Added paper and vellum leaves containing eighteenth-century notes about the manuscript, silhouette representations of John Denyer and Martha Denyer, a full-page illumination of David in prayer, and a title page.

Text 2
ff. 6-195v

Psalter with the contents as follows:
ff. 6-13v, Prologue of St Jerome.
ff. 14-19v, Calendar.
ff. 21-180v, Psalms.
ff. 181v-193, Canticles.
ff. 193-195v, Athanasian Creed.

Physical description

Materials: Parchment codex.

Foliation: ff. 195+20*+92*.

280 x 200mm (text space: 170 x 115mm).

Gatherings of eight (ff. 4, 5 inserted; ii 6, ff. 20, 21 inserted, ix lacks 8 (replaced by insert, f. 76), xi lacks 7 (replaced by insert, f. 91), xiv lacks 1 (replaced by insert, f. 108), xvi lacks 2 (replaced by insert, f. 125), xviii lacks 3 (replaced by insert, f. 142), xix lacks 3, 4 (replaced by inserts, ff. 150-151), xxiv lacks 6-8 (6, 7 replaced by inserts, f. 195).

Binding: Early nineteenth-century black leather binding, gilt-stamped.

Scribe and script

The original scribe of the manuscript copied the text in a formal Gothic textura bookhand in a single column, with blue-and-red line fillers. Blue and red initials with penwork flourishing mark each new verse. Catchwords are written horizontally, in the centre foot of the leaf.

Replacement leaves for those excised or mutilated were produced in 1792 by Eliza Dennis Denyer. Denyer attempted in every way to mimic the letter forms and hand of the original script.

Illustration and illustrators

In its present state, the manuscript contains two full-page miniatures, ff. 4v and 20v. Six historiated initials on ff. 21, 46, 61v, 76, 125, and 142v. Two large decorated initials appear on ff. 91 and 108. Two small portrait busts in silhouette on paper have been mounted on ff. 2 and 3, depicting John Denyer and Martha Denyer, who have inscribed their signatures beneath their respective portrayals.
The illumination in the manuscript represents two separate campaigns. Of the first, executed c. 1425-1450, only two historiated initials remain:

f. 46, Psalm 26. David pointing at his eye.

f. 61v, Psalm 38. David pointing at his mouth.

Although the identity of the artist responsible for these initials is unknown, Kathleen Scott has detected his work in a number of other manuscripts, which date to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The manuscripts are as follows: London, British Library, Add. MS. 29301 (John Arderne, medical treatises); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 370, f. 27v (Nicholas of Lynn, astronomical and astrological works); London, British Library, Cotton MS. Nero D.VII, ff. 25 and 27 (Benefactors of St Albans); Malibu, CA, Getty Museum, MS. 17, f. 1r (Psalter); Edinburgh, University Library, MS. 39, f. 114 (Book of Hours).

The second campaign was carried out by Eliza Dennis Denyer (see note, ff. 2-3) in 1792, to replace leaves and miniatures that had been excised from the manuscript, and also to append two full-page miniatures:

f. 4v, Full-page miniature depicting David kneeling in prayer with a harp, and before a music stand.

f. 5, Title page with Hebrew and Latin.

f. 20v, Full-page miniature depicting Christ on the Road to Emmaus with two disciples. On the bar border are scrolls with the following verses: Luke 24:27, Psalm 16:10, and Acts 2:25.

f. 21, Psalm 1. Historiated initial with a tree by running water. Bound into the manuscript and placed over f. 21r is the original leaf with the excised initial ‘B’, through which the replacement initial can now be seen.

f. 76, Psalm 52. Historiated initial with the ‘Children of Men’ revelling.

f. 91, Psalm 68. A large decorated initial at the start of the Psalm.

f. 108, Psalm 80. A large decorated initial at the start of the Psalm.

f. 125, Psalm 97. Historiated initial with a procession of clergy chanting before an altar on which is placed an open book.

f. 142v, Psalm 109. Historiated initial depicting Christ declared a priest after the order of Melchizedek.

Based on the occurrence of the excisions and on the nature of illumination in Psalters produced in the same milieu, it is probable that the manuscript originally contained eight historiated initials at the typical divisions for the canonical hours: Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, 109.

Date

The original manuscript contains no direct evidence for its date of production, although it is stylistically similar to a number of manuscripts produced in London during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. For a list of these manuscripts, see above, ‘Illustration and illustrators’.
Replacements and additions to the manuscript were made by Eliza Dennis Denyer after receiving the manuscript in 1792, and before the death of Martha Denyer in 1796 (see notes, ff. 2-3).

**Provenance**

The owners of the manuscript from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century are unknown. In the eighteenth century the manuscript came into the possession of Joseph Parker of Exmouth (d. c. 1796), who presented it to Eliza Dennis Denyer in 1792 (see note, ff. 2–3). Denyer bequeathed the manuscript to the British Museum upon her death in 1824 (see TNA, Prob. 11/1685).
APPENDIX B
Summary Catalogue of the Early Printed Books and Manuscripts Owned by Elizabeth Dennis Denyer

(Items marked with an asterisk have been made, repaired, modified, or added to by Denyer.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>London British Library</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Add. MS. 6894*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Add. MS. 6895*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butterfly Drawings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. C.36.1.13*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book of Common Prayer (Worcester: Oswin, 1549)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STC 16276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. C.36.1.15*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book of Common Prayer (London: Whitechurch, 1552)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STC 16288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. C.36.1.15*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book of Common Prayer (London: Grafton, 1552)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STC 16286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* A note on p. 3 reads: ‘Of this very rare[?] Edition of the Common Prayer see Herbert’s Edi. of Topographical Antiquities Vol 3rd p 1459, where the Editor observes ‘This book was thought so great a rarity that it was sold to Lord Oxford for Ten Pounds [?] Tho. Rawlinson’s sale 1727’. JD’. On a separate line is a later note: ‘Leaves supplied in MS by Eliza Dennis Denyer Folio 5 and 28’.

* This book does not contain John Denyer’s bookplate. However, his initials, written in the same script as seen in other books (cf. London, British Library, C.36.1.13, p. 3) appear on flyleaf ii recto. Since Denyer’s bookplate is almost always placed on a pastedown, it is likely that it was lost during the rebinding process, as the book now bears a British Museum binding.

* This book does not contain John Denyer’s bookplate, probably lost in rebinding. However, the title page and table of contents have been written out by hand on a replacement leaf. The hand appears to be that of Elizabeth Dennis Denyer, and there appear two fleurons that she uses elsewhere (cf. Denyer NT: Eng. b. 1537, f. 109).
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Oxford Bodleian Library

6. Denyer 1
   STC 4423

7. Denyer 2*
   STC 1299

8. Denyer 3
   STC 3283.5

9. Denyer 4
   *A Catechisme, or Short Kind of Instruction*, trans. J. Seddon, forward by T. Sparke (Oxford: J. Barnes, 1588)
   STC 13030

10. Denyer 5*
    *Fruitfull Lessons, upon the Passion, Buriall, Resurrection* (London: T. Scarlet, 1593)
    STC 5891

11. Denyer 6
    *De immensa Dei misericordia*, trans. G. Hervet (London: T. Berthelet, 1526[?])
    STC 10474.5

12. Denyer 7
    John Fisher, *This Treatyse Concerynge the Fruytfull Saynges of Davyd* (London: de Worde, 1509 [actually 1515])
    STC 10903 or 10904

13. Denyer 7 (2)
    John Fisher, *Here after Foloweth a Moronyge Remembrau[n]ce Had at the Moneth Mynde of the Noble Prynces Margarete Countesse of Rychemonde* (London: W. de Worde, 1509)
    STC 10891

14. Denyer 8
    STC 13063

15. Denyer 9
    STC 5886
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STC 17299 |
|---|---|
| Denyer 11 | *A Pistle to the Christen Reader* (Malborow [Actually Antwerp], 1529)  
STC 11394 |
| Denyer 12 | *A Mysterye of Inyquyte Contayned within the Heretycall Genealogye* (Geneva, 1545)  
STC 1303 |
| Denyer 13 | *The Diamond of Devotion* (London: Co. of Stationers, 1608)  
STC 11045 |
| Denyer 14* | *A Declaration of the Ten Holy Commaundementes* (London: R. Jugge, 1550)  
STC 13750.5 |
| Denyer 15 | *An Oversight and Deliberacion upon the Holy Prophete Jonas* (London: J. Daye and W. Seres, 1550)  
STC 13763 |
| Denyer 16 | *The Image of God, or Laie Mans Boke* (London: J. Day, 1580)  
STC 14022 |
STC 14825 |
STC 15178 |
STC 15454 |
STC 10888 |
STC 24318 |

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50 On a flyleaf is the signature of William Herbert, ‘Wm Herbert, 1785’; and on the flyleaf verso is, by the same hand, ‘The three tracts in this book are exceeding scarce and very curious, first copies to be had. B. H.’
28. Denyer 20 (3)
John Fisher, *Psalmes or Prayers Taken out of Holye Scripture* (London: H. Wykes, 1562)
STC 3008

29. Denyer 21 (1)
John Howson, *Uxore dimissa propter fornicationem aliciam ...* (Oxford: I. Barnesius, 1602)
STC 13886

30. Denyer 21 (2)
St Ulric, Bishop of Augsburg, *An Epistle of Moche Learn[n]g, Sent ... vnto Nicolas Bysshoppe of Rome* (London, 1547?)
STC 24514

31. Denyer 21 (3)
George Joye, *A Contrarye, to a Certayne Manis, Consultacion; That Adulterers Ought to be Punished wyth Deathe* (London: G. Joye, 1549?)
STC 14822

32. Denyer 22
The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Newe Testament (London: Whitchurch, 1551)
STC 2866

33. Denyer 23
Second part of the above, published 1552.

34. Denyer N.T. Lat.-Eng. d. 1538 (1)
STC 2815

35. Denyer N.T. Lat.-Eng. d. 1538 (2)
Second part of the above.

36. Denyer N. T. Eng. b 1537*51
*The Byble, tr. by Thomas Matthew* [or rather, by W. Tyndale and M. Coverdale, ed. by J. Rogers (Antwerp[?], R. Grafton & E. Whitchurch, 1537)]
STC 2066

37. Denyer N. T. Eng. d 1536*52
*The Newe Testament yet Ones Agayne Corrected by W. Tyndale* (London[?], 1536)
STC 2831

38. Denyer N. T. Eng. d 1540*53
*The Newe Testament in Englyshe, Tr. after the Texte of Master Erasmus*, trans. Miles Coverdale (R. Grafton and E. Whytchurche, 1540)
STC 2818

51 ‘Leaves supplied in MS in this New Test. By Eliza Dennis Denyer. The three last leaves in the Revelation, her first essay.’ The book is signed and dated, on the last page of Revelation, ‘EDD 1782’.


53 Printed on yellow paper.
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39. Denyer N. T. Eng. e 1536*54
   *The New Testament yet Once Agayne Corrected by W. Tindale (Antwerp, 1536)
   STC 2833(?)

40. Denyer N. T. Eng. e 1552*55
   STC 2094

41. Denyer Bible Eng. e 1553*
   *The Bible in Englishe according to the Translation of the Great Bible (London: R. Grafton, 1553)
   STC 2092

42. Denyer O.T. Eng. e 156956
   *The Bible (London: I. Cawood, 1559[?])
   STC 2103[?]

43. Denyer Bib Eng. b 1540 2
   *The Byble in Englyshe of the Largest and Greatest Volume (London: Whitchurch, 1541)
   STC 2075[?]

44. Denyer Bib Eng. c 1562
   *The Bible in Englishe (London: R. Harrison, 1562)
   STC 2096

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54 The manuscript also contains a note from William Herbert of Cheshunt to John Denyer. The text of the letter is as follows:
Dear Sir, Cheshunt, 24 January [17]86
I hope ‘ere this you have got rid of the troublesome companion of gout, and that herewith you receive your N. Testament safe; my best thanks attend you for the loan thereof, and for your care and good offices in forwarding Mr. Crutwell’s Bible, which came quite safe to hand the 10th [?]. I have perused your N. Test. and compared it with several of mine: with one of which it nearly agreed, mine being printed with the same types and has many cuts from the same blocks, and has the rest closely copied from those in yours, except the engraver’s mark to those of St. Paul, as mentioned in my former letter. The translation no doubt is Tindal’s but not after his 1st edition, in which he translated Presbyteros Senior, and all of Dutch editions printed from that retained of course the same word. This Tindall acknowledged to be a word not truly English, and therefore in his 2nd edition rendered it elder See Lewis p. 68, 72, & 73. Also in p. 25, he gives another criterion (Mat 1; 12) to distinguish the 2nd from the 1st edition but I do not find any whereby to know his 2nd edition from that of 1536, except the title, which both your and mine want. Yours, I observe, has part of king’s arms at the end of the table: the same was used by John Gough at the end of a Salisbury primer printed by him in 1536. My copy wants the last leaf, but his Majesty has a fair copy which I have seen, and I imagined to be the same as mine, but compleat. I will endeavour to see it again and mark the criterions; especially those noted at the end of the copy in MS. Some of those faults are corrected in mine, but most of them are retained. As both our edit have the world elder in Tim 5; 1 et al. they were not I think printed before 1534, the date of Tindal’s 2nd edition. Your’s sincerely William Herbert

55 Notes on a flyleaf read: ‘Leaves supplied in MS in this New Testament by Eliza Dennis Denyer. The Frontispiece & last leaf of the ‘Table’; No other copy known refer to Doctor Cottons list published 1821. folio 4’. 

56 A note on a flyleaf reads: ‘The translatio Cranmers after the Great Bible believed to be printed by John Cawood see Herbets old English printers marks page 238 compare with the Rebus in the frontispiece to the third part of the Bible Folio 164 – the New Testament bound separate to match. no other copy known refer to Dr Cottons [un?]published folio. 9, who did not see Mr Denyers Library till 1823’.
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45. Denyer Bib Eng. d 1549
   *The Bible* (London: Daye and Seres, 1549)
   STC 2077

46. Denyer Lat.-Eng. e 1538
   *The Newe Testament Both in Latine and Englyshe*, trans. M. Coverdale
   (Southwarke: J. Nicholson, 1538)
   STC 2816

47. Arch. G f.11
   *The Newe Testament Dylygently Corrected and Compared with the Greke by W. Tindale* (Antwerp: M. Emperowr, 1534)
   STC 2826

Philadelphia, PA
University of Pennsylvania, Rare Books & Manuscript Library

48. Yarnall Collection, BV4831 .W45 1753
   *Moral and Religious Aphorisms: Collected from the Manuscript Papers of the Reverend and Learned Doctor Whichcote and Published in MDCCIII by Dr. Jeffrey, Now Re-published, with Very Large Additions, from the Transcripts of the Latter, by Samuel Salter*
   STC 145670

Unknown Location
(Sold at Sotheby’s auction of Denyer’s books for the benefit of the Church Missionary Society, 4 August 1824)

   STC Unidentifiable

   STC 24681

51. Johan Hoper, *A Declaration of Christe and his Offyce* (Zurych: Augustine Fries, 1547)
   STC 13745

52. Antony Gilby, *A Commentarye upon the Prophet Mycha* (1551)
   STC 11886 or 11887

   STC 2871

   STC 1274
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55. *Aggeus the Prophete Declared by a Large Commentary* (London: Wyll. Seres, at the Signe of the Hedgehogge, 1560)
   STC 19926

   STC 1755

57. *Biblia Sacra Latina* (Hammelburck, Johan Froben, 27 June 1491)
   USTC 740085; GW 04269

   STC 2821

   STC 13214

   STC 14599

   STC 17303 or 17304

   STC 5168, 5170, or 5173

63. *The Gospels or the Flower of the Evangelists, Translated in the Olde Saxons Tyme out of Latin into the Vulgare Toung* (London: John Daye, 1571)
   STC 2961

64. *The Bible* (Genevan Version), Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke (London: The Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1599)
   STC 2173

65. *Holy Bible*, trans. Myles Coverdale (Zurich, 1535)
   STC 2063

   STC Unidentifiable

   STC 2067

   STC Unidentifiable

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87 Note from Sotheby’s catalogue: ‘The Frontispiece and the concluding leaves of this Volume are admirably and accurately copied in Manuscript by Miss Denyer’.
STC Unidentifiable

70. The Bible, in Englyshe, according to the Translation apoynted by the Queenes Majesties Injunctions to be read in all Churches, within her Majesties Realme at Rouen, at the Coste and Charges of Richard Camarden 1566*58
STC 2098

71. The Holie Bible, by Bishop Parker, First Edition, with wood cuts and fine portraits of the Earls of Leicester and Burleigh (London: Richard Jugge, 1568)
STC 2099

STC 375

STC 2107

74. William Tyndall, John Frith and Doct. Barnes' Whole Workes (London: John Daye, 1573)
STC 24436

STC 2900[?]

76. The Holy Bible, Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues (London: Robert Barker, 1611)
STC 2216[?]

77. John Merbecke, Concordance to the Bible (London: Richard Grafton, 1550)
STC 17300

58 Note from Sotheby's catalogue: ‘The Frontispiece and two leaves beautifully supplied by Miss Denyer’.