THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY

VOLUME XX: 1955–56

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PLATES

I. AN EARLY ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF THE 'MARSEILLAISE'

THE FIRST ILLUSTRATED AND DATED
EDITION OF THE *MARSEILLAISE*

ONE of the rarities in the Paul Hirsch Music Library, acquired in 1946, was the first edition of the French National Anthem, the *Marseillaise*, of which the words and music were written by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle. Of this edition, which was issued by P. J. Dannbach at Strasbourg probably not later than May 1792, only two or three copies are extant. Like all other early editions of the song known hitherto, the first was issued anonymously and without date. It bore the title: 'Chant de guerre pour l'armee du Rhin'. In addition, the British Museum already possessed five others printed in London before 1795. Recently the bibliographical value of its holding of the *Marseillaise* has been enhanced by the discovery in the General Library of another very early edition of the song (Pl. I), entitled 'Marche des Marseillois chantee sur diferans theatres'. It came to light in a large collection of broadsides, pamphlets, press-cuttings, prints, and ephemeral literature published in England and France between *c.* 1780 and *c.* 1810. The collection (L.R. 301. h. 3–11) was amassed by Miss Sarah Sophia Banks, a sister of Sir Joseph Banks. When she died in 1818, her brother presented the collection to the Museum in the same year, but because of its great size and diversity, each item could not be catalogued separately. This accounts for such an important musical rarity having lain unnoticed for nearly a century and a half.[1]

It is a broadside, with overall dimensions of 30·2 × 46·0 cm. and a plate measurement of 25·0 × 40·1 cm. The sheet is in mint condition, never having been trimmed or folded, and is of exceptional interest for three reasons: it has two imprints, a pictorial illustration, and a date. As seen on Pl. I, the French imprint 'Chez Frere Passage du Saumon' occurs just below the head title; at the foot of the sheet the English imprint reads 'London Pub. Nov[r]. 10, 1792, by Will[m] Holland, No. 50, Oxford Street'. The imprint of two publishers from two different countries on a piece of sheet music is most unusual in any period, particularly in the late 18th century. There seems, however, to be some explanation in the nature and background of the publication.

It should perhaps be regarded not so much as a sheet of music with an illustrated head-piece as an illustration—in fact an etching—with a song appended. This is borne out by the presence of a date, for by law prints had to be dated whereas music did not. The etching, which is coloured by hand, bears the signature 'R[d] Newton'. During his short life (1777–98) Richard Newton produced many prints of a satirical, anti-royalist tone, and is well represented in the Department of Prints and Drawings. One in particular, through similarity of subject and date, sheds light on this edition of the 'Marseillaise'. It is entitled

'A Party of the Sans Culotte Army marching to the Frontiers'[2] and has the imprint 'London Pub[d] Oct[r] 1 1792 by W. Holland N[o] 50 Oxford S[t]', followed by a note: 'In Holland's Exhibition Rooms may be seen all the leading Caricatures on the French Revolution.' As Holland published many of Newton's prints, but is quite unknown as a music publisher,[3] it would appear that he obtained a version of the *Marseillaise* very soon after its first issue in France, and arranged with Frère, purely a music publisher, to market the print in Paris.[4] It seems more likely that Holland, being pleased with Newton's drawing of the 'Sans Culotte Army', commissioned him to make the etching of Revolutionary soldiers on the march to illustrate the song than that Newton, having heard of the song, was inspired by it to draw the scene first and then persuaded Holland to link it with the music. The presence of a Parisian imprint near the head of the sheet might suggest a French origin for it. But this seems quite impossible in the case of an etching signed by an English artist, coupled with the evidence of the orthography in the title and words of the song. The spelling and accentuation are far worse than those of even the poorest French music publishing, yet quite in keeping with the erratic standard of London publishers when faced with a foreign language.

Besides containing an unrecorded work by Newton, the broadside is of first-rate importance as being the first dated edition of the *Marseillaise*, and one issued within six month's of Dannbach's Strasbourg edition. It is possible that detailed bibliographical study of Holland's publication in relation to other early English and French editions may enable a more accurate sequence of dates to be attempted than has hitherto seemed possible. The sheet has now been transferred from Miss Sarah Banks's collection to the Music Room, where, with the appropriate entries added to the catalogue, it is placed at K. 10. b. 24.   A. HYATT KING

[1] Another copy of this edition was auctioned at Sotheby's on 19 July 1954. Previously no copy was known to Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la Marseillaise*, Paris, 1915. It is not mentioned by Daniel Fryklund, *Editions anglaises de la Marseillaise*, Hälsingborg, 1936, but the headpiece by Newton is illustrated by René Brancour, *La Marseillaise et le chant du départ*, Paris, 1915, p. 4, from a print in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[2] M. D. George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, vi, 1938, no. 8123.

[3] Cf. C. Humphries and Wm. C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 1954.

[4] Cecil Hopkinson, *A Dictionary of Parisian Music Publishers*, 1750–1950, 1954, p. 45, gives Frère's overall dates as *c.* 1778–*c.* 1822, and those for his tenure of premises at the 'Passage du Saumon' as 1778–1800. He should not be confused with his son, who was in business, at a different address, from 1812 to 1843.

AUTOGRAPHS OF MUSICIANS

THE break-up and sale of the extensive collection of autographs made by the late W. Westley Manning has enabled the Museum to acquire three letters of composers hitherto unrepresented in its collections by their autographs. Of these the most important is a certificate (now Egerton MS. 3722) in the hand of William Byrde (1543–1623), signed and dated 17 October 1581 (Pl. II), testifying that 'Dorothe Tempest wyfe vnto Michaell Tempest Late attaynted . . . is Alyve'. Michael Tempest had been attainted for his part in the northern Catholic Rebellion in 1570 and fled to the Continent. It seems that Byrde interested himself on behalf of Mrs. Tempest and sent this certificate, together with an autograph letter now in the Public Record Office (Exchequer Rolls, E. 407, 72), to his personal friend William Petre, an official of the Court of Exchequer, asking for payment of arrears in an annuity granted to her. These documents, with the two signatures to the will in Somerset House, are the only known examples of Byrde's handwriting, and were first made public by Mr. Westley Manning in a letter to *The Times*, 12 January 1933. It is hoped that the presence of this rare autograph in the Department of Manuscripts will lead to the discovery of music in the hand of this composer.

The second early autograph from the same collection is a letter of the Jacobean composer, Thomas Lupo, dated 2 September 1618, to a Mr. Cunningham, requesting him to pay Mr. George Hutcher of Greenwich or his deputy 'my quarters wages dew unto mee att Mikaelmas next'. On the lower half of the page is a receipt, signed by George Hutcher, for the sum of £10 received from Adam Newton, Treasurer 'to the Prince his Highness', which suggests that the writer of this letter is Thomas Lupo the younger (fl. 1598–1641 according to the *D.N.B.*), who seems to have been a member of the Prince of Wales's band of musicians.

Autographs of Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–87) appear surprisingly rarely in the sale-room for such an important and prolific composer, so that the addition to the Department's collections of the original of a well-known letter is all the more welcome. The letter, also from the Westley Manning sale and once in the Heyer collection at Cologne, was written from Vienna to Franz Kruthoffer, a friend of the composer, and is dated 2 March 1778. Gluck describes an uncomfortable journey, the unsettled state of Vienna 'übrigens bin ich zu unrechter Zeit allhier angekommen, alles bereit sich zum Krieg', encloses a letter and ring for Mlle le Vasseur, the singer, who appeared in many of his operas, and asks for some scores of *Armida* to be sent to him.

Lastly, mention should be made here of a further acquisition of musical interest, this time as the result of a generous gift by Miss Nora Day, namely, 'the first complete sketch' (now numbered Add. MS. 48369), of the *Choral Fantasia*

(Op. 51) by Gustav Holst (1874–1934). The work, a setting of verses from Robert Bridges's *Ode to Music*, was written in 1930 for the Three Choirs Festival and first performed in Gloucester in 1931. The manuscript consists of the vocal and compressed orchestral score with the composer's notes and alterations. This supplements the Holst autographs already in the Department (Add. MSS. 47804–38), which were presented in 1952 by Mrs. Isobel and Miss Imogen Holst, the composer's widow and daughter.   P. J. WILLETTS

AN EXTRA-ILLUSTRATED SECOND FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE

MUCH interest has been aroused by the recent purchase by the Museum of a second folio of Shakespeare with thirty-seven water colour or pencil extra-illustrations dating from the opening years of the nineteenth century. The volume at that period belonged to the Rev. Joseph Thomas, and had probably come down in his wife's family. She was a daughter of the Rev. John Parkhurst, the lexicographer, and a descendant of Judge Dormer, whose name figures on the first page (Names of the Principal Actors) of the folio in its present state. This information is contained in a note by Mrs. Thomas's grandson, D. P. Chase, last Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, before it was incorporated with Oriel College. The book came to him in 1876, and in 1880 it was sold to Mr. Alexander Macmillan, from whose family it passed to the Museum.

As a second folio, the volume is not of great moment for it lacks the title-page and the engraved portrait. Its chief importance lies in the presence amongst the extra-illustrations of six water colours by Blake. These have been known for many years and there is a somewhat garbled notice of them added to the second edition of Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* (1880).

About this date (1806) were also produced some designs to Shakespeare which were neither commissioned nor engraved. They are now, with a few from other hands, bound up in a second folio of Shakespeare, which was executed for the Rev. Ker Porter, who himself contributed one or two well-conceived designs; notably, that of *Falstaff between the Merry Wives*. There is also an early sample of Mulready's art, evidently showing the influence of Fuseli. But by far the most remarkable of the collection is *Hamlet and the Ghost*, by Blake. The ghost has led Hamlet to the verge of the sea, far from the castle; and, on the solitary moonlit sands, he has fallen on his knees in the act of swearing to obey his father's behest of vengeance on the perpetrators of his 'most foul, strange, and unnatural murder.' The volume is in the possession of Mr. Alexander Macmillan.

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The mention of the Rev. Ker Porter instead of Thomas is a confusion with Sir Robert Ker Porter, who painted several of the illustrations. The facts are corrected in the notes in Ruthven Todd's Everyman edition of the *Life* (p. 384). Gilchrist reproduced one of the Blake drawings, *Hamlet and the Ghost*, in an engraving by J. D. Cooper. Two others, *Richard III and the Ghosts* and *Queen Katharine's Vision*, are reproduced in Basil de Selincourt's *William Blake* (1909), and all the Blake drawings were reproduced in the *Illustrated London News* of 25 December 1954.

Dr. Chase states in his note that, as far as he remembers, 'the following artists are represented by drawings . . . and the initials, at least, of each will be found on his own work': these artists he lists as Blake, W. Hamilton, R.A., R. Ker Porter, R.A., Harlow, Thurston, and Mulready (?). Unfortunately many of the drawings are in fact unsigned and can only be stylistically attributed. Though not mentioned in the Doctor's list a tab in the book gives the name of Flaxman. Each play is preceded by two inserted blank pages, and in some cases there is a rough pencil sketch as well as a completed drawing. Several, however, of the pages are blank, still waiting for their illustrator.

Of the dated drawings the earliest is 1801, the latest 1809. Joseph Thomas had married in 1791[1] and presumably the folio was in his possession till his death at Epsom in 1811. In 1790 he was curate of Spexall, Suffolk, and for the last two years of his life rector of Elmswell in the same county. In between he was for a time a naval chaplain, serving in H.M.S. *Vanguard*, Nelson's flagship at the Battle of the Nile, and may well have been present on that occasion. The years when he was compiling the drawings are the least documented of his career.

It was a period when Shakespearian illustration was much in vogue. Boydell's Shakespearian Gallery had opened in 1789, and engravings from the paintings, commissioned for it from all the leading artists of England, were widely circulated. William Hamilton (1751–1801) had been much employed by Boydell, and when the Gallery had to be sold in 1804 there were twenty-three of his paintings listed in the catalogue. His two signed illustrations in the folio, both dated 1801, must have been amongst his last works, and it is possibly due to his long practice that he chose from *The Winters Tale* the unusual episode of Hermione appearing in a Vision to Antigonus

'in pure white robes,
Like very sanctity, she did approach
My cabin where I lay.'

His second piece, to *Antony and Cleopatra*, is a more normal scene, Cleopatra and Eros arming Antony. Hamilton shared many of Fuseli's mannerist tricks of elongation and muscular accentuation, but the two drawings in question are comparatively straightforward pieces. The curious drawing for *Twelfth Night*, possibly the mourning Olivia, possibly Patience on a Monument, may also be

from his hand. Some pleasant but insipid drawings (The Muse appearing to Shakespeare, *Much Ado*, *Love's Labour Lost*, *Henry IV*, *Pt. 2*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Troilus and Cressida*), unsigned but by one hand, are certainly by John Thurston (1774–1822), noted in his day as a wood-engraver, a prolific illustrator, whose designs have been submerged and forgotten in the greater repute of Stothard. Sir Robert Ker Porter (1777–1842) signs four of the drawings (one dated 1801, one 1809) and two others (*Richard II* and Shakespeare crowned by a Muse) are probably by him. In 1801 he had newly completed his panorama of *The Storming of Seringapatam* which caused a great sensation with its 700 life-size figures: in 1809, when he drew his vigorous scene for the *Taming of the Shrew*, he must have been very recently returned from Spain, where, after visiting Russia, he had taken part in the famous retreat to Coruna. Apart from the Blake drawings, his illustration to *Henry IV*, *Pt. 1* (dt. 1801),

'I saw young Harry with his beaver up',

is the most notable contribution to the folio, and stylistically a remarkably romantic piece for so early a date. His free, broken lines and small scattered dots are extremely characteristic and the examples here should do something for his dimmed reputation (Pl. IV*a*).

Of the other signed or identifiable drawings, G. H. Harlow (dt. Sept. 1808) has a highly mannered scene from *Lear*, where the figures are grotesquely articulated in the style then so curiously popular. Mulready's youthful effort (sd. and dt. 1803 when he was only seventeen) shows Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne, but precedes *Henry VI*, *Pt. 3* instead of Pt. 1. It is boldly blocked out and depends more on shading, less on line, than any of the other sketches, though like many of them it shows the influence of Fuseli's instruction in the life class of the Royal Academy. Dr. Chase puts a query against Mulready's name in his list, possibly considering it too advanced a piece for so young an artist; but the same date and signature appear on an accomplished topographical drawing of a Norman gateway in the British Museum Print Room. Unsigned, the curious illustration to *Measure for Measure*, apparently a fantasy on Claudio's speech on death, is in Flaxman's style and presumably by him (Pl. IV*b*). The drawing of Oberon and Titania might also be from his hand, possibly also that of Ariel for the *Tempest*. For *King John* there is a curiously intense rendering of Constance and Arthur, and a sketch for this exists in the Print Room (1913–5–28–28), one of a series of drawings by Flaxman of Mrs. Siddons in the part of Constance. In the folio it has been worked up into a brown-wash study and the figure of a knight added, possibly by some other hand than that of Flaxman himself.

Blake's subjects are drawn from *As You Like It*, *Richard III*, *Henry VIII*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Hamlet*, with a leaf at the end painted with an allegory of uncertain meaning. Three of them are dated 1806, two 1809, one is undated. For

As You Like It (1806) he has chosen the scene of Jacques and the wounded stag. William Hodges, the topographical artist for Captain Cook's second expedition, had painted this episode for the Boydell Gallery, treating it as a landscape in which Romney inserted for him the figure of the melancholy courtier. Blake's conception owes nothing to this earlier version. Jacques and the heavily bleeding stag fill the foreground, and the woodland is indicated by four broadly washed in trunks and a canopy of foliage. Through two pear-shaped vistas between the trunks some prancing, toy-like deer have more touch of fantasy than the fore-ground figures (Pl. III*a*). This is Blake in his directly illustrative vein, the Blake of Hayley's *Anecdotes relating to Animals*, not of the *Prophetic Books*. In the same year he drew for the folio Caesar's ghost appearing to Brutus and Hamlet and his father's spirit, topics more apt to his visionary mood. The Brutus is a com-petent work in the Fuseli tradition, the Hamlet, so much admired by Gilchrist, has a curious, weird quality, bordering on the grotesque. The elongated ghost bends in an uneasy curve, as though tottering insecurely, but in the face of Hamlet and in his bristling hair, Blake has found a true formula for amazed horror. For *Richard III* also he chose the ghost scene (Pl. III*b*). This powerful, undated design, where the ghosts' intangibility is finely rendered, is much more in Blake's accepted manner. For *Henry VIII* (1809) he selected Queen Katharine's Dream. This was a subject for which he had engraved Fuseli's design in Riving-ton's edition of Shakespeare's works (1805), but his own drawing is barely influenced by Fuseli's example. Where the latter had only shown an angel's foot disappearing at the top, Blake drew a serpentine line of flying forms, rising from a V-shaped group below the sleeping queen. The design clearly pleased him and three other versions of it are known, one of them executed in his last years for Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The last drawing (1809) is hard to interpret. It is on a sheet bound in at the end of the volume, following a sketch of Stratford Church signed by John Varley, an unsigned but topographically interesting view of the Birthplace, and a sketch of Fame crowning Shakespeare's bust. It shows a nude woman recum-bent on a cloud; below a male figure, swinging some reins, flies downwards to-wards a splendid, prancing horse, leaping across the blazing sun. A somewhat similar fantasy was evolved by Blake on the lines from *Macbeth*:

> pity, like a new born babe
> Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, hors'd
> Upon the sightless couriers of the air,

and it seems likely that this too is some visualization responding, without any close exactitude, to the impact of some line. Already one such piece had been admitted to the folio as frontispiece to *Measure for Measure*. Perhaps here the play had already been illustrated. Juliet's

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Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds
Towards Phoebus' lodging: such a waggoner
As Phaethon would whip you to the west

might release just such a swift, vehement image; but *Romeo* was already provided
with the death scene in the vault. Or, it has been suggested, it may be some con-
cept of the controlling genius of Shakespeare. Whatever its meaning and origin,
it is in line and colour and in stimulating sense of movement, one of Blake's
masterpieces.   T. S. R. BOASE

I Details in J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. ii, vol. vi (1954), p. 154.

A VOLUME OF DRAWINGS BY
FRANCIS BARLOW

THE Department of Prints and Drawings has recently acquired a *duodecimo*
volume of drawings from the collection of the late H. S. Reitlinger. At one
time it belonged to Sir Andrew Fountaine (b. 1678; d. 1753) the antiquary,
whose crest is stamped on the binding which dates from the latter period of his
life. The volume contains sixty-three mounted drawings executed in pen and
grey wash, each measuring 3 × 2 in. They form a series of satirical designs,
haphazardly arranged, illustrating events connected with the so-called *Popish
Plot* (1678) and *Meal Tub Plot* (1680) and with the earlier period of the *Rump
Parliament* (1648–53). None of the drawings is signed but the style is entirely
characteristic of Francis Barlow (b. 1626; d. 1704), the English animal-painter
and illustrator of *Aesop's Fables*. Each drawing is contained within a ruled margin
with a small space below for an inscription identifying the subject. Some of these
spaces are left blank but most are inscribed in one of several old hands among
which is perhaps that of the artist. The designs are clearly prepared for engraving
and are in fact connected with at least two distinct sets of rare pictorial playing-
cards in the Print Room collection. There can be little doubt that Barlow's are
the original designs for at least a proportion of the cards, or that the drawings
contained in the volume were all intended as designs for playing-cards.

The *Popish Plot* pack was probably published in the latter part of 1679
soon after the 'Tryall of Sr G. Wakeman, and 3 Benedictine Monks' (18 July)
on a charge of high treason in conspiring to poison the king, the last episode
illustrated in the pack. The *Rump Parliament* designs were also engraved to
form part of an extremely rare set previously thought to have originated in
Holland soon after the events illustrated. A comparison of these latter designs
with those of the *Popish Plot* provides no reason for supposing that they are earlier
drawings. Probably all the designs in the album were executed within two years.

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The fact that illustrations of events separated by at least a generation should be executed and published at about the same time may seem surprising. It appears that one of the results of the *Popish Plot* was to enlarge the appetite for popular satirical illustration, either in the form of broadsheets or pictorial playing-cards on politico-historical themes sometimes concerned with past events only remotely connected with contemporary issues. Thus a newspaper cutting of 1679 or 1680, preserved among the Bagford papers in the Department of Manuscripts,[1] carries an advertisement for 'a new Pack of Cards' containing 'a History of all the Popish Plots that have been in England, beginning with those in Queen Elizabeth's time, and ending with this last damnable plot against his sacred majesty King Charles the Second. . . '. In the same way perhaps, the events of the revolutionary period of the *Rump Parliament* must have seemed able to supply useful material for the satirist.

Of the *Popish Plot* designs only fifteen are known to have been engraved as part of a full pack of fifty-two cards at one time believed without justification to be the work of William Faithorne the Elder (b. 1616, d. 1691). This or a similar pack is described in another advertisement which appeared in the *New Domestick Intelligence* for 26 December, 1679: 'There is lately published a new Pack of Cards neatly cut in copper, in which are represented to the life the several consults for killing the King, and extirpating the Protestant Religion, the manner of murthering Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, the Tryals and Executions of the Conspirators, and all other material designs relating to the contrivance and management of the said horrid Popish Plot. . . .' The pack is concerned with the earlier episodes connected with the Plot, those which took place or were imagined to have happened before August 1679. The drawings from which cards were engraved, though forming only a small proportion of the total number, include some of the most effective designs: the *Consult at Roome* [Rome (Pl. V*a*), where it was imagined the plot to kill the king and restore Catholicism was first hatched]; the hunting down of Sir E. B. Godfrey (the magistrate to whom Titus Oates made his disclosures in September 1678) by his murderers (Pl. V*b*); and the disposal of his corpse, transfixed with a sword, on Primrose Hill (Pl. V*c*). The designs not engraved, so far as is known, relate to later events down to October 1680. A number are concerned with the *Meal Tub Plot*, the sham Presbyterian conspiracy said to have been invented by a notorious criminal, Thomas Dangerfield (alias Willoughby) supposedly in the pay of the Jesuits, whose 'confession' was apparently supported by documents found in the meal-tub of his accomplice, a Catholic agent known as Madame Cellier. Dangerfield and Madame Cellier figure prominently in Barlow's designs (Pl. V*d*, *f*). The atmosphere of mystery and intrigue which surrounded the whole series of murders, arrests, trials, and executions is expressed in a free and vigorous manner. The artist's ability to project these sensational events in a form both simple and dramatic is

reminiscent of the more talented modern strip-cartoonist. As with him, fantasy is always breaking through, in for example the *Devil supplying the Pope with Plotters* (Pl. V*e*).

If Barlow's authorship of these designs is accepted, he must be considered as the originator of a considerable number of similar late seventeenth-century productions and as an important figure in the early history of English satirical art. The Print Room collection of *Personal and Political Satires* includes two broadsheets entitled *A True Narrative of the Horrid Hellish Popish Plot to the Tune of Packington's Pound*,[2] with twenty-four designs larger than those already discussed and quite distinct but closely resembling them. In addition it seems that Barlow continued to design pictorial playing-cards, possibly into the early years of the eighteenth century. His unmistakable manner, however wretchedly reproduced by the engraver, is discernible in at least six other packs of cards: *The Spanish Armada, All the Popish Plots*, the *Rye House Plot, Monmouth's Rebellion, The Reign of James II, The Revolution*; and less certainly in *The Reign of Queen Anne* and in some of the designs for *Marlborough's Victories*.

<div style="text-align: right">P. H. HULTON</div>

[1] Harl. MSS. No. 5947.
[2] *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, vol. i, pp. 649–59, nos. 1092 and 1093.

AN EGYPTIAN GOLD COIN

ALTHOUGH there is documentary evidence for the existence of a kind of currency in ancient Egypt[1] it remains broadly true that regular issues of coinage, which can be identified with extant specimens, are hardly attested before the conquest by Alexander the Great. During the half century or so previous to this, a revolt from Persian domination had led to a resurgence of Egypt under a line of native kings who managed to preserve their country's independence, albeit precariously and relying on the support of Greek mercenary armies: and during this period there appeared some isolated issues of coinage. Two specimens which have survived are the gold and silver pieces issued by Tachos (361–359 B.C.): both are in the British Museum and have already appeared in the *Quarterly* (i, 1926, p. 24 and xix, 1954, p. 14). These coins were essentially Greek in design and conception, made after the pattern of the coins of Athens, though the silver piece is inscribed in Egyptian demotic characters.

The Museum has now been able to acquire a specimen (Pl. VI, 1) of a gold coinage of a more purely Egyptian character, the reverse side of which depicts the hieroglyphs *nefer nub* (= 'good gold'): though the style of the horse on the other side recalls Greek prototypes, notably those occurring on coins of Syracuse and Carthage. The first specimen of this hieroglyphic coinage, discovered over

fifty years ago,[2] was reported to have been found together with Greek gold coins of Lampsacus, Cyrene, Cyprus, and of Philip II of Macedon (359–336 B.C.): this clearly suggests a date in the fourth century B.C. (certainly earlier dates are out of the question)—and probably not before the middle of the century. It was once suggested that the hieroglyphic coins were minted for Tachos, to pay his mercenaries; but now that the coins of Tachos are known, it seems more likely that we should assign the hieroglyphic pieces to the last of the native kings, Nakthorehbe ('Nectanebo II'), who with the support of the Spartan Agesilaos was installed as Pharaoh in 359 B.C. (after the débâcle and deposition of Tachos); and who continued to reign in comparative peace until in 343 B.C. Artaxerxes Ochus once more subjugated Egypt to the Persian empire.   G. K. JENKINS

[1] J. Černý, 'Prices and Wages in the Ramesside period', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, i (1954), pp. 903 ff.

[2] *Journal Internationale d'Archéologie Numismatique*, iv (Athens, 1901), pp. 153 ff.

THE GOLD STATER OF FLAMININUS

THE Trustees have recently purchased for the Department of Coins and Medals a most rare coin, a gold stater of T. Quinctius Flamininus, the Roman general who defeated Philip V of Macedon at the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. This coin is one of the most notable acquisitions by the Department and is certainly the most important single piece ever to be added to the Roman series; for this coin is not only of the highest numismatic importance but combines a high degree of historical and artistic interest.

The gold stater (Pl. VI, 2 and 2*a*) has on its obverse the portrait of Flamininus with flowing locks and closely trimmed beard while the reverse depicts a winged Victory holding up a wreath in her right hand and a palm-branch in her left. In the field of the reverse is the inscription T. QVINCTI. The coin has a diameter of 19 mm. and a weight of 8·44 gm., just a little less than the average weight (8·53) of the four previously known specimens. Three examples had long been known in the National Collections at Athens, Berlin, and Paris:[1] a fourth was seen in 1951, prior to its disposal to a private collector. All five specimens appear to be from different pairs of dies though it has been possible to examine the Athens and Berlin specimens only from photographs. The style of the reverses is consistent, but the obverse heads are either neat and small, permitting satisfactory centring on the flan as is the case with the Museum's acquisition and the Berlin and Paris coins, or large and broad, occupying almost the whole of the obverse field as on the Athens and the privately owned specimens. Of those five examples, that now in the British Museum appears to be the best preserved.

Coinage in gold was rare in the Roman Republic until the struggle for power in the Civil Wars, which preceded the establishment of Empire towards the end of the first century B.C. Of earlier gold issues, the comparatively common series with Mars-head and eagle types dates from the 'gold rush' in Noricum about 169 B.C.[2] and there is the very rare issue of *aurei nummi* with young Janus-head and oath-scene associated with the silver *quadrigatus* didrachms issued *c.* 220 B.C., a few years before the second Punic War.[3] The staters of Flamininus, then, are, with the exception of the oath-scene gold, the earliest Roman gold coins. They have, too, the distinction of being the first Roman coins to have what can with certainty be identified as the portrait of a living man. A silver coin struck at Carthago Nova in Spain after its capture by Scipio in 210 B.C. bears a portrait, which has been identified as that of Scipio,[4] but, in the absence of any specific declaration on this coin or on a similar bronze piece from Canusium or of any completely certain portrait of Scipio,[5] the identification remains no more than probable. The Flamininus stater is thus the precursor of the great series of Roman portrait coins, though exactly a century and a half was to pass before the series proper began with portraits of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. Artistically, these gold staters form the link between the Roman portrait series, particularly under the Empire and the portrait series of the Hellenistic rulers from the successors of Alexander the Great onwards.

The British Museum specimen is reported to have been acquired originally at Delphi, which is wholly consistent with the style of these coins. Its weight standard is that of the Greek stater and the reverse type is obviously derived from the Victory on the gold staters of Alexander the Great. Most striking is the treatment of the portrait of Flamininus: the artist who cut the dies for these coins was obviously very familiar with the portraits of Philip V of Macedon,[6] Flamininus' chief opponent; for there is a similar arrangement of locks of hair, a similar treatment of the beard, and even a repetition of the unusual angle between head and neck.

The view has been advanced that these gold staters are not contemporary with Flamininus[7] but, apart from the difficulty of identifying any suitable subsequent occasion for their issue, the close parallel with the coins of Philip V seems to determine their issue in the period of Flamininus' activities in Greece. The exact place of minting remains uncertain and the inspirer of the issue and the exact date are in doubt. In 194 when Flamininus, implementing Rome's promise to withdraw once Greece was freed, left for Italy he received innumerable gifts including some 114 gold crowns and the gold staters may have been an unusually complimentary gift to him from one of the cities. It does not necessarily follow, though it is probable, that if the coin had been struck by Greeks in honour of Flamininus it would have had an inscription in Greek rather than Latin.[8] The arguments for the view that the gold staters were struck at the instigation of

Flamininus or one of his entourage are more convincing. If indeed silver portrait coins were struck in Spain in honour of Scipio, the rivalry of Scipio and Flamininus might well have prompted him to outdo Scipio with a series of gold coins. Further, portraiture which had developed from that of gods to that of god-kings retained the divine connexion and was a jealously guarded right definitely exercised by the divine, or rather, deified ruler, into which category Flamininus came, for Chalcis had deified him in his life-time without objection on his part.[9]

Whether the exact circumstances and inspiration of this issue were such as have been here suggested, the staters of Flamininus remain one of the most interesting series in the Roman coinage. The acquisition now of this fine example brings representation of one of the great rarities previously lacking in the National Collection.   R. A. G. CARSON

[1] M. von Bahrfeldt, *Die Römische Gold-münzenprägung während der Republik und unter Augustus*, pp. 22–24 and pl. II. 23–25.

[2] *Guide to the Exhibition of Roman Coins in the British Museum*, 1952, p. 8.

[3] Idem., p. 5.

[4] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1930, Proceedings, p. 4; H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics 220–150 B.C.*, p. 255 and Frontispiece.

[5] J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie: Teil I, die Bildnisse berümhter Römer*, pp. 32–60.

[6] Cf. *Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. 25, 6.

[7] W. Kubitschek, *Studien der Münzen der Römischen Republik*, pp. 1–36.

[8] G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, pp. 136f.

[9] G. Macdonald, *Coin Types, Their Origin and Development*, pp. 153 f.

THREE MEROVINGIAN TREMISSES

ALTHOUGH Merovingian tremisses represent the final degeneration of imperial gold currency in north-western Europe, they are but rarely met with this side of the English Channel. Of recent years only three have been reported as having been found in this country, and in each case the Department of Coins and Medals has been fortunate enough to acquire the coin from the finder. Individually the three pieces are of considerable interest, and collectively they illustrate admirably the gradual debasement that transformed the triens into the sceatta. Nor is the pattern of the find-spots without its significance for the student of early medieval trade between the Rhine and the Thames.

The oldest in point of date was found on the banks of a stream at Pinner in Middlesex. It weighs 23·2 grains, and is struck in good gold (Pl. VI, 3). Both the obverse and reverse types are close copies of late Roman gold coins of the period, as is the reverse legend VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM 'The Victory of the Emperors'. The CONOB in the exergue is a conventional contraction signifying that the coin was struck on the imperial standard. The obverse legend, however, reads D(ominus) N(oster) THEODEBERTVS VI(ctor) and the coin is to be attributed to

Theudebert I (534–48). The coin has stylistic affinities with those struck at the imperial mints in Italy, and there is reason to associate it with the quinquennium immediately following Theudebert's invasion of northern Italy in 539/40. The coin is only the second tremissis of Theudebert to be found in England, and the first to find its way to the National Collection.

Gold coins of the Merovingian mint of Cologne are notably rare, and Hävernick's standard corpus lists but three solidi with the name of Theudebert I— one in the British Museum—and twenty-three regally anonymous trientes.[1] Only six of these last are attributed to the seventh century, five struck by a moneyer Suno and one by a moneyer Gaucemar. Consequently it came as something of a surprise when a seventh example was picked up on a beach at Swalecliffe near Whitstable in Kent, and proved to be a second coin of Gaucemar. It weighs 19·2 grains, and appears to be struck in an alloy of roughly three parts of gold to one of silver (Pl. VI, 4). The obverse type is a rude bust facing right, and the reverse a crudely executed cross on a step, the types being derived from those of the commonest of the late imperial trientes. The obverse legend is GAVCEMARE, and the reverse COLCIVITFIT which we may transcribe as '(a) Gaucemare (in) Col(onia) Civit(ate) fit' and render 'made by Gaucemar in the city of Cologne'. The main interest of the piece is that it transposes the legends of the Paris piece of the same mint and moneyer, a phenomenon also found on coins of Suno. It is believed to be the first Cologne tremissis to be found in England, and is certainly the first to find its way to the National Collection. Thanks are due to Mr. F. Higenbottam, F.L.A., of the Royal Museum and Public Library at Canterbury who reported the discovery, and put the Museum into touch with the finder.

The coin from Swalecliffe is perhaps little more than sixty years later in date than that from Pinner, and about the same space of time separates our third coin. It weighs 18·2 grains, and is struck in an electrum (gold-silver alloy) so pale that the coin could be taken for silver (Pl. VI, 5). It is only the seventh coin to be recorded of a little group of debased tremisses associated with Austrasia, and is the first from this side of the Channel, two other examples in an English private collection having a French provenance. It was found in a garden at Colchester, and was originally acquired by Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., for the Colchester and Essex Museum. On learning of the coin's significance, however, Mr. Hull very generously persuaded his Trustees to present it to the National Collection, this being by no means the first occasion on which the Department has been placed under so pleasant an obligation to that body. The obverse type of a helmeted bust facing right, and the reverse of a cross and wreath are both ultimately derived from late imperial prototypes, and are executed with considerable neatness. The legends, however, are apparently meaningless. The importance of the coin is twofold. In the first place it is the first of the group to be found in this country,

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and serves as a link with a very coarse and light imitation in the Hunter collection at Glasgow which is perhaps both of English workmanship and an English find. In the second, the coin has, as Le Gentilhomme pointed out when publishing a specimen from the same reverse die found near Rouen, marked stylistic affinities with a group of English sceattas believed to bear the name of Peada of Mercia.[2]

It is perhaps worth remarking that it is only very rarely that single coins come within the scope of the law of treasure-trove, and that in the case of the three coins described above the regulations could not be invoked. Consequently it was only because of the co-operation of the finders that they have been able even to be published, and acquisition for the National Collection was dependent entirely on the finders' willingness to sell. R. H. M. DOLLEY

[1] Walter Hävernick, *Die Münzen von Köln vom Beginn der Prägung bis 1304*, Cologne, 1935, pp. 15–17.

[2] Pierre Le Gentilhomme, *Mélanges de Numismatique Mérovingienne*, Paris, 1940, p. 63 and pl. IV. 22.

TWO ARAB-BYZANTINE DINARS

THROUGH the generosity of Mr. Philip Grierson of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, the Islamic series in the Department of Coins has been enriched by the gift of two extremely rare and valuable gold *dīnārs* issued in the reign of the Umaiyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (A.D. 685–705). The finer specimen of the two (Pl. VI, 6) shows the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius and his two sons, Heraclius Constantine on the right with Heraclonas on the left. Unlike its Byzantine prototype this Arab dinar has lost all traces of Christian symbolism. The 'cross on steps' of the reverse has been transformed into a small globe on top of a post, while the monogram of Heraclius has been altered to two Greek letters B I. In place of the Greek legend of the Byzantine original an Arabic legend in early Kufic script records: 'In the name of Allah; there is no God except Allah alone; Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah.' The coin was minted *c.* A.D. 695, no doubt at the Umaiyad capital, Damascus.

The second coin (Pl. VI, 7), unfortunately a little damaged, is equally remarkable. Instead of the figure of the Emperor as on its Byzantine precursor, we have the standing figure of the Umaiyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, wearing Arab head-dress and long robes. Unlike the Christian Emperor on the prototype, who carries cruciform globe and sceptre, the Caliph in striking contrast grasps his sword ready to lead the attack against the Infidels. On the reverse is the transformed 'cross on steps', as on the previous specimen, but the Kufic legend reads: 'In the name of Allah this dīnār was struck in the year 76', i.e.

A.D. 695/6. This important coin was, therefore, issued in the year preceding the famous coinage reform of the Caliph, when iconography was superseded and only Arabic legends were allowed to appear on the coins. This *dīnār*, like the other, was undoubtedly minted at Damascus.   JOHN WALKER

THE EXCAVATIONS OF NIMRUD, 1949-53

IN 1949 Professor M. E. L. Mallowan, on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, of which he is director, reopened a series of excavating campaigns in Iraq at Nimrud, a former Assyrian military capital anciently known as Kalḫu, the Biblical Calah of Genesis x. 12. This site was originally excavated by A. H. Layard from 1845, first on a patron's account, later by himself under the auspices of this Museum. It provided a rich harvest of antiquities, particularly sculptures, but had lain virtually untouched (except for small operations) from his time and that of Hormuzd Rassam, his assistant, till the present. The British School of Archaeology in Iraq has presented each year to this Museum a selection of the finds assigned to the School by courtesy of the Iraq Government, the presentation being in return for technical assistance of various kinds by the staff of the British Museum, one of whom has attended the excavations as epigraphist during four of the campaigns. The following is a brief summary of the material received by the British Museum, excluding perhaps the most notable piece of all, the magnificent ivory panel which has already been described and illustrated in this *Quarterly*.[1]

Thirty-three inscribed tablets and one complete cylinder have been added to the Museum's collection of cuneiform inscriptions. The cylinder (B.M. 131129, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. diam. with a slight chip), written in 672 B.C., gives details of the 'new palace' built at Kalḫu for Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (681–669 B.C.). He records that the older palace of his predecessor Shalmaneser III, located in the centre of the acropolis, was dilapidated and inadequate. The text of sixty-three lines[2] is of special interest, for it is the first of this king's building inscriptions to be found at Nimrud although his ('South-West') palace was partially uncovered by Layard in 1847.[3] The inscription also enables broken building records of the same king at the city Tarbiṣu,[4] written in the following year, to be restored.

The excavations in the Governor's Palace in 1950 resulted in the discovery of a notable historical text. Only a few yards to the north-west of the Nabū Temple where in 1875 George Smith, of the British Museum, found a large tablet (K. 3751) which formed part of an account of the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.), a further fragment of the Royal Annals of the same

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king was found. The text (B.M. 131982) of twenty-seven lines is unfortunately broken, but gives new details of the Assyrian campaign against the Phoenician–Philistine coastal cities in 734 B.C.[5] The broad outline of the Assyrian king's military operations has long been known from Rawlinson's publication of the Annals,[6] but this fragment is the only extant document giving details of a campaign which followed Tiglath-pileser's reception of tribute from Menahem of Israel.[7] As the Assyrian armies moved victoriously down the Mediterranean coast they amassed much booty, including ivory, spices, horses, and precious objects from seven cities, which they captured without opposition and incorporated into the wide-spreading Assyrian provincial administration. They met, however, stiff resistance from two tribes which were 'on the borders of Bit Ḥumri' (i.e. Israel). A decisive victory enabled Tiglath-pileser to advance southwards. Ḥanunu, King of Gaza, fled at his approach and the city capitulated. To mark the ensuing change of rule and allegiance, golden statues and emblems of the Assyrian king and gods, doubtless fashioned from captured materials, were set up in the palace and city. A similar reminder of Assyrian domination seems to have been imposed upon Jerusalem a few years later.[8] The Assyrians marched as far as 'the city of the brook of Egypt'.[9] The broken text concludes with a reference to the *maḫḫe* or 'prophets' and seems to be an instance of supernatural guidance in state affairs conveyed through cult officials.

The remaining inscriptions of this collection (131952–79) are mainly Assyrian administrative documents but include a number of letters addressed to the busy district-governor of Kalḫu. One (B.M. 131994), sent by his son away in Babylonia, asks why his father has not replied to two letters and concludes with a request for more money (?). These texts, with the writing-board described below, show that much important Assyrian historical material yet remains at Nimrud despite the fact that the earlier excavators, Layard, Rassam, Smith and Loftus, found few inscribed tablets, though they enriched the Museum's collection by discovering the Nimrud sculptures, ivories, and bronzes.

A well in the North-West Palace, in Room AB, where Layard had found a collection of bronzes, was reopened in 1953. Fragments of ivory and wooden writing-boards were found preserved in the silt below the water-level. The inscription on the ivory cover[10] of what proves to be a sixteen-leaved polyptych shows that these were made for Sargon II, about 715 B.C., for the library of his palace at Khorsabad. Fragments of wax associated with the boards and bearing remains of writing confirm that this, the earliest known form of ancient book,[11] contained the cuneiform text of the long astrological omen series called, after the opening words, *Enuma Anu Enlil*. Although it has long been surmised that the Assyrians, like the Hittites and Etruscans, used wax-covered boards ((*iṣ*)*lē'u*) for their inscriptions as an alternative to the more common clay tablet, this *de luxe* edition is the first actual example to have been recovered. The boards were

broken when the hinges, possibly of gold, were ripped off and the boards thrown down the well. Three boards have been restored and added to this collection (B.M. 131952–4, see Pl. VIIa). There are parts of several others.

The largest group of objects, after the tablets, consists of Phoenician and Syrian carved ivories, mostly from the North-West Palace, where Layard found a notable collection, and the so-called 'Burnt Palace' in the opposite (south-east) corner of the mound. Those from the North-West Palace are mostly from small pieces of furniture, except for one large portion perhaps of a chair representing the hindquarters of a lion (130846). Those found in the 'Burnt Palace' are fragments from the collection originally discovered there by W. K. Loftus in 1854. Two pieces (131141–2) actually join portions already in the Museum's collections received at that time. One pair is shown on Plate VIIb. The most striking object apart from these ivories is a fine cylinder seal of chalcedony showing a feathered figure supporting a winged emblem of the god Assur (130865, Pl. VIIc).

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R. D. BARNETT

D. J. WISEMAN

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[1] Vol. xix, p. 37 and pl. xvi a.

[2] Published by D. J. Wiseman in *Iraq*, xiv. 54–60.

[3] A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 25 ff.

[4] Essad Nassouhi, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalische-Gesellschaft*, iii, 1/2, pp. 22–32.

[5] D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq*, xiii. 21–24.

[6] H. C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iii. 10, No. 2 (British Museum, 1870).

[7] 2 Kings xv. 20 (see also *Iraq*, xv. 135).

[8] 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.: 'And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and saw the altar that was in Damascus: and the king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar and the pattern of it according to the workmanship thereof: and Urijah the priest built an altar.'

[9] *Naḥalmuṣûr*, the modern Wady al-'Arîsh.

[10] Now in the Iraq Museum (ND 3557). *Iraq*, vol. xvi, pl. xxiii.

[11] See *Iraq*, xvi (1954), p. 99; xvii (1955), pp. 3–13.

AN EARLY PĀLA BODHISATTVA

THE sculpture of the Pāla dynasty, which ruled Bengal and Bihar from the middle of the eighth to the twelfth century A.D., is probably better represented in the Museum than in any other collection outside India. The finest piece in the collection, of unusual interest and quality, has remained unpublished (Pl. VIII). It was acquired in 1924, when the Museum purchased a collection of Pāla sculpture made in India by Sir William Bourdillon, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The piece is of buff sandstone, and stands 3 feet high. The head is missing: the break is presumably an old one, since several iron pins remain sunk in the neck. Curled locks of hair hang over the chest and shoulders. From the centre of the necklace (*mālā*) hangs a charm-box, to which is attached

an oval ornament shaped like a wheel or flower-disk and surrounded with pearls. On each side of the oval pendant hang ornaments shaped like talons, and on each side again are smaller wheel ornaments. The brāhmanical thread (*yajnopavīta*) hangs over the left shoulder and crosses the body to the right hip through the scarf. It is represented simply as a thread, which is uncommon in Indian sculpture. The arm bands (*keyūra*) consist of a pearled band supporting a triangular floral ornament. The bracelets (*kankana*) are decorated with small studs. The anklets (*nūpura*) are plain and penannular with reflexed ends. The waist band (*katibandha*) is composed of a double chain held at the front by an oval clasp. The ends of the dhotī (*paridhāna*) flow down the inside of the left leg. One fold escapes over the upper cloth (*uttarīya*), which is worn across the hips as a scarf, and is gathered into a beautiful splayed knot behind the right hand, before it continues down the right side of the body. The left hand is held shoulder high and clasps the stem of a lotus, which rises from crisply curling foliage set with lotus buds. The right hand, on the palm of which a wheel is incised, is held in the *vara mudrā*. A second lotus plant rises to meet it. A dowel is carved in one piece with the lotus pedestal on which the figure stands. The back of the figure, which was obviously intended to stand against a wall, is smooth but unmodelled. Between the shoulders is carved in four lines the Buddhist creed (Ye dharmā, &c.), twice repeated.[1]

From the death of Harsha in A.D. 647 to the accession of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, the history of Magadha and Bengal is confused and obscure. Various kings known as the Later Guptas seem to have ruled in Magadha until about A.D. 725. After the death of Śaśānka, the great antagonist of Harsha, about A.D. 630, Bengal seems to have been divided into five kingdoms. A series of foreign invasions and rapid changes of dynasty produced in the hundred years from A.D. 650 to 750 the condition known by the expressive term *Mātsyanyāya*, where the bigger fish eat the smaller. About A.D. 750 Gopāla was called to the throne and seems to have consolidated his power throughout Bengal. He was succeeded about A.D. 770 by his son, Dharmapāla, who reigned until about A.D. 810. Dharmapāla was the greatest of the early Pālas: he ruled directly Bengal and Bihar, placed his vassal on the throne of Kanauj, and was recognized as suzerain throughout most of North India. He was, according to Tibetan tradition, a great patron of Buddhism, and founded several monasteries. One of these was probably 'the great vihāra of Dharmapāla at Somapura', so frequently mentioned on clay sealings from Paharpur, Rajshahi District:[2] Dharmapāla was succeeded by his son Devapāla, who ruled until about A.D. 850. Though control of Kanauj had already been lost, Devapāla was a ruler of considerable power and influence. His death, however, was followed by the rapid decline of the Pāla power, which was not to revive until the end of the tenth century A.D.

The early Pāla period, which may be said to have lasted from A.D. 750 to 850, was one of great artistic activity. Though sculpture was lavishly employed in the service of both the Buddhist and Hindu religions, there is little direct evidence of the progress of its style. A small group of bronzes and one stone figure are dated in the reign of Devapāla. The three bronzes from the famous monastery of Nālandā represent, no doubt, the finest achievement of the reign.[3] The stone figure, a Tārā from Hilsa, Bihar, is of fair quality, but dates from the end of the reign (35th year).[4] For the long reign of Dharmapāla we are on even less secure ground. One dated fragment from Bodh Gaya has survived, but the three small figures carved on it give little indication of the style.[5] These pieces all come, not from Bengal, but from the great monastic establishments of Bihar, which were heirs to the classical Gupta tradition of Buddhist sculpture, in particular, to the School of Sārnāth. Three dated figures give a clear idea of the Sārnāth style in the second half of the fifth century A.D.[6] From this date to the reign of Devapāla there are virtually no dated pieces, and sculptures are distributed within these 300 years according as they seem to approach more nearly either the Gupta or the fully developed Pāla style. This difficulty is nicely illustrated by the type of Bodhisattva figure to which our piece belongs. The Gupta group from Sārnāth includes the so-called Maitreya, which perhaps belongs to the first half of the fifth century A.D.;[7] a fine figure in Calcutta, which has been dated to the early sixth century A.D.;[8] and a slightly later piece, of great beauty, in which the iconographical type is fully established.[9] The second and later group comes from Nālandā. A Lokanātha from Monastery Site No. 8 is generally accepted as early Pāla;[10] a Lokanātha, accompanied by Tārā and Bhrkutī, has been dated by Kramrisch to the early eighth century A.D.;[11] and a third Lokanātha, found at Chaitya Site No. 12, has been dated by Fabri to the fifth century A.D.[12] The Lokanātha from Monastery Site No. 8 belongs to a small group of bronze and stone images which have that additional subtlety of modelling and pose which sets them apart from all but the finest of the Devapāla images. They are, as compared with the Devapāla style, in a real sense pre-'medieval'. The Lokanātha from Monastery Site No. 8, a Siddhaikavīra from Nālandā,[13] a Vāgiśvara from Kurkihar,[14] and a Syāmatārā from Nālandā,[15] are the latest of this group. Of the earlier but closely related pieces which have been published, the finest include a Manjuśrī,[16] a Padmapāni,[17] and a Simhāsana-Lokeśvara[18] from Nālandā, and the superb Bodhisattva[19] from Mahāsthan (Bogra District). It is undoubtedly from these pieces that the Devapāla style developed, or perhaps it should rather be said, declined. The long and prosperous reign of Dharmapāla, during which, for the first time for over a hundred years, Bihar and Bengal enjoyed a strong and settled government, is the obvious period into which to put this group. Its most important representative in stone will be our piece, which is rather earlier than the Lokanātha from Monastery Site No. 8, and contemporary with the

bronze Mañjuśrī and Padmapāni from Nālandā. The Lokanātha, accompanied by Tārā and Bhrkutī, seems somewhat later than our piece, the Lokanātha from Chaitya Site No. 12 rather earlier.[20] This stylistic group, here attributed to the Dharmapāla period, has so many details of costume and ornament in common with the stone sculptures from the Main Temple at Paharpur,[21] that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the latter are really the work of the Dharmapāla period, as suggested by the very name of the establishment. The apparent diversity of style at Paharpur seems due to qualitative not chronological differences. Paharpur may be considered a provincial version, coarse and vigorous, of the suavities of metropolitan Bihar.

There is little to be said regarding the iconography of our piece. Since there are no supporters and both the lotus and head-dress are missing, it is impossible to determine whether it is an Avalokiteśvara or a Mañjuśrī. It is best, therefore, to leave it with the unexceptionable title of Padmapāni.   DOUGLAS BARRETT

[1] Dr. L. D. Barnett has dated this inscription to the eighth century A.D., Dr. A. L. Basham to the middle of the eighth century A.D. The writer would wish to place it in the second half of the century.

[2] K. N. Dikshit, *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, p. 20.

[3] J. C. French, *The Art of the Pal Empire of Bengal*, Oxford, 1928, pls. x–xii (1). The Balarāma from Kurkihar, however, dated in the ninth year of Devapāla is a finical piece of work (K. P. Jayaswal, 'Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery', *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. ii, no. 2, Dec. 1934, pl. xxviii *a*).

[4] J. C. French, op. cit., pl. ix.

[5] R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933, pl. i (*a*).

[6] Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report 1914–15*, pl. lxiii *a, b*, and *d*.

[7] *A.S.I.A.R.* 1904–5, pl. xxviii *d*.

[8] Stella Kramrisch, 'Die Figurale Plastik der Guptazeit', *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte Asiens*, band v, abb. 12.

[9] D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth*, Calcutta, 1914, pl. xiii *b*.

[10] *A.S.I.A.R.* 1929–30, pl. xxxiv *c*.

[11] St. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, London, 1933, fig. 81.

[12] *A.S.I.A.R.* 1930–4, p. 134, n. 1, and pl. lxviii *a*.

[13] M-T. de Maltmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara*, Paris, 1948, pl. xi *b*. The Sārnāth equivalent of this piece is the so-called Mañjuśrī (*A.S.I.A.R.* 1904–5, pl. xxviii *c*).

[14] K. P. Jayaswal, op. cit., pl. xxviii. 3.

[15] A. J. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art*, Leiden, 1933, fig. 13.

[16] A. J. Bernet Kempers, op. cit., fig. 6.

[17] Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, London, 1954, pl. 109.

[18] *A.S.I.A.R.* 1929–30, pl. xxxiii *a*.

[19] S. K. Saraswati, 'Early Sculpture of Bengal', *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta*, vol. xxx, 1938, figs. 6 and 7. Though found in Bengal this is probably from a Bihar workshop.

[20] Tempting though it is to spread surviving sculptures over the long period which intervenes between the Guptas and the Pālas, a fifth century A.D. date for the Lokanātha from Chaitya Site No. 12 is inadmissible. It is unlikely that any of the Nālandā sculptures are earlier than the seventh century A.D.

[21] K. N. Dikshit, op. cit., *passim*, but especially pls. xxvii *b–d*, xxviii *a*, xxx *a–b*, xxxi *a* and *d*, and xxxvii *a*.

AN EASTER ISLAND BIRD FIGURE

THE Department of Ethnography recently acquired an interesting wood carving from Easter Island in the form of a conventionalized bird.[1] This seems to belong to the category of bird-man carvings, which are rare in wood[2] although the motif occurs frequently among the petroglyphs and the symbols on the incised tablets. Its unique features and its high quality make it a welcome addition to the Easter Island collections of the department.

The purpose for which these carvings were made is not precisely known, but they seem to have been displayed on important occasions and to have been greatly valued. They were connected with the bird cult, which appears to have been an aspect of the cult of Make-Make, the principal god of the Easter Islanders, who is probably to be identified with Tane. The bird concerned was the sooty tern, which nested each year on a group of rocky islets off the south-west corner of the island. A competition was held among the leading men of the dominant clans to obtain the first egg, the actual search usually being carried out by henchmen. The man whose retainer was successful became the 'bird-man' for a year, a position which carried great prestige and ritual importance as well as material privileges. Probably the bird-man was in fact regarded as being inhabited by Make-Make.[3]

The department already possessed a bird-man figure of good quality[4] (Pl. IX*b*). This is exceptionally human in form; in fact it has the appearance of a male human figure, rather realistically portrayed, wearing a mask in the form of a bird's long beak below which most of the wearer's face is exposed. Wings are also shown, though when seen from the front they resemble the prominent ribs of the ancestor figures.

The figure recently acquired is very different (Pl. IX*a*). It is of dark brown wood and represents a bird, conventionally treated, with a hooked beak which accounts for almost half the total length of 14·1 in. (357 mm.). There are wings, but there is no indication of legs. The eyes are pierced through the head, but this seems to be the result of later drilling. The peculiar treatment of the beak, which can also be seen less markedly on the other specimen, is noteworthy; the rows of notches, arranged to form chevrons, are perhaps meant to represent teeth, but give the appearance rather of feathers. The body and wings are covered with *ko-mari*, a female symbol. On the beak the same symbols have been run together to form a continuous pattern. This motif occurs commonly among the petroglyphs and on pillow stones at the village of Orongo, the centre of the bird cult; it also occurs on a wood breast ornament (rei-miro) in the departmental collection, and on the back of the stone figure of Hoa-Haka-Nana-Ia from Orongo. Its significance has not been fully explained. The *ko-mari* incised on rocks at Orongo are said to have been cut in honour of outstandingly attractive women;

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others to have been made in connexion with girls' initiation rites. Probably they were believed to have a general power to bring luck and fertility.

Although, with this exception, the most recently acquired figure has no clear human features, there can be little doubt that it was connected with the bird-man cult. In workmanship and finish it is superior to the other specimen mentioned, and may be considered with some certainty to date from the period before the Easter Island culture was destroyed by the Peruvian slave-raid of 1862.   B. A. L. CRANSTONE

[1] 1950 Oc. 4. 12; ex Oldman collection.

[2] Most of those known are illustrated in Dr. Stephen-Chauvet, *L'Île de Pâques et ses Mystères* (Paris, 1935), and another in A. Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island*, B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. 160 (Honolulu, 1940), p. 257.

[3] For the identification of the bird cult with that of Make-Make see Métraux, op. cit., p. 311–14.

[4] 1928. 5–17. 1. This was 'found 19' deep in "untouched" clay in Brick Lane, Spitalfields'.

To all Christian people to whom this Certificat shall
Come or (to whom yt may appertayne Wheras it
hathe plesed the Q. Ma:te of her great Clemencye
and Goodnes to geve vnto Dorothie Tempest. Wyfe
vnto Michaell Tempest Late attaynted. An Annuitye
of xx li. A yeare. for the Releaving. of her. and her
fyve Childerne. havyng no other thyng lest to
Releve and Mayntayne her and her fyve Childern
But only in the sayd annuitye. wch is to be payd quarterly
As by her Ma:ties grant vnder her privie seeale, More at
larg doth and may appeere. thes are yto certefye
yow that the sayd Dorethe Tempest is Alyve and
in Good healthe at the Makyng neerof. the xvbth of
october. Anno Regni Elizabetha Regina. xxiij 1581

Wittm Byrde
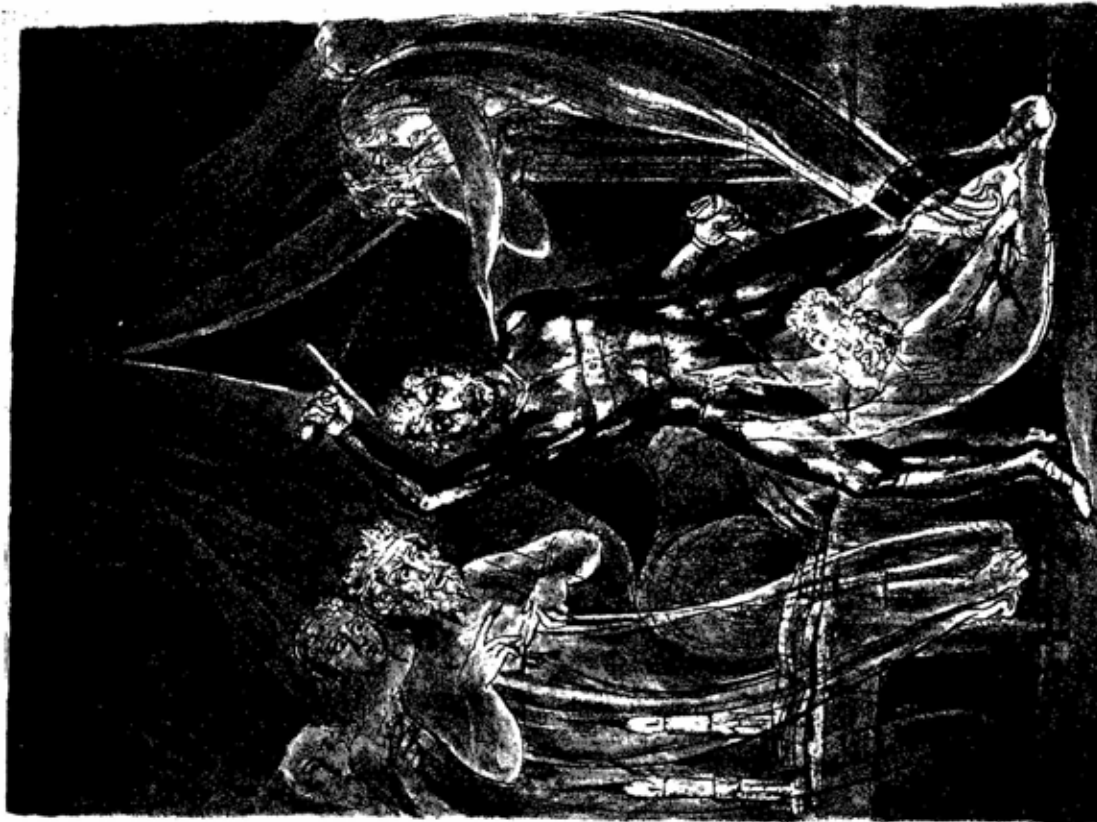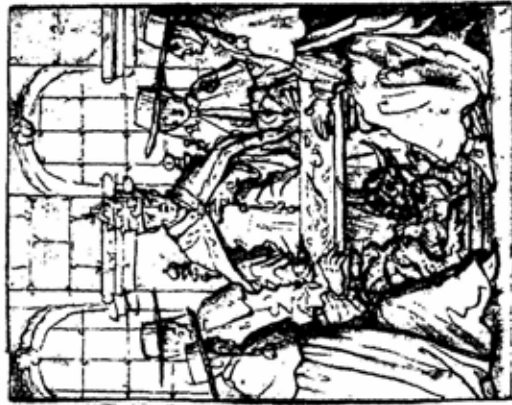
III. DRAWINGS BY WILLIAM BLAKE

a. Jaques and the wounded stag: *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene 1
b. Richard III and the ghosts: *King Richard the Third*, Act V, Scene 3
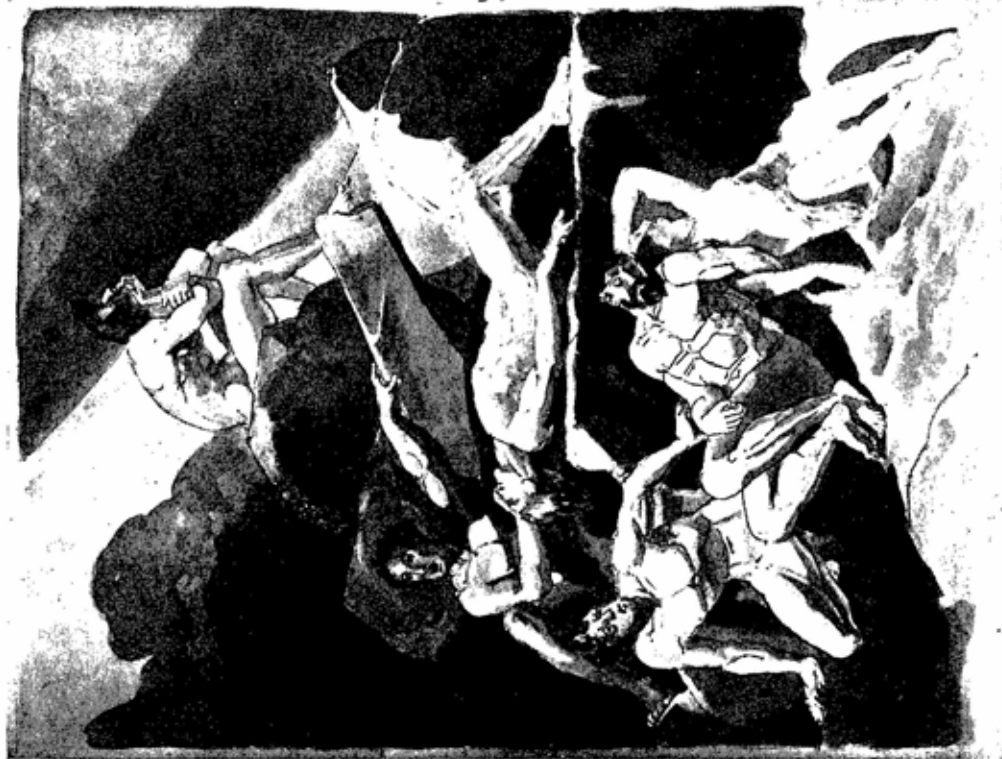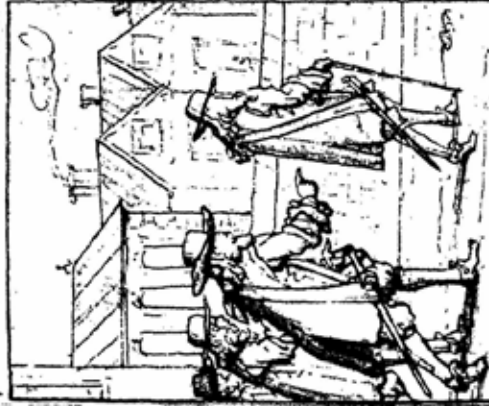
IV. *a.* DRAWING BY SIR ROBERT KER PORTER: 'I saw young Harry with his beaver on.' . . .' (*Henry the Fourth*, Part I, Act IV, Scene 1)
b. DRAWING BY JOHN FLAXMAN: 'Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot.' (*Measure for Measure*, Act III, Scene 1)
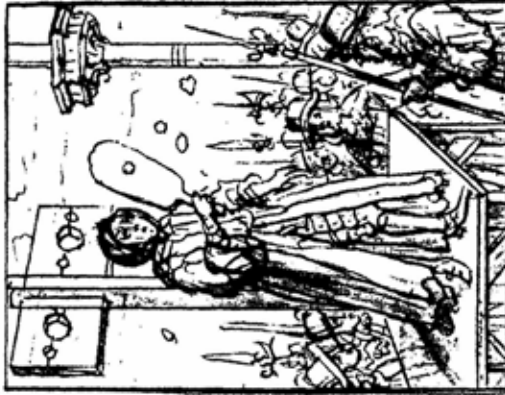
V. FRANCIS BARLOW: DESIGNS FOR PLAYING CARDS

VI. GOLD COINS

1. Egyptian;   2. Roman;   2a. Enlargement of (2);
3–5. Merovingian;   6, 7. Arab-Byzantine
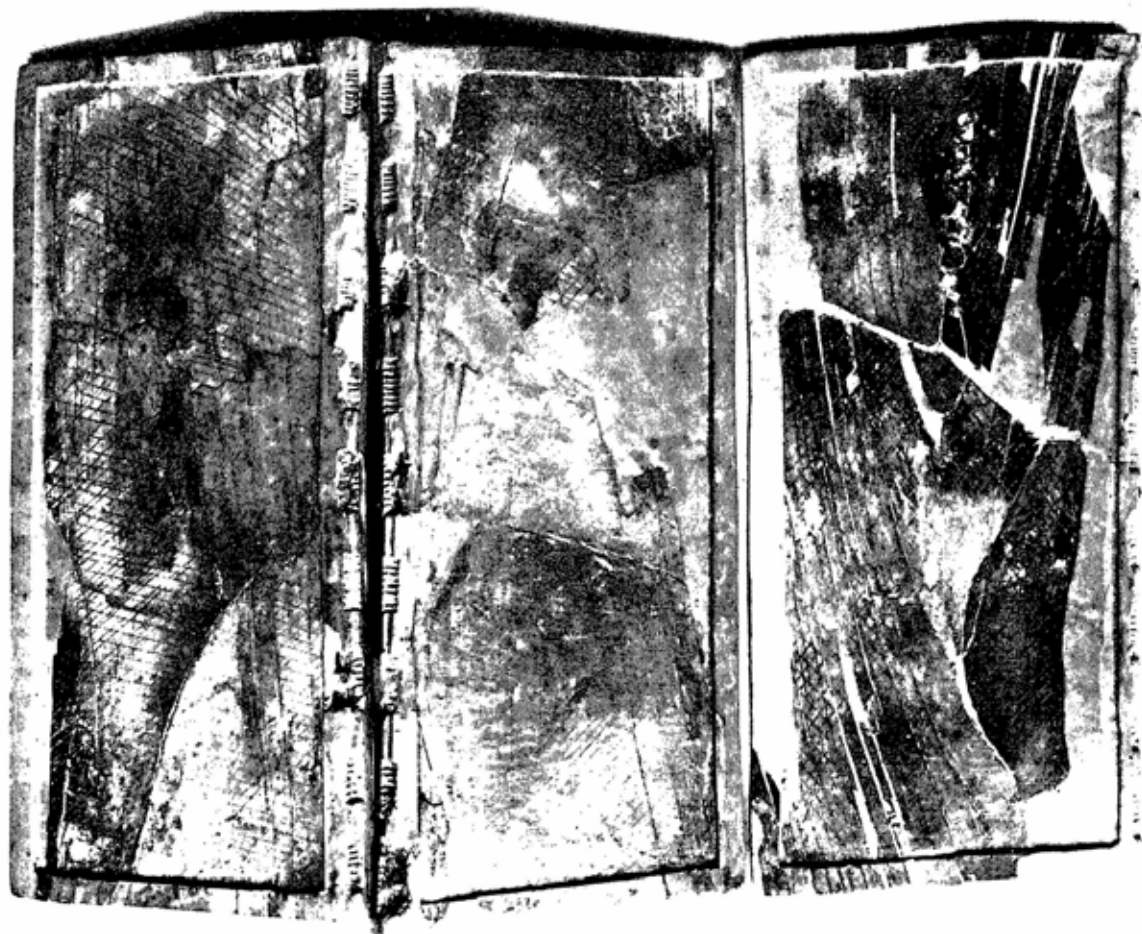
VII. *a.* Assyrian ivory writing-boards of the late 8th century B.C. (slightly restored)
b. Fragments of an ivory pyxis from Nimrud in Syrian style
c. Chalcedony cylinder-seal showing mythical scene

VIII. STONE FIGURE OF PADMAPĀNI
PĀLA: 8th Century A.D.

IX. WOOD CARVINGS FROM EASTER ISLAND

a. A stylized bird
b. A bird-man
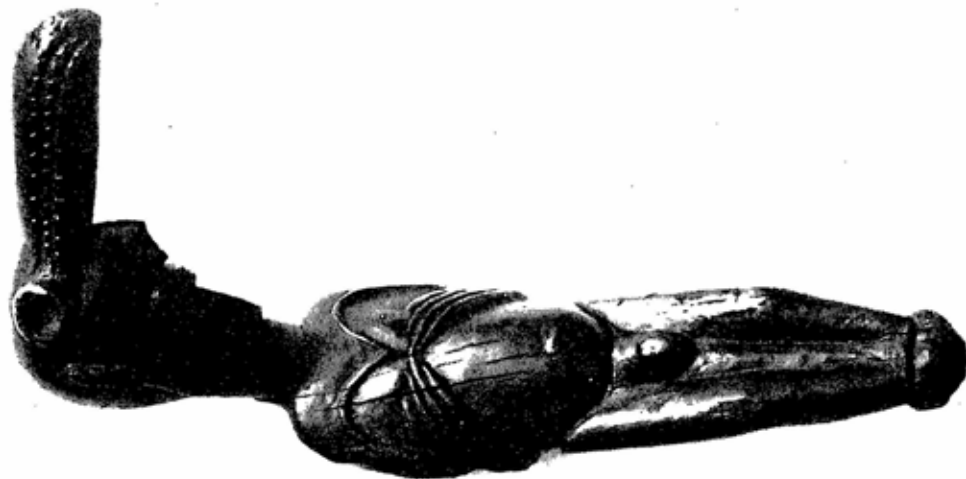
THE RUMANIAN CODE OF LAWS OF 1652

IN 1954 the Department of Printed Books acquired a copy of the first edition of the most important early Rumanian code of laws: the *Îndreptarea legii*, 1652.

Valachia and Moldavia, both tributaries of Turkey, enjoyed an unusual degree of independence in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, thanks to the statesmanship and good generalship of their respective princes, Matthew Basarab, 1632–54 and Basil the Wolf, 1634–52.[1] These princes found time amid their struggles for survival and their mutual rivalries to encourage intellectual life in their principalities. Slavonic had been the language of the Church, but a knowledge of Slavonic was becoming increasingly rare, and by this time the native Rumanian was well on the way to replacing it and a vigorous culture based on the use of Rumanian was springing up. Matthew and Basil encouraged Greek teachers at their courts, but the Greek influences were turned (as later they were not) into Rumanian channels.

One of the first needs of good government is a clear code of law. Matthew had the first code in Rumanian printed in 1640. Basil followed in 1646 with a code for Moldavia. This was composed of a translation from a nearly complete manuscript of the *Leges colonariae* of the time of Leo the Isaurian, extracts from the *Basilica* (a ninth-century Byzantine code that superseded Justinian) and from the *Praxis et theoricae criminalis* by Farinaccius.[2] The selections from this last were not directly translated but compressed or amplified by one of the teachers at Basil's court. It is not surprising that Basil should have known of Farinaccius as the first part of his treatise was printed in Venice, 1597–1607, where there was an important Greek colony. Finally a second code for Valachia was printed in 1652. This was composed, for secular law, of Basil's code of 1646 together with the Manual of Malaxos, both rearranged by subject so that the plagiarism of the code of 1646 is less obvious, and for ecclesiastical, a translation of Aristenus' edition of the Canons of the Emperor John Comnenus (the Canons of the Apostles and of the Councils). The secular code was in use for more than 150 years[3] and the ecclesiastical for over 200 years.[4] There was no edition of this code in the Museum.

Matthew had a printing press set up in Valachia early in his reign and Stephen, the Metropolitan of Tîrgovişte, was nicknamed the Printer because of his enthusiasm for printing. Stephen commissioned the *Îndreptarea legii* from Daniel the Pannonian, a monk with some knowledge of Greek, and had the work printed at his expense at Matthew Basarab's press in Tîrgovişte. Both Daniel and Stephen contribute prefaces to the work. Daniel acknowledges the help he had received from Ignatios Petritzes and Pantaleimon Ligareides, both natives of Chios, 'perfect teachers and learned and skilful in all the scriptures of the Lord'.

These were two of the Greeks whom Matthew kept at his court as teachers and preachers. Petritzes is known as the writer of a version of the popular *Exploits of Digenes Acritas*. The manuscript is in Lincoln College, Oxford, and was finished in 1670.[5] Ligareides was of very different qualities and capacities. Trained in Rome and sent to the Levant as a Roman Catholic missionary, he turned (or pretended to turn) Orthodox and, after spending some time in Constantinople, went to Valachia in 1647,[6] as preacher, theologian, and confessor to Matthew. Two years later he accompanied the Russian Arseny Sukhanov to Jerusalem, where he received the tonsure and the name Paisios and was made Metropolitan of Gaza. Back in Valachia he was invited by Nikon to come to Moscow to help in the correction of the Russian service books. He came, but only four years later, in 1651, and gaining the favour of the Czar he became, instead of Nikon's most valuable assistant, one of his most dangerous enemies. He used his position to get money from the Czar for his oppressed flock in Gaza (he had in fact been deprived of the Metropolitanship but had forged further credentials in his favour) and to protect those merchants in Moscow who were prepared to pay him for protection. In his later years he declined from favour and died, little noticed, in Kiev in 1678. Whether he remained a Roman Catholic or not is uncertain. Daniel was never as important as his teacher (nor as dishonest), but he too achieved some success. In 1654 he was made Metropolitan of Transylvania but later returned to Valachia as the bishop of a see newly created for him,[7] a wise move because the Orthodox Valachians in Transylvania lived uncomfortably and uncertainly under the Calvinist Magyar prince and nobility. For instance, a strongly anti-Calvinist predecessor of his had been deposed on a trumped-up charge and whipped like a criminal.[8] Stephen the Metropolitan, who commissioned the *Îndreptarea legii* from Daniel, was a man of humble birth who raised himself by his intelligence and force of character.[9] First Bishop of Buzău and then Metropolitan of Ungro-Valachia, he always worked for the education of Valachia—the school at Buzău was famous—and for the use of the Rumanian language in the church service: so much so that he was in 1653 dethroned as a result of the intrigues of the ageing Matthew's Greek councillors. However, after Matthew's death, he was reinstated (1657) and lived another eleven years as Metropolitan.

The title of the work in English is 'The Rule[10] of Law in God containing the episcopal and imperial judgement for all faults both ecclesiastic and secular. The law of the Holy Apostles, of the Seven Councils and of all the secondary councils, together with the laws of all the holy doctors in the world, Basil the Great, Timotheus, Nicetas, Nicholas, and the theology of the holy interpreters. The whole edited formerly and put in order by the orders and according to the instructions of the pious Emperor John Comnenus by the eloquent deacon of the Great Church and nomophylax Alexis Aristenus. Now translated for the first time

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from Greek into Rumanian by the zeal and piety, and at the expense, of the very holy in Jesus Christ Stephen, by the grace of God, Metropolitan, etc.'

An estimate of the place of this code in the legal history of Rumania is not within the scope of this note, but a few of its provisions may be quoted as of interest in themselves for the contrasts they offer with modern opinions.[11] For instance, from chapter 48, 'If a man of noble birth should on a mission unjustly attack an innocent man, wishing to injure him, and the latter, to resist him, should strike him and death ensue, he who has thus defended himself shall be exempt from punishment and there will be one man (only) dead'; or, from chapter 243, 'He who shall have killed a child shall be punished more severely than he who has killed a grown man'; or, from chapter 246, 'Any maiden or honourable widow who should kill him who attempts the virginity of the one or the honour of the other, shall be exempt from punishment on condition that the murder be done at the time of the attempt and not later. The father and brothers have the same right with the same restriction'; or 'The wife who shall have possessed herself of the sabre or poignard of her husband or of any other weapon that he shall have hidden under his pillow in order to kill her, and shall use it against him, shall suffer no punishment'.

The *Îndreptarea legii* is the finest production of Matthew's press. It is in folio and consists of 25 unnumbered leaves and 796 numbered pages.[12] The Museum copy, though otherwise in exceptionally good condition, lacks the title-page and the next leaf and one leaf containing pages 781 and 782. The printing is in black with red rubrics and initials, and the type is a Rumanian Cyrillic of 36 lines to the page. Stephen had a number of woodcuts executed specially for the work, and these are finer than any that had yet appeared in Valachia or Moldavia.[13] (One of them, representing the Righteous Judge, is reproduced as plate x.) They show a certain western influence which probably came indirectly through Poland and Ukraine,[14] at that time the instructors of Valachia in the art of printing.

R. F. L. BANCROFT

[1] R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians, etc.*, Cambridge, 1934, gives the best account in English of the period.

[2] A useful summary of modern views on the composition of these early Rumanian codes is contained in the article by I. C. Filitti and G. Vrăbiescu, 'Legislația penală' in the *Enciclopedia Română*, tom. 1, Statul, Bucharest, 1938.

[3] M. Gaster, *Chrestomatia română, etc.*, Leipzig, Bucharest, 1891.

[4] E. Golubinsky in *A Short History of the Orthodox Churches of Bulgaria, Serbia and Rumania or Moldo-Valachia* (in Russian), Moscow, 1871, writes 'it is still in official ecclesiastical use in both principalities'.

[5] E. Legrand, *Les Exploits de Basile Digénis Acritas (Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, tom. 6), Paris, 1892.

[6] E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique du dix-septième siècle*, tom. 4, Paris, 1896. This contains a useful biography.

[7] N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești*, 2nd edition, Bucharest, 1925.

[8] Seton-Watson, op. cit.

[9] G. M. Ionescu, *Istoria Mitropoliei Ungrovlahiei 1359–1709*, Bucharest, 1906. The monograph by G. S. Negulescu used by Ionescu is not in the British Museum.

[10] L. Șaineanu, *Dicționar universal*, 6th ed., Bucharest [1929]. However, in Legrand, *Biblio-*

graphie hellénique, the translation 'Redressement' (= rectification) is given. Except for this point Legrand's translation is followed here.

[11] The following are quoted from N. Blaramberg, Essai comparé sur les institutions et les lois de la Roumanie, etc., Bucharest, 1885.

[12] It is fully described in I. Bianu and N. Hodoş, Bibliografia românéscă veche, 1508–1830, tom. I, Bucharest, 1903.

[13] Iorga, op. cit.

[14] e.g. the title-page is signed Theodore Tištevici (according to Jorga (Iorga) in L'Ornementation du vieux livre roumain, etc., Paris, 1925, a memoir submitted to the Congress of Librarians in Paris in 1923) or Theodor Tiševič (according to P. P. Panaitescu, 'L'Influence de Pierre Mogila dans les Principautés roumaines', in Mélanges de l'École roumaine en France, no. 1, 1926), either of which is a Polish or Ruthenian name (Tyszkiewicz or Tysiewicz).

THE MEDICI PAPERS

IN 1918 Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods announced the sale, to be held on 4–7 February, of a large collection (the sale-catalogue ran to 783 lots) of records and correspondence of the Medici family. But the Italian Government obtained an injunction against the sale, causing its postponement until 26–28 May 1919. By then, the 783 lots had been reduced to 609: even so, this still represented the considerable residue of an important continental archive and a notable event in the annals of London's sale-rooms. Of the lots finally offered at Christie's 118 were purchased by the late Sir Henry S. Wellcome,[1] and through the generosity of his Foundation they have now been presented to the Department of Manuscripts (which already possessed, in Add. MSS. 21516 and 23721, two valuable volumes of original Medici letters).

This considerable donation has been numbered Add. MSS. 48719–98 and Add. Ch. 75328–420: the range of these numbers alone will show that it must inevitably be some time before an acquisition of this size can be thoroughly explored and assessed. Meanwhile, the present article will give a brief indication of the contents and arrangement of the material,[2] in which can be seen something of the inextricably interwoven public and private fortunes of a great House during the long afternoon and evening of its power.

Several hundred original letters, written by and to members of the family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, form the most immediately attractive part of the collection. These were apparently at one time bound as part of the archive[3] and were presumably chosen for removal at the time of the sale: they will eventually be bound, in chronological order, to form Add. MSS. 48793–6. The first notable correspondent is Giuliano de' Medici,[4] afterwards Duke of Nemours (1479–1516), third son of Lorenzo the Magnificent (no letters of Lorenzo himself are included). The Medici family had been exiled from Florence in 1494, following Pietro's surrender to Charles VIII of France, and their return in 1512 marked the beginning of the schemes of the Medici Popes Leo X and Clement VII to abolish the republic and to lead Florence, and its first family, to a

more ambitious destiny. These schemes came to fruition, after the fall, in 1530, of the last Florentine republic, with the accession in 1537 of Cosimo I (1519–74), second Duke of Florence and first Grand Duke of Tuscany: the collection contains sixty-one letters of this ruthless but efficient ruler, one of the greatest (perhaps the last of the great) Medici. There are fourteen letters of his eldest son Francesco I (1541–87) and three of Francesco's wife, the celebrated Bianca Cappello (including one of the last letters she ever wrote). Ferdinand I (1549–1609) is represented by thirty-two letters, including an interesting, somewhat vindictive series (partly in cipher) written in 1590 to Raffaelo de' Medici, Tuscan Ambassador at Ferrara, concerning the rebellious activities of the notorious brigand Alfonso Piccolomini.[5] It may here conveniently be explained that this Raffaelo (1543–1628) married in 1577 Costanza Alamanni, granddaughter of Pietro Alamanni, Lorenzo's Ambassador at Milan and Rome, and that Raffaelo himself was the great-grandson of Francesco di Giuliano di Giovenco de' Medici, to whom (as Commissary at Pistoia) the letters of Giuliano Duke of Nemours are addressed: it was through this collateral branch of the family that the archive descended to the Marchesi Averardo and Cosimo de' Medici who sold it in London in 1919.

Among other letters are fifty-one of Cosimo II (1590–1621) and two long series (seventy-five and forty-eight) written by two officials at his court, one of them his Secretary of State, which should throw light on both the political manœuvrings and the social scene at that time; and twelve letters of Ferdinand II (1610–70), during whose long reign the downward trend of the Medici becomes ever more precipitate. Among non-Medici autographs acquired with the collection are a letter of John Tserclaes, Count of Tilly, Imperial General in the Thirty Years War, passports and commissions signed by Ambrosio Spinola, and a letter of Richelieu.

The remainder, and by far the largest part, of the material under review consists of seventy-four bound volumes, in which is preserved a huge quantity of information concerning grants, contracts, lawsuits, wills, accounts, &c. These volumes concern various members of the family from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and include also further correspondence of Raffaelo de' Medici. Among miscellaneous items[6] attention may be drawn to a volume containing a contemporary account (with a coloured plan) of the Siege of Ostend (1601–4) and of other military operations of the early seventeenth century. Finally, there are some ninety documents, including a number of original bulls and briefs of Popes Clement VIII, Paul V, Gregory XV, Urban VIII, Innocent XI and Innocent XII, conferring benefices, pensions, and other privileges on members of the family.   K. W. GRANSDEN

[1] Lots 77–310, 491–568 were bought by the late Gordon Selfridge, and are now in the Harvard Business School: they form the basis of G. R. B. Richards's *Florentine Merchants in the Age of the*

Medici (Harvard 1932). Some other lots are now in the John Rylands Library (*Bulletin*, viii (1924), 282–97).

² A copy of Messrs. Christie's sale-catalogue, in which the lots bought by Sir H. Wellcome are marked (W), and to which has been added a type-written list showing the concordance of lot numbers and B.M. Additional MS. numbers, has been incorporated with the collection as Add. MS. 48799, and will be available to students.

³ There are foliations throughout in the hand of the eighteenth-century archivist who classified the bound volumes.

⁴ Pl. XIII *b*.

⁵ See U. Dorini, *I Medici e i loro tempi*, Florence, 1947, p. 437.

⁶ Some printed material (lot 488) has been transferred to the Department of Printed Books. It includes some eighteenth-century grand-ducal decrees of which the Library had no previous copies.

ARCHIVES OF A PRINTING HOUSE

THE Department of Manuscripts possesses a considerable amount of material for the history of printing and publishing in this country during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the publishing side the richest for the nineteenth century is the collection of ledgers and other business papers of the firm of Richard Bentley (Add. MSS. 46560–682), which was notable particularly for the publication of novels; the correspondence portion of the house's archives unfortunately was at some time separated and found its way to the U.S.A., where it is now housed in the library of the University of Illinois (it is described by Professor Gordon Ray in *The Library*, 5th series, vii, 1952, pp. 178–200). In addition, for the earlier years of the same century is the material relating to the printing and publishing activities of the two Charles Whitting-hams (uncle, 1789–1840, and nephew, 1828–76) and their press, the Chiswick Press, which was notable in its association with William Pickering for its efforts to raise the standard of printing and for its use of a better-quality paper, as a result of which books bearing the Chiswick Press or Pickering imprint are still appreciated by present-day collectors. The Whittingham material covers chiefly the years 1792–1885 (Add. MSS. 41867–960, 43975–89). In addition to these extensive collections there is of course a good deal of scattered material, for the eighteenth century particularly, which has been acquired at various times, such as the agreements between Robert Dodsley and various authors (1743–53) in Egerton MS. 738.

A very considerable addition to this material has now been made thanks to the initiative of Mr. William Clowes and the generosity of Messrs. Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd., who have presented, through the Friends of the National Libraries, the ledgers and other business papers (amounting to nearly 120 volumes) of William Strahan, the printer (1715–85), who came to London about 1736 and established a printing business that has continued with various changes of title down to the present firm of Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd. The

collection now presented runs from 1739 to 1857, and consists of a series of general ledgers for the period 1739 to 1855, costs books for 1815 to 1857, accompt books for 1785 to 1848, inventories of printing materials drawn up at various dates between 1800 and 1858, lists of employees for two periods between 1820 and 1838, besides copyright assignments (including one bearing James Boswell's signature as witness), papers relating to Strahan's estates, Spottiswoode building estimates, and even (on the lighter side) lists of the Spottiswoode employees present at several nineteenth-century 'wayzgooses' (the traditional term for printers' outings). There is unfortunately practically no correspondence, though letters from Samuel Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, David Hume, and others must at one time have been in the firm's archives.

While all the material is important from one aspect or another for the history of printing and publishing, of special interest are the three earlier Strahan items —a folio ledger from 1739 to 1768, a small rough accompt book for 1752 to 1768, and a larger accompt book in tabular form for 1739 to 1784, which records in meticulous detail Strahan's expenses under the heads of Journeymen's Wages, Household Expenses, Wearing Apparel, Furniture, Printing Materials, &c. The size of the business which Strahan founded may be judged from the fact that at his death his estate came to £95,000 and included a share in the King's Printer's Patent, in the Law Patent, in the *Public Advertiser*, and in the *London Chronicle*. Among the works that Strahan printed were Johnson's *Dictionary*, 1755, and his *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia*, 1759, sermons and hymns of John and Charles Wesley, Jonas Hanway's *Travels*, 1753, the 1752 and 1753 editions of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* (concerning which a memorandum in the relevant ledger records that 'the most uncommon care was taken in correcting the above books, every sheet being carefully read by the Printer no less than ten times over'), Robert Adam's great work, *The Ruins of Diocletian's Palace*, 1764 (as also for Robert Adam, *The Particulars of the Adelphi Lottery*, in 1773 and 1774), and controversial pamphlets for Benjamin Franklin, such as *Considerations on Taxing America*, 1766; moreover it was Strahan who, in conjunction with Thomas Cadell, the bookseller, undertook the publication of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (vol. i, 1776). And this does not take into account his work as King's Printer, the records of which are not included in the present collection. The range exhibited by these various examples (selected at random) seems fully to justify Johnson's remark that Strahan's was 'the greatest printing-house in London', and it is gratifying that the business papers of such an enterprise are now preserved in the Department of Manuscripts side by side with other material of a similar kind. The Strahan ledgers and papers have received the numbers Additional MSS. 48800–918, and Additional Ch.75421–7.

C. E. WRIGHT

THE WOIDE PAPERS

MR. H. S. GOODHART-RENDEL has presented to the Museum a collection of papers of his ancestor, Karl Gottfried Woide (1725–90), Assistant Librarian in the British Museum from 1782 until his death. These papers have now been incorporated as Additional MSS. 48700–16.[1]

Woide was born in Poland and educated at Frankfurt and Leiden. He originally came to England in 1765 to enlist sympathy for the oppressed Protestants of Poland.[2] From June 1770 he was preacher at the Dutch Chapel Royal in St. James's. An outstanding Coptic scholar, he published editions of La Croze, *Lexicon Ægyptiaco-Latinum* (1775), and Scholz, *Grammatica Ægyptiaca utriusque Dialecti* (1778), and, at the time of his appointment to the Museum, was already working on his great critical edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, which appeared in 1786.

Woide's claim to escape oblivion rests upon his work as an Orientalist and New Testament scholar, and these papers illustrate the width of his acquaintance, and the esteem in which he was held. His diary occupies six volumes (Add. MSS. 48700–5), and covers his career from April 1765 until a few days before his death. Add. MSS. 48706–9 consist of letters from correspondents who include scholars such as Johann David Michaelis, Paul Jacob Bruns, and Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, while there are isolated letters from such personages as James Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, and Sir William Herschel. Three more volumes (Add. MSS. 48710–12) contain Woide's own letter drafts, mostly in German or English, while the collection is completed by a group of papers relating to the Polish Reformed Episcopal Church, which claimed a rather dubious descent from Wycliffe[3] through the Bohemian Brethren, who had settled in Poland in 1533, and united themselves with the Helvetian church at the Synod of Kozminek in 1565.[4] Wars and persecution had disastrously affected the Polish Protestants, and efforts were continually made to secure the support of their co-religionists in Western Europe. Woide's father was a member of a delegation which visited Holland and England from 1714 to 1717, and Add. MS. 48713, a memorandum book of Sitkovius and Andersch, two of the other delegates, gives a copy of a church brief, dated 23 March 1716, authorizing them to 'Ask, Collect and Receive the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all our loving subjects . . . for the Relief of the said poor suffering Protestants, and for the preservation of the Protestant Religion in those countries'.[5]

Woide has, as yet, found no biographer. From now on, there will be an abundance of material if anyone is found willing to undertake the task.

G. I. BONNER

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[1] The only previous Woide material was Add. MS. 43497—autograph copies of correspondence relating to 1 Timothy iii. 16.

[2] For details of their sufferings see V. Krasinski,

Historical Sketch of the Reformation in Poland, ii. 467–538.

³ On this, see K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity*, pp. 158–9.

⁴ Add. MS. 48713, f. 72. See also Krasinski, op. cit. i. 144–51, ii. 300–15, and *Die Evangelischen Kirchen in Polen*, ed. by F. Siegmund-Schultze,

(*Ekklesia*, v), pp. 33–42.

⁵ Add. MS. 48713, f. 67ᵇ. For the brief, see W. A. Bewes, *Church Briefs*, p. 306, and J. E. Smith, *Bygone Briefs*, p. 88. For a contemporary appeal for the Poles, see Thomas Bennet, *The Case of the Reformed Episcopal Churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia considered*.

A TENTH-CENTURY ARABIC MISCELLANY

APART from old Kufic copies of the Ḳur'ān and some papyri, the Arabic manuscripts which have survived from the early centuries of the Flight to be acquired by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The subjects range from *materia medica* to fragments of a version of the Book of Job, but the latest accession in this category has proved to be our earliest secular Arabic manuscript. It is an octavo volume of forty-three folios containing six tracts written on thick pinkish paper in a hand which is a well-defined *Naskh*, although some of the angular letters are reminiscent of Kufic and the form of the letter *Kāf* is unique. It is highly instructive to compare the style of writing with a manuscript of early tenth-century date on loan to the Bodleian Library, where the script is distinctly Kufic;[1] and with the plate of the Niffarī autograph (A.D. 955) at present in the Chester Beatty collection which is likewise in a Kufic hand.[2] Our manuscript was copied, extracted from a larger miscellany, by a Persian scribe, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Durustwaih of Isfahān, in A.H. 330 (A.D. 941).

The contents of the manuscript match its palaeographical interest. The first item is entitled 'Epistle of Abu Naṣr al-Fārābī by way of commentary on the epistle of Zeno', of which the value is enhanced, since al-Fārābī died in A.D. 950. Then follow a miscellany derived from various chapters of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* on various topics; and a treatise by the grammarian al-Kisā'ī on common blunders in speaking Arabic. Next comes an epitomized translation into Arabic of Plato's *De Legibus* made by the renowned translator Ḥunain ibn Isḥāḳ whose colleagues may have made the anonymous translations of various minor items from the Hippocratic collection which follow. These were known to later Arab bibliographers, but no copies are known to exist. Among them occurs the famous letter in which Artaxerxes, King of Persia, summons Hippocrates, the illustrious Greek physician, to combat an epidemic of cholera raging in his realm, whereupon Hippocrates proudly refuses to help the enemies of Hellas in spite of the princely rewards offered. Finally there is a short dissertation

on physiognomy, alleged to have been composed for Alexander the Great by Aristotle, but no translator's name is recorded.   G. MEREDITH-OWENS

[1] This contains a text of the 'Ideal State' of al-Fārābī, a philosopher of Turkish race who has been called the 'Second Teacher', the 'First Teacher' being Aristotle.

[2] Described in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. xv, pt. i.

RECENT ACCESSIONS OF EGYPTIAN JEWELLERY

THE Egyptian Department of the Museum has been fortunate in acquiring during the past three years a number of valuable additions to its collection of jewellery (pl. xi), all, with one exception, by gift. Nothing is known about their history apart from the fact that they have been in private ownership in this country for many years.

The lion-head terminal of an ear-ring (?) shown at the top of the group (No. 65559), which is composed of high quality gold and dates from the latter part of the Ptolemaic Period (c. 100 B.C.), was presented in 1953 by Mrs. H. S. Kershaw of Endon Hall, Macclesfield. It is hollow and has been dented in several places so that the original shape is not obvious at a glance, but on close examination the ruff and the facial features can be traced without difficulty. Three separate processes in the manufacture are visible: first it was roughly shaped from the inside; the outer surface was then chased and finally twisted bands of substantially thicker gold were attached with solder to the neck in order to strengthen the object. In modern times two chains for suspension have been added to the outer band. As a rule objects of this kind[1] show an eyelet under the animal's head, and its absence in this specimen raises the doubt whether it is actually the terminal of an ear-ring or of a bracelet; in its present condition it is hard to decide. The normal pattern of ear-ring of this period may be seen in the two complete specimens, which are shown on the same plate. These two pieces (Nos. 65524 and 65525) were given by Mrs. M. W. Acworth;[2] each is composed of a hoop of coiled gold wire tapering at one end to a point and attached at the other end to a terminal in the shape of a gazelle's head. In all probability the head was worked in repoussé, the ears and horns, which were made of separate pieces, being subsequently fixed, like the eyelet under the muzzle, with solder. A dentiform decoration composed of gold wire has been similarly applied to the collar.

By reason of their extreme rarity, perhaps the most notable objects in the group are the pendants shown in the innermost string (No. 65574). Each pendant, with the exception of the fiy-amulet in the centre, is in the shape of a human bust and is composed of two separate pieces of gold foil, one in front and the other at the back, which were soldered together, a small hole having been bored in the back section so that the hot air could escape during the process of soldering.

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The gold is slightly tinged with reddish brown indicating the presence of a copper alloy.[3] In appearance these pendants are reminiscent of the so-called ancestral busts which were placed in niches of rooms of private houses during the New Kingdom (c. 1250 B.C.) and were presumably cult images.[4] They were uninscribed, either bare-headed or provided with head-dresses and generally represented with a bead collar which spanned the chest. It is difficult, however, to imagine what connexion can exist between such figures and these diminutive pendants, which were probably amulets of some kind. Nevertheless it seems likely that they were in some way related, if only because two pottery moulds for the manufacture of similar pendants, but wearing a head-dress, were found by Sir Flinders Petrie at El-Amarna,[5] and the existence of both the known types of the ancestral bust in miniature would be extraordinary if the two classes of object were totally unconnected.

Both the necklaces are, like the lion-head terminal, the gifts of Mrs. H. S. Kershaw. The upper string (No. 65558) consists of carnelian beads of various shapes (some probably dating from the Middle Kingdom, c. 2000 B.C.), gold-collared beads (also probably Middle Kingdom) and twelve blue faience pendants of a palmette design and one blue faience bust (all dating from the XVIIIth–XIXth Dynasties, c. 1580–1200 B.C.). Palmette pendants, although not rare, are certainly not to be classed among the more common types of Egyptian ornament. Many variations in design are found[6] and no exact parallel to those in this necklace has been noted. The human bust pendant differs from the gold busts already described not only in size and material but in having a head-dress and a false beard. In view of the beard, which is never found in the case of the ancestral busts, it is very probable that this pendant represents a male deity.[7]

The lower necklace (No. 65557) is composed of gold lotus seed-vessel pendants, blue glazed faience multiple beads and gold cylindrical spacers, all of which belong to well-known types and are dated to the XVIIIth–XIXth Dynasties. It is difficult to judge whether the necklace, as at present constituted, was assembled in modern times from more than one source or from a single specimen preserved, at least substantially, intact. Both the arrangement and the chronological unity of its members, however, may be adduced as arguments in favour of a single origin.   I. E. S. EDWARDS

[1] See C. R. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry* (New York Historical Society, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities), pp. 140–4, pl. xvii, nos. 79–82.

[2] These objects form part of a supplementary gift of thirty-four pieces from Mrs. Acworth in 1952. The main gift in 1946 of more than 600 specimens was recorded in the *British Museum Quarterly*, xv (1952), 55–57.

[3] A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (3rd edit.), p. 263.

[4] These figures have been discussed by C. Boreux, *A propos de quelques bustes égyptiens* (in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 395–401) and by B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1934–5), pp. 168–74. The Museum possesses three examples, nos. 49735 (a double bust), 58783, and 61083.

[5] W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. xvii, nos. 277 and 278.

[6] Some examples of different designs are illustrated in W. M. F. Petrie, op. cit., pl. xviii.

[7] A scene in the tomb of Rameses VI (XXth Dynasty) shows four busts with which are associated the names of Osiris, Khepri, Atum, and Rě (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 224, i; A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Rameses VI*, p. 235, pl. 75).

A BRONZE BANQUETER

WITH the help of a generous contribution from the National Art-Collections Fund the Museum has recently acquired from a private collector in Paris one of the most attractive small Greek bronzes that have come down to us (pl. xii *a–e*).[1] The bronze, which is 10 cm. long, is perfectly preserved save for a few minor abrasions, and has a smooth grey-green patina. It is said to have been found at Dodona, the great sanctuary of Zeus in the mountains of Epirus.

A bearded banqueter is represented reclining on a couch, a wine-bowl in his left hand, his right hand resting on his raised right knee. The legs of the couch are left to the imagination, but the head-board is shown supporting the cushion under the banqueter's left elbow, and part of the side-railing appears as a thin, wedge-shaped platform under the mattress on which he lies. The banqueter wears a single garment loosely wrapped round his waist, leaving the feet and the upper part of the body uncovered. The toes are rendered with exceptional delicacy, but the fingers, as often in Greek bronze statuettes, are long and summary. The hemispherical wine-bowl, which has neither handle nor foot, is modelled solid, perhaps because it is meant to be full; and the inner edge of the rim is marked by an incised line. Beard and moustache are plastically offset from the cheeks and indicated by incised parallel lines. The two rows of beading running across the forehead from ear to ear are curls; but the broader row above them goes all round the head and must be a wreath. The crown of the head, where the hair is dressed close to the scalp, is left smooth. The front and sides of the mass of hair falling behind the head are divided horizontally into rows of beading; the back of the mass forms flat, step-like rows of small vertical grooves. From the lowest row hangs a fringe of vertical curls.

Representations of reclining banqueters are not uncommon among archaic Greek bronzes: other examples have been found at Olympia, Dodona, Samos, Trebenishte, Locri, and Ruvo.[2] All these figures seem to have been decorative attachments for bronze mixing-bowls or their tripod-stands; and the slightly convex front of the base of ours suggests that it was no exception. Mounted on a vessel or a tripod, our banqueter would probably have had two fellows; and he is, therefore, more likely to be a mortal symposiast than a god.

The earlier bronze banqueters lie with their legs together, the knees bent and turned to the front. The widely parted legs of ours and the bold three-dimensional

movement of the drapery between them place it near the end of the series, probably not much before 500 B.C. The carefully noted asymmetry of the collar-bone points to the same date. I know no close stylistic parallels. The intense expression of the protruding eyes and arching brows, the oval outline of the head in profile, and the lean, long-legged body recall statuettes which Langlotz has plausibly ascribed to Sparta;[3] but the possibility of Corinthian manufacture cannot be ruled out. The most one can say with any confidence is that the banqueter is probably a Peloponnesian work.

The bronze was cast solid from a wax model. Apart from the removal of the runners and correction of local faults, very little tooling seems to have been done on the metal after casting; the greater part of the surface shows every sign of being a direct reproduction of the wax, and wax technique is apparent in the finest details of hair and beard (pl. XII a–c). Such minute fidelity of reproduction presupposes the use of an exceptionally fine fireproof 'clay' for the investment of the wax model; and it is interesting to note that the great bronze mixing-bowl recently discovered at Vix has provided direct evidence that Greek bronze-casters were in fact in possession of a clay of this quality.[4]

<div align="right">D. E. L. Haynes</div>

[1] Reg. no. 1954, 10–18, 1. The statuette has been published by Mogens Gjødesen in *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 5 Aargang, 1948, pp. 21 f., figs. 8–9.
[2] With the exception of the example from Ruvo (*BMC Bronzes*, 21, no. 221), all are listed by Ulf Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, 100, n. 146.
[3] *Frühgriech. Bildhauerschulen*, 86–98.
[4] *Mon. Piot*, xlviii, fasc. i, 59 (Jean-R. Maréchal).

TUDOR HAT-BADGE

THE British Museum has just purchased, with the aid of generous grants from the National Art-Collections Fund and the Trustees of Henry Christy, a rare and very important gold enamelled hat-badge of the Tudor period *c.* 1550 (Pl. XIII a). Its significance is twofold: because of the English inscription it bears and the technique by which it is made, there can be no doubt that it is from an English workshop probably in London; and secondly, it is of superlative quality—an attribute rarely admitted of English workmanship in this field.

The medallion is 2¼ in. in diameter and depicts Our Lord at Jacob's Well with the Woman of Samaria (St. John iv. 4–42). On the side of the well, an English legend in niello reads: 'Of a trewthe thow art the trew Messias'. The subject is exceedingly uncommon in Gothic art, though there exists a fifteenth-century Nottingham alabaster panel in the Louvre of this subject. One of the outstanding features of this artist's representation is the introduction of classical Renaissance architecture—one of the earliest instances in this field of English

art—even the few contemporary German woodcut illustrations of the subject are content to reproduce the local village well of those days. It may be that here is an instance of the work or influence of Holbein, whose designs for jewellery were so popular at the court of Henry VIII. The actual form of the words used in the inscription does not occur in Wycliffe or Coverdale translations, nor in the Caxton or authorized versions of the bible. It is hoped that by tracing the sources of this inscription and the models for the subject among earlier woodcut illustrations or Holbein designs, it will be possible to date the hat-badge more precisely.

The artist's sense of composition has led him to deviate from the story, for, unlike most other artists, he has shown Christ standing, while St. John says, 'wearied with his journey, (he) sat thus on the well'. The simplicity of the composition is most telling: a well and two standing figures, one on either side, with gestures and movement expressive of St. John's account of the episode. The whole is most gracefully adapted to the roundel form. Its present excellent condition reveals the high standard of technical accomplishment of this workshop.

There is only one other known object of this gold enamelled work which bears an English inscription, the 'Girdle' Prayer-book, which recent research suggests almost certainly belonged to Queen Elizabeth I (now in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum). This little book of prayers published in 1574 was bound in the most splendid gold enamelled book-covers, which are very close in style and quality to the hat-badge. These two works of certain English origin now form the sound basis on which it is possible to group a small but fine collection of pieces of English jewellery of that transitional period between the decline of the Gothic and the advent of the Elizabethan styles. Outstanding in quality and boldness of design is the hat-badge of Judith in the Tent of Holophernes (in the Wallace collection) which might well be from the same workshop, and of special interest is the Christ and the Woman of Samaria hat-badge in Lord Wharton's collection, which is the only other known example of the subject in jewellery of the sixteenth century.

HUGH TAIT

PILGRIM-SIGNS AND THOMAS, EARL OF LANCASTER

ONE of the earliest references to pilgrim-signs appears in Giraldus Cambrensis[1] who, writing before 1223, refers to a band of pilgrims as recognizable by the signs hung around their necks. Yet the absence of a single dated or documented example has made it very difficult to establish any reliable chronological arrangement. A high proportion of the large collections in the London, Guildhall, and British Museums were dredged from the Thames and are thus without provenance or datable connexions. The cataloguer has had to be content with a general assignment of these signs to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Department of British and Medieval Antiquities is fortunate in having received from the Department of Coins and Medals a recent acquisition (1955, 10–1, 1), which can be dated within a few years. It is a lead sign, almost certainly representing St. Thomas a Becket, whose shrine at Canterbury was of the greatest importance. The mitred bust is seen (pl. xv d) under a Gothic architectural canopy surrounded by a circular band ornamented with raised dots. While the form of the mitred head is usual, the setting is not exactly paralleled in any of the large collections.[2] The pierced openwork, so characteristic of English signs, would make the wearing of it as a badge on a hat or a cloak both easy and attractive, especially in its former gilded state. It measures 1·5 in. in diameter.

Its provenance is of major interest, for it was found sewn on a card together with several pennies of the reign of Edward I (c. 1270–80). The card had written on it the information that these objects were from the Tutbury hoard. The coins have since been dispersed and the card is now lost, but there was nothing about the coins on the card which was inconsistent with the rest of the hoard. Furthermore, the owner, a collector of coins, had no knowledge of the significance of this object when he brought it along to the Museum. The Tutbury hoard[3] of over 1,500 silver pennies, which from the evidence of these coins could be reasonably dated to the years 1321–9, has been very convincingly linked with the flight of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (1277(?)–1322), from Tutbury Castle in February 1322. The Earl, who had been in open opposition to King Edward II so frequently, was found unprepared, and the King, with unusual energy and determination, had marched with his forces towards Tutbury Castle where the Earl and a small force were wintering. The swollen waters of the River Trent nearly saved Thomas of Lancaster, for the only bridge in the vicinity was at Burton, and for three days the King was held at bay, but, the floods retreating, the bulk of the King's force forded the river lower down, and fell on the flank of the Earl's contingent. 'And then wente the Barons with Thomas Lancaster to Tuttebyri, and thens to Pontefract.'[4]

As Edward Hawkins of the then Department of Antiquities and Medals in the British Museum in 1835 very rationally surmised, the reason for the Earl's retreat to Tutbury might have been influenced by his wish to pick up his treasure as he passed, and his only way of escape was to ford the River Dore at a point about where these coins were found. It is a reasonable deduction to assume that in the panic of the flight there was no time to retrieve the Earl's military chest, which might easily have fallen into the river, as there was no bridge over the Dore at that time and the banks would have been soft and marshy from the recent floods.

If then the date at which the Tutbury hoard was deposited is accepted, 1322 is the latest possible date for the pilgrim's sign. It cannot be denied that there is a possibility that the sign, having been found in a river bed, was a later deposit, unconnected with the hoard. This would, however, be a remarkable coincidence, and, since there is nothing about the sign on grounds of style that is incompatible with a dating shortly before 1322, it would seem fair to conclude that this is an English pilgrim-sign of the early fourteenth century. It is harder to establish its earliest possible date, though the intensely personal quality of these devotional relics suggests that it was acquired in the lifetime of the owner, who lost it at Tutbury that night.

Another recent acquisition of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities (1954, 5–2, 1) is a leaden object, which is obviously too large to be worn as a pilgrim's badge or sign (pl. XIV a). The measurements are: 6·5 in. high and 5 in. wide. Its purpose is therefore conjectural; possibly it was a poor-man's devotional plaque, the equivalent of an ivory diptych. If it had been sewn on to a cloth ground with a wood backing, painted and gilded, it might well have been carried home from the shrine by the humbler pilgrim.

Support for this interpretation of its use is found in a rare leaden triptych (pl. XIV c) in the Museum at King's Lynn.[5] It is 4½ in. high and 2½ in. wide (maximum with both side panels open—the right leaf is now lost). The charming fourteenth-century English quality of its style, so similar to a badge of St. Edward or St. Edmund with an identical diaper ground, recently acquired by the British Museum (1952, 11–4, 1),[6] is evidence that even in this base metal small objects of private devotional use were being made in England in those days.

On a larger scale, more comparable to the newly acquired plaque, is a charming fourteenth-century English fragment (pl. XIV b) from the Thames at London Bridge (now in the London Museum: Medieval Catalogue, p. 263, No. A/14581/1, pl. lxxii, no. 52), which may have been the side panel of a very similar canopied plaque. This fragment is 5 in. high and in its original complete form neither it nor the triptych could have been intended for wearing as pilgrim-signs. Among the largest badges definitely known to have been designed for wearing are two rare pieces in the Department. The first (1921, 2–16, 64), measuring 2¾ in. high

and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, represents the shrine surrounding the tomb of a saint, presumably St. Thomas of Canterbury (pl. xv *a*). On the back (pl. xv *b*) are the pin and clasp usual on smaller badges, though whether it was worn on a hat or on a tunic is impossible to determine. It is close to the dated Canterbury sign (pl. xv *d*) just discussed, for both have the same use of early Gothic architecture and raised dots, which probably represented the cabochons and jewels. The saint lies on a tomb with openwork arcading; above is a mortuary chest surmounted by a crouching lion, connected to the main architectural canopy by a flying buttress. The other badge (pl. xv *c*) (1904, 7–20, 1) with two figures, one of which wears a mitre, standing under a late Gothic canopy presents a problem of iconography. The badge is probably German or Bohemian late fifteenth century. It measures $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. high and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, and traces of the pin and clasp remain on the back. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the newly acquired panel was never worn but, like the triptych, was a poor man's devotional relic.

The Gothic architectural canopy of the new plaque (pl. xiv *a*) has two pinnacles, each surmounted by the figure of a saint (St. Peter on the right and St. Paul on the left), and in the tracery of the canopy is the figure of Christ seated on a rainbow (as in scenes of the Last Judgement Day) with two kneeling figures swinging censers from below. The Crucifixion with the figures of Mary and John (the former is now lost) tops the gable of the canopy, whilst below the tracery are six rectangular compartments in two tiers of three, in which are represented six scenes from the life of the 'saint' from whose shrine this object came. On either side are two projecting gabled 'niches' in which stands the figure of a saint; in the upper left the figure stands in a chest with handles projecting upwards at the sides. This mysterious saint appears in an English Psalter of the late thirteenth century (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS. 756, fol. 10), where in the bottom left-hand corner scene the youthful saint is shown standing in a four-legged chest with a large key-hole (Fig. 8).[7] St. James the Greater, Apostle, is perhaps represented in the lower left 'niche'; the others are unidentifiable. The form and general composition are reminiscent of stained-glass windows with curvilinear tracery. The Peter de Dene window in the North Aisle of the Nave of York Minster, *c.* 1310, is among the few large-scale examples of contemporary local glass to survive and in its painted architectural designs there are many comparable features. Craftsmen in lead probably spent a high proportion of their time working on the windows of churches and halls and the influence of stained glass designs and window-tracery patterns is to be expected in this lead panel. Its tracery presumably continued upwards and enclosed the figures of the Crucifixion as in the early fourteenth-century stained-glass window in the south aisle of St. Martin's, Coney Street, York, or in the later east window of All Saints, North Street, York. But the odd relationship of the 'niches' to the central panel is never quite paralleled in stained glass or in contemporary miniature painting,

and must be attributed to a weakness in the craftsman's artistic training. A lead fragment of a traceried canopy in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, presented by J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A., in 1875[8] bears a close resemblance to the upper part of the new panel. Not only is the Christ in Judgement identical, even to the diagonal band over the chest, but the pattern of the tracery (much is now lost) is clearly very similar. There are traces which suggest that the gable was similarly surmounted by a Crucifixion group, and the presence of the roof and upper walls of a building in the lower right corner is a striking parallel. It is perhaps not unreasonable to see in this fragment the remains of a similar lead plaque from the same shrine, but from a different mould. The diaper decoration on the tracery is quite new; the adoring angel below the Christ in Judgement has wings, and the shield, which is less easy to read, is in a different place and yet it does not seem to have been balanced on the other side with a corresponding shield.

The scenes illustrate six very moving events from the life and downfall of the 'saint', Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (1277(?)–1322), the same Thomas who figured in the history of the datable Canterbury pilgrim-sign just discussed. Only the first scene baffles complete identification. It appears to take place at court, where the king, holding a sceptre and seated on the left on a dais, is attended by a mitred ecclesiastic, who holds out a charter in his left hand towards a suppliant on the right. The lettering on the charter unfortunately is illegible—if indeed it ever was genuine lettering—and there are few clues for narrowing down so typical a scene. It may be that here is a representation of the scene when Thomas, still a minor, had his deceased father's earldom of Lancaster conferred on him in 1298 and he paid homage to Edward I. But it is so far removed from the scenes which follow that it is more probably that of the famous reconciliation between Edward II and Thomas on 5 August 1318, when one of the conditions imposed on the king was the establishment of a sort of council of two Bishops and a baron, with a baron from the household of the Earl of Lancaster to accompany Edward II always and give advice and approval on weighty matters. The remaining five scenes are all taken from the last months of the Earl's life as recorded by William de Packington in his Chronicle,[9] which is sufficiently succinct and entertaining to recommend quoting in full. Thomas of Lancaster, after fleeing from Tutbury Castle across the River Dore, as has already been described, halted at his castle at Pontefract. Taking counsel with his companions, Thomas favoured staying at Pontefract, but Robert de Clifford forced him at the point of a dagger to leave for the north. They set out and, as William de Packington relates:

Then Thomas Lancaster aforce grauntid, and went with them having yn Company VII. C. [i.e. 700] Menne, to Borowbridge.

To Borowbridge came Syr Andrew de Harkeley, Warden of Cairluel [i.e. Carlisle] and that

Marches, and Syr Simon Warde to encountre with the Barons. Where Thomas Lancastre tolde Harkeley his juste Quarel agayne the Dispensers, promising hym, if he wold favor his Cause, one of the V. Countes that then he had in Possession. But Harkeley refusid his Offre. Then Thomas prophetied that he wold sore repent, and that shortely, so fair, and that he should dy a shameful Deth, that is to say, to be hangid, drawen, and quartered.

Then Harkeley, whom Thomas of Lancastre had aforetyme made Knight, made his Archiers to shote, and so did the Barons apon the bridge. And emong all other, one gotte under the bridge, and at a Hole thruste with a Launce the renounid Knight thorough oute al Christentye Humfrede de Boun yn the Foundemente, so that his Bowels cam oute. And Syr Roger Clifford was sore wondid on the Hedde. And Syr William Sulley, and Syr Roger Bernefeld were slayne.

This battle on the bridge is rather stiffly and simply related to the glory of the 'saint' by the artist of the plaque. The Earl, in fact, does not seem according to the Chronicles to have figured conspicuously in the fight. According to the Chronicle of Lanercost, the Earl of Hereford, Sir Humphrey de Bohun, and Sir Roger de Clifford attacked the bridge, while Thomas of Lancaster with the rest of the cavalry tried to seize the ford, but both attempts ended quickly in disaster. Doubtless the artist had to deviate slightly from the truth, for he depicts the Earl in armour, on the bridge slaying a foe with his sword, while behind him a cleric (?) stands with hands joined in prayer. To avoid any misgivings about the identity of the central figure, the artist has placed over his head a shield bearing the coat of arms of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, which were England with a label of three or five. Unfortunately the artist has omitted the label, either in ignorance or in carelessness. There can be no doubt, however, that he did intend the arms of Thomas of Lancaster.

William de Packington continues the story of the Earl's defeat:

And then wente Thomas Lancastre into a Chapel, deniying to rendre hym self to Harkeley, and said, loking on the Crucifix, 'Good Lord, I rendre my self to the, and put me yn to thy Mercy.'

Then they toke of his Cote Armures, and put on hym a Ray Cote, or Goune, one of his Mennes Lyveryes, and caried hym by Water to York, were they threw Balles of Dyrte at hym.

The artist has represented in the third scene the boat conveying the captured Earl, humiliatingly dressed in his servant's livery, to York. He has even tried to depict York Minster.

William de Packington continues:

And the residew of the Barons part pursuid from Place to Place, and to the Chirch held was no Reverence gyven, and the Father pursuid the Sunne, and The Sunne the Father. . . .

. . . The King hering of this Discumfiture, cam with the Dispensars and other Nobles his Adherentes to Pontfracte.

Syr Andrew of Harkeley brought Thomas of Lancastre to Pontfracte to the Kinge, and there was put in a Towre that he had newly made toward the Abbay, and after juged in the

Haule sodenly by thes Justices, Syr Hugh Dispensar the Father, Syr Aimer Counte of Penbroke, Syr Edmunde Counte of Kent, Syr John de Britayne, and Syr Robert Malmethorp, that pronouncid his Jugement.

Then Thomas Lancastre sayd, 'Shaul I dy with owt Answer?'

It is this poignant moment that the artist has next attempted to illustrate. On the right stands Thomas of Lancaster in the 'dock'; on the left, one of his judges. It was one of the chief aspects of his 'martyrdom' that he was not given a fair trial, but condemned out of hand, as he had condemned Piers Gaveston in 1312.

The Chronicle goes on:

Then certayne Gascoyne toke hym away, and put a pillid broken Hatte, or Hoode, on his Hedde, and set hym on a lene white Jade with owt Bridil, and he then cryed thus, 'King of Heven, have mercy on me. For the King of Herth nous ad querpi'. [Leland has not attempted a translation of the French original, which presumably meant 'has deserted us'.]

This further humiliation is the next scene which the artist has chosen to represent. In its simplicity it is perhaps the most telling of the little scenes.

William de Packington relates:

And thus he was caryed, sum throuing Pelottes of Dyrt at hym, and having a Frer Precher for his Confessor with hym, on to a Hylle with owte the Toune, where he knelid doune toward the Este, on tylle one Hughin de Muston caussid hym to turne his Face towarde Scotlande [this was a reference to his alleged traitorous connexions with the Scots]:—wher kneling, a Villayne of London cut of his Hedde II. Cal. Aprilis anno D. 1321.

This final scene is depicted with a boldness in composition, for the caesura between the two figures is expressive of the distance between them spiritually.

And after the Prior and the Monkes required his Body, and got it of the King, and buried it on the right Hond of the Hy Altare. . . . Here folowid a Chapitre of the Miracles that Men sayde that God wrought for Thomas a Lancastre. And for Resorte of People to the Monte, where Thomas was beheddid, Baldok the Chauncelar caussid xiii. Gascoynes welle armid to watch the Hille a certan tyme.

It is interesting to note that William de Packington is the only chronicler to give so detailed an account, and that the more obvious Chronicles, of Lanercost and William of Malmesbury, for example, do not mention the journey by boat from Boroughbridge to York, let alone the graphic cries of despair made by Thomas to his God. In these other accounts, Thomas gave himself up the next day and was then taken to Pontefract. Now there is evidence in this contemporary leaden plaque that the account given by William de Packington held general public credence.

There is no other known set of scenes illustrating the life and death of this 'saint', Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. In the Luttrell Psalter[10] (British Museum Add. MS. 42130), fol. 56, there is in the lower margin an executioner beheading a kneeling man with a gold sword. The victim's neck is already gashed.

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Under the sword, the word 'Lancastres' is faintly written in plummet, so that it apparently represents the execution of Thomas of Lancaster. The word may have been written as a guide for the miniaturist, or it may be a later addition. The illumination of this Psalter dates from about 1340; it is very probably another example of how the sudden downfall and death of this powerful Earl of five earldoms had impressed itself on the minds of his contemporaries. After his death popular idealism made him a saint and a martyr. The misfortunes of the time were attributed to the follies of Edward II, though Thomas's futile policy was as much to blame. Nevertheless, in the public's eyes he was converted into a second Simon de Montfort, the champion of the people's rights. It mattered not that 'he was rude, insolent and unwarlike, an adulterer and a murderer'; he had always been generous with his gifts to the poor and a bountiful patron of the clergy. Miraculous cures were effected at his tomb in Pontefract and at an effigy of him at Old St. Paul's, to which great crowds of worshippers came with offerings. (Could this object be one such offering? A devotional plaque to hang at his shrine?) Edward II was very displeased with these demonstrations, and Baldock, the Chancellor, ordered guards to be placed to prevent the crowds approaching the burial place and the place of execution. The King wrote an indignant letter in June 1323 to the Bishop of London and to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's forbidding them to countenance such proceedings. But the cult grew. The contemporary chronicle of Lanercost relates that he 'was taken on the morrow of S. Benedict Abbot[11] in Lent and beheaded like any thief or vilest rascal upon a certain hillock outside the town, where now, because of the miracles which it is said God works in his honour, there is a great concourse of pilgrims, and a chapel has been built'.

With the murder of Edward II in 1327, it suited the policy of Edward III (his son and usurper of the throne), to foster the public's memory of Edward II's 'murder' of Thomas of Lancaster and his reign of despotic injustice. On 28 February 1327, Edward III wrote to Pope John XXI requesting the canonization of Thomas of Lancaster. This request was never granted, though it was repeated in 1330 and 1331. Though not canonized, an office for his feast day was composed. It survives in a manuscript (Royal 12 C xii, British Museum), which is written in a hand of the first half of the fourteenth century.[12] On 8 June 1327 Edward III authorized Robert de Werynton, clerk, to collect alms for the building of a chapel on the hill where he had been beheaded. This chapel was never finished, and, though it still existed in Leland's time, no detailed description of it survives. As in the case of so many political heroes, his cult did not last long, reaching its height during the two decades following his execution. Therefore it would seem reasonable on historical and stylistic grounds to date this lead object to the years 1322–c. 1342.

In conclusion, an interesting problem has recently been raised in the Depart-

ment on another type of lead sign. There is in the collection a lead badge of a Swan (1871, 7–14, 72) (pl. xv *e*) with an inscription on the scroll: OR LOONS: DIEU (Now let us praise God). The problem is to determine whether this is a civil or a religious badge. It has in the past been regarded as a pilgrim-sign from the shrine of St. Hugh of Lincoln. The swan in fourteenth-century and later art is often portrayed standing at the side of the figure of St. Hugh.[13] The association of the swan with St. Hugh is based on two reliable contemporary eye-witness accounts, Giraldus Cambrensis[14] and the chaplain of St. Hugh, who was probably Abbot Adam of Eynsham and whose 'Magna Vita S. Hugonis'[15] is a very full and trustworthy source. The Swan appeared at Stow, one of the episcopal manors, near Lincoln, on the day of St. Hugh's enthronement and for the rest of the saint's life became an inseparable companion whenever St. Hugh was at Stow, protecting the saint from visitors and showing no friendship to any but St. Hugh. However, not only have very few similar badges been found in England, but this example in its technique is closer to the continental than to the English lead signs. Furthermore, the inscription is in Old French, whereas the inscriptions on undisputed pilgrims' signs are always in Latin.

In a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries on 20 January 1955, on 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knighte', by Richmond Herald, there was abundant evidence of the use of the swan as a heraldic device of certain noble families in northern Europe throughout the Middle Ages. The inscription might well be the motto of either an English or a French family and the badge might have been worn by a retainer. In the London Museum (Cat. No. A. 20812, pl. lxxiv, no. 63, p. 263) there is a chained swan which was the personal device of the Bohun family. It is different in many ways but it also has this peculiar ring on the back of its neck, by which it was presumably attached to a cap or a small chain. In the Guildhall Museum, London, there is a lead badge of a swan preening its feathers, which was found at Brook's Wharf in 1866. In the Catalogue (Cat. No. 85, p. 316) it is listed as an emblem of 'St. Cuthbert (?)'. These badges all measure between one and two inches, but as far as I can ascertain this swan badge is unique by reason of the inscription.

Additional Note

I have been informed by Mr. Spencer, who has recently examined the King's Lynn triptych (pl. xiv *c*), that the diapered background is a separate lead sheet to which the figures and canopies are applied and attached by pointed lugs. This technique is otherwise unknown to me among medieval pilgrim signs, but may well have been used in the case of the Thomas of Lancaster devotional panel (pl. xiv *a*), since the removal of the diaper background sheet in the King's Lynn triptych would leave a similar openwork panel. With this backing the Thomas of Lancaster panel would be stouter and more suitable for use as a devotional panel and its diaper background could be closely paralleled in contemporary manuscript illumination.

<div align="right">HUGH TAIT</div>

[1] *De rebus a se gestis ap. Aug. Sacr.* ii, p. 481.

[2] See Guildhall Museum Cat. No. 133, p. 319, pl. LXXVIII, 8, for a similar style of badge.

[3] Edward Hawkins, 'Remarks upon the coins lately discovered in the bed of the River Dore, near Tutbury, Staffordshire', *Archaeologia*, xxiv (1832), 148–67.

[4] William de Packington, clerk and treasurer of the Black Prince's Household, *Chroniques in Frenche*—translated by Leland: *De rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ii. 463.

[5] The writer wishes to thank Mr. B. Spencer for bringing to his notice the existence of this piece.

[6] On exhibition in Bay XIII of the King Edward VII Gallery.

[7] The writer is deeply grateful to Professor F. Wormald, F.S.A., for this information and wishes to thank him for his generous help.

[8] *Proc. of Soc. of Antiquaries*, vi. 304. For the knowledge of the existence of this piece the writer is indebted to Dr. G. Zarnecki, F.S.A., and wishes to thank him for his generous co-operation and help.

[9] William de Packington: *Chroniques in Frenche* —translated by Leland: *De rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ii. 463.

[10] See E. G. Millar, *Luttrell Psalter* (1932), pp. 5, 6, 28, pl. 12a.

[11] 22 March 1322.

[12] It has been transcribed and translated in *The Political Songs of England* (Camden Society Publication, 1839, pp. 268–72).

[13] It may be noted that frequently writers have confused St. Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln (1140–1200), with St. Hugh of Grenoble (1053–1132). Husenbeth, *Emblems of Saints* (1882), p. 105, lists as an emblem of St. Hugh of Grenoble 'a swan at his feet, with its bill near his hand' and omits it from the list of emblems of St. Hugh of Lincoln. Francis Bond, *Dedications of English Churches* (1914), p. 304, under the heading of *Specific emblems of individual saints* lists 'Swan— SS. Hugh of Grenoble, Cuthbert, Leger'.

[14] 'Life of St. Remigius', Chapter XXIX, which was written while St. Hugh was yet living.

[15] Book III, chapter vii.

TWO SILVER PANELS FROM AN ANGLO-SAXON CASKET

TWO pieces of late Anglo-Saxon silverwork have recently been acquired by the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities (1954, 12–1): they were purchased from a dealer and nothing is known of their origin save that they formed part of a nineteenth-century collection. The pieces (pl. xvi a) are plates from a house-shaped shrine of a type well known in the British Isles.[1] Such shrines are usually of Irish workmanship and only one other casket of definite Anglo-Saxon manufacture is known: the famous ivory casket in the Ducal Museum at Brunswick, which, by inscription, can be associated with the Abbey of Ely in the eighth century.[2]

The two fragments are quite small and are of different design and shape: the lower, or wall, plate, which is rectangular, measures 12·6 by 5·2 cm., and the upper, or roof, fragment is a trapezium and has a height of 5·1 cm. and a base-length of 12·1 cm. Both plates are rather badly clipped and have been frequently pierced (the lower plate at least 24 times) by nails; parts of the shanks of four of the nails remain. The upper plate, which is less damaged by clipping, has traces remaining of chamfered edges on three sides: the rough workmanship of this

feature would suggest that the plates were bounded, and partly secured to the casket, by lateral bars and a ridge pole.[3] Traces of niello remain on both plates, examination of which in the Research Laboratory has revealed that it consists of silver sulphide only, the type of niello which was used in England down to, but not after, the eleventh century.

The decoration is of indifferent execution, but the designs are of great interest. The two plates are different in design but the similarities of workmanship suggest that they were made by the same hand: this, however, is not unusual. Totally different designs occur, for instance, on the back and front of the Copenhagen shrine. On the side panel are a series of roundels with a cruciform interior design that relates in a general way to such cruciform disks as the Witham pins and, more especially, the Ixworth brooch, of the late eighth century. Relationships are perhaps to be seen in the Irish sphere of influence between, for example, these three roundels and the three roundels that were applied to most of the earlier Irish shrines. The design of these roundels is also perhaps allied to the design of the Irish wheel-headed crosses. The four triquetras in the fields of this cruciform ornament are strikingly similar in style and execution to those in a similar roundel on the head of the pin of the large penannular brooch from Penrith,[4] although in that case there is no equal-arm cross within the circle: a similar motif also appears on folio 7 recto of the famous Stockholm *Codex Aureus*. The triquetra that fills up many of the fields of this plate is so simple that it is impossible to assign it to any distinct date: it is, however, present in many contexts of late Saxon art, occurring for instance on the eighth-century Franks Casket and on the back of the eleventh-century Sutton, Isle of Ely, brooch. The flanged holes in the centre of each cross seem to be secondary: it is probable that they are cut down from repoussé bosses. Such bosses occur on a disk-brooch in the unpublished Swedish Igelösa hoard: this hoard, which comprised some ten pounds weight of coins and silver, contains mainly English coins, dated by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley not later than 1004: the year of deposition can be no later than 1006. This form of repoussé bossing does not occur, to my knowledge, on any other piece of late Saxon silverware: the feature may be considered as a skeuomorph of the rivet-heads that appear on many of the more elaborate pieces of this style.

The roof plate of the casket is of more complicated design. The area of decoration, defined by a beaded border, is divided (by more beading in the form of a rough saltire) into four triangular fields. The lower field contains a human head above a coarse interlaced pattern and the upper fields are filled with animals which have irregularly interlaced limbs. The head in the lower field is of great interest as it rarely occurs in late Anglo-Saxon contexts: the only other scratched, or engraved, head of this style appears on one of the Sevington spoons. The deposition of the Sevington Hoard has recently been redated by Mr. Dolley and

Mr. Blunt to *c.* 850: the old higher date quoted, for example, in the Museum's Anglo-Saxon Guide being due to a misreading of a coin of Æðelstan I as one of Æðelstan II by Hawkins in 1837. The interlace ornament in this lower panel is crude and angular and is perhaps more easily compared to that on bone trial pieces than to any higher artistic production. The nielloed speckling of part of this interlace probably indicates its zoomorphic meaning, since the same feature appears on the animals in the other three panels of the saltire.

The interlaced animals beggar description; they have become tortuous to the point of meaninglessness: the speckling of the central parts of the animals, the triangularity of the body, the placing of the head in one corner of the field and the fact that they are all renderings of a tailed quadruped, are the only regularities of the whole conception. The heads have large round eyes and are lozenge-shaped. Two of the animals have saw-like teeth which can be paralleled on the cover of the Lindau gospels: but these animals have none of the sophistication of those of Lindau; they are more crude, and have a predatory aspect that is difficult to define. The same two animals are the only ones that have definite feet; each having three. The third animal is much more degenerate in design and its feet are difficult, if not impossible, to locate. From triangular bodies the limbs contort themselves into a complicated and meaningless interlace from which only one feature stands out: the limb that crosses the neck of the animal in each panel is ringed round with a separate band, a feature that also occurs in the interlace of the fourth triangle. This is one of the most interesting of all the ornamental details, for it appears in England in the Ringerike style of the early eleventh century; occurring for example on the Sutton brooch and in a more perfect form on Flambard's crozier.[5] Another interesting ornamental detail is the inlaying, with small spots of niello, of the bodies of the animals, a feature that occurs on the Trewhiddle mountings and, without the niello, on the Strickland brooch: both dating from the ninth century.

In layout and technical details the silver plates are most completely allied to the large disk-brooches of the late Anglo-Saxon period. On these brooches we have the division into fields, with bosses at the intersections and extremities of these divisions; and the use of niello; and certain ornamental parallels have already been mentioned. Five of these brooches have been found in contexts datable by coins: two at Beeston Tor can be dated in 874; the Igolösa example dates from 1006, that from Stockholm from 1025, and the Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch can perhaps be dated to *c.* 1070. These dates, however, are only those of deposition, but it will be noted that there is, even so, a span of 200 years between the first and the last find. The earliest date possible for the manufacture of the Sutton brooch is *c.* 1020 as there are Urnes style elements in an art that is most closely related to that of Ringerike. The dating of the niello on the two plates gives us no more than a rough *terminus ante quem*, since no niello has been

definitely assigned to the eleventh century, and the exact period of introduction of the new type of niello is not therefore established.[6]

The puzzle that we have to face in our discussion of these two pieces is that of the apparent mixture and survival of styles of ornament. Before the appearance of these two pieces, the speckling of backs of animals did not occur to our knowledge (for this period, admittedly full of gaps) after the end of the ninth century. As we have said, it occurs on the Trewhiddle mountings deposited *c.* 875, and still earlier it appears on the Witham pins, in the Book of Kells, and on the Strickland brooch. The upper horizon for the speckling of animal bodies seemed to be *c.* 900. But on the roof part of the shrine under discussion we have it combined with a distinctive Ringerike element which, if we follow the accepted dating of the Ringerike style, must be more than a hundred years later than the Trewhiddle mountings.

The two plates, then, help to fill a gap in our knowledge of the art of the late Anglo-Saxon period. This apparently anomalous mixture of ninth and eleventh century art-styles may be the starting-point for a closer study of the English art of the three centuries before the Conquest, for it now seems that either many ninth-century features survive well into the tenth, perhaps to its end, or else that some of the characteristics of the Ringerike style may have developed earlier in England (as Holmqvist has suggested) than Ringerike itself. For the present we must date the pieces to the late tenth or early eleventh century.

D. M. WILSON

[1] Swarzenski, G., 'An Early Anglo-Irish Portable Shrine', *Bull. of the Mus. of Fin Arts*, Boston, 1954, p. 50.

[2] Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1918, vol. ii, p. 55 ff., and pl. lix.

[3] Cf. Mahr, A., *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, i (1932), pl. 18.

[4] *Proc. Soc. Ant. London*, xxi. 68, fig. 2.

[5] Kendrick, T. D., 'Flambard's Crozier', *Antiquaries Journal*, xviii (1938), pl. lv.

[6] There is unfortunately a gap (through lack of suitable dated material) between the late ninth and late twelfth centuries in the series of objects examined by Dr. Moss (*Antiquaries Journal*, xxxiii. 76). The dating of the shrine of St. Cuilleann's bell to the eleventh century in this paper is debatable.

A JAPANESE *GIGAKU* MASK FROM THE TEMPYO PERIOD (A.D. 710–94)

THE Museum has recently acquired by purchase, with the help of the National Art-Collections Fund and Sir Chester Beatty, a Japanese *Gigaku* mask formerly in the Hara collection. This type of mask can be identified as belonging to the role of the *Magao Men* or 'serious-faced' masks, a characteristic minority group among the *Gigaku* masks, lacking the more grotesque features of the majority. There seems to be little doubt that our mask came originally from

the Horyuji Temple at Nara, and it is known that it was obtained at the same time and from the same source as a *Gigaku* mask acquired by the Cleveland Museum, Ohio, in 1950, which it so much resembles.[1] It is 11¾ in. in height by 7⅝ in. in width, and it weighs 18 oz.

The face of our mask was once covered with gesso, paint, and natural hair, of which little but the white pigment on parts of the face and traces of matted hair on the top of the head remains. The features are powerful and realistic; the forehead is huge and domed; and the long pendent ears have exaggerated lobes. The condition of the face is good, except for some abrasion to the tip of the nose. It is made of some softwood, probably paulownia, which is light in weight, and in general more resistant to injury by worms than other Japanese softwoods; although this mask has not gone unscathed from the attacks of these insects. Two other masks of this type, but slightly more grotesque, were shown at the great exhibition of Japanese Art held in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1936[2] by the special permission of the Emperor of Japan.

These head masks were used in a dramatic religious performance known as *Gigaku*, embracing dialogue, music, and the dance, which was at first part of Buddhist religious services in the open air, and later performed at court functions during the Nara period (A.D. 649–794), but about which little information has been preserved. For the history of the introduction and evolution of the court dances and religious ceremonies of Japan, in which these masks were used, is still very obscure. *Gigaku*, which was the earliest of those dance forms, is said to reflect the court dances of China of the Sui period (A.D. 581–618), and probably originated in the neighbourhood of Kashgar in Chinese Turkistan; for the main instrument used for their accompaniment is similar to the Kashgari drum, although the physiognomy of the masks contains elements borrowed from as far afield as India, Indo-China, Java, Ceylon, as well as China, Tibet, and Korea.

These masks are bigger and more fantastic in appearance than those used in the *Bugaku* dances, which were in turn developed for the court music of the T'ang dynasty, and began to oust the *Gigaku* in the Heian period (A.D. 781–858), while they differed from the *Noh* masks, which only covered the face, by resting upon the head of the wearer. Both the *Noh* and *Kyogen* masked dances, which did not come into existence till the fourteenth century, unlike the *Gigaku*, *Bugaku*, and *Gyodo* were not imported from China, but were of native origin. The *Gigaku* plays in which these masks were used were a kind of outdoor comedy, or comic interludes by masked participants in processions, in which large masks covering the whole of the head were used. Most of them were extravagantly exotic in appearance, with long noses, weird, distorted and often angry features, in which play of the facial muscles was exaggerated in order to intensify the expression. Even today it is not difficult to conjecture the thrills, fears, and hilarity with which they must have once inspired the spectators.

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According to Japanese tradition these *Gigaku* plays with their music and other accessories were brought to Japan from China in 612 by a Korean, Mimashi, who had learnt *Gigaku* in China. These performances were encouraged by Prince Shotoku, the great patron of Buddhist culture, and were adopted as part of the ritual of Buddhist temples, attaining their greatest vogue at the close of the seventh century. They were eventually eclipsed by the introduction of the more aristocratic and stylized *Bugaku*, and the *Gyodo*, a form of religious pageant, towards the end of the eighth century, but they appear to have lingered on in the Todaiji temple at Nara till perhaps as late as the seventeenth century. In fact one or two masks have been preserved with a twelfth-century date. Today the music, most of the plays, and the titles of the masks are lost; although the names of some of the carvers have been recorded and the dates at which they were made. Some 240[3] of the masks themselves, among them perhaps originals brought over from China in the Sui period, have survived, in the Shōsōin, in the Todaiji Temple at Nara, and in the National Museum in Tokyo, whose masks came originally from the Horyuji Temple.

Of the 164 *Gigaku* masks in the Shōsōin,[4] which are believed to have been used originally in connexion with religious services in the Todaiji, 37 are arranged on the upper floor of the South Section, and 30 stored there in chests. Of these, 27 are made of *Kanshitsu* (dry lacquer) and 40 of paulownia wood; all are coloured, but no signature or inscription appears on any of them. Four are lion-headed, 3 bird-headed, 7 are demons, 4 *rikishi* with topknots, and 49 are men, many of which may represent superhuman beings, as they have extravagantly long noses; comparatively few represent human faces. Another 67 are stored in the upper floor of the North Section of the Shōsōin. Of these two are of dry lacquer, the rest being of wood, in nearly every instance paulownia. With a few exceptions, these masks in the Northern Section are signed and dated on the inside. The dates usually correspond to that of the inauguration of the Great Buddha of the Todaiji on 26 May 752. Some of the linen bags which contained them still exist.

Besides this group there is one of 31 *Gigaku* masks in the National Museum,[5] most, if not all, of which were originally in the Horyuji Temple; another 23 were in the Todaiji Temple and one in the Jindoji Temple, Kyoto. Buhot suggests that there are others in the Kofukuji Temple at Nara, but none is reproduced in the two volumes devoted to the treasures of this temple, published by the Otsuka Kogeisha in 1933.

In an *Illustrated Catalogue of a Special Exhibition of Old Japanese Masks*,[6] held at the National Museum in 1935, 51 *Gigaku* masks were included, together with *Bugaku*, *Gyodo*, *Noh*, and *Kyogen* masks. Of these *Gigaku* masks, 20, all of them designated 'National Treasures', were lent by the Todaiji Temple. Four of them are marked with the name of their carvers, the date—9th day, 4th month,

4th year, of Tempyo Shoho (26 May, A.D. 752 in the Western Calendar), the day when the great Daibutsu, the colossal bronze image of Vairočana Buddha of the Todaiji, was inaugurated. Four others are inscribed to the effect that they were made in 715, and repaired in 1793; one of these is inscribed on the inside in red lacquer, while another together with the one from the Jindoji Temple is dated in similar script to 1196. Two others merely carry the names of their carvers. All these masks, with the exception of one made of dried lacquer, are described as being made of paulownia wood. Of the other *Gigaku* masks exhibited on this occasion 29 were the property of the National Museum, and all but one of these, of which the source is not noted, are stated to have been gifts from the Horyuji Temple. Nine of them are said to be of camphor wood, and all the rest, with the exception of one made of dried lacquer, of paulownia wood. Only one is inscribed with what appears to be the date 731, but three others carry the name of the mask roles which they represent.

This exhibition included one *Gigaku* mask, again a National Treasure, lent by the Horyuji, which is described in the catalogue as being the only *Gigaku* mask left in its possession. This was in 1935. The Boston Catalogue (1936) states that 27 *Gigaku* masks were given to the Emperor Meiji[2] (1867–1912) by the Horyuji Temple, but the date of the gift is not mentioned. In the *Catalogue of the Treasures of the Horyuji*[7] (1934), however, the same 29 masks are illustrated as belonging to the Horyuji Temple. So it would appear, if this catalogue is accurate, that the gift was made between 1934 and 1935.

It would be interesting to know how many *Gigaku* masks have, in the distant past, drifted out of temple store-houses into private hands, and under what circumstances they left; and in particular how many of these masks were sold by the Horyuji Temple and at what date. One can, however, state with confidence that these sales are not likely to be repeated, and that the opportunity to acquire such an historic masterpiece of Japanese carving of the eighth century is unlikely to occur again.   SOAME JENYNS

[1] *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland, Ohio, October 1950, no. 8, pp. 176–8. Reproduction on cover.

[2] *Illustrated Catalogue of Special Loan Exhibition of Art Treasures from Japan*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sept.–Oct. 1936.

[3] Jean Buhot, *Histoire des Arts du Japon*, Paris, 1949, p. 113.

[4] (a) Illustrated in the *Shōsōin Gomotsu Zuroku*, published by the National Museum, 1928—vol. xvii, which is devoted to masks.

(b) Described in the *English Catalogue of Treasures in the Imperial Repository of Shōsōin*, by Jiro Harada, Tokyo, 1932, pp. 36–38 and 133.

[5] *Examples of Japanese Art in the Imperial Household Museum*, by Jiro Harada, Tokyo, 1934, p. 32. Now the National Museum.
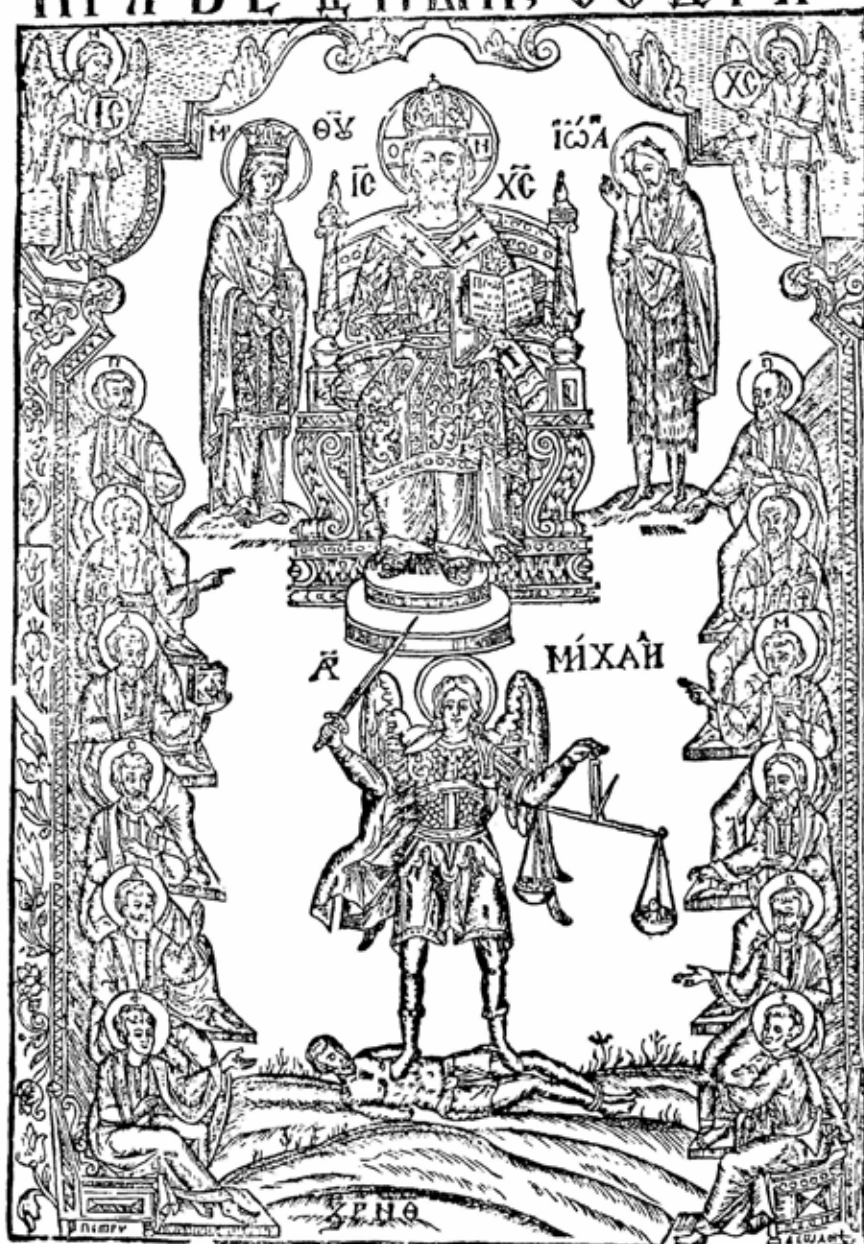
[6] *Old Japanese Masks* (Nihon Ko-gaku-men). An illustrated catalogue of a special exhibition held at the Imperial Household Museum of Tokyo. Text and notes by Seiroku Noma (English résumé by Jiro Harada). Published by order of the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo, 1935.

[7] *Catalogue of Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples at Nara*, vol. xii. *The Horyuji Temple*, part 12, Tokyo, 1934.
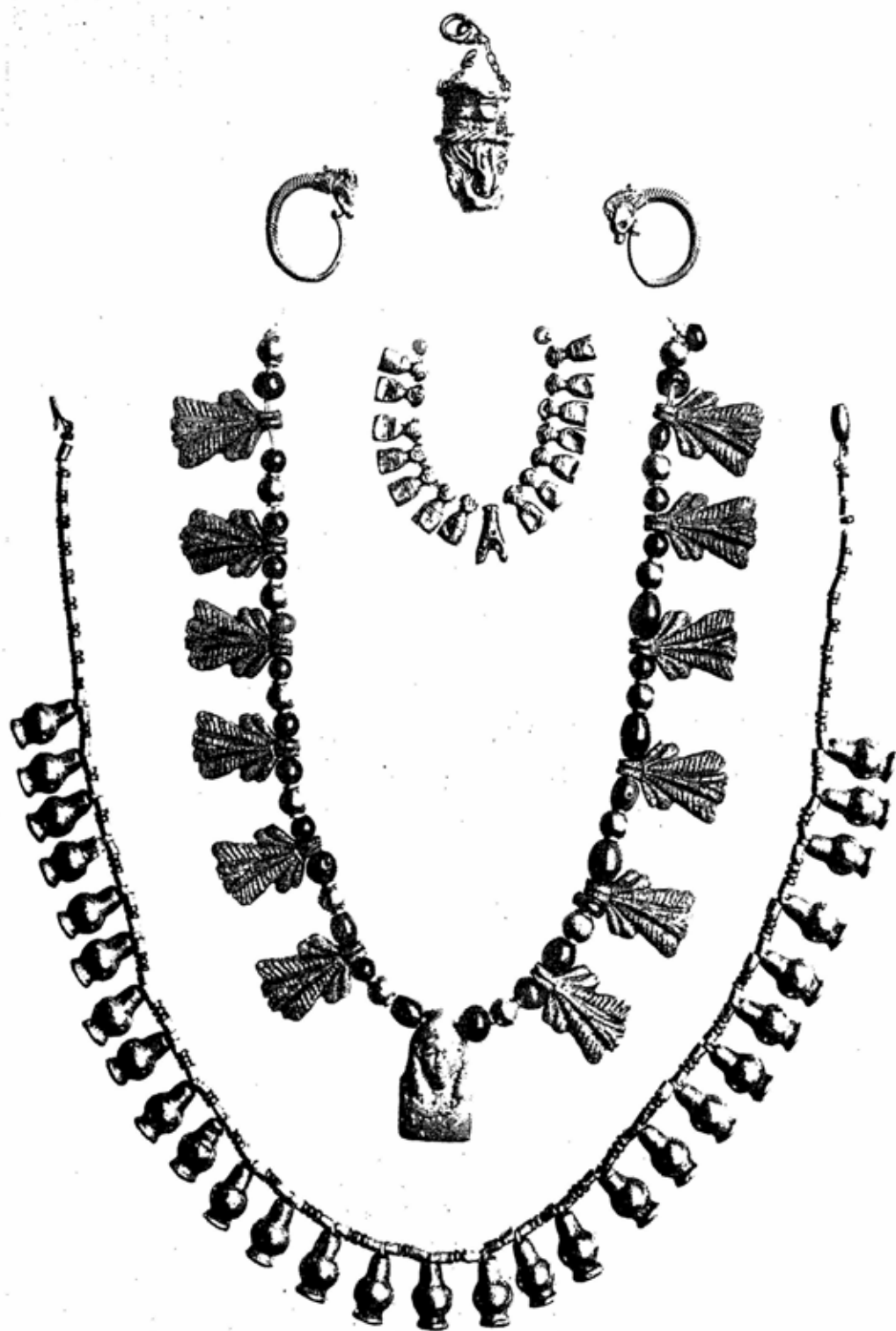
X. THE RIGHTEOUS JUDGE

Woodcut from the *Îndreptarea legii*, Tîrgovişte, 1652

XI. EGYPTIAN JEWELLERY

a   b   c

d

e

XII. BRONZE STATUETTE OF A BANQUETER

Florentie xij Martij · M · D · xiij

v[este]r Iulius de Medicis

b

a

XIII. *a.* GOLD ENAMELLED HAT-BADGE. English, c. 1550
b. LETTER OF GIULIANO DE' MEDICI, 12 MARCH 1513 (*Medici Papers*)
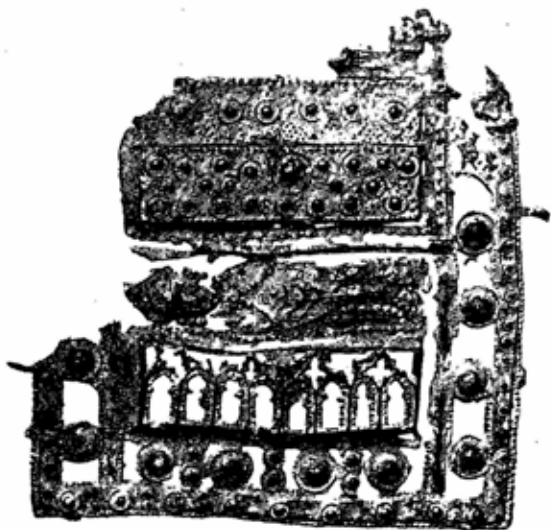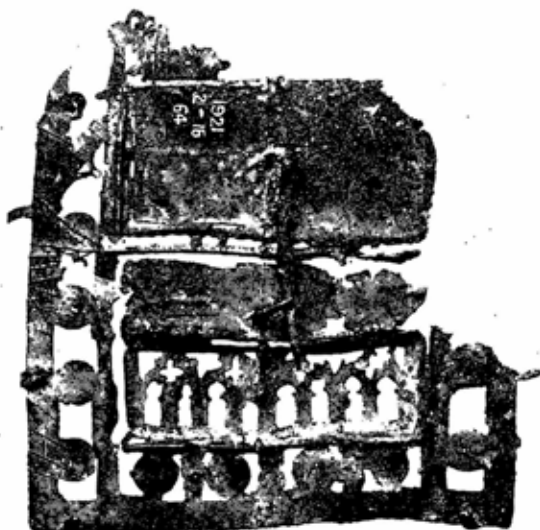
XIV. *a.* ENGLISH LEAD DEVOTIONAL PANEL 1322–*c.* 1342: six scenes from the Life of Thomas of Lancaster
b. RIGHT-HAND SECTION OF ENGLISH LEAD DEVOTIONAL PANEL: 14th century (London Museum)
c. ENGLISH LEAD TRIPTYCH: 14th century (King's Lynn Museum)

XV. *a.* ENGLISH LEAD PILGRIM-SIGN: THE SHRINE OF
ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY (?). 14th century
b. THE BACK OF THE PREVIOUS PILGRIM-SIGN
c. LEAD PILGRIM-SIGN. German (?), 15th century
d. ENGLISH LEAD PILGRIM-SIGN: ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY. *c.* 1300–1322
e. LEAD BADGE: THE SWAN. French (?), 14th century (?)
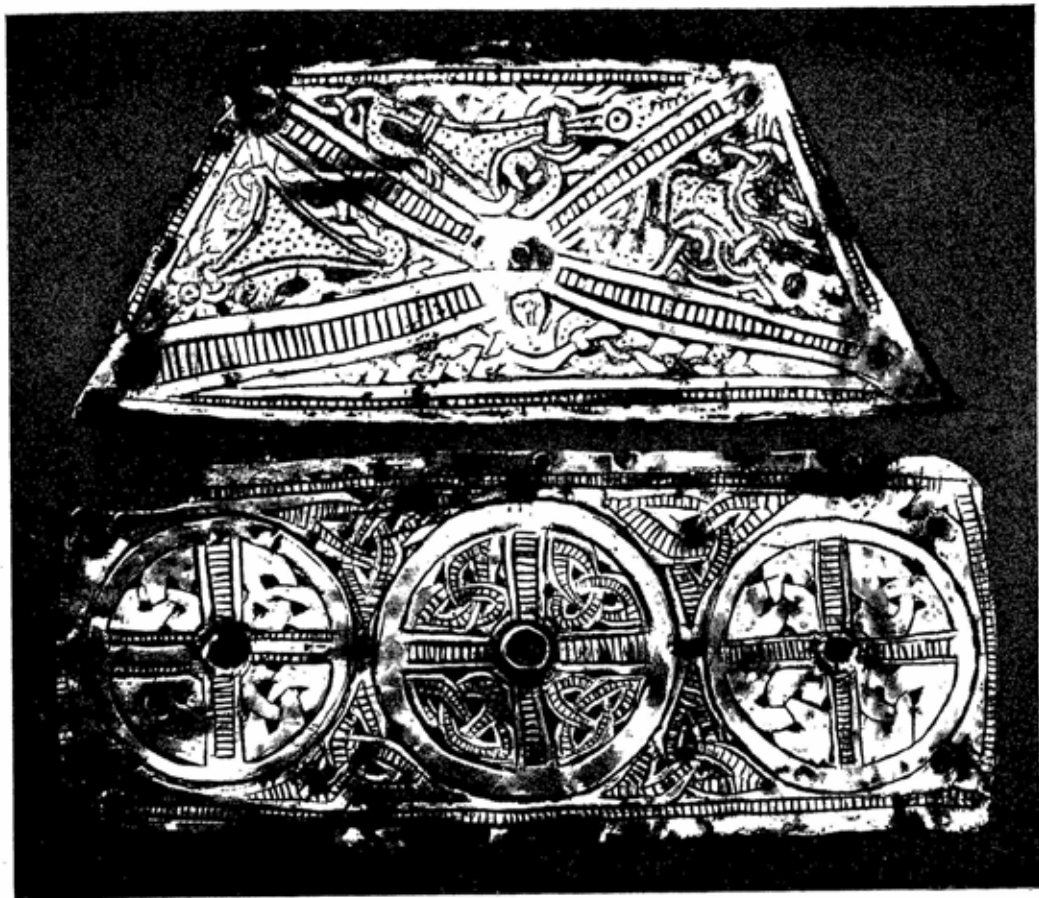
XVI. *a*. TWO PANELS FROM AN ANGLO-SAXON CASKET
b. UNKNOWN SAINT FROM A MINIATURE IN AN ENGLISH PSALTER
Late 13th century (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 756)

XVII. JAPANESE GIGAKU MASK: Tempyō Period (A.D. 710–794)

A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ASSOCIATION COPY

AMONG the early printed books in the Museum collection is a copy of the *Characters* of Theophrastus in Greek and Latin printed by Andreas Cratander at Basle in 1531 'mense Septembri'—for sale at the autumn book-fair at Frankfort. It is an agreeable little octavo of 24 leaves, produced at a time when Basle typography was still among the best in Europe. The title is enclosed in a Holbeinesque border depicting children at play and Cratander's device, the emblematic figure of Καιρὸς or Occasio, appears on the last page. That his Greek type is a crabbed and restless cursive must be blamed on the fashion of the time. The book is of no great rarity and would not call for remark save for an inscription at the foot of the title-page, which runs: 'Ioan Sinapio amico suo And. Cratander D.D.' and is no doubt in Cratander's own hand, bearing a general resemblance to that of Erasmus. Joannes Sinapius (i.e. Johann Senf classicized) was a native of Schweinfurt in Bavaria and besides writing a chronicle of that town gained some distinction as a humanist and Greek scholar. As such he succeeded, while still in his twenties, the more famous Simon Grynaeus in the chair of Greek at Heidelberg in 1529, but found his surroundings so unresponsive that Martin Bucer could say of him that he carried on the study of good letters single-handed. In October 1531 he resigned his professorship and determined to study medicine, with which end in view he started on a journey to Ferrara, where Giovanni Manardi was lecturing with great success on medical subjects. The prospect of crossing the Alps in winter evidently did not appeal to him and his leisurely progress was stayed by a prolonged sojourn in Basle, where he could foregather with other enthusiasts 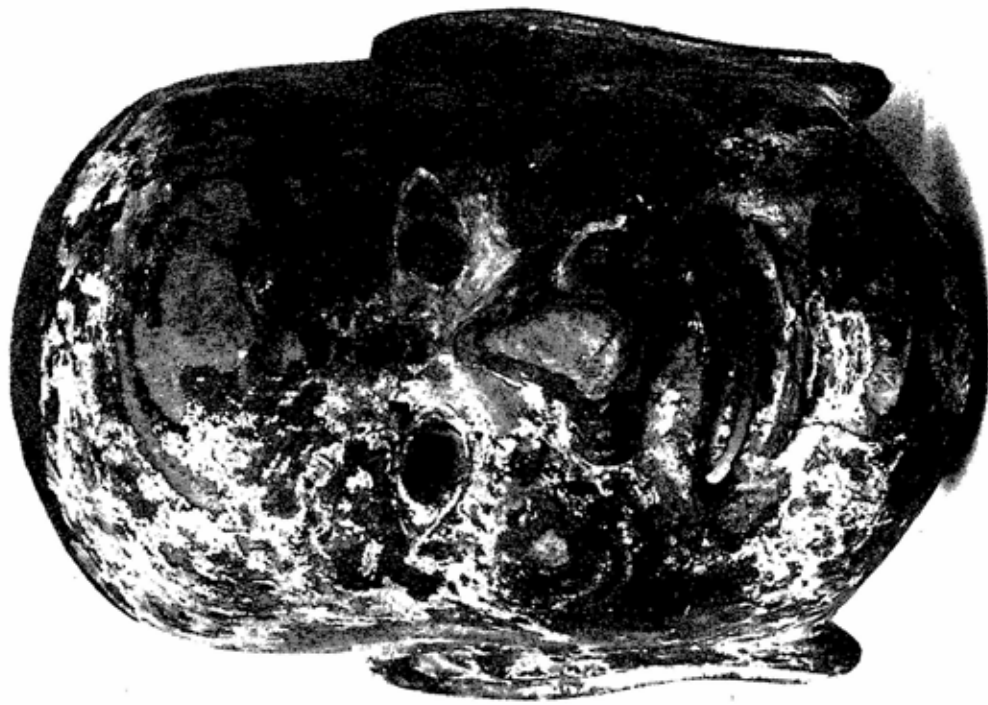for 'good letters'. Among these was Cratander, a man of some learning as well as a printer, and the booklet here in question may very well represent his parting gift to Sinapius when the latter took the road once more.

Sinapius was well remembered at Basle and several books both of his own and of his Ferrarese friends were published there—in particular what seems to be the first edition of a collection of essays on classical subjects by one Lilius Gregorius Giraldus, printed by Michael Isengrin in 1539. This includes on pp. 122 ff. a number of 'epithalamia' in Latin verse on the marriage of Sinapius to a French lady, Francisca Bucyronia, who was maid of honour to the Duchess of Ferrara. The first is by Giraldus himself, two others are by Bartholomaeus Ferinus, the Duke's secretary, and the last, running to 322 hexameters, is by Joannes Baptista Giraldus, the highly respected *doyen* of the clan. Appended to these are 90 further hexameters composed by the well-known jurist Johann Fichard, of Frankfort, who had been a pupil of Sinapius at Heidelberg, upon an earlier betrothal of Francisca to a French nobleman, which was ultimately broken

off. This addition can hardly be called tactful under the circumstances, but Fichard no doubt considered that such an opportunity of seeing his verses in print would not occur again, in which he was probably right.

The Theophrastus (press-mark: 527. f. 26(1)) has been in the Museum for a very long time. It once formed part of a sizable tract-volume, being paginated 169–216 in early manuscript. A copy of Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi*, Tiletanus, Paris, 1537, is now bound with it; this, however, seems to have formerly belonged to a different tract-volume.

V. SCHOLDERER

TWO NOTABLE ACQUISITIONS OF SPANISH INCUNABULA

SPANISH incunabula being for the most part of the rarest, the Museum has been singularly fortunate in the recent acquisition of two books printed at Barcelona in the 1470's, each of which is the first copy ever to come to the British Isles. The first of these, purchased in October 1954, is the *Commentum in libros Ethicorum Aristotelis* of St. Thomas Aquinas, completed by Peter Brun and Nicolaus Spindeler on 15 June 1478. It is the first book produced by the second press at Barcelona. Haebler records copies at Madrid, Barcelona (Institute of Catalan Studies), and Majorca, while Stillwell lists a copy in the library of the Hispanic Society of America. Brun and Spindeler had worked together at Tortosa in 1477, but their partnership in Barcelona produced only two works, both by St. Thomas Aquinas, the other being his commentary on Aristotle's *Politica* dated 18 December 1478. This is not in the Museum. Brun's name thereafter disappears, while Spindeler continued to work alone.

The second acquisition, made in October 1955, is of even greater interest. It is the *Rudimenta grammaticae* of Nicolaus Perottus, Archbishop of Siponto, an Italian humanist who lived from 1429 to 1478. The work was first printed in Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz in March 1473, and again by J. P. de Lignamine in May 1474. The Barcelona edition was completed on 12 December 1475 and is the only known book containing the names of the first printers in that city, the Germans Johannes de Salsburga and Paulus (Hurus) de Constantia. It was through the discovery of this book, first recorded by Haebler in 1917,[1] that Dr. Scholderer was enabled to attribute to this press the unsigned Florus, *Epitome*, Sallust, *Opera*, and Cicero, *In Catilinam* printed in the same type.[2] The Perottus was presumably preceded by the Florus and the Sallust, both of

which bear the year-date 1475, since there would have been insufficient time to print either of these pieces between 12 December and 24 December: for the latter date was at this period the last day of the Catalonian year. The undated Cicero doubtless belongs either to the same year or to the early part of 1476.

The well-known colophon of the Perottus, which tells us that it was printed from a copy put up for sale on the sea-shore as part of booty recaptured from pirates, shows also that Johannes Peyronus, Secretary to the King of Aragon, caused it to be printed in Barcelona by the two German printers 'who happened to be there at that time'. The fact that the book retains the preface of de Lignamine's Rome edition of 1474 shows that it was a copy of this rather than a manuscript which had been sold on the beach at Barcelona.

Another point of great interest is the hitherto unnoticed Greek type found on nineteen different pages throughout the text. It is a type which blends remarkably well with the Roman, but the Greek spelling reveals almost the same mistakes as are to be found in the edition of de Lignamine, although in two notable cases ($\pi\epsilon\rho o\tau\tau o$ for $\pi\omega\epsilon\rho o\tau\tau o$ and $a\phi o\delta\iota\tau\eta$ for $o\phi o\delta\iota\tau\eta$) attempts have been made by the Barcelona printers to correct obvious errors. Their Greek, nevertheless, was still most imperfect, as $a\phi o\delta\iota\tau\eta$ for $a\phi\rho o\delta\iota\tau\eta$ shows. The presence of Greek in this important Barcelona incunable disproves Proctor's statement that Greek was not printed in Spain until the famous Polyglot Bible of Alcalá in January 1514.[3] Haebler's lengthy description of the book, while recognizing its extreme importance in the history of early printing in Spain, makes no mention of the Greek type; but it seems that he did not see the book for himself. Relying on the report of Father A. Lambert at Saragossa, he calls it a quarto instead of a folio, and does not mention that the last two leaves are blank.

The only other copy of the Perottus recorded today is in the Institute of Catalan Studies in Barcelona, the copy in Saragossa Cathedral having disappeared during the Civil War.

D. E. RHODES

[1] C. Haebler, *Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo XV*, pt. 2 (1917), pp. 151–2, no. 542 (8). The type was first reproduced in Haebler, *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen* (1923), figs. 5 and 6.

[2] V. Scholderer, 'The Earliest Books Printed at Barcelona,' *The Library*, 4th ser., vol. xii, no. 1, June 1931, pp. 109–12.

[3] R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*, Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monograph, no. viii, 1900, p. 144.

THE FIRST KAREN DICTIONARY

IN November 1855 the Museum purchased a Karen dictionary, consisting of a drop-head title and pp. 9–324 of text, but having no beginning and no end. The text ends abruptly in the letter 'k'. It was placed among the anonymous dictionaries, and catalogued as a work in progress, with the date of publication supplied as [1852?]. It has at last been possible to identify the author, to assign the book to a particular press, and to date it more accurately. The result shows that this incomplete dictionary was among the earliest products (if not the very first) of the American Baptist Mission at Tavoy, a port in Lower Burma. The author is revealed to have been the Reverend Jonathan Wade, an American missionary who was born in 1798.

American missionaries first arrived among the Karen tribes of Burma in 1828.[1] It was apparently impracticable for them to set up a printing-press in the wild country of the Shan States, but they did so several hundred miles farther south, at Tavoy in the Tenasserim province. In 1846 the Rev. Cephas Bennett published there *An Anglo-Karen Vocabulary. Monosyllables. For the use of Karen schools*. But he was not the first pioneer to set the Karen language down on paper, for we are told that Karen was 'never written till Dr. Wade, the American missionary, reduced it to writing using the Burmese consonants. The Karens thus have no written literature.'[2] Bennett himself tells us in the preface to his *Vocabulary* of 1846 that 'a more full and extended work, will, it is hoped, be given to the public by the author of the Karen Dictionary, when that work shall be completed', but he does not mention Wade by name. However, in 1849 the same press at Tavoy published *A Vocabulary of the Sgau Karen Language*, bearing Wade's name on the title-page and having a preface signed C. B. [i.e. Cephas Bennett] dated from Tavoy in May, 1849. In this it is explained that

a Dictionary of the Karen Language was commenced by Mr. Wade, some years since, and in 1842, a revision and re-writing of the work, was undertaken, and the printing commenced in a quarto form, but it was soon seen that his declining health was not likely to permit him to finish a work of such magnitude for many years; and as a Vocabulary, at least, of the language, was very much needed by those who were preparing themselves for labor among the Karens, he was advised to relinquish his plan of the quarto volume, for a time, after 324 pages had been printed, and prepare a less elaborate work, which could sooner be placed in the hands of his fellow laborers, some of whom had not any thing of the kind, even in manuscript. The printing of the present work was commenced in 1846, but in consequence of Mr. Wades' poor health, it came from the press less rapidly than had been hoped, and in October, 1847, on account of impaired eye-sight, he was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the work, when he had arrived to the end of the letter o. From that letter to the close, the work has been prepared by Mrs. Bennett, from materials put into her hands by Mr. Wade, which were so ample, as to fully entitle him to the credit given him in the title page.

And later in the same preface: 'It is confidently hoped that the life of Mr. Wade will be spared, and his eye-sight recovered by his visit to America, and that it will hereafter be his privilege to prepare a Sgau Karen Dictionary.'

It seems clear that Wade's dictionary began to be printed in 1843 or 1844, that his ill health at the early age of forty-five compelled him to abandon it for ever, and that not only was the dictionary as we have it never completed, but the preliminary eight pages, including a title-page which would certainly have borne Wade's name, were never printed. His difficulties in compiling such a dictionary may be imagined when we realize that until then the Karen language (which has no affinity with Burmese but belongs to the Chinese family) had no written character. It is pleasant to recall that Dr. Wade's sick-leave in America was apparently most beneficial, for he returned to Burma and subsequently died in 1881 at the age of eighty-three.

<div align="right">D. E. RHODES</div>

[1] D. M. Smeaton, *The Loyal Karens of Burma*, London, Kegan Paul, 1887, p. 188.   [2] Ibid., p. 75.

SOME GAINSBOROUGH AUTOGRAPHS

IN two articles in *The Connoisseur* for January and February 1922 (pp. 3–10, 87–91), under the title 'New Light on a Gainsborough Mystery', Mr. Sydney E. Harrison printed (from originals then owned by Captain Edward Unwin, V.C., who died in 1950) eleven letters and twelve orders or drafts for payment[1] from Thomas Gainsborough to James Unwin, together with two accounts of Unwin's which provided evidence of the source of the annuity paid to the artist for his wife.[2] From the drafts and accounts it appears that Unwin, a well-known Holborn attorney, acted as Gainsborough's banker, while the letters show him in the role of confidant. The interest of these documents certainly justified their discoverer in ending his introduction, as he did, with the hope that they would be purchased for the British Museum. This hope has now, in part at least, been fulfilled, not by a purchase but by the generosity of Sir Eric Miller, who, through the Friends of the National Libraries, has presented to the Department of Manuscripts six of the eleven letters (the first, second, fourth, sixth, ninth, and last printed by Harrison) and six drafts for payment (the fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and last of the eleven listed by Harrison, together with one not noted by him).[3] It would be very desirable to trace the whereabouts of the other letters and drafts and the two accounts, but this has not so far been possible,

though one letter (the tenth printed by Harrison) appeared in the first part of the Westley Manning sale (Sotheby's sale-cat., 11–12 October 1954, lot 169).[4]

Since this material has been printed, little need be said about it here. It has been numbered Add. MS. 48964 and arranged chronologically, first the drafts for payment, dated 28 January 1758–31 December 1759, then the letters, 24 July 1763–14 November 1770 (the undated letter printed first by Harrison appears to belong to the year 1764).[5] The letters, written in Gainsborough's most charming and informal style, contain much information about his life at Bath (Pl. XVIII *b*). His sociable, easy-going nature is amusingly illustrated: he seems to have taken the best part of a decade over a portrait of Mrs. Unwin, for on 24 July 1763 he writes, 'I pray sir, could not you *divert yourself* with the original for one week longer!', while the letter of 1 March 1764 has the characteristic postscript, 'Zouns I forgot Mrs. Unwins and Capt. Saumarez's Picture. I shall work upon them soon, depend on't, that's enough.' Mrs. Unwin's picture does not appear to have been finished until 1771.[6]

Letters of Gainsborough are rare. The Royal Academy has thirteen,[7] but the British Museum previously possessed only two (Add. MS. 35350, ff. 9, 11). The present group, a self-portrait of the man rather than the artist, is therefore especially to be welcomed into the national collections since the artist is already so well represented in the Department of Prints and Drawings.

K. W. GRANSDEN

[1] Of these, only one is printed verbatim. The other eleven are listed chronologically (dates, names, amounts).

[2] This is the 'mystery' referred to in the title of the articles. The accounts show that the annuity was a charge on the estate of the Duke of Beaufort. See also *The Connoisseur*, April 1922, pp. 227–8, *The Morning Post*, 28 February 1922, and Mary Woodall, *Thomas Gainsborough*, 1949, p. 17.

[3] 22 July 1759, to Samuel Kilderbee, for fifty pounds. He was an Ipswich friend and subsequently Gainsborough's executor: see Mary Woodall, op. cit., pp. 38, 39; *D.N.B.* xx. 365.

[4] Lot 170 in the same sale is not one of the Unwin letters.

[5] It refers to Gainsborough's portrait of Gen. Honywood. See E. K. Waterhouse, *Preliminary Check-List of Portraits by Thomas Gainsborough* (Walpole Soc., vol. 53), 1953, p. 58.

[6] Waterhouse, op. cit., pp. 108–9.

[7] Twelve to William Jackson, printed by W. T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough*, 1915, pp. 379–89, and the famous letter to Reynolds, ibid., p. 307.

THE WARS OF THE ROSES: A NEW FOOTNOTE

IT is well known that the compact which Warwick the King-maker made with Louis XI of France and Margaret of Anjou at Angers in July 1470 included a promise of an alliance against Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and that at the end of November in that year, after his successful restoration of Henry VI to the throne, a French embassy arrived in London to secure ratification of this undertaking. The subsequent history of the negotiations is, however, obscure and confused, largely because they were overtaken by events.

For precise information as to their outcome, historians have been obliged hitherto to rely mainly upon an eighteenth-century copy of a letter purporting to have been written on 6 February 1471 by the leader of the embassy, Louis d'Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux.[1] In this he informed Louis, on Warwick's authority, that a ten-years' truce with France had at last been granted by Henry and the English parliament; that an alliance against Edward IV and the Duke of Burgundy had been agreed upon; that Warwick was that very day dispatching orders to Calais to begin the war; and that preparations were being made to send a large army to France under his command. Although a ten-years' truce was in fact duly ratified on 16 February, the credibility of the remainder of the bishop's assertions was uncertain for lack of corroboration.

At the fourth sale of the André de Coppet collections,[2] however, and with the help of a generous contribution towards its cost by Mr. Arthur Gimson, a Friend of the National Libraries, the Department of Manuscripts acquired the following original letter to Louis from Warwick himself, dated six days later. This not merely appears to confirm the bishop's statements, but in addition carries the story slightly further. The endorsement and text are in clerical hands. The subscription and signature are autograph. It can be left to speak for itself (Pl. XVIII *a*).

[*endorsement*] Au Roy, de mons*ieur* de Waruyc touchant le duc de bo*u*rg'ne.

[*text*] Sire Je me Recommande a v*ost*re bonne grace le plus humblement que Je puis Et vous plaise savoir que Jay Receu vos lettres par ce porteur par lesquelles ay entendu que maintenant la guerre est ouverte entre vous v*ost*re adversaire et le nostre donc je prie a dieu le tout puissant de vous en donner victoire. Au Regard de com*m*encer la guerre a Calais Je y ay envoyer pour la com*m*encer et ay eu aujourduy nouvelles certaines que ceulx de Calais lont desia com*m*encee et ont couru aupres de Arde et ont tue deux de la garnison de Gravelingnes. Sur le plus tost quil me sera possible Je me Rendray devers vous pour vous servir sur ce mauldit bourgoignon sans aucune deffaulte se dieu plaist. A qui Je suplie de vous octroyer tout ce que v*ost*re hault cueur desire. Escript a londres le xii Jour de fevrier [1471].

[*subscription and signature*] v*ost*re tres humble serviteur
R. Warrwyk.

How serious Warwick's intentions were, and how far he was prepared to press hostilities in the face of the opposition to war with Burgundy which had

manifested itself in England, remain unknown. Aroused by news of the negotiations, 'ce mauldit bourgoignon' decided to lend his own support to Edward IV, and a month later the latter had regained English soil. Two months later, on 14 April, Warwick was lying dead, his cause defeated, on Barnet field.

<div align="right">G. R. C. Davis</div>

[1] Legrand collections, Bibl. Nat. MS. français 6977, ff. 32–33, cited by Cora L. Scofield, *Life and Reign of Edward IV*, i. 560–2.

[2] Sotheby's, 4–5 July 1955, lot 1013; now Add. MS. 48988 (1).

A PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE
MAHĀBHĀRATA

THE Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts has had the signal good fortune to acquire an illustrated copy of the *Razm-nāmeh*. This title was given to a Persian translation of the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata* which was commissioned in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). According to the vizier Abu 'l-Faẓl, this project was due to Akbar, the enlightened Mogul Emperor. Seeking to create mutual understanding between Muslim and Hindu, he selected the *Mahābhārata* as the work most suitable for expounding the principles of Hinduism because of its simple nature and the fact that it lent itself to easy interpretation in the cultural language of the Mogul Court. Leaving aside the elaborate eulogies of Akbar's religious tolerance in other historians, a good, if somewhat bigoted, account of the work of translation is to be found in the *Muntakhab ul-Tavārīkh*[1] of 'Abd ul-Ḳādir Badā'ūnī, who writes as follows:

'Thereupon His Majesty bestirred himself, and summoning Hindu sages, ordered them to write an explanation of the *Mahābhārata* and for several nights he himself explained the meaning to Naḳīb Khān so that the latter could express it all in Persian. On the third night he summoned me and ordered me to collaborate with Naḳīb Khān in translating it. In a space of three or four months there were completed two of the eighteen thousand sections (at the endless absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creatures in the world might well be amazed—and what unheard of objections—as turnip-eating being forbidden!). It seems that such is my lot to be employed in works like this. Nevertheless what is decreed must come to pass. After Mullā Shīrī and Naḳīb Khān had completed one portion and Sulṭān Ḥājī Thānesarī had finished another by himself, Shaikh Faiẓī[2] was ordered to write it in an elegant mixed prose and verse style, but not more than two sections came into existence. Then the abovementioned Ḥājī rewrote the two portions, correcting the errors and omissions which had appeared in the first version. He had revised one hundred folios to a nicety when the order came for his dismissal. . . . The work was called the *Razm-nāmeh* and it was written fair and illustrated, and the order was given that copies should be made for the Amīrs. Shaikh Abu 'l-Faẓl . . . wrote a preface to the translation. We seek refuge in God from his infidelities and follies'.

Before an intolerant policy towards the Hindus was adopted under Aurangzīb (1658–1707), there was a not inconsiderable interest in other Hindu religious works. Several anonymous Persian versions of the *Rāmāyana* may be assigned to this period, and a translation of the Upanishads by Dārā Shikūh, eldest son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, is of special interest. It is worthy of note that, in the first few decades of British rule in India, some of the officials displayed the same interest in Hinduism and several Persian translations of Hindu religious works and commentaries thereon were made for British patrons.

There are other copies of this translation in the British Museum, of seventeenth to eighteenth-century date, one of which contains many illustrations of a late and crude type. Such a splendid copy as this was no doubt one of those prepared for the nobles of Akbar's court in accordance with his command, and this is confirmed by a rough colophon at the end of the seventeenth chapter, giving the date of transcription as A.H. 1007 (A.D. 1598). The *ductus* is a clear *Naskh*, although some of the 138 folios have been supplied in a later hand. Our manuscript is only the last volume of the epic, containing the text of the *Razm-nāmeh* from the translation of the *Aśvamedha-parva* to that of the *Svargārohaṇa-parva*. Although this copy is defective and most of the folios with chapter-headings are missing, examination has disclosed that the arrangement closely follows that of the Berlin manuscript,[3] and it is therefore not the abridgment of the *Razm-nāmeh* compiled by Ṭāhir Muḥammad. Some portions of our manuscript were sold at Sotheby's in October 1921.

G. MEREDITH-OWENS

[1] Part iii, p. 444, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, vol. li.
[2] A noted Persian poet of Indian stock who died in 1595, towards whose family Badā'ūnī expressed the utmost hatred.
[3] One of the most complete copies known, described on pp. 1026–6 of Pertsch's Catalogue.

A NOTE ON THE MINIATURES

Akbar's interest in Hindu culture extended not only to commissioning Persian translations of Hindu works, but also to having them illustrated.[1] The subject-matter of such works necessitated the employment of artists familiar with Hindu iconography, and it is not without significance that a large number of miniatures from manuscripts of the Razm-Nameh are the work of Hindu artists who are known to have worked alongside their Muslim brethren in the Imperial atelier. No doubt, too, the Hindu epic demanded a treatment different from that of the Persian romances. The contribution of these Hindu artists to the development of Mughal painting and their influence on the Rajput school are still an open question: and any answer must be the fruit of patient analysis of existing paintings as well as the accumulation of fresh material. The newly acquired manuscript is an important document in this respect, particularly by reason of its early date.

The earliest and by far the most impressive Razm-Nameh with miniatures is

the manuscript in the Jaipur State Library. This is probably the copy which was presented to Akbar soon after the translation had been completed in 1584.[2] Among detached pages from manuscripts of the Razm-Nameh dating from Akbar's reign, a miniature in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is nearly contemporary with the Jaipur paintings;[3] two splendid pages in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,[4] and two in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur,[5] were painted in the closing years of his reign.

Over a hundred miniatures detached from the recently acquired volume are distributed among Museums and private collections.[6] The twenty-four paintings of our manuscript are representative of the group as a whole and, when compared with the Jaipur manuscript, well illustrate the stylistic changes which had come about in the intervening decade. The Jaipur miniatures, which are unusually large, are handled on an appropriately monumental scale. Pages overflow with details and a profusion of colour. This sometimes has the effect of dissipating the unity of a composition. The miniatures in the 1598 manuscript are considerably smaller (each averaging $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.); compositions are simplified and irrelevant detail excluded, often to a point of terseness. The impression of depth is not so prominent as in the Jaipur paintings and generally there is a stiffness of treatment and a hardness of line and colour. The margin of each miniature contains a description of the painting and an attribution to a particular artist; these are in a single hand, presumably that of a librarian. With few exceptions, the paintings reveal a striking unity of style and hand. The painting on fol. 48 (Pl. XIX) attributed to Dā'ūd, brother of Daulat, stands somewhat apart. This depicts an episode in which a servant of Rama overhears a fuller quarrelling with his wife, who has threatened to desert him. The natural tint of the page forms the background; and the subdued tones of the colours, applied in pale transparent washes, are quite different from the bright opaque colours of the other miniatures. Modelling of faces and muscle contours and the shadowed outlines of the bodies of the three men reveal some knowledge of European drawing. With its intimacy and freedom of drawing, this miniature seems to anticipate early Jahangiri painting.

More typical is the miniature on folio 110 verso (Pl. XX) attributed to Dhanu. Its subject is taken from one of the closing episodes of the Mahābhārata. The blind and aged king, Dhṛtarāṣtra, is seen abandoning the city of Hastināpur and retiring to the forest. The king is led by Kuntī, mother of the three elder Pāṇḍavas, and his wife Gandhārī, blindfolded, follows behind. The grouping and gestures of the lamenting crowd serve to underline the poignancy of the scene. The colours of the costume, ranging from crimson and vermilion to yellow, are characteristic of the late Akbari palette. The eaved house in the fortified city at the top left and the ominously lowering sky evidently derive from Flemish miniature painting. A similar treatment of the sky occurs in other miniatures of

the manuscript, on folios 76 and 80ᵛ; in folio 62ᵛ the spires of Gothic churches are seen in the distant landscape.

Of the twenty artists[7] represented in the manuscript, fourteen are Hindu; and eleven are known to have painted miniatures in two other famous manuscripts in the Museum.[8] Features which distinguish these paintings from the illustrations to purely Persian works are mainly iconographic; details of Hindu costume, such as the dhoti and the scarf or orhni worn loosely about the bare shoulders, the jewelled diadems of the royal protagonists; religious conventions, such as Krishna's dark cast of feature, and the striking representation of the Hindu pantheon on folios 26ᵛ and 76.

[1] Besides the *Razm-Nameh* other Persian translations of Hindu works illustrated during Akbar's reign are a manuscript of the Jog-Bāshisht (Yoga-Vasiṣṭha) dated 1602 and a copy of the Bahr al Hayāt (Amṛtakuṇḍa), late sixteenth–early seventeenth century, both in the Chester Beatty Library (Sir Thomas Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, a Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, Oxford, 1936, pls. 48, 49, and 98), and miniatures from a manuscript of the Harivaṃsa and Kathāsant Sāgara in the A. C. Ardeshir collection (*Roopa Lekha*, vol. i, no. 2, January 1940).

[2] Of the 165 miniatures, 147 are reproduced in T. H. Hendley, *The Razm-Nameh*, vol. iv, Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition, 1883.

[3] *The Art of India and Pakistan, a Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1947–8*, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton, London, 1950, pl. 122, no. 643.

[4] M. S. Dimand, 'Three Indian Paintings of the early Moghal Period', in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxiii (1929), pp. 124–7, figs. 1 and 2: Joseph Breck, *An Early Moghal Painting, Metropolitan Museum Studies*, ii, pt. 2 (May 1930), pp. 133–4, for coloured reproduction of 'Krishna lifting up Mount Govardhan'.

[5] *Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 122, nos. 661–2.

[6] Miniatures from the A.H. 1007 (A.D. 1598) *Razm-Nameh* are in the following public collections: Baroda Museum, 32; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 15 (12 of these belonged to the late Sir Akbar Hydari); Victoria and Albert Museum, 3; British Museum, 3; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1; Chester Beatty Library, 1. 125 miniatures, together with the portion of the manuscript under discussion, were sold at Sotheby's in 1921 (Sotheby's sale catalogue, October 25, 1921, lots 203–79). Thirteen are listed in Maggs Brothers' catalogue, *Bibliotheca Asiatica, No. 452*, London, 1924, under no. 252, pp. 99–100.

[7] Mohan, son of Banwārī (fol. 4ᵛ); Narāyan the younger (fol. 7ᵛ); Bhawānī (fol. 13ᵛ); Bhagwān (fol. 17); Lōhanka (fol. 20); Aḥmad Kashmīrī (fol. 23ᵛ); Banwārī the younger (fols. 26ᵛ, 95); Ās, son of Mahēsh (fols. 35ᵛ, 62ᵛ); Khēm (fol. 44); Dā'ūd, brother of Daulat (fol. 48); Mākar (fol. 51); Dharam Dās Lunj (fol. 56); Bulāqī, son of Ghulām 'Alī (fol. 67); Singha (fol. 71ᵛ); Paras (fol. 76); Ibrāhīm Kanhar (fol. 80ᵛ); Kanhar (fol. 83ᵛ); Dhanu (fols. 87ᵛ, 110ᵛ); Qābil, son of Maqbūl (fol. 90ᵛ); Ḥājjī (fol. 106); Narāyan (fol. 130ᵛ).

Footnote [8]	Babur Nameh Or. 3714	Dārab Nameh Or. 4615
Bhawānī . . .	6ᵛ, 52, 468ᵛ, 492	..
Bhagwān . . .	195, 322	19ᵛ, 23, 23ᵛ, 25ᵛ, 52, 52ᵛ, 62, 91, 91ᵛ, 119ᵛ
Mākar . . .	379 (spelt Makrā)	..
Dharam Dās . .	..	45, 45ᵛ, 114, 114ᵛ
Ibrāhīm Qahhār .	137ᵛ, 405, 405ᵛ	29, 29ᵛ, 70ᵛ, 102, 102ᵛ, 105
Dhanu . . .	173ᵛ, 386, 389ᵛ, 393ᵛ	38, 41, 41ᵛ, 75, 104ᵛ
Paras . . .	54, 299, 347ᵛ	21, 21ᵛ
Lōhanka . . .	395ᵛ	..
Banwārī the younger .	270ᵛ, 301	..
Khēm . . .	504ᵛ	..
Narāyan . . .	385ᵛ	33ᵛ, 43ᵛ, 112ᵛ

R. H. PINDER-WILSON

A NOTABLE GIFT OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS
BY THE PILGRIM TRUST

OF recent years there has been a marked quickening of interest in Anglo-Saxon studies, and historians, art-historians, and philologists have not been slow to realize the latent possibilities of the coin-evidence. If among numismatists generally this has led to a somewhat more scholarly approach than that which characterized the first quarter of this century, the historians for their part have shown generosity in refusing to condemn utterly a discipline which has still finally to shake off a tradition of irresponsible publication. Consequently there has been the liveliest of interest in the fate of the famous collection of English hammered coins formed by the late R. C. Lockett, one of the largest and choicest collections of Anglo-Saxon coins ever to be made by a private individual, and the dispersal of the first part of the collection in the London saleroom has given the National Collection a unique opportunity of filling many notable gaps. Thanks to a most generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust, and also to the generosity of the Lockett family, the British Museum has been able to rise to the occasion, and no fewer than 166 Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet silver coins have been acquired. Many are unique, and others of outstanding importance, and there can be little doubt but that the purchases at the Lockett Sale represent the most important single accession of Anglo-Saxon coins since the acquisition nearly forty years ago of the celebrated collection of the late Sir John Evans. In the present paper it is proposed to detail a selection of the choicest pieces registered as the gift of the Pilgrim Trust. Later papers will do the same for the coins presented by the Lockett executors, in many cases in association with the Pilgrim Trust, and for the Trustees' own purchases.

Under Offa there was at Canterbury a remarkable flowering of numismatic art the merits of which are conceded even by those frankly out of sympathy with the achievements of later schools of die-cutting. A masterpiece of the Canterbury workshop is a coin of Cuthred who was sub-king in Kent in the first decade of the ninth century (Pl. XXI. 1 and XXII. 1). Hitherto this rare type has been represented for the moneyer Eaba by a fragment in the National Collection with a slight modification of the reverse. Also from Kent is a very rare portrait coin of Baldred, Cuthred's successor, who was deposed by Ecgbeorht of Wessex in 825 (Pl. XXI. 2). Only seven coins of the type are known from four moneyers, and this is the only one with the name of Swefherd, one of the most prolific moneyers of Archbishop Wulfred and later of King Ecgbeorht. Noteworthy is the spelling of the king's name; on portrait coins the form Baldred is more usual.

The ascendancy of Wessex at the expense of Mercia seems to have had repercussions in East Anglia, and historians have seen indications of deliberately

concerted action between the West Saxons and the East Angles. Consequently considerable importance attaches to three coins with the name of a king Beorhtric. Two of them, one in the British Museum and the other in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, are by a moneyer Ecghard; the third (Pl. XXI. 3 and XXII. 2) is by the otherwise unrecorded moneyer Peochthun, and must rank as one of the most important single acquisitions at the Lockett Sale. It was found near Andover, and the provenance is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the three coins being given to Beorhtric of Wessex, Offa's son-in-law and Ecgbeorht's predecessor. The types, however, have more in common with the coinage of East Anglia of fifty years later, but unfortunately the names of the East Anglian kings are known only from their coins. If a Beorhtric is to be intercalated in the succession, his reign must have been brief to have left no trace in hoards such as those from the Middle Temple, Dorking, Sevington, and Gravesend. These suggest that the first of the new dynasty in East Anglia was one Aethelstan. Portrait coins of this ruler are rare, only a handful being known, and the Museum has been fortunate enough to secure a unique variety (Pl. XXI. 4) with an exceptionally attractive reverse.

An undoubted coin of Wessex is a unique coin of Ecgbeorht struck at Canterbury soon after the Battle of Ellendun, and from a Dorsetshire find (Pl. XXI. 5). It can be said to replace a 'lost' coin from the Museum collection, one from the Cotton cabinet endorsed by Gifford as 'brought to ye Museum' but apparently unknown to Taylor Combe, perhaps because of disintegration. Another unique coin of Wessex which Keary with his usual acumen illustrated by a line-engraving in the 1893 catalogue is one of Ecgbeorht's son and successor Æthelwulf (Pl. XXI. 6). Of immediate relevance to the type of Bishop Ethilwald's ring is a rare Canterbury penny by the moneyer Torthmund struck for Æthelbearht who succeeded Æthelwulf in 858 (Pl. XXI. 7). The Museum's collection of the coins of Alfred the Great will never be rivalled, but it is not generally appreciated that all but a handful of his coins recorded in the 1893 catalogue are from the Cuerdale hoard. Recent research inclines more and more to the view that this great find is far from being representative of Alfred's coinage as a whole, and in consequence coins of Alfred from other sources are doubly welcome. Struck early in his reign was a fine penny of the moneyer Heremod (Pl. XXI. 8), while a unique penny of London style by the moneyer Eadelm (Pl. XXI. 9), possibly a stray from Cuerdale, seems to belong to the period when Ceolwulf II exercised uneasy rule over Mercia. The definitive incorporation of London into the English kingdom in 886 was followed by the issue of handsome portrait coins with the London monogram, and these were extensively copied in the Danelaw. Two very rare and perhaps unique examples of these imitations are illustrated here, a halfpenny with an abnormal left-facing bust (Pl. XXI. 10), and a penny with a very unusual treatment of the diadem (Pl. XXI. 11).

Edward the Elder's beautiful pictorial types struck in Mercia are justly famous, and left their mark on the coinage of the Papacy. Nearer home, they would appear to have invited imitation by the Norwegians in Ireland, and the unique example found near Dublin of a coin of this class is of enormous importance for a student of the Irish as well as of the English coinage (Pl. XXI. 12). The types are copied from a coin of the Chester moneyer Osulf. It will be remembered that it was from Dublin that the Norwegians launched their attack on York which was so largely responsible for the peaceable submission of much of the Danelaw to the English, and another major purchase was a coin of the second of the Norwegian usurpers at York, Sihtric Caoch who married a sister of Æthelstan (Pl. XXI. 13 and XXII. 3). Only a dozen or so of his coins are known, and of this particular variety the only other specimen had left the country and found a permanent home in the Museum at Copenhagen. The sword on the obverse is derived from that appearing on the so-called St. Peter coinage, apparently an ecclesiastical issue connected with the decline of the Danish dynasty in the decade immediately preceding the Norse attack.

Under Æthelstan there was a systematic attempt to ensure that a proportion at least of the coins from each mint bore the name of the minting-place as well as of the moneyer. This reform is undoubtedly reflected in the so-called decrees of Grately, though numismatists have failed hitherto to recognize that these decrees relate only to the West Saxon kingdom proper, i.e. Wessex, Kent, and London. Eight major mints are named in the decrees, and coins are known from all of them. In three cases, however, the mints were not represented in the National Collection, and the purchase of the penny of Rochester (Pl. XXI. 14) has filled a serious gap. Of equal importance is a penny of Dover, one of the burghs not mentioned by name, the earliest coin known of the mint (Pl. XXI. 15). It also is unique. The burgh at Wareham was allowed two moneyers, and the Museum already possessed a portrait coin of the moneyer Alfred. Adequate representation of this rare but important mint has now been secured by the acquisition of a non-portrait coin of the second moneyer, Wulfsige, and again the coin (Pl. XXI. 16) would seem to be unique. A very early coin of the Derby mint by the moneyer Beornard (Pl. XXI. 17) is significant for the form of the royal title. Æthelstan is still styled 'King of the Saxons', and in fact this implied refusal to acknowledge the English kingship of the West Saxon house occurs on the odd Mercian coin as late as Eadred. On the only other coin of this moneyer and type we find Æthelstan's official style 'King of the Whole of Britain' as on the coin of Wareham already described and on the next coin (Pl. XXI. 18) which presents a notable variety of obverse type. Normally on the portrait coins of this reign the bust descends to the outer circle, breaking the legend which omits the ethnic, but on this piece by the Winchester moneyer Otig the bust is entirely contained within the inner circle, leaving room in the legend for the usual TO BR (= totius

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Britanniae) contraction. The coin is unique, and the type known from less than half a dozen coins.

At least as far as the reigns of Æthelræd II and Cnut are concerned, new evidence from the Swedish hoards has brought realization that the coins reading 'Hamtun' cannot be assigned all to Northampton or all to Southampton, but must be divided between the two towns. For the tenth century the details of this division have still largely to be worked out, and every available piece of evidence is of value. The 1950 Chester treasure-trove filled several gaps in the Museum's series as regards Eadwig's critical reign, but a most welcome acquisition at the Lockett Sale was a coin of the moneyer Thurferth (Pl. XXI. 19). The only other specimen would seem to be an unpublished example formerly in the Winchester Cathedral Library and now in the Leeds University collection. The Winchester provenance might seem to suggest a Southampton attribution, but in fact that collection, an eighteenth-century bequest, was put together, to judge from the other coins, in the Midlands. Certainly the coin in question has a strong Mercian flavour, and the name of the moneyer may seem to suggest the Danelaw rather than Wessex.

One of the most controversial English mints is Torksey, and Brooke was inclined to consider all the coins with a mint-name TORC or TVRC to be Danish. In fact there can be little doubt but that some of them at least are English. One of the most important links in the chain of evidence is a completely unpublished coin of Æthelræd II struck very early in his reign (Pl. XXI. 20). The reverse legend reads + ÐVRKETEL Mˉ O T, the moneyer Thurcetel being known in this reign only at Torksey and Northampton. Not only is the style impeccably English and characteristic too of coins from that part of the country—we may compare a very rare coin of Northampton also acquired at the Lockett Sale (Pl. XXI. 21)—but examination of literally thousands of coins in the Scandinavian hoards has established that there are no imitations of Æthelræd's first type, only two or three of his second type, and still comparatively few of his third type. When we remember that the British Museum's other unique coin of Torksey by the same moneyer is of Æthelræd's second type, and was actually found in England not so many miles from Torksey, the arguments for an English attribution may seem decisive. Admittedly later coins by the same moneyer raise certain difficulties, but these might perhaps be avoided if we suppose that Lindsey was under *de facto* Danish control before Cnut's *de iure* recognition as King of England.

Probably the most important single coin in the whole sale was the *Agnus Dei* type penny of Æthelræd II struck by the Derby moneyer Blacaman *c.* 1010 (Pl. XXI. 22 and Pl. XXII. 4 and 5). Fewer than a dozen coins of this type are known, and the only one in a private collection, and therefore likely to come on the market, was this specimen which is the only one to have been found in this country. Hitherto the type was represented in the National Collection by a

fragment from a French hoard. The mint of the fragment is Malmesbury, and for some reason nineteenth-century numismatists sought to associate the type with a minor ecclesiastical synod held there in 977 which was preoccupied with clerical celibacy! More recently it has been associated with the Millennium, but the connexion is likewise fanciful. The absence of the type from hoards such as those from Igelösa and Sylt, not to mention the fact that there is a mule with Æthelræd's last type, cannot well be explained away except on the supposition that the type is to be dated later than English numismatists hitherto have been prepared to concede.

The obverse, a masterpiece of late Saxon die-sinking, depicts not the king as had been the invariable rule since Eadgar's great reform of the coinage, but the Lamb of God. On the reverse there is no formalized pattern but the Dove of the Holy Ghost. Yet there is evidence that the type was immediately called in, and the handful of coins that survive are all from Mercian mints. To date there has been no convincing explanation of this phenomenon, but one wonders whether perhaps the types were considered not pious but blasphemous. A generation accustomed to see the royal name and title surrounding the royal portrait might have regarded their circumscription of a type of Christ as a little presumptuous, but it is curious to say the least that the known mints are all Mercian. In Mercia there was a tradition of an independent school of coin-design that had been extinguished only very late in Eadgar's reign, and one wonders whether the *Agnus Dei* type does not in fact represent a brief recrudescence which did not find favour with the West Saxon king. Although so few of the coins seem to have arrived in Scandinavia, the types were fairly extensively copied there and this may suggest that they were not obviously offensive to Christian sentiment.

In recent years much attention has been given to the minor mints of Somerset, and in particular to the mysterious mint of Cadbury which opened at the end of Æthelræd's reign and closed soon after the accession of Cnut. A prosopographical study of the moneyers indicates that they were drawn from the local mints at Crewkerne and Ilchester, and an unnoticed die-link in the British Museum trays argues that the closure of the mint at Cadbury was the occasion of the establishment of a new mint at Bruton. It now emerges that Cadbury was a 'war-time' mint set up in a natural defensive position and staffed by 'refugees' from the surrounding countryside. With the more settled conditions that again prevailed under Cnut, the rather uncomfortable hilltop site was abandoned, some of the moneyers returning to their homes and two transferring their operations to more congenial quarters at Bruton. A most important acquisition at the Lockett Sale was an unpublished coin of the latter mint by the moneyer Ælfwine (Pl. XXI. 23 and Pl. XXII. 6). The same moneyer is known at Cadbury a few years earlier from two unpublished coins in the collections at Copenhagen and

Stockholm, the second specimen having turned up only last year in a new hoard from Gotland. The obverse of the Lockett coin, incidentally, represents an extremely rare variety of the main type. Instead of being shown wearing the fleured English crown, Cnut is depicted diademed in the old tradition. Only a handful of coins of this variety are known, and these are from no more than half a dozen mints, all of them in the West Country.

The question of the sequence of the coins of Harthacnut has only been settled within the last few months and much hinges upon the rare mules between the coinage struck after his return to England in 1040 and that of his predecessor. One of the most important of these is the London penny with which this survey concludes (Pl. XXI. 24). The obverse is from an old die of Harold's, presumably called back into service to do duty pending the replacement of a Harthacnut die which had fractured, while the reverse is the normal type of Harthacnut. Especial interest moreover attaches to the reverse legend +EDPALDÐEALDAONᛉ. Not only are double names rare on late Saxon coins, but we would appear to have here quite an early use of the English form of the definite article, and perhaps its only occurrence on a Saxon coin.

<div align="right">R. H. M. DOLLEY</div>

A RELIEF OF TWO GREEK FREEDMEN

THIS Roman relief (Pl. XXIII)[1] acquired with help from the National Art-Collections Fund, has been known for many years in the garden of the Villa Muti at Frascati, and has lately been republished by Professor Vermeule.[2] Little new can be added to his thorough discussion, but an illustration larger than he was able to give may not come amiss. The two portrait busts, which are carved in a rectangular recess surmounted by a pediment, show about as much of the shoulders as is common in the very early first century A.D., and the cut of the younger man's hair agrees with that date. The inscription reads

P(VBLIVS) LICINIVS P(VBLII) L(IBERTVS)	P(VBLIVS) LICINIVS P(VBLII) L(IBERTVS)
PHILONICV[S]	DEMETRIVS PATRONO
	FECIT

Publius Licinius Philonicus, freedman of Publius Licinius:
Publius Licinius Demetrius, freedman of Publius Licinius, made it for his patron.

The names show that both are Greeks, and they may be father and son: the younger looks as much like a member of the Imperial house as he can: the elder, if we had not read his Greek name, would pass for a typical Republican Roman.

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There is no doubt that the word FECIT (hidden when the relief was built into a wall at the Villa Muti) is ancient, and I agree with Professor J. M. C. Toynbee[3] on its meaning—Demetrius carved the relief. If then he was a sculptor, it is natural to associate with him the objects carved beside him; they are: a drill lying within the bow and strap which revolve it;[4] across the bow, a knife, probably for trimming plaster; below, an object resembling a modern hammer-head, which may in fact be a hammer-head for working metal, but may equally well be a portable anvil, also for metal work;[5] and, lowest of all, an object which may be a punch. If these implements belong to the older man, then the fasces (with one free rod) which stand beside the younger, should belong to him, and show him to be a lictor. They are of the short, sharply tapering form, rather like a closed umbrella, which sometimes appears on Republican coins,[6] although no surviving fasces, either on coins or in other reliefs, have an axe of this shape. The sculptor has carved them, as he has his own tools, with the affectionate attention that one gives to objects of daily use and importance: we can imagine the tools lying on the bench before him, and the fasces nearby. The apparatus in the pediment, however, is carved in a more generalized way and in lower, flatter relief: these are not so much the implements of a craft or the equipment of an officer as the emblem of an office: they are in fact the familiar symbols—hammer, cased coin-dies, and pincers holding a blank—of the *tresviri monetales*, magistrates charged with the striking of coinage, which often occur on coins.[7] Here they are likely to refer to the patron Publius Licinius, and since we know from coins that a Publius Licinius Stolo was a moneyer in the last years before Christ,[8] it is possible that he was the patron named; but the Licinii were a large and important family, and the patron may be another member of it who became a moneyer at a slightly later date. It looks as if Philonicus was the patron's lictor and Demetrius his mechanic in the mint, especially since Demetrius, although he shows himself a competent sculptor, has a tool-kit more appropriate to a worker in metal.

Even so, the purpose of the relief is a puzzle. Its form is one commonly used for grave-reliefs, but, when so used, the portraits are naturally those of the dead persons. It may perhaps be a tribute by the freedmen to their dead master, to be set up in his grave-precinct:[9] as a gift to the living it would surely have been something of an embarrassment.

<div style="text-align:right">BERNARD ASHMOLE</div>

[1] Registr. 1954, 12–14, 1. Ht. 26¾ in., width 31½ in. *Restored in plaster*: both noses and chins; patches on the cheeks and lips.

[2] *Numismatic Circular*, lxi (1953), col. 450; lxii (1954), col. 101. The thanks of the Museum are due to Professor Vermeule for his help in acquiring the relief.

[3] Cited in Vermeule, *Numismatic Circular*, lxii (1954), col. 101.

[4] Mr. J. Brennan has shown me a modern Italian bow-drill which closely resembles it. The strap or cord is looped with a single twist round the central section, to which the bit is fastened; these two revolve, whilst the top section forms the

handle: (in the relief the bit points upwards and the handle downwards). If these are die-sinker's tools, the drill at least is shown on an enlarged scale.

[5] Cf. Neuburger, *Technik des Altertums*, p. 55, fig. 66.

[6] e.g. *B.M.C. Republic*, iii, pl. xl. 12, 13, 14, 16; lvii. 12. But the slender form is contemporary, id. pl. liv. 11; lvii. 15. On reliefs there is much variety in the thickness and taper of the bundle, which is sometimes quite cylindrical; and also in

the form of the axe-head. The details vary not only from period to period but also from place to place.

[7] e.g. *B.M.C. Republic*, iii, pl. lii. 1: other examples in Vermeule, *Numismatic Circular*, lxi (1953), cols. 447–9.

[8] *B.M.C. Republic*, ii, pp. 80 f.

[9] The famous grave-precinct of the Licinii, from which much important sculpture has come, is outside the Porta Salaria: F. Poulsen, *Rev. Arch.* xxxvi (1932), pp. 54 ff.

TWO UNPUBLISHED SCULPTURES FROM AMARĀVATĪ

THE decoration of the drum of the Great Stūpa at Amarāvatī consisted of rectangular limestone slabs, usually carved with an elaborate representation of the Stūpa in little. These slabs were flanked by slender pilasters and crowned by a narrow frieze, on which could be read at eye level, as the devout circumambulated the Stūpa, detailed scenes from the Buddha's last and previous existences. There is little doubt that this was the final form of the decoration of the drum, and that it was achieved in the first half of the third century A.D. Though the British Museum possesses the majority of the drum slabs, the finest piece is in the Government Museum, Madras.[1] Its value as a document, its quality and splendid condition, have long been recognized. It is the sole surviving fragment from Amarāvatī which shows, cut from one piece of stone, the miniature stūpa, the flanking pilasters, and the crowning frieze, thus providing vital evidence for the reconstruction of the drum decoration described above. Even more important perhaps is the fact that the reverse of the slab is also carved. Though this has been known since 1835,[2] the reverse has never been described in detail or reproduced.[3] It is possible to do so now through the courtesy of Dr. A. Aiyyapan, Superintendent of the Government Museum, Madras.

The decoration of the reverse of the slab (Pl. XXIV *a* and *b*), which is 5 ft. 6 in. wide and 5 ft. 8 in. high, consists of a pilaster supporting a frieze. Most of the frieze has been broken away, probably when the piece was up-ended and reversed, to provide a roughened stump to fix in the ground. The frieze can be reconstructed from other less-mutilated fragments. It shows, once repeated, from left to right, scenes of worship of the Stūpa, and of the Throne and Footprints. The scenes are separated by a rail, the uprights of which were probably decorated with two half-lotuses and supported two lotus roundels. The rail was crowned by a miniature coping. Below runs a narrow moulding decorated with running animals—

elephants, boars, and winged horses and lions. Below this moulding rectangular holes have been cut at intervals, presumably for stone or wooden pegs on which to hang garlands. Below the holes is a plain moulding, on the left edge of which is cut a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī, which reads, '-*sa antevasikasa*'—'of . . . the disciple'. Obviously, the slab was split vertically, when it was reversed and recarved. The pilaster consists of three narrow plinths, on which stands a vase carved with lotus and bead patterns. Above this kneel winged addorsed elephants supporting the shaft, which is decorated with one full and two half-lotuses. The pilaster has a lotus capital, which is crowned by three narrow plinths and winged addorsed horses.

The final form of the decoration of the drum has already been described. There, is, however, every indication that the drum had previously been decorated in a simple manner with slabs carved with pilasters at intervals supporting a frieze. The field between the pilasters was left plain, except on the āyaka-platforms or rectangular projections to the drum at the four cardinal points, where it was filled with a sculptured scene, thus adding emphasis and dignity to these important but mysterious parts of the monument. The sole direct piece of evidence for the earlier style of decoration of the Amarāvatī drum has hitherto been a slab in the Museum,[4] which bears on one side an elaborate representation of the Stūpa, and on the other a scene of the Enlightenment of the Buddha, with a fragmentary pilaster, similar to the one already described on the Madras piece, running down its left edge. There can be little doubt that the Museum slab formed part of the decoration of the āyaka-platform in the earlier style. When it was decided to redecorate the drum in a more elaborate fashion, this slab was reversed and re-carved. No other palimpsests from the āyaka-platforms seem to have survived, though there are several fragments of scenes in the earlier style both in the Museum and in Madras.[5] The importance of the Madras slab under discussion is that it seems to be the sole surviving palimpsest from the quadrants of the drum. Fortunately, other fragments with the frieze and pilaster, similar to the reverse of the Madras slab, are in the Government Museum.[6] A splendid slab, 13 ft. long, remains on the site of the Stūpa.[7] It is without the frieze, but is divided into three plain panels by three pilasters. Separate friezes have also survived.[8]

That this group of fragments, which certainly belongs together, decorated the drum of the Stūpa in its earliest form is supported by evidence from other stūpas in the Andhradeśa. Several, Bhattiprolu, Jaggayyapeta, and Garikapād,[9] for example, retained this early form of decoration and seem never to have been renovated. The Stūpa at Ghantaśāla was, however, brought up to date in the first half of the third century A.D., as is shown by a remarkable palimpsest now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[10]

I have attempted to date this early type of decoration of the drum to the Early Phase of the School of Amarāvatī, that is, to the second quarter of the second

century A.D.[11] Though the difficulties in applying epigraphical criteria for dating at this period are well known,[12] the style of the Brāhmī in the inscription on the reverse of the Madras slab would permit a date in the second century A.D. The friezes of the early group seem to be separated, stylistically and epigraphically, by no more than a generation from friezes which would generally be allowed to belong to the Middle Phase at Amarāvatī.[13] Indeed, one of the early friezes in the Museum is carved on a split pillar, which itself bears an inscription the style of which makes a second century A.D. date probable.[14]

The second sculpture from Amarāvatī to be discussed is in the Museum collection and has been described in detail,[15] but never reproduced (Pl. XXV). Its importance is threefold. It appears to be the only surviving pillar of the great rail which surrounded the Stūpa, which shows at the corners of the vertically fluted areas small pots of lotuses instead of the otherwise universal lotus buds. The horizontal frieze shows lion-headed makaras of a type unknown in other fragments of the Early Phase. Still visible below the makara frieze is the incised design of a curving scroll drawn from the mouth of a makara. Like the famous Sālabhanjikā sketch from Nāgārjunikonda,[16] this admirably illustrates the way the craftsman began his work. This piece, which belongs to the Early Phase at Amarāvatī, was cut down in the Late Phase, and the reverse carved as a drum slab.[17] When the reverse was drawn by Mackenzie's draftsman in 1816, it was complete, and the dome of the miniature stūpa was flanked on either side by two musicians, a youth, and a dwarf.

The opportunity may be taken to mention an interesting gloss on the well-known rock-inscription at Gadalādeniya, Kandy District, Ceylon, of the famous Sinhalese divine, Dharmakīrti, who repaired a two-storied image-house at Dhānyakataka, i.e. Amarāvatī. The inscription is dated A.D. 1344, and is the latest reference to the Buddhist shrines at Amarāvatī before they were rediscovered at the end of the eighteenth century A.D.[18] A similar but more detailed account of Dharmakīrti's activities at Amarāvatī is given by Vimalakīrti in his Saddharmaratnākaraya written during the reign of Parakramabāhu VI of Kotte (A.D. 1410–68).[19] Vimalakīrti was a pupil of Dharmakīrti's pupil and speaks with authority. He writes:[20] 'Dharmakīrti repaired a vihāra (image-house) built of stone at Dhānyakataka, and brought it to its original state. There was in that mansion of the stone image, a standing figure of the Buddha eighteen cubits high and made of white marble, which used to be bathed in water daily.' Then follow details of Dharmakīrti's elaborate offerings to the statue. Obviously the prestige of Amarāvatī still stood high in the Buddhist world in the fifteenth century A.D. Interesting also is the mention of the figure of the Buddha made of white marble (Kirisalapilimasāmīn = Skt. Kṣīraśailapratimāsvāmi), almost certainly a reference to the greenish-white limestone of Amarāvatī.

<div align="right">DOUGLAS BARRETT</div>

[1] James Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarā-vatī and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887, pl. i.

[2] Dr. Benza, *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. v, 1835, writes: 'On the back surface was sculptured a reversed column, the pedestal turned upwards, and the capital down-wards: showing that the two faces of the stone had been sculptured and used at two different periods. . . .' This piece was at Masulipatam till 1881, when it was sent down to Madras. My state-ment (Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvatī in the British Museum*, London, 1954, p. 49, no. 62) that it has been cemented to the wall of the Madras Museum since about 1884 is incorrect. It was set up about 1925 during Dr. F. H. Gravely's tenure of office as Superintendent and the reverse was photographed on his orders. I owe this cor-rection to the kindness of Dr. Gravely.

[3] The pilaster on the reverse is reproduced in J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram.*, Paris, 1954, fig. 582. The provenance is there incorrectly given as Jaggayyapeta.

[4] Douglas Barrett, op. cit., pls. iv and v.

[5] Ibid. Catalogue No. 16; C. Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras, 1942, pls. xiv. 4, xv. 1, xvi. 1–2, and xviii. 1.

[6] James Burgess, op. cit., pls. li. 1 and 3, and liv. 2.

[7] Ibid., pl. xlix. 5 and 6.

[8] *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Re-ports, 1905–6*, pl. xlviii. 1: Douglas Barrett, op. cit., Catalogue No. 17.

[9] For Bhattiprolu: Alexander Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1894, pp. 15–16; for Jaggayyapeta: James Burgess, op. cit., pp. 107–13; for Garikapād: Madras G. O., No. 383. P. of 30 April 1889.

[10] Douglas Barrett, op. cit., p. 52, with re-ferences.

[11] Ibid., pp. 49–52.

[12] For example, C. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., has placed, on epigraphical grounds, two of the in-scribed pieces of this group (his I. B. 16 and I. B. 5) in his First Period, and two (his IV. E. 2 and IV. E. 3) in his Fourth Period.

[13] For example, James Burgess, op. cit., pl. xlviii. 4. below, and Douglas Barrett, op. cit., Catalogue Nos. 55 and 56.

[14] Ibid., Catalogue No. 17.

[15] Ibid., Catalogue No. 3.

[16] T. N. Ramachandran, *Nāgārjunakonda, 1938*, p. 2. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 71, 1953, pl. xxviii.

[17] Douglas Barrett, op. cit., Catalogue No. 93 and pl. iii *a*.

[18] S. Paranavitana, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. iv, pt. 2, 1935.

[19] I owe this reference and the translation from the Sinhalese to the kindness of Dr. G. E. Goda-kunbara.

[20] *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, ed. Sorata, 1930, p. 524.

XIX. A FULLER QUARRELS WITH HIS WIFE

Miniature from Razm-Nameh (Or. 12076, folio 48)

XX. KING DHṚTARĀṢṬRA RETIRES TO THE FOREST
Miniature from Razm-Nameh (Or. 12076, folio 110ᵛ)
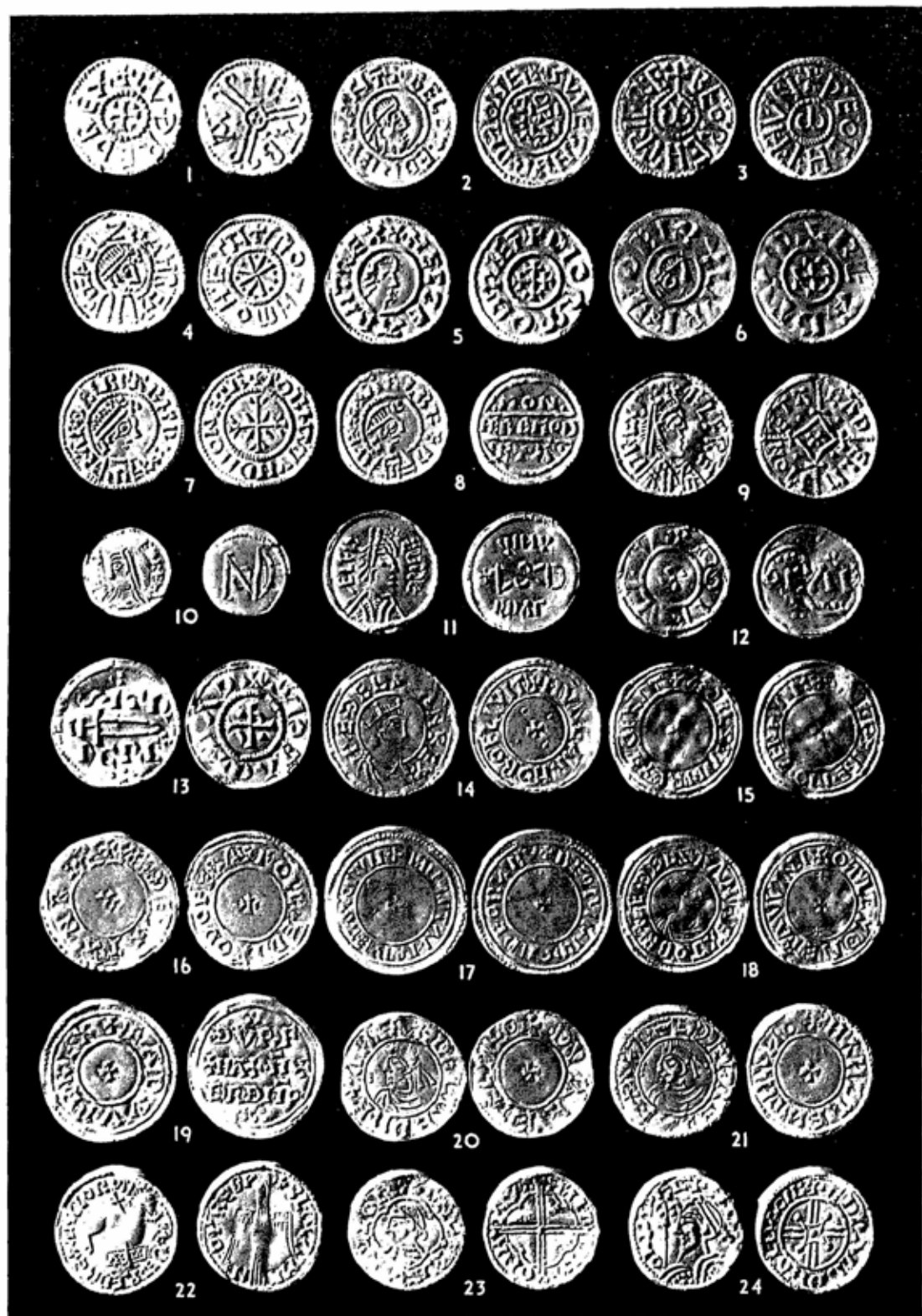
XXI. ANGLO-SAXON COINS FROM THE LOCKETT COLLECTION

XXII. ENLARGEMENTS OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS FROM THE LOCKETT COLLECTION

XXIII. RELIEF OF TWO FREEDMEN OF PUBLIUS LICINIUS

XXIV. *a.* REVERSE OF A RE-USED FACING SLAB FROM THE GREAT STŪPA AT AMARĀVATĪ
Height 5 ft. 8 in.

b. DETAIL OF FRIEZE CARVED ON *a*

A.D. 125–50

Government Museum, Madras

XXV. FRAGMENT FROM THE BASE OF A RAIL PILLAR OF THE GREAT STŪPA
AT AMARĀVATĪ
Height 3 ft. 8 in.

THE ROUS ROLL: THE ENGLISH VERSION

IN 1954 the British Museum had the good fortune to secure at Christie's (24 March) an important 'lost' roll of arms, Willement's Roll (Egerton MS. 3713; see *British Museum Quarterly*, xix, 1954, p. 49). A little over a year later another 'lost' heraldic manuscript came on the market, this time no less a prize than the English version of the famous Rous Roll, one of the two armorial roll-chronicles executed by John Rous to celebrate the fame and exploits of the earls of Warwick, which was last recorded in print in 1870 as being among the manuscripts of the Duke of Manchester at Kimbolton Castle; this, too, has now been acquired for the Department of Manuscripts (Add. MS. 48976).[1]

The earliest specific reference to the English Roll occurs in a letter written by Thomas Gray, the poet, to Horace Walpole on 25 February 1768.

By the way let me tell you [wrote Gray], . . . that lord Sandwich, who was lately dining at Cambridge, speaking (as I am told) handsomely of your book [*Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third*], said, it was pity you did not know that his cousin Manchester[2] had a genealogy of the kings, which came down no lower than to Richard III and at the end of it were two portraits of Richard and his son, in which the king appeared to be a handsome man. I tell you it as I heard it: perhaps you may think it worth enquiring into.[3]

The initiative, however, was taken by Lord Sandwich himself and Walpole was able to borrow the roll from the Duke of Manchester; he wrote enthusiastically about it to Gray on 26 February:

it is not a roll of kings [*as Gray had been told*], but of all that have been possessed of, or been earls of Warwick: . . . amongst the first is Richard III in whose reign it was finished, and with whom it concludes. He is there again with his wife and son, and Edward IV and Clarence and his wife, and Edward their son (who unluckily is a little old man), and Margaret Countess of Salisbury, their daughter. . . . Each figure is tricked with a pen, well-drawn, but neither coloured nor shaded.[4]

Walpole then describes the figures of Richard and his queen, and also promises to keep the roll as long as possible so that Gray might see it 'if you look London-wards; it is really a great Curiosity, & will furnish one with remarks'.[5]

Of the identity of the roll that Walpole had in his hands there can be no doubt. Its true character was first disclosed when in 1859 a lithographic facsimile of it was published with a transcript of the text by the Rev. Lambert Larking (the Kent antiquary, who is best known for his work on the Dering archives at Surrenden Dering), who also blazoned the coats of arms painted on the dorse of the roll and compiled the index; the title-page bears the date 1845 and the name of William Pickering, but it was put on the market by Henry G. Bohn in 1859 with a preface and introduction by William Courthope, Somerset Herald.[6] Next, and lastly, it was recorded (but no more) when the Duke of Manchester's

manuscripts were examined at Kimbolton Castle for the Historical Manuscripts Commission on 3 July 1869.[7] Since then it has been lost to sight.

With the roll before us we can see that Walpole's enthusiasm was justified, though his statement to Gray that it 'is both ill-written and much decayed' is exaggerated. The roll, some 24 feet in length and 13½ inches in height, contains no less than sixty-four portraits of the royal and other benefactors of Warwick and of the holders of the Warwick earldom, delicately executed in pen and ink, with their painted coats of arms (most of them bannerwise) over their heads. Most of the figures are accompanied also by their appropriate badges or cognizances and each has below a brief biographical notice in English. In addition, on the dorse is a double frieze of ninety-four painted coats of arms, against each of which is inscribed (twice) the name of the holder and, most important of all, the following inscription written in large Gothic letters contemporary with that of the text of the roll: 'This rol was laburd and finishid by Master John Rows of Warrewyk.'

Of this John Rous we know that he was born at Warwick in or about 1411, that he was educated at Oxford, that on leaving Oxford he became (apparently in 1445) one of the priests of the chantry chapel founded in 1423 at Guy's Cliff near Warwick, and that here he spent most of the rest of his life, pursuing antiquarian studies devoted chiefly to the history of his patrons' family and in compiling, besides the two roll-chronicles associated with his name, a number of other works, the titles of which are preserved for us in a list drawn up by John Leland. Of the latter only one survives, the *Historia Regum Angliae*, which was dedicated in 1486 to Henry VII and is extant only in Cotton MS. Vespasian A. xii. Lastly, we know that Rous died in 1491 and was buried in St. Mary's at Warwick.[8]

The roll opens with the 'arms of Warwick', which are painted on a shield which is suspended by its straps from the branches of a tree at the foot of which lies a bear. The first figure on the roll is that of the mythical King Guthelinus, a personage of the pre-Christian era, alleged to be the founder of Warwick, which was then called Cair-Guthelin; he is followed by other mythical kings, who in their turn are followed by the historical figures of Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror (standing on the prostrate Harold), John, Edward IV, and Richard III. The direct descent of the earls then begins with Rohandus and is traced through Guy of Warwick and the Newburgh earls and heiresses to the Beauchamps and the Nevilles, concluding with Richard III, his Queen Anne (Neville), second daughter of the King-Maker, and their son, Edward, Prince of Wales (Pll. xxvi, xxvii).

The roll is made up of seven membranes, and at least three hands were responsible for the text. The greater part of that on membranes 1 to 6 is in a hand that may be designated as *A*, membrane 7 is in a new hand, *B*, and the correc-

tions and additions are in a third hand, *C*; this last hand *may* be that of Rous himself. Membrane 7 contains the figures of Richard III, his queen, and their son Edward; among the titles of the latter is that of Prince of Wales, and this establishes for the last portion of the roll a date between 8 September 1483, when Edward was created Prince of Wales at York, and 9 April 1484, when he died. The whole roll must at any rate belong to Richard III's reign (26 June 1483–22 August 1485, Battle of Bosworth), since Richard III also appears earlier in the roll (in membrane 2) side by side with Edward IV. One wonders if the roll may not have been planned and begun in preparation for Richard III's visit to Warwick in the summer of 1483. It is at any rate consistently and throughout a 'Yorkist' work.

The character of the corrections and additions suggests that the text was written by a scribe not from dictation but with copy before him and that this copy had gaps and sometimes illegible words; for example, there was no text for the first figure of Richard III, which is supplied entirely in the hand of *C*, who has revised the whole text, filling in omitted names, words, or phrases, and has sometimes made considerable additions. The compiler of the text drew his material from a wide range of written sources, such as Giraldus Cambrensis, 'the booke of the actus of the abbots of Seint alboons', William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, Welsh chronicles, and John Hardyng's chronicle, besides Domesday Book—'the kyngys boke in his tresory callid domus day'. He also relied on his own observations and local traditions: for example, in the passage on Sir Enyas (the Swan Knight) he refers to the cup which plays an important part in the legend, as being in the possession of the Beauchamps, 'in whos tresori' it was kept, and adds, 'I have dronk of the same I dar the better wryghten'. He was indeed surrounded not only by the material possessions of the Warwick earls but by pictorial and sculptural work designed to glorify them; a nine-foot high statue of Guy of Warwick stood in the chapel of which Rous was chantry priest and representations of the Warwick ancestors executed about 1450 existed in the stained-glass windows of the Beauchamp chapel in St. Mary's, Warwick, while we know that Thomas, Earl of Warwick, had had in his possession pieces of cloth of Arras depicting the history of Guy of Warwick, which were granted to Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent (Richard II's half-brother) on their forfeiture by the Earl of Warwick on 4 March 1398.[9] In one instance the writer's outburst against enclosures in his account of Margaret, wife of one of the Newburgh earls of Warwick, brings the roll sharply into relation with Rous's *Historia Regum Angliae*, in which he was to attack afforestation and park enclosure in his own neighbourhood.[10]

Whether Rous himself was the artist we cannot know; it seems unlikely, but whoever the artist was he was a master of line, for which the English have had from Anglo-Saxon times a most remarkable aptitude. The figures, whether in

armour or in ample robes, quite devoid of background, are executed in linework of great delicacy, firmness, and precision; colour is almost entirely absent except in one or two of the earlier figures where it is used for slight edging. The real parallel to these line-portraits is in the engraved linework of the monumental brasses, the best of which date from a period a little before that of our roll. In manuscripts examples of English draughtsmanship are so rare as to be almost non-existent for this period. One isolated example of such work survives from about the middle of the century in the pen-and-ink drawing showing Lydgate offering his poem, 'The Pilgrim', to Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, which is preserved in Harley MS. 4826 (f. 1*).[11] This presents a remarkable similarity in style to the Rous Roll. That the skill of the English in such work had not been lost is shown too by the drawings in the manuscript of Thomas Chaundler's works (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R. 14.15) executed between 1457 and 1461[12] and on a large scale by the grisaille wall-paintings at Eton which were done perhaps by William Baker between 1479 and 1488.[13] From the fifty-six drawings comprising the Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (now preserved in Cotton MS. Julius E. iv, part 6),[14] which, however, may have been made at the instigation of Anne Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, wife of the King-maker, in the 1480's the Rous Roll drawings differ entirely. But of the roll's artistic, as of its literary, historical, and heraldic importance it will be possible to say more after a detailed study of it has been made side by side with the Latin version which since 1786 has been in the possession of the College of Arms.[15] Enough at any rate will have been said for the present to illustrate the importance of the recovery of this splendid work of John Rous.

C. E. WRIGHT

[1] The acquisition was announced in *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, 3 November 1955, with a reproduction of the portion of the roll showing Guy of Warwick as the warrior in the fight with Colbrand the Giant and as pilgrim.

[2] This is a reference to George Montagu (1737–88), 4th Duke of Manchester (succeeded 1762).

[3] *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. P. Toynbee and L. Whibley, iii, 1935, pp. 1018, 1019.

[4] Op. cit. iii, pp. 1022, 1023. Part of Walpole's letter is quoted by A. R. Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*, 1950, p. 119. Walpole acknowledged his debt to Lord Sandwich and the Duke of Manchester in his *Supplement to the Historic Doubts*, published 1769, in which he included engravings of the last portraits on the roll. (See also *Works of Lord Orford*, ii, 1798, p. 216.)

[5] Op. cit. iii, 1025, 1026.

[6] [*The Rows Roll*], William Pickering, London, 1845. There is no title proper on the title-page, its place being taken by a reproduction of the inscription on the dorse of the roll. Pickering, it is interesting to note, was also the publisher of Willement's Roll.

[7] *Historical MSS. Comm.*, 1st Report, 1870, Appendix, p. 13.

[8] On Rous and his antiquarian activities see Sir Thomas Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, 1950, pp. 18–29.

[9] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1396–9*, p. 315.

[10] On this aspect of Rous's work see Kendrick, op. cit., pp. 19, 20.

[11] Reproduced in Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 1954, pl. 176.

[12] See M. R. James, *The Chaundler MSS.*, Roxburghe Club, 1916, and E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS. of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, 1928, pls. 97–99.

[13] See M. R. James and E. W. Tristram, 'The Wall Paintings in Eton College Chapel . . .', *The Walpole Society*, xvii, 1928–9.

[14] See facsimile of these edited by Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope, 1914.

[15] On the Latin roll see A. G. B. Russell, 'The Rous Roll', *Burlington Magazine*, xxx, 1917, pp. 23–31. On both rolls see also A. R. Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*, 1950, pp. 116–20.

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNT BOOK · FROM BEAULIEU ABBEY

BY their recent gift, through the Friends of the National Libraries, of a previously unknown medieval register of accounts from Beaulieu Abbey, in Hampshire, acquired with this generous intention from a sale of the André de Coppet collections,[1] Mr. and Mrs. A. Ehrman have made available to scholars a source of information about the Cistercians' administration of their houses and estates, and indeed about English agricultural economy in general during the latter part of the thirteenth century, that is likely to have lasting value and importance.

The register, which retains its medieval binding of oak boards, covered originally with skin, is of an exceptionally large format (the 68 surviving leaves measure $20\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in.) and is set out and executed with great elaboration, the text being elegantly written in late-thirteenth-century charter hand with occasional contemporary additions and corrections in at least two hands of less decorative merit (Pl. xxviii). In its present state it contains a series of the accounts, ostensibly for a single year, presented at the abbey's annual audit at Michaelmas[2] by the custodians of some fifteen of its manors and granges and by some thirty of its other obedientiaries (ranging from the cellarer to the *custos placitorum*), prefaced in most cases by a *tabula* or statement of their respective responsibilities and of their authorized receipts and scales of expenditure or disbursement. At some stage of its history, a series of sepia colour-wash drawings which formed part of the decoration of nearly every leaf and apparently illustrated the various secular activities of the monks referred to in the text, have been crudely and systematically excised; and a number of leaves at the beginning, end, and occasionally elsewhere, are also now wanting. There has been a consequent loss of perhaps as much as one-fifth of the original material, which fairly certainly comprised specimens of the accounts of all the abbey's administrative departments.

The volume now lacks any direct statement of its date and purpose, but its elaborate execution, the inclusion of the *tabulae* already referred to, and the unusual completeness of range and detail displayed by the accounts themselves, suggest that it was in fact intended as a formulary rather than as a record of actual accounts. Two positive indications of this intention are given by the text.

The first, which carries the additional implication that the book is based upon a model drawn up for use in some other Cistercian house, or possibly even by the Order as a whole, is the appearance before the sections for the sheep-fold (*Bercaria*) of a note that a *tabula* and accounts for the wine cellars (*cellae vinariae*) were omitted from their place there because the abbey had in fact no wine cellars to account for: to which a contemporary commentator thought it appropriate to add that, should such accounts ever be required, they might be modelled on those for granges and manors 'contained in this book'.[3] The second, providing grounds for suspicion that the accounts themselves are to some extent artificial, as would be natural in a formulary, is the duplication in the accounts for Faringdon of an entry relating to the entertainment there of royalty, which appears in an otherwise clearly different, although contemporary, set of accounts for this place (probably also a formulary), now preserved in the Bodleian Library.[4]

If the register is in fact a formulary, the validity of any internal evidence for its date is, of course, problematical. But references to Dennis, the fourth abbot, who is last attested elsewhere in 1263,[5] and to whom a successor is first found in 1270,[6] seem to imply that his rule had already ended when it was written;[7] while on the other hand the inclusion of the name of the Lord Edward among those entertained at Faringdon, together with references to his wife (for whose hounds bread is stated to have been supplied by the abbey's bakery) as the Countess Eleanor, suggest a date of compilation certainly not much later than the former's accession to the throne in 1272 as Edward I.

Further research on both these points will, however, be necessary before firm conclusions can be reached, and it is gratifying to be able to report that a complete edition of the whole book is in active preparation by Dr. C. H. Talbot, whose broadcast talk illustrating the scope of its contents was published in *The Listener* for 4 August 1955.

The register, which has been numbered Add. MS. 48978, joins an interesting little thirteenth-century chartulary of the leper hospital at Pontfraud, near Château-Landon, in France (Add. MS. 48211) which Mr. Ehrman acquired with equal perspicacity, and almost literally on the doorstep of a Bloomsbury bookshop, in order to present it to the Museum with similar generosity in 1953.

<div align="right">G. R. C. DAVIS</div>

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[1] Sotheby's sale-cat. 6 Dec. 1954, lot 35.

[2] The abbey's rules of accountancy are printed by N. Denholm Young, *Seignorial Administration in England*, Oxford, 1937, pp. 169 sqq.

[3] 'Hic deest tabula et compotus cellarum vinariarum quia cellas vinarias non habemus. [*Added*] Qui compotus ubi necessarius fuerit fieri poterit per exemplar compotorum grangiarum et maneriorum in hoc libro contentorum' (f. 25).

[4] Bodl. MS. Barlow 49, f. 89, printed by Denholm-Young, op. cit., p. 175. In the present manuscript the entry reads: 'In expensis domini Regis et exhenniis eidem factis apud Farendon. c *s.* vi *d.*; in expensis domine Regine ibidem pernoctantis et exhenniis eidem factis lxxv *s.*; [*added in the same hand*] in expensis domini Edwardi ibidem pernoctantis et exhenniis eidem factis l *s.* vi *d.*; in expensis R. de mortuo mari ibidem iiii *s.*

In diversis expensis apud London et alibi pro diversis impetrationibus impetrandis xxx s. Summa xiii *li.*' (f. 9[b]).

5 The Duke of Portland's Beaulieu Chartulary (B.M., MSS. Loans No. 29/330), f. 141[b].

6 Abbot John, Royal MS. 12 E. xiv, f. 75[b]. An abbot 'H' is attested in 1275 in Cotton MS. Nero A. xii, ff. 34[b]–37[b].

7 The Waverley and Worcester annals record the death of an Abbot Dennis in 1280. Possibly there was a second of that name.

THE S. S. KOTELIANSKY BEQUEST

THE name of S. S. Koteliansky, who died on 22 January 1955, was not widely known to the public.[1] He was born in Ostropol, a Jewish village in the Ukraine, in 1880. In 1911 he came to England from Kiev on a three months' university grant, and stayed for the rest of his life, to become 'Kot' to a circle of friends which included many of the most distinguished creative minds of his generation. Shortly before his death it appears that he was talking of making a 'thank-offering' for being an English subject.[2] He had already left his own written memorial, in the translations which—sometimes in collaboration with D. H. Lawrence or Katherine Mansfield—he had made of Dostoievsky, Chekov, Bunin, Gorky and Rozanov. But he was one of those men who were more than their works, and it is in his friendships that he would most have wished to survive. The thank-offering was duly made: he bequeathed his entire correspondence to the British Museum. It is the most notable collection of letters by modern writers which the Department of Manuscripts has yet acquired.

The bequest will be bound in ten volumes (Add. MSS. 48966–75), of which the last consists of letters at present reserved from public use. Of the other nine volumes, the first three will contain what is likely to prove the most important part of the bequest: over 300 letters of D. H. Lawrence,[3] beginning in 1914 and continuing to within a few weeks of the novelist's death on 2 March 1930. Of all his friendships, this was the one 'Kot' prized most. He was a loyal admirer of Lawrence, and was of great practical help to him throughout his life, lending books and money, typing manuscripts, seeing publishers, finding rooms. Kot's rock-like immobility—he hardly ever stirred from his home at no. 5, Acacia Road, St. John's Wood—was in remarkable contrast to the restless, self-exiled life led by Lawrence, and these letters strikingly reveal the complementary qualities in the two men's characters.

The next three volumes contain letters of Katherine Mansfield (mostly printed by J. M. Murry in *The Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1928), Mark Gertler the painter, and the legendary, but here very human, Lady Ottoline Morrell. Volumes VII and VIII complete the 'special correspondence' with groups of letters from H. G. Wells, J. W. N. Sullivan, James Stephens and several others. Volume IX contains miscellaneous letters, arranged chronologically,

and brings into the Department, among other notable autographs, those of T. S. Eliot (as editor of *The Criterion*), E. M. Forster, Virginia Woolf and the composer Philip Heseltine. In this volume, too, is an interesting group of papers relating to the Russian Revolution of 1917. In April, May and June of that year, on behalf of Maxim Gorky, then organizing the magazine *New Life*, Koteliansky obtained messages of greeting, and statements of Britain's war aims, from various prominent British liberals and radicals. His drafts of these statements (a few of them, including those of Lord Bryce and H. G. Wells, are their authors' holograph originals), together with other related documents, form a miniature dossier which will have its place in the history of a year momentous both for Russia and the Western Allies.

It should be said, in conclusion, that all the letters in this bequest are subject to the English law of copyright. K. W. GRANSDEN

[1] A memoir by Leonard Woolf appeared in *The New Statesman and Nation*, 5 Feb. 1955.
[2] See *The Times*, 27 Jan. 1955, p. 10.
[3] These letters form the basis of an article in the *Twentieth Century* for Jan. 1956.

THE LOCKETT GIFT OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS

THE dispersal in the London sale-room of the first part of the celebrated collection formed by the late R. C. Lockett may be said to have marked the end of an era in English numismatics. The incidence of modern taxation alone makes it unlikely that there will be another private collector with the resources necessary for the acquisition of even a tithe of the rarities assembled by Mr. Lockett in the course of more than forty years of judicious collecting, and Mr. Lockett was something more than a great collector in the tradition of Montagu and of Murdoch. Although in point of pure scholarship he was perhaps overshadowed by the almost legendary Sir John Evans, he was very much the student by inclination, and former members of the Medal Room staff have testified to his delight in the company of scholars and to the generosity with which he put at the disposal of others the riches of his own cabinets. Before her death his widow presented to the National Collection the unique gold penny of Edward the Confessor, perhaps his greatest single treasure, and recent research suggests that the coin may prove of even greater significance than was then suspected.[1] Continuing this tradition of munificence, Mr. Lockett's executors indicated their desire further to enrich the British Museum's collection, and it was agreed that this should be effected by an arrangement whereby the Museum's purchases at the first sale were supplemented by further pieces to be selected by the Museum. Thanks to the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust, the National Collection was able to take full advantage of these arrangements, and a recent paper has described a

few of the more notable pieces registered as the gift of the Pilgrim Trust.[2] The present note is concerned with the fifteen coins that have been presented by the Lockett executors, thirteen of them in respect of purchases made possible by the Pilgrim Trust and the remaining two in respect of purchases from the Museum's own funds.

It has been thought appropriate that in the selection of these coins regard should have been had for Mr. Lockett's own predilections, and in every case but one the coin chosen has a special significance for the student of the Mercian series. The exception is the unique silver penny of Eanred from the celebrated eighteenth-century Trewhiddle hoard (Pl. xxix, 1). The king is not otherwise known from a silver coin, and he has been identified very plausibly with the Eanred of the copper stycas. Consequently the coin should be dated not later than c. 840, and given to the Northumbrian series where it is the lone precursor by more than thirty years of the silver penny coinage of the Danish kings. The reverse type can be exactly paralleled on coins of Berhtwulf of Mercia (839–51) and the obverse has notable affinities with the portrait used on certain coins of Æthelwulf of Wessex (838–58). Both kings struck at Canterbury, and there can be little doubt but that the dies at least for Eanred's silver coinage were supplied from the Kentish capital.

Mr. Lockett's collection of coins of Offa was particularly choice, and inspired his paper 'The Coinage of Offa'[3] which played no small part in his award of the coveted Sanford Saltus Medal of the British Numismatic Society. One of his coins in the first sale was unique (Pl. xxix, 2), and its acquisition by the British Museum is a matter for congratulation. Especial attention should be paid to the letter-forms of the reverse, which are characteristic of the moneyer Dud, one of the masters of the early Canterbury school of die-engraving, and also to the quite 'Roman' treatment of the obverse drapery. Not unique but unrepresented hitherto in the National Collection's unrivalled run of Offa pence is a coin of another early Canterbury moneyer, Lulla (Pl. xxix, 3). The treatment of the neck on the obverse is quite extraordinary, while the reverse, although not unprecedented, is notable for its affinities with certain sceatta types and is a surprising omission from Brooke's plates. Coins of Offa's successor Coenwulf without an inner circle on the obverse are far from common, and the only one illustrated in the 1887 *Catalogue* was the quite exceptional imitation of a Carolingian denier with laureate bust. Consequently the Museum's collection has been immeasurably strengthened by the acquisition of two fine specimens, both unique, of portrait coins of Coenwulf which omit the inner circle. Particularly fine is the penny of the Canterbury moneyer Ceolheard (Pl. xxix, 4), from the Delgany hoard, and even more remarkable is a coin with the extremely rare left-facing bust (Pl. xxix, 5). Three further coins of Coenwulf are only less notable. Two (Pl. xxix, 6 and 7) are by the moneyer Eahlstan, and are the only coins of these types by this moneyer

that have been recorded. The third (Pl. xxix, 8) is from a Dorset hoard, and is particularly valuable because the type is otherwise known for the moneyer Dealla only from a fragment from the Delgany hoard.

Also included in the Lockett gift are two unique pennies of Coenwulf's ephemeral successor Ceolwulf I. The first (Pl. xxix, 9) is a non-portrait coin from the Canterbury Mint, while the second (Pl. xxix, 10) is an unusually fine product of the new mint which Offa had established in East Anglia. It is the only coin of the type as yet recorded, and perhaps only a few weeks after it was struck the mint passed out of Mercian control. For sheer beauty, however, it cannot compare with a Canterbury penny of Berhtwulf (839–52) struck some twenty years later (Pl. xxix, 11). Only half a dozen coins are known of this type, and this would seem the finest of them all. Especially noteworthy is the formal treatment of the bust which is reminiscent of Offa's coinage at its best, and we should also remark the perfect proportions and balance of the monogram which is at once more intricate and more neatly executed than on other coins of the type. This silver penny alone would be sufficient to refute the time-honoured jibe that after Offa the art of making beautiful coins was entirely lost, but fortunately there is evidence in plenty that responsible students of Anglo-Saxon history and art are no longer blind to the masterpieces to be found in all but the most superficial of collections of English coins. After Berhtwulf coinage seems to have ceased in Mercia for more than a decade, and there is evidence of an economic crisis. On the other hand, it is curious that it should have been resumed—at Canterbury— shortly after 865 and contemporaneously with a marriage alliance between Berht- wulf's successor Burgred (852–74) and the king of Wessex and Kent. Inasmuch as a few years earlier the West Saxon usurper Æthelbald had been denied coinage as a consequence of his father's retention of Kent, we may suspect that Burgred's coinage at Canterbury was to some extent permissive and dependent on the good- will of his new brothers-in-law. Many of his coins are debased, and few reach the standard of two unpublished minor varieties included in the Lockett gift (Pl. xxix, 12 and 13).

Recent research has suggested that north-western Mercia weathered the storm of the first Danish invasion rather more successfully than at one time seemed probable, and about 915 Æthelflæda's notable successes against the Danes were reflected in a local coinage in the name of her brother Edward the Elder (899– 924) which suddenly blossomed forth into a truly remarkable flowering of pic- torial types. One of these, to be associated it would seem with Chester, sought its inspiration in a common Roman coin. The prototype (Pl. xxix, 16) is familiar to every student of Constantinian coinage, and the Mercian derivative is well illustrated by a recent routine purchase (Pl. xxix, 17). Of cardinal importance is an intermediary type known from a single coin, perhaps one of the half-dozen most important English coins in the whole of the Lockett collection (Pl. xxix, 14).

Part of the interest of the coin is that it is overstruck, obverse on obverse, on an early portrait coin from the same area—the overstriking appearing clearly even in the plate. The ashlar of the intermediate coin is far more evocative of fortification than the graceful edifices on the derivatives which for some reason numismatists have persistently called the 'burgh' type, but the association of these coins with Edward's fortress policy is perhaps best dismissed as a pleasing nineteenth-century conceit. The Lockett coin appears to have been known since the seventeenth century although in the sale-catalogue its pedigree was not carried back much more than a hundred years. An important new link in the evidence for its being the piece illustrated by Fountaine is a manuscript catalogue of Captain Bootle's collection, dated 1802, which has recently been purchased by the Department of Coins and Medals, and which describes a number of other rare pieces which can be identified with coins now in the National Collection.

Towards the end of Æthelstan's reign (924–39) a rosette of pellets was adopted as a privy mark by a group of mints operating in north-western or 'Old' Mercia. One of these mints is Stafford, but hitherto the Museum has not possessed an example of a coin of this mint with the new privy mark. Consequently the acquisition of a rare coin of this type (Pl. xxix, 15) fills a serious gap. From now on Mercia was an integral part of England—though never quite oblivious of its past—and it is perhaps appropriate that this brief review of the Lockett gift should end with a Mercian coin of the West Saxon king who was able to unite England very largely because he was *persona grata* with the Mercians as a result of his upbringing at Æthelflæda's court.   R. H. M. DOLLEY

[1] *B.M.Q.*, 1952, pp. 10–11, pl. ii. 1.   [3] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, pp. 57–89,
[2] *B.M.Q.*, 1955, pp. 66–71.   pls. iv–xii.

EGYPTIAN FUNERARY STELAE OF THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

A RECENT purchase by the Museum has added a piece to a category of monuments not well represented in the Egyptian collection. Provincial funerary stelae of the First Intermediate Period (c. 2250–2050 B.C.) are objects of little artistic merit, being characterized by a primitive and ungainly style. Representations of the human figure lack the harmonious proportions which were the commonplace of the art of the Old Kingdom; inscriptions are composed of hieroglyphs clumsily shaped, many of which retain the cursive forms which would have occurred in the hieratic drafts used by the sculptor. The maladroit style of these monuments is ultimately derived from the polished Memphite court art of the late Old Kingdom, but the degradation is extreme and

only rarely redeemed by a vigour of conception which is essentially primitive in character.

The stela here in question (No. 1802, Pl. xxx, *a*) was made for a lady named Khenty. It is of close-grained limestone measuring 14 by 11 in. and varying between 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. Its provenance is unknown, but it probably came from one of the provincial cemeteries of Middle Egypt. The back is rough, while the inscribed surface is smooth, though not flat. It is damaged in one or two places only, the text and representations being complete apart from the right arm of the standing figure of the deceased lady. This figure of Khenty is fashioned with naïve rusticity. Her body, which is clad in a long close-fitting garment with pleated(?) yoke and shoulder straps, is represented thin and attenuated in the manner common to this period. The eyes, nose and mouth are unsensitively delineated with bold strokes of the chisel and the curls of the heavy wig are summarily treated in the same way. Her right arm with outstretched palm hangs by her side and in her left hand she holds a lotus flower, the stem of which hangs down before her. On other similar stelae the deceased lady is shown smelling the lotus[1], but in the present case the flower is held away from the face, no doubt to make more room for the inscription. In front of the figure of Khenty and occupying the lower part of the remainder of the inscribed surface is a crude representation of an offering table bearing food offerings for the deceased, which include a trussed duck, a cucumber or other conventionalized vegetable and a basket with bread. To the right of the table stands a tall libation jar and to the left a smaller jar on a stand and a mirror in its case.

The main inscription in three horizontal lines contains the standard prayer for food and drink offerings in which Anubis, the god of embalming and one of the two chief funerary deities of this period, is invoked. The lack of a prayer to the other deity, Osiris, is unusual but not unparalleled on other stelae of the period. It has been shown that such stelae belong rather to the first half of the First Intermediate Period[2], and it is difficult to account for the neglect of Osiris. It might be argued that political motives were considered the reason for this neglect inasmuch as Abydos, the centre of Osiris worship at this time and capital of the Thinite nome, occupied an intermediate position between Heracleopolis, which controlled the north, and Thebes in the south. The allegiance of the Thinite nome to Heracleopolis might lead to the discrediting and neglect of Osiris in places which accepted the princes of Thebes as suzerains. This is, however, hardly the case, because there are many examples of stelae with prayers to Anubis alone coming from Naga ed-Deir, a site within the Thinite nome.[3]

In front of the deceased lady's face is inscribed her name, 'the revered one, Khenty', and between her body and the stem of the flower are three short lines which declare, 'It is her beloved father Ir(u)-nes who made this [the stela] for her.'

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The function of stelae of this kind was much more simple than that of the large false-doors found in Old Kingdom tombs. The false-door was an essential element in a tomb, before which offerings were placed and through which the dead person hoped to have access to the outer world. The small stela, on the other hand, was rather in the nature of an *ex voto* set up in the wall of the chapel of a tomb, sometimes, as in the present case, by someone other than the owner of the tomb.[4]

The majority of small First Intermediate Period stelae incorporate in their designs a representation of the funerary feast consisting of an offering table and various offerings of food and drink together with other objects which the deceased might require, such as the mirror on the stela of Khenty. In many cases, however, the space allotted to the representation of the funerary feast is curtailed and there is a large category of stelae on which no offerings are depicted. The design of these stelae usually consists of a standing figure of the deceased on the left, holding the *sekhem*-sceptre and a staff, and a long inscription on the right. This form of decoration possibly derives from the standard method of inscribing the lintels found above false-doors in some tombs of the Old Kingdom.[5]

Such a stela is that of Sebekhotpe (No. 1724, Pl. xxx, *b*) which was acquired by the Museum by purchase in 1930 but has not previously been published. It is again of limestone and is 14 in. long by 11½ in. high and 2½ in. in thickness. No provenance is known. The figure of Sebekhotpe on the left is carved in rather high relief with considerable moulding of the limbs, but, as in the case of the stela of Khenty, the conception and execution are poor. The inscription on the right consists of 12 lines of semi-cursive hieroglyphs lightly incised, many of the forms being purely hieratic. The first part of the text contains a prayer for the receipt of offerings in which Osiris alone is invoked. The neglect of Anubis in this case is not so exceptional as the neglect of Osiris in the other stela, but, taken with the palaeographical evidence of the forms of hieratic signs used, it suggests a date later in the First Intermediate Period than that of the stela of Khenty, possibly the middle of the XIth Dynasty, about 2075 B.C. The second half of the text contains a self-laudatory account of Sebekhotpe's character and achievements couched in the phraseology common to similar texts of the First Intermediate Period and the Early Middle Kingdom.

T. G. H. JAMES

[1] e.g. Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae*, pls. x, xii, xvi.

[2] H. J. Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der II Dynastie*, pp. 57 f., taken with the findings of Dunham, op. cit., pp. 119–24.

[3] e.g. Dows Dunham, op. cit., stelae nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and many others.

[4] J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie égyptienne*, ii. 439.

[5] J. Vandier, op. cit. ii. 464–5.

THE POSLINGFORD RING

THE Department of British and Medieval Antiquities has recently purchased a gold ring of late-Saxon date dug up in the garden of No. 4 Council Houses, Poslingford, near Haverhill, Suffolk, more than a year ago.[1] The ring was sent to the British Museum by Mr. A. R. Edwardson, Curator of Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds, for identification: we are greatly indebted to him for help during subsequent negotiations for its acquisition. The thanks of the British Museum are also due to the Committee of Moyse's Hall Museum for waiving their interest in the ring and to the Clare Rural District Council for waiving their claim to it, thus allowing the British Museum to negotiate direct with the finder.

The ring consists of a plain gold band 0·71 cm. broad and 2·28 cm. in diameter, divided into eight rectangular panels of equal size, each of which is decorated with carved ornament. Traces of a beaded border are to be seen on either edge of the ring, but although this seems to have been worn down the rest of the ring exhibits little sign of wear and retains its circular form.

For convenience of description the fields in Pl. xxxi, c have been arbitrarily numbered.

The floral scroll ornament of fields 1, 2, and 5 is most closely to be paralleled on the sword from Bugg's Mill, Berkshire ('The Wallingford Sword').[2] In one of the fields on this sword (Pl. xxxi, b) we have the same motif which, if stood on one side, resembles a potted plant with two heavy leaves hanging down on either side of a central stem, at the top of which are a number of upstanding leaves, which occurs also on the ring. On this sword we can also see a possible development of this ornament: in a field on the pommel guard of the sword is an insect which in body and wings is very similar in shape and formation to the floral ornament of the fields on this ring. A variant of this form appears in a number of early contexts in England and Ireland as a crouching animal with its forelegs lying alongside its head. Another parallel can be drawn with the ornament on the back of the Alfred Jewel. The 'sleek and fleshy floral scroll'[3] is here seen as a definite 'potted-plant' and Kirk[4] has pointed out the parallel between this and the fields on the Wallingford sword which we have already mentioned. This ring, together with the Wallingford sword, helps to substantiate the claim of the English metalworker to the manufacture of the magnificent Alfred Jewel. The feature on the back of the Alfred Jewel has many times been called Frankish, Carolingian, and Eastern in origin. It seems more likely, as Kirk has pointed out, that it has its origin in the vine of northern English art and also perhaps from the crouching animals just mentioned. The indifference of the Anglo-Saxon artist to the form of either animal or plant and his failure to draw a clear distinction between them is to be seen frequently, even where animals are most carefully

delineated (as in field 8 and as at Trewhiddle, where the animals decorating the horn mounts often degenerate into leaves and the plants have animal heads growing out of the main stem). There is little difficulty for the art historian of the late Saxon period to see this motif as either an animal or plant.

The carved ornament in fields 3 and 7 is simple and unpretentious. It does not, however, seem to occur in this form in the corpus of late Saxon metalwork; it is simply an expression of the leaf motif so popular in the period.

The ornament in field 6 is given a certain zoomorphic character by the suspicion of two legs on the left-hand side of the field. It is most closely paralleled in one of the fields of the horn mountings from the Trewhiddle hoard (date: 875).[5]

The animal in field 8, with its square snout and bump over the eye and body degenerating into foliage, is typical of the metalworker's art in Saxon England of the ninth century: it is to be seen, for example, on the English ring from the great Viking treasure from Hon in Universitets Oldsaksamling, Oslo,[6] which is dated by coins to the end of the ninth century. The animal in field 4 is less easy to parallel but in style and design it falls within the art of the motifs we have discussed above.

This, then, is a ring whose ornament is paralleled in the English metalwork of the ninth century. The hoards of Hon and Trewhiddle date from the last quarter of the ninth century and the Wallingford sword is an accepted type of the same period: there can be little hesitation in placing the ring in this period.

English rings of this period with animal ornament are not unknown, but only one other example is recorded which is similar to this one. In an engraving in the possession of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities is depicted a similar ring from the collection of the Duke of Northumberland, which has similar fields and similar ornamentation. Two gold rings of similar shape, one decorated with the nielloed inscription +ÆTHRED MEC AH EANRED MEC AGROF, the other with the plain inscription +EAPEN MIEAHS PETRUS STANCES, are in the British Museum.[7] A list of rings of the ninth century with animal ornament is appended here:

1. The Poslingford Ring; British Museum, 55, 12–1, 1. Here published.
2. Ethelwulf's Ring; British Museum, Ring Cat. No. 179. *Archaeologia*, vii. 421 and pl. xxx. Found at Laverstock, Wilts.
3. Ethelswith's Ring; British Museum, Ring Cat. No. 180. *Proc. Soc. Ant. London*, 2nd series, vi. 305. Found between Aberford and Sherburn, Yorks.
4. The Chelsea Ring; Victoria and Albert Museum, Ring Cat. No. 225. *Archaeological Journal*, xvi. 194. Found in the Thames at Chelsea.
5. Alhstan's Ring; Victoria and Albert Museum, Ring Cat. No. 227. *Archaeologia*, iv. 47. Found at Llysfaen, Caernarvonshire.
6. The Hon Ring; Oslo Universitets Oldsaksamling, Norway. Inv. No. C. 725.

Greig S., 'Vikingetidens Skattefund': *Universitets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter*, vol. ii, p. 188. Found in a hoard at Nedre Hon, Haug, Övre Eiker, Busk, Norway.

7. The Malton Ring. Now lost. *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxi. 192. Found at Malton, Yorks.

8 and 9. Two rings from the Trewhiddle Hoard. Now lost. *Archaeologia*, ix, pl. viii, figs. 12 and 13. Found at Trewhiddle, St. Austell, Cornwall, in a hoard. (These may have animal ornament.)

10. The Driffield Ring. Now lost. *Proc. Geological and Polytechnical Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 1870, p. 157. From Driffield, Yorks. (May have animal ornament.)

11. Alnwick Castle Ring. In possession of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland(?). Unpublished. From Hexham, Northumberland.

12. The York Ring. Yorkshire Museum. Unpublished. Found at St. Mary's Abbey, York.

13. The Bologna Ring. Bologna Museum. *Bollettino d'Arte*, Anno III, S. II (1923), p. 242. From the River Reno, near Bologna.

<div align="right">DAVID M. WILSON</div>

[1] Reg. No. 1955, 12–1, 1.

[2] Evans, (Sir) J., *Archaeologia*, l, pl. xxvii. Cf. also a similar motif on the rim of the Tassilo Chalice (Haseloff, G., *Der Tassilokelch*, fig. 3).

[3] Kendrick, (Sir) T. D., *Anglo-Saxon Art*, London, 1938, p. 216.

[4] Kirk, J. R., *The Alfred and Minster Lovell Jewels*, Oxford, 1948, p. 8.

[5] Smith, R. A., *Antiquaries Journal*, xx, 1904, pl. facing p. 47, fig. 6.

[6] Brøgger, A. W., 'Rolvsøyætten', *Bergens Museums Aarbok* 1920–1, 3 Hefte, fig. 8.

[7] Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue of Rings, Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Medieval and Later . . . in the British Museum*, figs. 181, 182.

THE INLAID METALWORK OF KOREA

IN 1945 the Museum received as a gift from Lady Invernairn[1] a large bronze base extensively inlaid with silver. It bears a long inscription in Chinese engraved round the base, starting with a date in the Yüan dynasty (18th year of Chih Chêng, *wu hsü*, 6th month) equivalent to A.D. 1358. It was placed on exhibition among the later Chinese bronzes, but during the preparation of the special exhibition of 'Art under the Mongol dynasties of China and Persia' in 1954, close study showed that it is Korean. Inlaid Korean bronzes are rare and are known in only two shapes, both connected with Buddhist ritual. The Museum stand (Pl. XXXII, *a*) is the rarer of the two. Indeed, only one other example of the shape seems to be known. This is preserved in the famous collection at the Horyuji temple at Nara[2] and also bears a date in a similar position round the base. This is in the Ch'in (Kin) Tartar period (18th year of Daitei) and equivalent to A.D. 1178. The inscription records that it was produced for the Kumsan-sa (in Japanese Kinzanji) temple, one of the most important in Korea, situated near Kintei, south of Kumsan. It is not recorded how this piece came to Horyuji, but the temple was burned down during Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea in 1595. Both stands are hollow, bell-shaped, and have a dowel on top. Both are described in the dedicatory inscriptions as 'incense burners', and presumably therefore originally supported some kind of bowl, the shape of which remains uncertain.

The second type of inlaid vessel is what we should call a standing cup, and a number of them are still preserved at temples in Korea, of which four bear dates ranging from A.D. 1214 to 1397. Several are illustrated in the *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*[3], and one in the catalogue of the Prince Yi Museum[4]. An example of the type was acquired by the Museum (Pl. xxxiii) with the Eumorfopoulos collection,[5] undated but nearest in style to the cup in the Chuntung-sa temple (Dentoji) which is dated 1366.[6] The inlaid design of scrolls round the base is, moreover, closely similar to one of the motifs on the Museum's dated base of 1358. It may therefore be attributed with confidence to the later Yüan period.

There are two questions of great interest in connexion with this group of inlaid Korean bronzes, one of design and the other of technique. One cannot but be struck by the presence of many of the decorative motifs employed on these bronzes also on the inlaid celadon wares of the Koryu dynasty in Korea.[7] The Greek fret was the commonest border pattern on the wares of the twelfth century. Some examples found on the island of Kangwha, in which the royal family took refuge when the Mongols overran the rest of Korea, are therefore datable to the first half of the thirteenth century. The decoration is comparable to that used on the Museum stand.[8] The lichee, which is the most important decorative element used on the Horyuji stand of 1178, is also found on an inlaid celadon bowl excavated on Kangwha island,[9] in the tomb of King Myöng-jong (1171–97), as well as on pieces in America[10] and in this country,[11] all of which would be of late-twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century date. The formal scroll and foliage design found on the standing cups are so frequently found on Koryu celadon as to require no specific references.

The dragon is not among the commonest motifs on inlaid Koryu celadon, but published examples include a *mei p'ing* vase in the Prince Yi Museum,[12] and two bottle-shaped vases. The finer appears in a colour plate in Kushi's history of Korean art,[13] and is probably thirteenth century: the second, of inferior quality, excavated from a tomb, is reproduced in *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*[14] and is, no doubt, later, and probably fourteenth century. A better-quality type is known only from a fragment from the kiln site No. 7 at Ryū-un-ri, near Taikōmen,[15] and therefore to be considered as of royal quality and near to A.D. 1200 in date. The dragon is a commoner element in the decoration of the incised and moulded celadons of the Koryu period. Mr. G. M. Gompertz states that the dragon among waves is often found in moulded pieces.[16] The finest example of an incised dragon is on a *mei p'ing* vase in the Boston Museum.[17] The type of four-clawed dragon is not far removed from that on our base.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the style of decoration of these inlaid bronze pieces is thoroughly Korean. And this fact is of special interest, because they provide a basis of secure dates in that very interesting transitional period from the Ch'in Tartars through the Yüan to the early Ming. And the line of develop-

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ment of ornament which can thus be traced in Korea leads in an unexpected way to the early blue and white of China. The very same motifs appear on some of the most important types which are now assigned (for other reasons) to the fourteenth century.

The upper part of our stand of 1358 is in the form of an open lotus flower and the inlay shows a double row of lotus petals, the upper turned upwards and the lower downwards. Each petal in both rows is marked by a stylized representation of a stamen. This element of the decoration is re-used, with the internal motif reversed, on two of the best-known shapes of early Chinese blue and white, the *Kuan* jar[18] and the *mei p'ing*.[19] But in this development also they had probably been preceded in Korea, for there is a *mei p'ing* vase of inlaid celadon in the Prince Yi Museum,[20] showing not only this feature but also the lappet-shaped panels filled with stylized waves, which are so frequently found in the same type of early blue and white. One of these, a dish in the Serai Museum, Istanbul,[21] even shows flowers floating in these waves, just as does the Korean inlaid vase in the Prince Yi Museum. There can be no doubt of the connexion between the two types. And the dates on the Korean inlaid bronzes seem to prove without doubt that in this case Korea was the giver to China of a significant style of decoration. The evidence, moreover, helps towards a close dating of fourteenth-century blue and white porcelain.

For technique, also, these Korean bronzes have a special interest. The inlaying of bronze with silver was a favourite means of decoration under the Han dynasty in China, having been employed also during the preceding Warring States period. And it is possible that the practice never ceased, but, as is often the case, it is not possible to point to examples which can be securely dated in the T'ang or Sung dynasties. The Han style of inlay consists in cutting out large areas of the bronze to receive the silver plates. Usually these flat areas are extended by hooks and spurs, which frequently terminate in spirals. These thinner lines seem to have been prepared by the use of a graver which left a shallow incision in the bronze. When the silver has fallen out or is worn away from these finer lines, little remains to show the shape of the inlay. In the more elaborately inlaid pieces under the Han, most of the surface would have been covered originally by the silver inlay, leaving the positive element in the design to the bronze.

In style of inlay and technique the Korean bronzes are quite different. It is essentially a linear design, in which different widths of line may be employed in the decoration of a single piece, but in which there is no transition from thick to thin in the course of a single line. Thus on the Museum's base of 1358 the main outline of the lotus, the back, horns, and tongue of the dragon are in heavy wire, the remainder in a thinner wire (Pl. xxxii, *b*). But here, and in other Korean inlaid bronzes, the outline seems to have been more deeply excavated, probably with a square-ended chisel, rather than a V-shaped graver. The inlay remains intact

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generally or where it has fallen away (as in No. 3230 in *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*) leaves a clear ditch behind it. A similar technique is found on inlaid Chinese bronzes of the Ming dynasty, which are also decorated with a design in terms of silver line on the bronze background. A question is, therefore, where and when did this style of bronze inlay originate? Our present information would lead to a cautious attribution to Korea and the late twelfth century. It has been shown that this agrees in time with the development in Korea of inlay with black and white clay under the celadon glaze, which thus provides some support for the suggestion. Since, however, the inlaid bronzes of Korea are all Buddhist, it is possible that the practice may be an importation from the Buddhist lands of Inner Asia, Mongolia, or Tibet. It is worthy of remark that the first use of silver inlay in the decoration of bronze in the Islamic east was also in the twelfth century, and that the practice seems to have been developed in the eastern province of Khurasan nearest to Central Asia.[22] The earliest date for the practice in this region is A.D. 1148, only thirty years before the Horyuji base of A.D. 1178. A bronze mortar in the Museum collection[23] is inlaid with both copper and also silver in essentially the same technique as the Korean pieces. It bears inlaid Arabic benedictory inscriptions, and an engraved Chinese seal, under the base. This has been assigned to the early Mongol period in the thirteenth century, and may perhaps be from the same area of Inner Asia where Moslem trader and Chinese met under the Mongols or, earlier, under the Ch'in Tartars.   BASIL GRAY

[1] 1945–11–10–1. Diameter at base 11½ in.; height, without dowel, 8⅜ in.; diameter of top 6⅛ in.

[2] See *The Ten Great Temples of Nara*, xi, 1933, pl. 79. Height 11 in.; diameter of base 14 in.; diameter at top 11⅜ in. It is reproduced upside-down. Also Tadashi Sekino, *Chōsen Bijutsu-shi*, 1932, p. 90.

[3] op. cit., vol. vii, pls. 891–901.

[4] Ri ōka hakubutsukan shozōhin shashinchō, 2nd edition, 1918, vol. iii, pl. 542.

[5] 1936–11–18–196. Height 10·3 in. W. P. Yetts, *Catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos Collection—The Bronzes*, ii, no. B 328.

[6] *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*, vol. vii, pl. 899, no. 3226. The foot is a replacement.

[7] These have recently been studied by G. M. Gompertz in a paper read to the Oriental Ceramic Society in 1954, 'Inlaid Korean celadon', published in the *Transactions*, vol. xxviii.

[8] See Gompertz, ibid., pl. 20 (*b*).

[9] *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*, viii, p. 1047, no. 3552. I am indebted to Mr. G. M. Gompertz for this reference.

[10] L. Warner, *Eastern Art*, ii, figs. 116–18; wrongly identified as pomegranates.

[11] W. B. Honey, *Corean Pottery*, 1947, p. 58.

[12] Op. cit., vol. 2, pl. 307. A later example is in Honey, op. cit., p. 63.

[13] Kushi Takushin, *Chōsen Bijutsu-shi*, Tokyo, 1942, colour plate between pp. 152 and 153.

[14] Op. cit., vol. viii, pl. 1071, no. 3599.

[15] Ken Nomori, *Kōrai Tōji no Kenkyu*, 1945, pl. 127.

[16] *Artibus Asiae*, xvi. 18–19, 1953: he reproduces an incense burner from his own collection (fig. 8). See also Mrs. Langdon Warner in *Eastern Art*, ii, 1930, figs. 37 and 151.

[17] Ibid., fig. 3, also in *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*, viii. 993.

[18] For instance, R. S. Jenyns, *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, pl. 9A: Sir H. Garner, *Oriental Blue and White*, pls. 20, 21.

[19] Jenyns, op. cit., pls. 8 and 9B: Garner, op. cit., pls. 17 and 19, cf. pls. 8A, 9A.

[20] Op. cit., vol. ii, pl. 307.

[21] Garner, op. cit., pl. 16.

[22] D. E. Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork in the British Museum*, 1949, p. viii.

[23] Ibid., pl. 11.

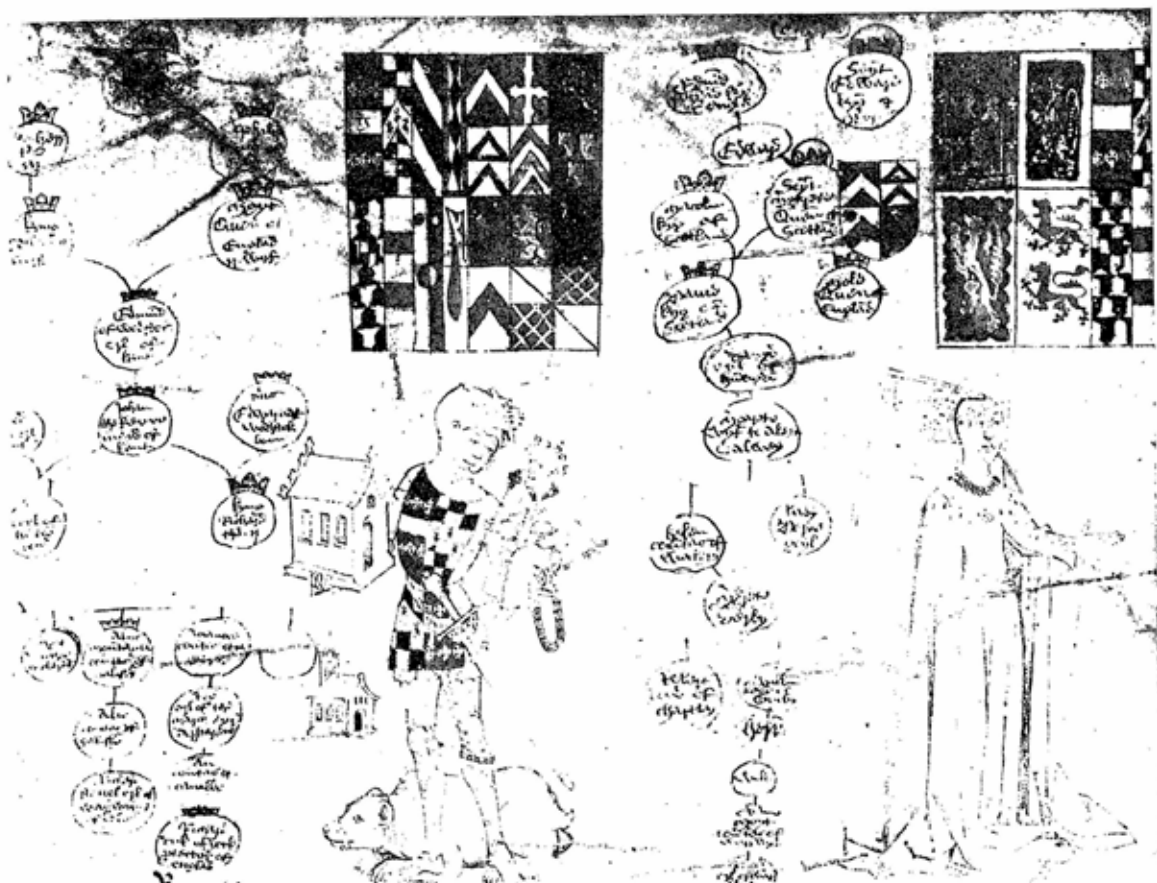THE inscription consists of 55 characters engraved round the base and inlaid with silver. It reads as follows:

'18th year of Chih Chêng, *wu hsü*, 6th month[-]day. Incense bowl dedicated to Ti-tsang (Kṣitigarbha) of So-che-sia temple on Pi-sïl (Bisul) mountain.[1] May His Majesty[2] live ten thousand years. May Her Majesty the Queen see a thousand autumns. May the Queen Mother (?) [-]without end. Peace in the Empire. Mio-He, acquirer of merit and virtue; Kiu-He, benefactor.'

Acknowledgement. Thanks are due to Mr. Kim Che Won, Director of the National Museum, Seoul, for studying the inscription and identifying the temple named in it. Captain Dugald Malcolm, of the British Legation, Seoul, has kindly located the mountain.

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[1] This temple still exists. It is in Kiŏng-Sang, P'ïk-to Province. The Pi-sïl mountain is 12 miles SSW. of Taegu, and the highest peak in this region.

[2] The date falls within the reign of King Kong Min, well known for his devotion to his wife, a beautiful Mongol princess.

XXVI. ROUS ROLL: RICHARD BEAUCHAMP AND HENRY VI

XXVII. ROUS ROLL: RICHARD III

XXVIII. BEAULIEU ABBEY ACCOUNT BOOK, 13TH CENT.

XXIX. THE LOCKETT GIFT OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS
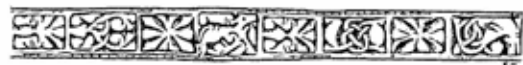
a

b

XXX. *a.* STELA OF KHENTY
b. STELA OF SEBEKḤOTPE
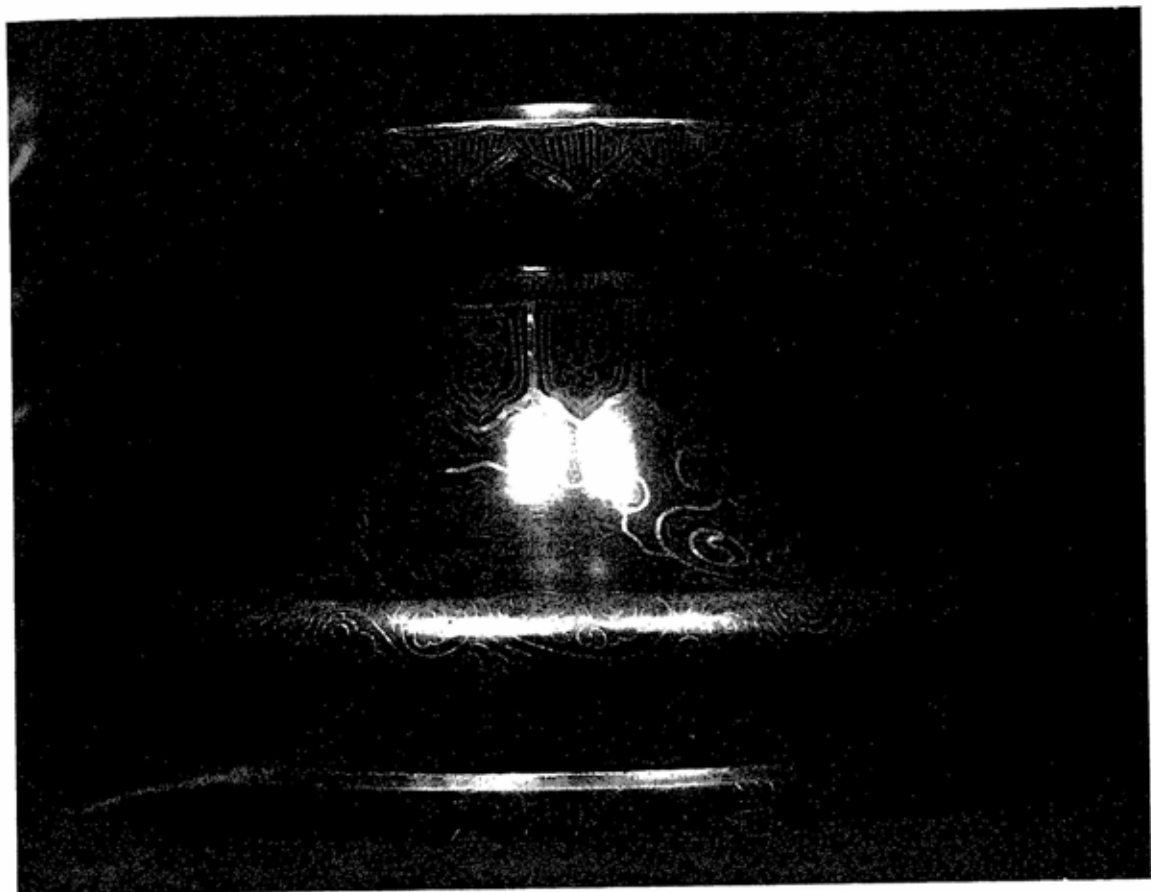
a

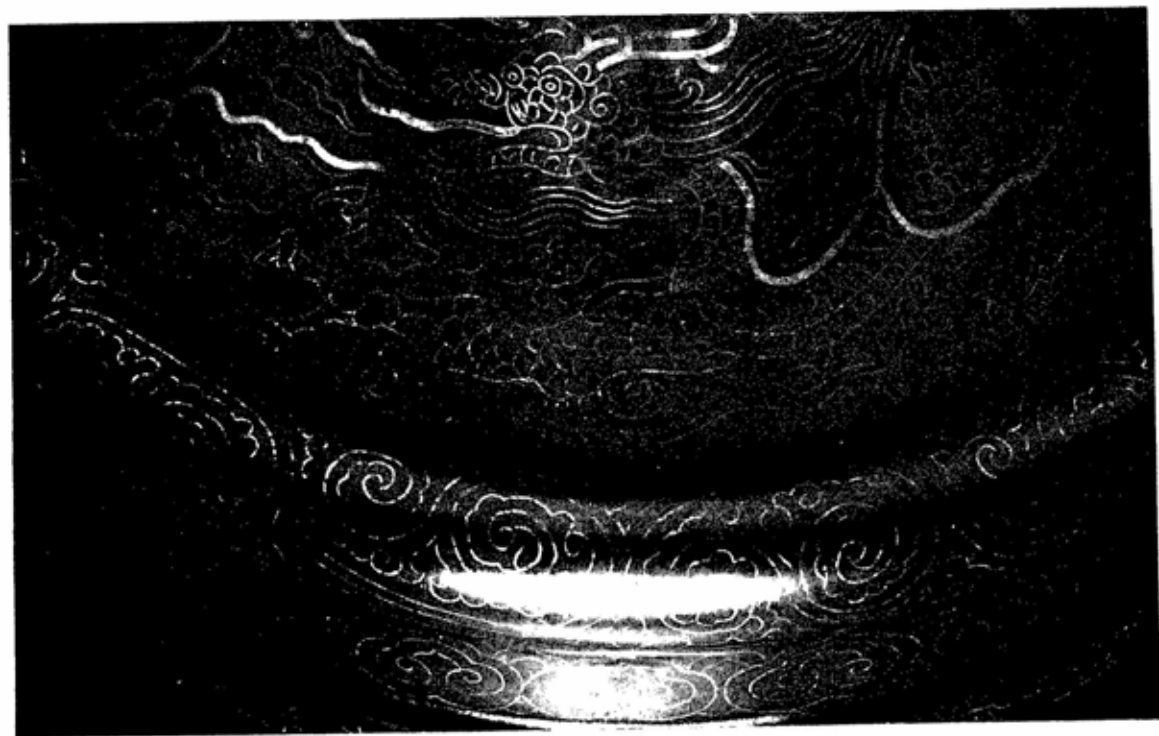*b*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

c

XXXI. *a.* THE POSLINGFORD RING
    b. ORNAMENTAL DETAIL FROM THE 'WALLINGFORD' SWORD. (*After Evans*)
    c. ORNAMENTAL DETAIL FROM THE POSLINGFORD RING. (*Scale ¾*)

XXXII. *a.* BUDDHIST INCENSE BURNER, BRONZE INLAID
WITH SILVER—KOREA: dated 1358
b. DETAIL OF *a*

XXXIII. BUDDHIST WATER-CUP, BRONZE INLAID WITH SILVER—KOREA:
mid-14th century. Ht. 10·3 in.