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THE collections of printed music have recently been enriched by a number of important works, from widely differing periods and countries. The earliest and, perhaps, the choicest of these acquisitions is a folio volume of which the title-page reads:


Eitner knew of only two other copies, of which one is now in private ownership, and the other cannot be located with certainty. Baudrier mentions neither the publisher nor the printer, Bernardus Guarnerus, who contributes a long Latin dedication to 'Bernardo Altovitae Fiorentino’. This most valuable addition to the British Museum’s rather scanty sources for the very important history of early music-printing in Lyons also provides a superb example of the craft of printing by double impression.

The music comprises the only polyphonic setting of the Proper of the Mass printed in France in the sixteenth century. Two of the compositions bear the name of François Layolle, who was possibly born at Lyons, later settled in Florence as an organist, and instructed Benvenuto Cellini in music. No other composer is named: in the dedication Guarnerus states that he has collected all those masters ‘qui a seculo iusto ad haec nostra tempora principem in musicis locum tenuerunt’. Some, at least, of these may be of Netherlandish origin.

In the past, the Trustees have paid much attention to acquiring music by Italian composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: well represented as many of them now are, there will always be gaps to be filled in such a prolific and important period in musical history. One of its very greatest masters was Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643), who chiefly composed instrumental music. The collections, though containing most of these pieces, have hitherto lacked his vocal works, which were far fewer, and are now all very rare. Among them were the Liber primus diversarum modulacionum and the Liber secundus diversarum modulacionum singulis binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus. Considering Frescobaldi’s fame, it is surely remarkable that the Liber primus should have entirely vanished, and that the Liber secundus, printed at Rome by Andrea Fei in 1627, should survive in only one copy. This apparently first came to notice when owned by the eminent French musicologist Henri Prunières (1886–1942), and has now been acquired from an Italian dealer. None of the music of the Liber secundus has ever been published. The complete set of parts numbered five, of which the altus is unfortunately missing, but as fourteen of the thirty-two pieces have no
altus part, this imperfection affects little more than half of the whole. Besides its musical importance, this set of part-books adds a fine specimen of the early productions of Fei's press—now all very rare—to the five already in the collections. Only one of these, Vincenzo Ugolini's *Motecta* (1619), antedates the Frescobaldi.

Another instance of the general rarity of seventeenth-century Italian music, wherever published, is furnished by the *Missa quinque et novem, cum selectis qui-busdam cantionibus*, by Frescobaldi's younger contemporary, Giacomo Carissimi, who was best known for his oratorios. Hitherto the sole copy recorded of this work was that in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which comprised only four of the ten parts. In the copy acquired by the British Museum, all the parts are present, but in some the title-pages are missing. This important work, issued in 1665 from the press of Friedrich Friesse of Cologne, is a rather undistinguished piece of music printing. Typographical distinction coupled with musical interest is, however, the mark of a set of part-books, comprising the three following works:

**Jan Tolland. Moduli trium vocum, e sacris Bibliis plerique omnes desumpti.**

Apud Hieronymum Commelinum: [Heidelberg,] 1597.


The *Moduli* by Tolland are embellished with some fine historiated and decorative initials, which are not found in either of the two specimens of Commelinus's press now in the collections. In the last of these *Moduli*, entitled 'Cantilena belgica', the words are printed in an unusual kind of Gothic type, not commonly found in German music-printing of this period. Tolland, who was a Flemish composer, spent most of his life in Italy, and is known by only four works, one of which the British Museum already possesses. Castro and Gastoldi, who were more famous and more prolific, are better represented, but, again, surviving copies are few. Either records no copy either of the 1617 edition of Gastoldi's *Balletti* or of the 1588 edition of Castro's *Madrigali*.

The intensive research now being done in connexion with the new critical edition of Mozart's complete works enhances the interest of a very rare first edition of which only one other copy, privately owned, is recorded. The title-page reads: *Trois airs variés pour le clavecin ou forte piano. Mises au jour par M. Heina. A Paris. [c. 1780.]* The pieces in this collection are: (1) twelve variations (K. 179) on a minuet of J. C. Fischer, (2) six variations (K. 180) on 'Mio caro Adone' from Salieri's opera *La Fiera di Venezia*, (3) twelve variations (K. 354) on 'Je suis Lindor', an air in Beaumarchais's *Le Barbier de Séville*. This edition
is important because the autographs of both the first two pieces are lost, and of that of the third only a fragment is extant. The reason for the scarcity of this edition may perhaps be partly accounted for by the great popularity of the 'Fischer variations', which became widely known because Mozart often played them himself to display his powers as virtuoso. As probably only a small edition was printed, copies would soon have become worn out with use. It is also interesting that as early as August 1781 Leopold Mozart, when writing to J. G. I. Breitkopf, bewailed the fact that he had no copies of this Heina edition left.

The copy acquired is signed by François Heina, whose name Leopold Mozart noted in his travel diary, in 1763 or 1766, when visiting Paris with his wife and children. Heina, a horn-player in Baron C. E. Bagge's orchestra, seems to have run his small publishing business in partnership with his wife. Later, when Wolfgang Mozart stayed in Paris in 1778 with his mother, the Heinas befriended him, especially at the time of her sudden death there in July of that year.

Part of the value of first and early Mozart editions lies in the evidence which they may provide for the interpretation of ornaments and other marks of expression. Such, too, is the value of a unique copy of a work by C. P. E. Bach, a composer whom Mozart greatly admired. This is the VI sonates pour le clavecin avec des reprises variés, which consists of the sheets of the Sechs Sonaten für Clavier mit verändernten Reprisen, reissued with a new title-page, and published like the original, by G. L. Winter at Berlin in 1760. (The issue with a French title-page is itself rare, the only copy recorded in the British Union-Catalogue of Early Music being that in Edinburgh Public Library.) The copy which the Trustees have acquired belonged to the composer, and bears a note on the cover in his hand: 'Erster Theil meiner Reprisen Sonaten mit einigen Veränderungen.' The first inscription written by a subsequent owner is rather hard to decipher because the lower side of the cover has been heavily thumbed. It appears to read: 'Seinem Freunde Gatty zum Andenken von Th. Avé-Lallemand.' The next note shows that the copy passed to a collector named W. Tieftrunk, who gave it to Emil Krause (1840–1916), a professor of pianoforte playing and musical theory at Hamburg Conservatory, who was also a prolific composer. It was ultimately acquired by Dr. H. O. R. Baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken, whose collection of music by J. S. Bach and his sons was auctioned at Sotheby's on 12 May 1959.

C. P. E. Bach seems to have used this copy of his sonatas as a kind of exercise book for varying his own ornaments, for in sonatas 3, 4, and 5 it contains elaborations of over seventy passages varying in length from a single bar to as many as eight. Bach wrote out his new ideas on blank spaces anywhere on the page, on all the margins, on and in between the filled staves, and on blank staves. As a guide to his practice in performance, this copy provides some important new evidence
supplementary to the principles in his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*. Since autograph music by C. P. E. Bach is now extremely rare, and as there is none in the Department of Manuscripts, this copiously annotated copy has a double value as an addition to the collections.

Another recent acquisition, enhanced by close personal association with a great musician, is a copy of the scarce full score of Mozart's opera *Idomeneo* edited by Richard Strauss and Lothar Wallerstein, and published by Heinrichshofen at Magdeburg in 1931. This edition was prepared for the special production of the opera staged at Vienna on 16 April 1931 to mark the 150th anniversary of the original production at Munich. Strauss, an ardent lover of Mozart, himself conducted the performances at Vienna and used this copy, which bears several hundred marks of expression, bowings, and the like, added (mostly in blue pencil) in his hand. Strauss gave this copy to his friend F. G. Adler, who had conducted the rehearsals in Vienna. Adler was then head of Edition Adler, a Berlin firm of music publishers which had business associations with Heinrichshofen.

The interest of the edition lies in Strauss's drastic re-scoring, the full extent of which can only be realized from the study of the full score. An example of special interest occurs in Electra's famous aria, 'D'Oreste, d'Alcione' (pp. 237–43), where Strauss had second thoughts after his edition had been printed. In this copy he supplied additional parts for flutes, bassoons, and horns to fill out those passages scored by Mozart for strings alone, and wrote the notes mostly on the blank woodwind staves. (In one passage he also used the lower margin.) Strauss also composed an interlude (pp. 192–203) to be played between the second and third acts as formed by his reshaping of Varesco's diffuse libretto which Mozart had accepted so reluctantly. This interlude too, which is most important as a characteristic composition by Strauss, can only be fully appreciated in the full score. The present copy provides an exceptionally instructive example of the way in which a great composer of the twentieth-century blended his own style and ideas with a masterpiece of the eighteenth.

This notable volume also marks another stage in the process of building up the collection of full scores of operas, many of which, printed in an edition of 50 copies or less, were never published for sale, and are consequently now so very scarce. Mention should be made of two other important ones, Benjamin Britten's *The Turn of the Screw*, and Paul Hindemith's *Die Harmonie der Welt*, of which the copies recently purchased were specially prepared for the British Museum by the respective publishers, Messrs. Boosey & Hawkes and Messrs. Schott & Co.

Finally, another gap in the collections of nineteenth-century English music has been filled by a presentation from the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. In 1952 the club presented to the Trustees its own library of glee and
part-songs, and has now augmented this with the library of the Abbey Glee Club, which was founded in 1841 by a few former choir boys of Westminster Abbey and their friends. When this club was wound up in 1932, its music passed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club. The Abbey Glee Club’s library also comprised some books formerly the property of the Adelphi Glee Club which was founded in 1832, and merged with the former in about 1845.

The Adelphi Glee Club’s music is bound in twenty-five volumes which are lettered A–Y, variously dated 1832 or 1837, and are accompanied by a manuscript index. There are also some volumes of eighteenth-century music. To the Abbey Glee Club there belonged twenty-three volumes in bindings dated 1841 or 1855, with a manuscript index of performances, from 1895 to about 1930, and an attendance book giving the names of those present at meetings from 1887 to 1905. There are also an album containing signed photographs of members, and printed programmes of performances given in various years between 1886 and 1906. A certain amount of this music, which totals about 850 pieces, inevitably consists of duplicates. Owing, however, to the haphazard deposit of music under the copyright acts of the nineteenth century, a high proportion of it is new to the collections. All this material supplements most handsomely the previous gift from the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club. With this and with the rather older library of the Madrigal Society, which was deposited on loan in 1954, the British Museum now possesses fairly comprehensive sources, conveniently grouped together, for the study of convivial part-singing as practised in London by amateur societies from the early eighteenth century onwards.

A. HYATT KING

3 ‘Gatty’ may be a mis-spelling for ‘Gathy’, possibly August Gathy (1800–58), a dealer in books and author of a popular Musikalisches Konversationslexikon. Ave-Lallemand and Tieftrunk are unknown as collectors.

SOME RECENTLY ACQUIRED INCUNABULA

The acquisition in March 1959 of the pseudo-Senecan text De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus combined with a set of extracts from Seneca’s genuine writings entitled De remediis fortuitorum, from the press of the anonymous Printer of Henricus Ariminensis at Strasbourg, adds an interesting item to the Museum’s holdings, now almost complete, of the productions of this office, the owner of which has recently been identified with Georg Reyser, better known as having worked at Wurzburg. The large gothic with which it is executed (type I of Proctor’s numeration) is found in some twenty-five books, of which one was in existence in 1468, as a rubricator’s date shows,1 but none bears a printed date. The red ink used for the heading of the text on the first page
links the present book with two of the others, an *Officii missae sacri que canonis expositio* by one Vincentius Gruner, and the *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus* of Henricus Ariminensis (from which the press takes its style), which use red in the same way, a fashion associated at Strasbourg with the early 1470’s. The state of the type as a whole, however, does not exactly correspond with that found in either of the other two, and the noticeable crispness of the impression suggests that a fresh cast was here taken into use. The pseudo-Senecan text and the work of Henricus Ariminensis have the same title, *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*, which is perhaps why this is anomalously changed to *De forma ac honestate vitae* in the former. Pressmark: IB. 865.

The Museum has also recently acquired a good copy of the first and only known separate edition, attributed to Simon Bevilaqua at Venice, of the Latin oration in which Gregorius Amaseus, a humanist of Udine, offered the homage of his fellow-townsmen to Cardinal Domenico Grimani on the occasion of his elevation to the Patriarchate of Aquileia in February 1498; the oration was no doubt printed soon after its delivery on 19 June of that year. Cardinal Grimani is now best known as the owner of the famous Grimani Breviary, preserved at Venice, one of the most richly decorated Renaissance manuscripts, and he never attained the dignity of the Triple Crown which the uninhibited flattery of Amaseus predicted for him. The list of errata at the end of the book, which consists of only four quarto leaves, contains the very unusual remark that certain of the errors are to be found in some copies only, having been corrected at the press in the course of printing off. Press-mark: IA. 23979.

Another short tract recently acquired is a copy, one of only two at present known, of an edition of Pope Innocent VIII’s Bull against heretics and others promulgated on 23 March 1486, printed by Stephan Plannck at Rome and shown by its type to belong to the year 1491. Among the excommunicated heretics the Pope specifies ‘Gazaros, Patarenos, Pauperes de Lugduno, Arnaldistas, Speronistas, Passagerios, Viclefistas seu Hussitas, Fratricellos de opinione’, and then passes on to anathematize a number of other malefactors, such as pirates, forgers of papal bulls and similar documents, suppliers of war material to the Turks and other enemies of Christendom, and those who levy war against the papal dominions, divert supplies from them or interfere with the free passage of pilgrims and others to and from Rome. All the abuses here inveighed against were in fact only too prevalent in those troubled times, and the continued actuality of the Bull is shown by the numerous editions of it in the years following its publication, two of them being the work of Plannck, who did not usually touch copy of this class. The present book is in very good condition and retains what may well be its original sheepskin binding. Press-mark: IA. 18493.  V. SCHOLDERER

1 The *Liber Sententiariwm* of Petrus Lombardus, now in the University Library, Toronto. (See *B.M.C. pt. i*, p. 76.)
A LANDOR GIFT

A PART of the collection of books belonging to Walter Savage Landor which descended to his granddaughter, the late Signora Elfrida Mangioni-Landor, has been presented to the British Museum by Lt.-Col. J. W. N. Landor, a collateral descendant. Between forty and fifty volumes are comprised in Colonel Landor’s gift, and many of these contain manuscript notes, some of which were written in the last year of Landor’s life. There is reason to think that these books, or most of them, were in Landor’s possession at the time of his death, which took place in Florence on 17 September 1864.

The collection includes a copy of Landor’s Latin poem Gebirus, 1803, and two copies of his Idyllia Heroica Decem, 1820, all of them containing profuse manuscript emendations, most of which do not appear in the text of the collected edition of Landor’s Latin works, Poemata et Inscriptiones, 1847, and which were probably written after that date. There is also a copy of Landor’s epistolary novel Pericles and Aspasia, 1836, in which is inserted the manuscript of a poem to Theodosia Garrow, afterwards Mrs. Thomas Trollope. The collection also includes copies of Poetry, by the author of Gebir, 1802, and Gebir, Count Julian, and other poems, 1831, both of which contain manuscript notes by Landor. The sixth and last work by Landor in this collection is his poem A Satire on Satirists, 1836, which is in part an attack on Wordsworth. Perhaps not everyone knows Landor’s parody of Wordsworth talking to a small and ragged boy:

‘Have you a father?’ ‘Plenty’, he replied.
‘A mother?’ ‘She was yesterday a bride.’

A considerable number of the books in this collection bear manuscript inscriptions addressed to Landor, and among these are Emerson’s Nature, inscribed ‘with the respects of the author’, Sleep and Dreams by Dr. John Addington Symonds of Bristol, evidently no less than his son an admirer of Landor, and Leigh Hunt’s Christianity, or Belief and Unbelief reconciled, a book dealing with those problems of morality and religion from which the eyes of Landor were averted. Another book with a manuscript inscription by the author is A Worthy Discourse between Colonell Hampden and Colonel Oliver Cromwell’, a work of fiction written by Lord Nugent, and, like Macaulay’s A Conversation between Mr. Abraham Cowley and Mr. John Milton, an imitation of Landor’s Imaginary Conversations. The collection also includes a copy of Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington inscribed ‘To Walter Savage Landor Esqr. from his sincere friend M. Blessington’. It would no doubt be a mistake to regard this as another volume of imaginary conversations. But on one page of the book, where Byron is described as saying that nothing can make an Englishwoman a woman of fashion although this is the rôle she always wishes to act, Landor
has added a manuscript note, ‘True: is it possible that he said it?’, as though Lady Blessington, being herself Irish, might have invented it to revenge herself on the English ladies who did not call at Gore House. On another page, where Byron is speaking of Italian women and uses the word ‘immorality’, Landor has written, ‘Is their immorality worse than the chaste ferocity of our white bears?’ A very pleasing example of the growl of the old lion. Another book in this collection is *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh* by A. H. Layard. It appears from Sir Henry Layard’s autobiography that when he was a boy in Florence he was the playmate of Landor’s eldest son, Arnold Landor. There are also here some half-dozen presentation copies of books of verse by various authors, and these contain many manuscript notes by Landor. The impression is conveyed that he read the poems with great care, solicitous to make helpful comment. Finally, there is a book entitled *Charges to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes*, by Julius Hare, which was given to Landor by Mrs. Julian Hare, familiar to all readers of Augustus Hare’s *The Years with Mother* as the appalling Aunt Esther who hanged the cat.

Among works of general literature there is a copy of *Scaligerana*, published in Cologne in 1667, which was made use of by Landor when he composed his imaginary conversation between Joseph Scaliger and Montaigne. One of the remarks made by Scaliger in this conversation is a quotation from *Scaligerana*. This is perhaps the only instance of a protagonist in one of Landor’s imaginary conversations using words actually recorded of the historical character. The collection also includes an edition of *The Letters of Junius*, which Landor imitated in his *Letters of Calvus*, 1813, and an edition of Catullus with manuscript emendations by Landor. In the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 1842, Landor published an article on the poems of Catullus in which he suggested various textual emendations. Lastly, there is a copy of *Sir John Eliot, a biography*, by John Forster, which was published in 1864, shortly before Landor’s death. Across the frontispiece of this book Landor has written with a trembling hand, ‘To my most affectionate son Charles this last writing.’ Charles was Landor’s third and youngest son, and was the father of Signora Elfrida Mangioni-Landor. Landor was an exceptionally affectionate father, but discarded his parental responsibilities in pursuit of the glory of letters. Nature he loved but, more than Nature, Art.

R. G. LYDE

**AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MEXICAN BOOK**

An interesting example of eighteenth-century Mexican typography has recently been acquired in Mexico by the British Museum. The book is the *Manuale Formarum Juramentorum* of the University of Mexico; it was published with the authority of the Rector, Manuel Ignacio Beye Cisneros, who
was responsible for the rebuilding of the university, and under whose name, in most relevant bibliographies, the book is to be found.

The title-page is as follows:

Manuale/ Formarum Juramentorum/ ab his Praestandorum, qui in Rectores, Consiliarios, & Officiales in hac alma, Imperiali, Mexicana Acade-mia eliguntur, & ab his, qui gradu aliquo majori, vel minori sunt insigniendi. / Fidei item professio secundum Sanctum/ ΟΕκumenicum Concilium Tridentinum/ quam juxta Constitutiones, ac Sanctiones/ ejusdem Universitatis emittere tenentur/ majori, vel minori gradu decorandi, qui- /que Cathedras sunt moderaturi, antequam/ earum possessionem nanciscantur. / Ad Imperialis Mexicæ/ Academiae usum/ Typis mandatum jussu/ D.D.D. Emmanuelis Ignatii/ Beye, Zisneros, et Quixano/ praedictæ Universitatis olim Consiliarij, Decreti Exedæ/ semel, atque iterum Moderatoris, Regœ/ Curiæ Causidici, & tandem Rectoris munus exercentis./

[A rule.]

Anno Domini MDCCLIX./

Mexici: Ex novâ Typographiæ editioni Bibliothecæ Mexicanae destinatā.

The book is in quarto, with 30 leaves and signatures [A8] B–D4 E2 FG4. Leaves 1, 7, 8, 28, 29, 30 are blank; leaves 7, 8 are cancelled. A preliminary leaf has the academic arms, and on the leaf following the title-page is a remarkably fine vignette of the Crucifixion. The type is mainly a sixteenth-century roman which is both large and handsome. It is interesting to note that a copy was offered in the José Francisco Ramírez sale in London in July 1880.

The press of the Biblioteca Mexicana, one of the most important of eighteenth-century Mexican publishing concerns, was founded, owned, and operated in his own house, by the wealthy and learned don Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, canon of Mexico Cathedral, who, with his brother Manuel, had ordered a printing press from Madrid in 1744 or possibly 1754, according to Medina. The press began operating in the latter year, 'en frente de San Agustín' and from the start was a great success. Such was Eguiara's enthusiasm for his hobby, that he refused the bishopric of Yucatán in order to devote himself to typography. In 1761, the press was moved to a site next to the Church of the Capuchin nuns, whose confessor Eguiara was. In 1763 Eguiara died, and after four years of uncertain proprietorship, the concern was acquired by José de Jáuregui, although the original name was preserved until at least 1774, and appears occasionally even afterwards. Some 356 titles for the period 1754–74 are listed by José Toribio Medina in his monumental La Imprenta en México, tom. 5, 6, Santiago de Chile, 1910, 11, and of this number, about 264 were issued during Eguiara's ownership of the press. Unfortunately, the British Museum library possesses very few of them, probably no more than fifteen.

The real reason for the opening of the press was, of course, the publication of Eguiara's own Biblioteca Mexicana, his most important and enduring work, the
first and only volume of which was published in 1755 covering the letters A–C. It was from this work that the press took its name, as may be seen from the imprint of the Manuale. The imprint of the Biblioteca Mexicana itself is even more explicit: ‘Ex novâ Typographiâ in Ædibus Authoris editioni / ejusdem Bibliothecæ destinatâ.’

H. G. Whitehead

TWO EDITIONS OF A PSEUDO-AUGUSTINIAN TEXT AND THEIR MANUSCRIPT BACKGROUND

Among the seventy or so incunabula purchased by the British Museum from the Duke of Devonshire’s library at Chatsworth in April 1958 is a very rare and early quarto printed at the small town of Merseburg near Leipzig. It is a pseudo-Augustinian text consisting of questions and answers on the Trinity and other theological problems: the questions purport to be set by Orosius and the answers to be given by St. Augustine. This edition, the only one known to have been printed in the fifteenth century, was completed by Lucas Brandis at Merseburg in August 1473, the Gesamtkatalog (no. 2991) recording only one other copy in the British Isles, at the Bodleian Library. On the first page of the copy now acquired by the Museum is a partly erased inscription showing that the book belonged to the Benedictine Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Erfurt, from the library of which the Museum already possesses two incunabula.¹

In June 1845 the Museum bought what seems to be the second edition of this work, printed in Paris ‘apud Michaelem Vascosanum, via ad Diuum Iacobum, sub signo Fontis’ in 1533 (press-mark formerly 1222.d.3, now C. 110. c. 17).² The early provenance of this copy is of more than usual interest. Written on the title-page are the words ‘Sum Adriani Bonaeﬁdei [Adrien Bonnefoy] Emptus vesuncij [Besançon] 4 grossis 1579’. There is reason to suppose that the book remained at Besançon for the next 200 years or more, for the title-page also bears the stamp of Count A. Firmas-Périès (1770–1828) who, according to the Nouvelle biographie universelle, left his regiment at Besançon in 1789. He may well have obtained his copy of the book at Besançon in that year—scarcely much before, since even then he was only nineteen years old. Of the sixteenth-century owner Adrien Bonnefoy nothing seems to be recorded.

But if only two printed editions of this curious text are known in the early period, it has a fairly strong manuscript tradition. The Maurists of Paris, in preparing their great Benedictine edition of the works of St. Augustine in the seventeenth century, rightly relegated it to the category of supposititious works: its style shows clearly that it was written neither by Orosius nor by St. Augustine himself. They collated one manuscript at Corbeille which they took to be
nine century, one at Vendôme, and one at St. Michel, both of which they believed to be eleventh century, and four at the Vatican Library to which they ascribe no date; and they refer vaguely to editiones antiquiores, without saying how many printed editions were known to them. The Corbeille and St. Michel manuscripts were headed ‘Quaestiones Orosii & responsiones Sancti Augustini episcopi’, while one of the Vatican manuscripts was called ‘Liber dialogorum beati Augustini episcopi percontante Orosio presbytero’.

It was unlikely that the Maurists in France would look for manuscripts of the Quaestiones in England, but in fact the British Museum has today four manuscripts of this work. The earliest, Harl. 3027, ff. 106–18v, is twelfth century; Harl. 47, ff. 44–60, is fourteenth century; and Harl. 3064, ff. 32–47v, and (an abridged version) Add. MS. 20029, ff. 131–5, are both fifteenth.

D. E. RHODES

1 These are: St. Antoninus, Summa confessionum [Ulrich Zel, Cologne, n.d.] (IA. 2762 = C. II. a. 3) and Breviarium Erfordense [Caspar Hochfeder, Nuremberg, n.d.] (IA. 8209). The second of these has the monastery’s bookplate.

2 There are two copies of this edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.


4 I am indebted to my colleague Mr. G. I. Bonner for his help in the section of this article which deals with manuscripts.

THE EARLY OWNERSHIP OF A MILANESE INCUNABLE

The interesting literary provenance of a certain Milanese incunable which has been in the British Museum since November 1848 does not seem to have been sufficiently appreciated hitherto. It is a copy of Battista Fregoso, Anteros, printed by Leonardus Pachel on 10 May 1496 (B.M.C. vi. 781–2, IA. 26682). The B.M.C. states simply: ‘the names of Alberto Pezzano, Henrichus Boschanus and Antonius de Campo fulgoso are written in the book’.

Battista Fregoso and Antonio Fregoso were apparently cousins, great-grandsons of Pietro I Fregoso.1 Battista died shortly after the solemn entry of Louis XII into Genoa in 1502. Antonio or Antoniotto de Campo fregoso (Campoful goso), also known as Antonio Fregoso Fileremo, was a well-known poet of Genoese origin, born about 1460, but after 1464 resident in Milan. From about 1500 onwards he lived in a villa at Colterano, five miles outside Milan on the road to Lodi. He probably lived until at least 1532.2

On 29 July 1525 Bartolommeo da Crema completed for Ioannes Jacobus de Legnano and brothers, the Milanese publishers, the first edition of Antonio Fregoso’s collection of poems entitled Lamento d’amore mendicante, Dialogo de
A LETTER OF ROBERT BURTON

Following a decision of the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art, the Museum has been enabled to acquire, for the permanent heritage of the nation, the only known autograph letter of Robert Burton, author of the Anatomy of Melancholy.

The full text of the letter (Pl. I), now numbered Additional MS. 49381, is printed below for the first time. Running to three full folio pages, entirely in Burton’s own hand, it constitutes as superlative an example as could be desired of a literary autograph, even including, in the postscript, a reference to a new edition of the Anatomy. Nor is this the sole point of interest: it is written from Lindley in Leicestershire, Burton’s birthplace, where he was staying with his elder brother William, the celebrated antiquary and historian of his native
county, and the addressee is John Smyth of Nibley in Gloucestershire, steward and self-appointed historiographer of the Barons of Berkeley, whose incredible industry, linked with an historical sense far in advance of his age, has led a modern authority on the county, the late Mr. Roland Austin, to describe him as among the greatest—and probably one of the least known—of the noted men of Gloucestershire.²

For the understanding of the letter, which is almost entirely taken up with a dispute between Burton and a local bailiff of the Berkeley family concerning lands at Seagrace in Leicestershire (about twenty miles distant from Lindley) it is only necessary to say that Burton had been presented to the rectory of Seagrace by his patron, George, 8th Baron Berkeley (to whom the Anatomy is dedicated). It was natural that such a dispute should be referred for decision to John Smyth, as steward of the whole of the Berkeley estates, and Burton no doubt counted upon sympathy between scholars to win him the decision against his boorish opponent.

Of the details of the dispute, beyond what is told us in this letter, nothing appears to be recorded, though it is impossible to say what might not be found among the largely untapped wealth of records in the Muniment Room of Berkeley Castle. To us, in any event, it must appear something of a storm in a tea-cup. What is infinitely more interesting is Burton’s reaction to a purely mundane problem, and his style of writing when handling a matter of business with no thought of posterity. As regards style, Burton certainly sets out his case with clarity and vigour, and an occasional looseness of construction is doubtless attributable to the fact that (as certain corrections and alterations indicate) it was written straight off, without draft or premeditation. In the Anatomy Burton had counselled philosophical patience in the face of insults and injuries, but even so he was not prepared to turn the other cheek on every occasion:

And sometimes again, [he writes] so that it be discreetly and moderately done, it shall not be amiss to make resistance, to take down such a saucy companion, no better means to vindicate himselfe to purchase finall peace; for he that suffers himselfe to be ridded, or through pusillanimity or sottishnesse will let every man baffe him, shall be a common laughing stock for all to flout at. As a curre that goes through a village, if he clap his taile between his legges, and runne away, every curre will insult over him, but if he bristle up himselfe, and stand to it, give but a counter-snarle, there’s not a dogge dares meddle with him [Part 2, Sect. 3, Memb. 7].

The present letter, which could be eminently described as a ‘counter-snarle’, amply demonstrates that Burton practised what he preached.

Lastly, the postscript. The fifth edition of the Anatomy, here referred to, is a bibliographical curiosity, the history of which has been elucidated by the late Gordon Duff.³ He has shown that pp. 1–346 were printed off by Robert Young at Edinburgh in 1635, but the work was then stopped, presumably on the
intervention of Henry Cripps, Burton's Oxford printer, who had a half-share in the copyright. At last, in 1638, an agreement was reached by which the remainder of the book was printed off in Oxford; but in the meantime, heavy corrections by Burton in the Edinburgh section necessitated the reprinting of some seventy pages—this time in London! The present letter, which was known to Gordon Duff, is of interest as showing that the original proposal for an 'Edinburgh edition' was undertaken with Burton's full knowledge and approval.

T. C. Skeat

Sr I doe thancke you for all former kindnesse and especialy for your last letter you write to Mr Reade, but what successe your letter had I will breifely shew you. I was intended to have come to you to Niblye my selfe, but I had a mischance with a fall of my horse, which hath hindred my iomnye. I am at this present with my elder brother at Lindlye so stiffe of my legge I dare not as yet adventure to ride, and for that Cause I have written to my brother George in London who lieth at the white gote in Gracios [Gracechurch] street, with all speed to sende you this my letter, which I was moore willing to hasten for ye I was informed in a late letter from my Curat at Segrave that Mr Reade intende speededly to Come to you in person, to take a Lease of Corbies Close in the town which is rated at 3l.10s. per annum and that he meanes to plow it up with Gambles Close but I desire if he Come to you that all may be suspended till you heare from me. when he gave me this inclosed Lease I did except at many things, but he wished me to Consider better of it against I Came againe and so went his waies in hast. Now the things which I doe except at in this Lease be theise. First it beares no date nor hath any Seale. Secondly wheras he saith, he is Content to make vp that part where the pooles be, which I let to you before and now doe etc. I returne, that he never let it to me, but I to him, I being now three yeares in possession of it, by vertue of a writing vnder my Ladies hand, which he hath lately by force taken from me most injuriouslye, as I will moore amplye declare vnto you when it shall please god that I may see you: before my brother Ralfe and my Curat, the last yeare in the Church, he and I Compounded that whereas the whole Close was twenty akers for quietnesse sake he shold have ye lesser halfe next his house divided by a newe ditch by both our Consents and that I shold dispose of the other to whom I wold reside or not resident, and so I did that yeare, till now trecherously of late he hath putte me out of possession of all. so ye in breife he never let it to me but I to him and ye by the warrant of my Ladye that I shold dispose of it to whom I wold, present or absent. He pretended a former Lease but I know what my Ladye still said to me when I vrged her with a Lease, ye nether he nor I shold have any lease but be Tena[nt]es at will but you know best the state of these groundes. For Gambles Close which I sued for he flatlye denies me, but I hope ye being a thing by it selfe and no part of the Parke I may haue a Lease of it seorsim from my Lorde, or Sr. Rob. Cooke, he tooke rent for it as I Can prove (he being then my Tenant for the personage) in my name. but now he hath taken it to himselfe. quo iure? Now for the rest marke his \AEquivocation. I shall haue them he saith at a Competent rate, I asked at what rate, he tolde me he had not yet cast vp the rates and wold not farther satissfye me, but as I am enformed he meanes to set them at such a rate that no man shall make his owene of them, my desire is to hold them as I did [hold] and at that rate, as he and others had them of me. F[or those] yeares last I was in possession. Last of all o[ne?] last Clause in his lease is that I m[u]st
either Keepe them to my owne vse (at what rate he pleaseth forsooth) or els set them to him 
backe againe at the same rate which is as much to saye etc. If I let him have them where shall 
I put my horses when I Come, where shall I have hay[?] If of him I shall as I have had 
heretofore pay dearer then I doe in oxforde or in an Inne viz. 2
d. a weeke for an horse, and 
sore eate that it is as bad as the folowe fild. If I Keepe them to my vse I shall Keepe them 
all the sumer, what shall I doe with the winter pasture he will give me whatts beste and yet I 
must retro set onely to him. my desire is to set and let to whom I will, present or absent, and 
if I may not obtaine this which I have had hetherto by my Ladies grant, I shall thinke my 
selffe very ill dealt with all, so to be thrust out of possession, If I shud haue so done to him or 
any other man, I wold have been ashamed to looke him in the face.— (f. 2) 
Good Mr. Smith Consider of this which I have writte, vindicate my iust and honest Cause, 
and let me not be farther abused. I am my Lordes servant and obsequious Chaplin, and he a 
Bayly, let me not be insulted over tyrannised over, so injuriously abused by a Farmer. If I may 
not obtaine this so small a request as this is, my noble Lorde, Sr. Robert Cooke and his Ladye 
being so willing to Gratifye me, for which favor I must ever acknowledge my selffe bounden 
to them, I shall thinke my [selffe] hardly dealt with, but since it is referred to you I appeale to 
you, and put my selffe vpon you, I must and will referre my selffe to you. Consider I pray how 
first I am thrust out of possession, how many iornies I haue about this necessary businesse, 
and it wold much troble me to be basted at last. I have been otherwise abused by this partye, 
and yt in grosse and saucye manner, which in presence I cold amply relate, sed non est nunc 
narrandi locus, he seekes not onely to take away my goods but my good name. Sed de his alibi. 
I referre my selffe to you. Dictum sapienti satis. If your pleasure will permitte, and you will 
vouchsafe me an answere send it to my brother George in London, or let it rest on both sides 
till Michelmas terme. he will Convay it to me. with many thankes for all former favors and 
my best respectes to you I Comitte you to god. Vale. LIndlye this .7. of August. 1635. 
Your very lovinge frende 
Rob: Burton.

About michaelmas terme
our Edenburowe edition
will Come forth you
shall not faile of a
Copye.

Address (f. 2\): 

To the worshipfull his good
frende Mr. Smith
at his house at Niblye
in Glowestershire

1 The letter was offered for sale at Sotheby's on 22 Oct. 1956 (lot 43), and was purchased by a 
London dealer on behalf of an American client.
2 Transactions of the Bristol and Glocestershire 
Archaeological Society, lxi, 1939, P. 45. The study 
of Smyth of Niblcy, based on papers in the Glou-
cestter Public Library, which the same writer stated 
(ibid.) he hoped to publish does not appear to have 
been completed.
3 See Bodleian Quarterly Record, ii, 1917, 
pp. 101–2, and The Library, 4th Ser., iv, 1923, 
pp. 81–101. There is a convenient summary in
SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEDIEVAL HISTORY FROM THE WEST COUNTRY

IN the two great collections of monastic and other medieval chartularies and registers of lands that were assembled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Sir Robert Cotton and by Robert and Edward Harley, Earls of Oxford, and were brought to the Museum with the remainder of their libraries as part of its foundation collections, the western and south-western counties of England were conspicuously less well represented than those in the east, south-east, and north. Whether from greater indifference to the historical value of such evidences, inadequate prompting by antiquaries, a natural conservatism, or family pride, landowners west of a line that may be drawn roughly from Chester to Oxford and thence to Southampton, with occasional fingers protruding out into Worcestershire, Hereford and Wiltshire, seem to have clung for much longer, and with far greater tenacity than their contemporaries elsewhere, to whatever registers of this class had passed into their possession, either with monastic lands when the monasteries were dissolved by Henry VIII, or by family descent. Indeed, it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the close of the Middle Ages had receded to a distance of some ten generations, that they began to show any general readiness to be parted from whatever still survived in their hands. To this change of heart, the initial impulse was fairly certainly supplied by the activities of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. (1792–1872), whose enterprise and voracity in seeking out and acquiring manuscript books, particularly of this kind, is too well known to require fresh description here.

The collection of chartularies and other medieval registers of land that was brought together by Phillipps in the course of fifty years at Middlehill, near Broadway, in Worcestershire, and afterwards at Cheltenham, ranks next in importance and size only to those of Cotton and the Harleys, whose emulator he set out to be. He drew it not only from the West Country but from whatever other parts of England and the Continent the opportunities of private negotiation or of the sale-room afforded, and his achievement was the more remarkable because, in these other regions, he could act for the most part only as a gleaner.
in an already carefully reaped field. In its eventual fate, however, it was less happy than its two predecessors, since after his death it began gradually to be dispersed in the sale-room with the rest of his manuscripts.

During the course of the seventy years for which the dispersal of the Phillipps collection has now continued, the Department of Manuscripts has acquired from it more than a score of chartularies. The arrival of most of these has already been duly signalled either in volumes of the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts* or in earlier numbers of the *Quarterly*, and many notable gaps have already been filled by them in the material available in the Museum for students of the history of western and south-western England. It is consequently agreeable to be able to record the acquisition from this source between 1954 and 1959 of three further registers of lands which continue the same process. The earliest in date is the celebrated chartulary of Flaxley Abbey in Gloucestershire (Pl. II), compiled in roll form at the beginning of the thirteenth century and notable for its inclusion, in addition to the usual transcripts of charters, of a catalogue of the abbey library.\(^1\) This was acquired by Phillipps about 1828 from Thomas Wynniiatt of Stanton in Gloucestershire, and was purchased by the Museum in 1959 with the aid of a generous grant from the Friends of the National Libraries. Next in date comes a fourteenth-century register of the lands of the Mohun family of Dunster, also including a treatise on agriculture in Anglo-Norman French verse, which was given to Phillipps by George Matcham, the Wiltshire antiquary and civil lawyer, and was purchased by the Museum in 1955.\(^2\) Finally, there is a late fifteenth-century chartulary of Wombridge Priory in Shropshire,\(^3\) which was rescued from a London scrap heap in 1824 in company with a chartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey,\(^4\) after both, no doubt, had been cast out from some lawyer’s office. For a number of years after its sale from the Phillipps collection in 1938, the Wombridge chartulary had been in the library of the late Gerald P. Mander, F.S.A., of Wolverhampton, and it was at the sale of his books in 1954 that it was bought by the Museum.

During the same period the Museum has had the good fortune to acquire from other sources yet two further medieval registers of lands relating to the same regions. From the Duke of Sutherland it was able to purchase the important and well known, but little used, thirteenth-century chartulary of Lilleshall Abbey in Shropshire, incorporating a quire from a fourteenth-century register of Wenlock Priory, which had been in the hands of the Leveson and Leveson-Gower families apparently at least since the middle of the seventeenth century, and which for some years prior to its acquisition had been deposited in the Museum as a loan.\(^5\) In the sale-room a fourteenth-century register was obtained of the lands of the Courtenay family, Earls of Devon, which had formerly belonged to the Vyvyan family of Trelowarren and which has special interest for its inclusion of the rare French text of the ‘Modus tenendi Parliamentum’
that was used in the seventeenth century by the Suffolk antiquary Sir Simonds D'Ewes.  

The survival of all five of the registers which have so far been mentioned was known for a considerable period before they came to the Museum, and each had at one time or another been the object of serious antiquarian study. In a rather different tradition was the acquisition of a sixth register at Sotheby's in 1958, the existence of which had not previously been recorded and which was offered for sale anonymously. This is an attractive little mid thirteenth-century register of twelfth- and thirteenth-century papal privileges to the Knights Templar, with special reference to their English lands. In the late fifteenth century it belonged to one Andrew Themerford of the Middle Temple, and subsequently it was in the hands of the Buller family of Lillesdon in Somerset. Possibly it should be identified with a similar volume—of which all other trace has been lost—that, in the late eighteenth century, was owned by the celebrated antiquary John Topham; some annotations in other antiquarian hands may also eventually prove to be identifiable. Meanwhile it serves as a fresh reminder of the areas of historical source material that still remain to be charted.

G. R. C. Davis

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1 Add. MS. 49996; Phillipps MS. 24180; G. R. C. Davis, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain (1958), no. 407.  
2 Egerton MS. 3724; Phillipps MS. 16566; Davis, op. cit., no. 1285.  
3 Egerton MS. 3712; Phillipps MS. 3517; Davis, op. cit., no. 1066.  
4 Now in the National Library of Wales (MS. 7851); Davis, op. cit., no. 985.  
5 Add. MS. 50121; Davis, op. cit., nos. 577, 1008.  
6 Add. MS. 49359; Davis, op. cit., no. 1229.  
7 Add. MS. 4961; Sotheby's sale-cat., 19 May 1958, lot 60A.  

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TWO EARLY PRINTED BOOKS FROM JAPAN

After the careful work done by Japanese bibliographers during the past fifty years, it might be thought that all of the books printed in Japan with movable type in the early seventeenth century (and their number is not large) would have been recorded by now. A book recently purchased by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts shows that this is not the case. The work, entitled Kana teikan zusetsu, is an unrecorded Japanese translation of the Chinese Ti-chien t'u-shuo (Pl. III). This Chinese work, a series of incidents in the lives of Chinese Emperors, is best known in Japan from the edition printed with movable type by order of the military leader Toyotomi Hideyori in 1606. The Museum possesses an undated copy of this edition.

The present Japanese version is a unique copy, so far as is known. It is unhappily incomplete, lacking the last volume, which must have contained the
twelfth chapter of the original work. It therefore has no colophon. Six volumes remain, containing the whole of chapters 1–11, but there is no indication of date. A previous owner has argued from typographical evidence that the date of printing was late Kan’ei period (1634–44), and this is probably correct. The typography is very clear, at first sight suggesting a block-print, but examination confirms the use of movable type. The text is printed in Hiragana-majiri and is entirely in Japanese, including a translation of the original Chinese preface. One other Japanese translation of this work is known, but it is a later block-printed edition and is also extremely rare.

The work abounds in illustrations, all in a distinctive Chinese style. They closely resemble those of the Hideyori edition, but the borders have been slightly contracted and Japanese kana readings have been added beside the Chinese captions to each plate. The volumes are bound in Sino-Japanese style with dark green covers.

No clue is given to the identity of the translator, but his evident familiarity with both Chinese and Japanese literature suggests a scholar of the calibre of Hayashi Razan.

Another recent acquisition by the Department is a set of ten volumes from the celebrated Yōkyoku hyakuban, a series of 100 Nō plays printed at the Saga Press in the mid-Keichō period, c. 1605. These were intended as chant-books and carry a system of pointing alongside the characters of the text for the convenience of reciters. The ten plays included are: Shiga, Uneme, Bashō, Shigehira, Hyakuman, Hanagatami, Uou, Dōjōji, Adachigahara, and Am. They are beautifully printed from movable wooden type specially cut for this edition. (It is worth recalling here that at this early stage of Japanese typography movable wooden type was cut from the author’s actual manuscript and it thus retained the individual character of his handwriting.) The handwriting reproduced on these printing types is reputedly that of Honami Kōetsu, noted artist and calligrapher and one of the founders of the private press at Saga. In fact Kōetsu himself may well have supervised the entire production of this work—type-cutting, presswork, and binding—for it shows all the signs of a carefully designed and skillfully executed work of art. These products of the Saga Press were undoubtedly the éditions de luxe of feudal Japan. Very small editions were printed, and they were probably accessible only to the wealthy few.

The volumes are bound in Japanese style, whereby the leaves are not folded but printed on both sides. The paper used is thick and sumptuous, treated with gofun so as to give it a smooth white surface. On this are printed highly decorative mica designs of flowers and leaves in the style of Kōetsu and the Kōrin school, underlining the printed text. The covers, of thicker paper than the pages of text, are decorated in the same way but with somewhat larger-scale designs, sometimes on a coloured ground.
Japanese bibliographers are agreed that among the many fine books printed by the Saga Press this series of Nō plays holds the supreme place. It is outstanding in calligraphic beauty, technical excellence, and good taste.

K. B. GARDNER

1 Title-slip on outer case reads Kana teikan zuetsu. Preface is headed Teikan zuetsu wahan.

2 Also known as Kanze-ryū utaibon, since it contains Nō texts of the Kanze group.

ROMAN COIN ACQUISITIONS

1. The Bredgar Find of Roman Aurei

A SMALL hoard of thirty-four aurei of the early Empire, discovered during excavations for a house foundation at Bredgar in Kent and declared treasure trove at a coroner’s inquest has been acquired in its entirety for the British Museum. It is only the third hoard of any appreciable quantity of Roman gold coins found in Britain and is of an earlier period than the other two, found at Corbridge in 1908 and 1911 and also acquired by the Museum.¹

The earliest coin is an aureus issued by Julius Caesar in 45 B.C. Augustus is represented by twelve aurei of which eight are of the Gaius et Lucius Caesares series (Pl. IV, 2), issued by the Lyons mint between 2 B.C. and A.D. 11. Of the other aurei from this mint, two depict Gaius Caesar on horseback and a third represents Apollo, one of the givers of victory at Actium. There is also one aureus struck in Spain, with, on the reverse, the little temple of Mars Ultor, erected on the Capitol in 20 B.C. (Pl. IV, 1). The seventeen aurei of Tiberius are all from the mint of Lyons. Two coins from the beginning of his reign have as reverses the portrait of the now deified Augustus (Pl. IV, 3) and Tiberius in a triumphal quadriga (Pl. IV, 4). The remaining aurei of Tiberius show the successive varieties of the seated figure of Livia as Pax (Pl. IV, 5), which was almost the sole reverse type on the precious metals throughout the reign. There are no coins of Caligula and the hoard closes with four aurei of the reign of Claudius. One of these has the portrait of his father, Nero Drusus and a triumphal arch inscribed DE GERM referring to his victories in Germany in 12–9 B.C. (Pl. IV, 6). The three splendid aurei of Claudius himself show Constantia (Pl. IV, 7), the oak-wreath, formerly an award for saving a citizen’s life but now an honour traditionally accorded to the emperor (Pl. IV, 8) and a view of the camp at Rome into which the Praetorians received Claudius and proclaimed him emperor (Pl. IV, 9).

The range of the coins and the varying states of wear from the almost obliterated types of the aureus of Julius, issued in 45 B.C. to the practically mint condition of the Claudian coins of A.D. 41–42 suggest that this is a private currency hoard rather than some small official fund. The picture of the circula-
tion of Roman aurei in the early Empire provided by this find supplies a useful guide to the commonness or rarity of particular coin types. The hoard has a good run of two protracted but undated series of aurei, the *Gaius et Lucius Caesares* issue of Augustus, of which there were eight examples, and the *Pontif Maxim* issue of Tiberius, represented by fifteen coins. The differing state of wear on coins within each of these series provides a useful check on the arrange-
ments which previously has largely depended on change of style and the minutiae of design.

The historical importance of the hoard, however, greatly exceeds its purely numismatic value. Not only is it the earliest hoard of Roman aurei in Britain, but it appears to be the earliest hoard of purely Roman coins in this country and it is unlikely that any earlier hoard of Roman Britain is likely to come to light. To judge from the still splendid condition of the latest coins the hoard must have been concealed quite soon after their issue, which is firmly dated to A.D. 41–42. The very next year, A.D. 43, saw the invasion of Britain by the Roman forces under Aulus Plautius. The landing was made at Richborough and in the first stages of the campaign Plautius defeated, somewhere in eastern Kent, the two sons of Cunobelinus who hadsten to meet the invaders. It is conjectured that the first engagement was at the crossing of the Stour where Caratacus was defeated but escaped westwards; Plautius, following up the retreat, met and defeated the other brother, Togodumnus somewhere east of the Medway, along which the first real British resistance was being built up and the crossing of which brought the first major battle of the campaign. Bredgar, lying some thirty miles west of Richborough and ten miles short of the Medway, was not necessarily the scene of the clash with Togodumnus but may have seen some quite minor skirmish from which the depositor of the hoard failed to return.

The owner of the hoard was almost certainly a Roman rather than a Briton; the find is purely Roman in its composition with no admixture of native coinage and the presence of fresh coins of Claudius points to recent importation. It is not easy to guess who the owner of the hoard might have been. It certainly was no ordinary legionary, whose rate of pay at this time was 225 denarii per annum (9 aurei) and was subject to stoppages for rations and clothing. Pay of higher ranks, however, was on a more lavish scale; an ordinary centurion received about 3,750 denarii (150 aurei) and a *primus pilus* as much as 15,000 denarii (600 aurei). A very rough calculation based on the equivalency of the annual pay of a legionary of A.D. 43 and a private soldier of today equates, in terms of purchasing power, the thirty-four aurei of the find with a sum of about £1,500 today. The value of the hoard, together with the varied content showing it to be a currency hoard, point to the owner as someone higher in rank than a legion-
ary, who, possibly, realized his savings when his legion was warned for the invasion of Britain.

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2. Other Notable Acquisitions

From a number of notable additions to the coinage of Roman Britain in the past year the most important is the antoninianus in bronze (Pl. IV, 11) issued by Carausius, who ruled an independent empire in this country from A.D. 286 to 293. The coin, discovered in the course of excavation of a temple area in the Romano-British settlement at Springhead, near Gravesend, was most generously presented to the British Museum by the Gravesend Historical Society, who are conducting the excavations. On the obverse appear, from left to right, the portraits of Carausius, emperor in Britain and of Diocletian and Maximian, the rulers of the Roman Empire at this time. The three emperors in cuirass and radiate crown face to the left and raise their right hands before them. The inscription on the obverse reads CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI (Carausius and his brothers). The reverse has a representation of Moneta with her cornucopiae and scales with the legend MONETA AVGGO—the triple G emphasizing again that there were three emperors. The mint signature ₢ is that of the mint traditionally identified as Camulodunum (Colchester).

The coin is a great rarity, for only one example of this particular coin was previously known. The collection already had an antoninianus of Carausius with similar portraits and inscription but not so finely preserved and with a different reverse type, that of Pax. The present coin is an addition to a very rare and picturesque group of coins whose evidence is important for a small phase of Romano-British history. The sequence of mint-marks dates this coin to late 292 or early 293 when Carausius, after years of successful defiance of the Empire including a naval victory over the imperial forces, found his hold on the Channel coast of north Gaul coming under threat. In 293 Constantius Chlorus was appointed Caesar, or second-in-command, to Maximian, the Augustus in the West, and his first objective was the recovery of Britain. The present coin adds to the evidence which suggests that Carausius, faced with this threat, was anxious for a détente with Diocletian and Maximian.

Other interesting coins of Carausius from the large find made at Little Orme’s Head earlier in the century were presented by Mrs. Willoughby Gardner, whose husband was responsible for the preservation of the hoard. The gift included examples of the series struck in honour of a number of legions, the reverse being devoted to the badge and designation of a legion. Legio I Minervia, with a ram for its crest, and Legio II Parthica, with a centaur (Pl. IV, 13, 14), were two of the legions thus honoured. Neither of these two legions was stationed in Britain under Carausius, but presumably detachments from them were serving with his forces. A third coin (Pl. IV, 12) with a particularly fine helmeted portrait of Carausius with shield on left arm and spear over shoulder pictures, on the reverse, Britannia clasping hands with Carausius. The inscription on the reverse, EXPECTATE VENI is the nearest approach on a coin to a quotation
from the poets, recalling, as it does, the ‘quibus Hector ab oris exspectate venis’ of the *Aeneid.*

A recent acquisition in the Republican series completes the run of denominations in one of the early issues, c. 180–170 B.C., marked with a monogram. The coin (Pl. IV, 10), a bronze sextantal as with Janus head on the obverse and prow on the reverse, has on the reverse, in addition to the normal inscription *ROMA* below the prow, the word *ROMA* in monogram form in the field. The condition of the coin, which has an attractive patina, is unusually fine. This piece is also something of a rarity, for only three other examples are on record. The collection now has the complete range of the issue marked with the monogram of *ROMA*; in silver the denarius, quinarius, and sertertius, and in bronze the as, semis, and quadrans.

Amongst the outstanding acquisitions in the coinage of the late Empire is the aureus of Caracalla (Pl. IV, 15) with a reverse type quite new for this emperor. Caracalla is shown on horseback, brandishing a javelin and riding down a fallen Parthian; the inscription dates the coin to A.D. 201 and gives Caracalla the title of Parthicus Maximus. His father, Septimius Severus, had adopted this title following his successful invasion of Parthia and the destruction of *Ctesiphon* in A.D. 198, and now, some three years later, it is extended to the boy-emperor, as is the reverse type itself, which had been first used in 198 for Septimius though with a different inscription, *VIRTVS AVG.*

A gold solidus of the emperor Constans (Pl. IV, 16) is a unique and hitherto unrecorded variety of an extremely rare reverse type for this ruler. It shows Victory seated to right inscribing *VOT/VMVLT/X* on a shield held by a winged genius and the legend reads *VICTORIA DN CONSTANTIS AVG.* On the specimen in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris the ‘D(omini) N(ostri)’ does not figure in the inscription. The coin was minted at Siscia and its *vota* inscription permits it to be dated to 341–2, early in the joint reign of Constans with his brother Constantius II. The obverse shows the portrait of Constans wearing a rosetted diadem adorned with square jewels.

Pl. IV, 17 shows a fine example of a rare light *milia re nse* of Valentinian I struck at the mint of Antioch between A.D. 367 and 375. The reverse depicts the emperor, together with his brother Valens, standing under an arch, holding, each, a globe and sceptre.

A unique and hitherto unpublished ‘consular’ solidus of Theodosius II (Pl. IV, 18) commemorates, at the same time, the celebration by the emperor of his *vicennalia*—twenty years of completed rule. From the late fourth century onwards special issues of solidi were made on the occasions on which the emperor himself held the consulship and show on the obverse the half-length portrait of the emperor, wearing consular robes and holding *mappa* and sceptre. Consular solidi are rare as a class and examples of individual emperors of the greatest
rarity; the present specimen, recording the tenth consulship of Theodosius II in 422 is unique. The reverse, as well as recording the emperors’ viciennalia in its inscription, has a type showing, for the first time, the figure of Victory holding a long cross. St. Prosper,7 writing some thirty years later in the reign of Marcian, states that this particular type was first placed on the solidus on the occasion and in honour of the victory gained by Theodosius II over the Persians in a war fought to relieve the persecution of Christians by the Persians.

R. A. G. CARSON

1 NC 1912, 265 ff. and 279 ff.
3 Virgil, Aeneid, iii, 282–3.
4 D’Ailly, Recherches sur la monnaie romaine, ii, 746.
5 BMCRE V, p. 179, no. 142.
6 Hess Sale, 16 Apr. 1957, lot 411.
7 De promissis et praedictionibus, 3, 34.

THE TAFFS MEMORIAL GIFT OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS

At the end of 1956 the Department of Coins and Medals was fortunate enough to receive two very rare English coins as a gift from the Taffs family in memory of the late H. W. Taffs, a founder member of the British Numismatic Society, which he had served for many years successively as Secretary, Editor, and President. Mr. Taffs, whose personal friendship with members of the Department’s staff extended back over more than half a century, had always hoped that one or two of his choicest coins might grace the trays of the National Collection, and his family were kind enough to leave the selection to the Museum. The pieces presented are both Anglo-Saxon, one is unique, and the other the finer of only two examples known. For the greater part of his life Mr. Taffs resided in Kent, and he was especially interested in the history of that county. Accordingly it was felt that he himself would have been glad that the British Museum should set particular store by a quite unpublished penny of the mint of Sandwich struck c. 1064 by the moneyer Godric (Pl. V, 1). No other coin of this type is known for the mint, and Godric is not given as a Sandwich moneyer in Brooke’s English Coins, though in fact one coin of his in another type is believed to exist. The mint of Sandwich appears to have opened early in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and continued to strike until the end of the reign of Stephen, but never on a very large scale. Until now, however, the National Collection has lacked any example of a coin of this mint struck between c. 1060 and c. 1075, and the new penny is the more welcome as indicating that the mint continued in operation without a break after the departure of Leofwine, who had been the Sandwich moneyer from the mint’s inception.

The second coin, a penny of Lydford in Devonshire, is not unique, but adds
an important new variety to the Museum’s collection of pence of Æthelraed II. Superficially it appears to be a normal Crux penny of the period 991–7, but with the portrait facing to the right instead of to the left (Pl. V, 2). Such ‘mirror freaks’ are not unknown in the late Saxon series, and little real significance attaches to them. On closer examination, however, it will be noticed that the portrait is not that usually found on Crux coins. Essentially, as the enlarged direct photograph shows (Pl. V a), the portrait is that of the very rare Benediction Hand variety which was issued for a few weeks prior to the introduction of the Crux type in the autumn of 991. Attention should be drawn especially to the treatment of the drapery on the shoulder. There is, however, one critical difference; the sceptre-head is formed of a trefoil of pellets and not, as on other Benediction Hand coins, of small wedges forming a cross. Bror Emil Hildebrand’s eagle eye noted this on the mis-struck Stockholm specimen, and accordingly he classified the coin as a Second Hand/Crux mule—the sceptre being that also employed in the relatively common Second Hand issue, which ran from 985 till the summer of 991. However, the Second Hand portrait is quite different and, in particular, diademed, and a paper shortly to appear in Sweden will argue that the obverse die responsible for the Tafis and Stockholm coins was an early experiment transitional between Benediction Hand and Crux, and that its products are to be dated with a considerable measure of confidence to the autumn of 991.

R. H. M. Dolley

A FURTHER GIFT OF MEDIEVAL COINS BY
THE LOCKETT FAMILY

At the fourth of the sales of coins from the great Lockett collection, the Department of Coins and Medals was again successful in filling a number of gaps in its English trays. Once more the Museum’s own resources were supplemented by a most generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust, and the Lockett family again agreed to present a certain number of coins, the selection to be made by the Museum. Under the terms of this most happy arrangement five coins have been registered as the gift of the Lockett family, all of them late medieval, four of them gold and one silver. Their importance can be gauged from the fact that two are believed to be unique, a third only the second recorded specimen, while the remaining two are quite unpublished.

Earliest in point of date is a particularly choice noble of Edward III struck in 1351 (Pl. V, 3). The coin mules a very unusual obverse die, reading ἨΒ for ἨΒ, and a no less unusual reverse die which adds ΤΜ to the normal ‘Jesus autem transiens’ legend. The Museum already possessed coins from one
or other of these dies, but the combination is an important link in the chain which allows of the gold coinage of Edward III being dated with very considerable precision. No such certainty attaches to the second coin (Pl. V, 4), a quarter-noble struck at London which has been attributed to Henry IV, but which is more probably of Henry V. Here a quite exceptional feature is the trefoil at the end of the reverse legend, a feature found previously only on a coarse Flemish imitation from the Cracherode bequest. A second quarter-noble attributed to Henry V (Pl. V, 5) is notable for many anomalies. The lis above the shield is replaced by a trefoil of pellets, and on the reverse mullets replace the normal trefoils in the compartments around the central panel. This last is a feature of one early die, but the lettering seems late. There are, too, two trefoils at the end of the reverse legend. Probably only a new hoard will enable this coin to be securely dated within the sequence of the coinage of Henry V, but its accession to the National Collection means that it is now available for study by those interested.

The silver coin is a normal London groat of Edward IV, struck c. 1465, but great significance attaches to the shield countermarks appearing on each side of the bust (Pl. V, 6). These have been considered Flemish, but in fact they are German, and Dr. Peter Berghaus of Münster believes that this particular countermark was put on at Herford. Only two English coins are known with this mark, the Lockett coin and a Henry VI groat struck at Calais, which was in the Freilaubersheim hoard and is now in the Landesmuseum at Münster. Thus the coin may be said to be of interest for the German as well as the English numismatist, and throws new light on commercial relations between England and Westphalia in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The fourth of the gold coins presented by the Lockett family is perhaps the most important of all the pieces that the Museum acquired at this sale. It is the only example known of the half-angel or angelet of Henry VI struck at Bristol during his brief restoration in 1470/1471 (Pl. V, 7 and 8). London angels of this period are not particularly rare, and obviously formed the bulk of the coinage in Henry's name during the six months after his release, but even of London half-angels the Department of Coins has only two specimens. Bristol angels are extremely rare—again the Museum possesses only two examples—and, as we have seen, the half-angel of this mint is unique. The Lockett specimen is water-worn, as appears from the enlarged photographs, but this does not detract from its interest, and the all-important b in the waves on the reverse, the mark of the Bristol mint, is clear beyond dispute.

R. H. M. DOLLEY
AN EGYPTIAN PLASTER CAST

With the aid of a generous gift from the National Art-Collections Fund, the trustees have recently acquired the plaster cast (no. 65656) shown on Plate VI. Nothing is known about its recent history except that it has been in this country for some years and that it was previously in a private collection in France. Its maximum dimensions are 13.5 cm. in height, 13 cm. in width, and 4.5 cm. in thickness. Apart from some slight damage beneath the cheeks and to the left side of the lower lip the piece is very well preserved; on the back may be seen small black dendrites of a kind often found on Egyptian objects made of plaster or soft limestone.

From the appearance of the back, which is not smooth but lumpy, it may be deduced that the cast was made in an open mould so that the plaster, by exposure to the warm, dry air, solidified before the surface had settled evenly. Although some examples of death-masks, and possibly also of life-masks, have survived from ancient Egypt, this cast probably does not come into either of these categories. The close furrows on the brow have an artificial appearance, and so have the crow’s feet at the outer corners of the eyes. Still more significant is the absence of the eyes, of which only the sockets remain—apparently for the insertion of inlaid eyes of a different material. While it cannot be denied that, by working over a direct impression made during life, it would have been possible to produce this cast, another explanation of objects of this kind, which seems more plausible, has been suggested.

Close examination of the famous collection of casts from Amarna (c. 1370 B.C.) in the Berlin Museum has revealed that they can be divided into two technically different groups: one group is composed of pieces which were entirely naturalistic; the pieces in the other group, although essentially naturalistic, show in addition certain artistic conventions usually found in stone sculpture. Perhaps the two groups represent different stages in the production of a sculptured head. If so, it seems necessary to suppose that the sculptor first modelled in clay as true a likeness as possible of the face of his subject. Before the clay had hardened he made a plaster mould of his model and used it, when dry, for making a plaster cast corresponding with his original clay model. The casts in the first of the two groups mentioned would belong to this type. A cast in clay was then made in the mould, but this time for the purpose of inserting the artificial features which were conventional in sculptured representations. A further mould and finally a plaster impression of the kind illustrated by the second group were then made and the sculptor was ready to begin his work on the stone reproduction.

In view of the number of details in the cast acquired by the Museum which are not true to nature it seems necessary to place it in the second group described above. Nevertheless it does not correspond exactly with what would be expected.
In all the other examples known the whole face, including the chin, was modelled in the first stage of the process; in this case the chin is missing and the smooth, rounded edge of the portion beneath the lower lip shows that its absence cannot be explained as being due to a fracture. Why the face should have been left thus incomplete seems to defy explanation. At least one other instance of a final cast without neck and ears may be cited, but more usually these features were added in an intermediate stage between the two main processes already described.

When considering the date of this piece it is necessary to bear in mind that the method of production deduced from the study of the twenty-three examples found at Amarna in the workshop of the sculptor Tuthmosis may have been practised by other sculptors at widely different periods in Egyptian history. The numerous examples of naturalistic sculptures which date from the XIIth Dynasty, notably the statues of Sesostiris III and Ammenemes III, could well have been the outcome of a similar process. The same explanation may also be applied to such pieces as a crystalline limestone portrait of an old man dating from the Late Period in the Museum’s collection (no. 37883) and to countless other specimens varying in date from the Old Kingdom to Ptolemaic times. Presumably casts of this kind would have been kept in the sculptors’ workshops until the stone figure had been carved, when they would have been discarded. Being made of a soft material they would have been easily destroyed by exposure to the elements and those which survived would be difficult to find. It is therefore possible, to say the least, that this cast is not a piece which somehow strayed from the Amarna workshop either in ancient or in modern times. The absence of the chin and other inconsistencies in technique may be thought to point to a different sculptor who worked elsewhere and perhaps at another period. Fully open eyelids, on which are clearly marked eyelashes, are not common in the Amarna group and consequently may be considered as further evidence against an association. In spite, however, of these undoubted divergences, an essential similarity may also be detected in the moulding of the cheeks, and even the absence of the eyes is not without parallel. The various pieces in this group, moreover, show so high a degree of individuality that the possibility of a common origin for another specimen which does not conform in detail with previous examples need not be ruled out.

To attempt an identification of the person portrayed in the cast is clearly impossible when even its date is uncertain. The fleshy nose and flabby cheeks, the furrowed brow and wrinkled skin, and the sunken eye-sockets show unmistakably that he was elderly. Since there is nothing to suggest that he was royal it may be supposed that he was a high official or a courtier either chosen by the sculptor because his features lent themselves to effective portraiture or, more probably, singled out by the king for the possession of a statue as a recognition of his services and high position in the state.

I. E. S. Edwards
Ancient Oriental Goldwork

The goldsmiths' and jewellers' art is certainly among the most ancient in the ancient Near East, and, since it provided ornaments both for living men and women and for effigies of gods, one that had stood very high in importance, both in Mesopotamia and Egypt and the adjacent regions. Many beautiful examples of Egyptian goldsmiths' work have been recovered from the tombs of Egypt; but elsewhere in the ancient Near East, royal burials or those of rich nobles are rarely found, and consequently, good examples of the art of jewellery and goldwork from Western Asia are relatively few and far between. Nor has much study been given to what there is.

A welcome addition, therefore, is a Hittite child's bracelet of flying eagles, with pendent disks (of perhaps about 1300 B.C.), threaded on to a gold wire and spaced with long beads, square in section (132116). It probably belongs, together with certain other pieces now in other countries, to a group of ornaments said to have been found many years ago in a provincial Hittite royal grave near Magnesia, on the Meander river in western Turkey. Though somewhat rough, it represents a vigorous and hitherto quite unknown style of ornament, linked by the pendent disks with the jewellery of Troy II and Alaja Hüyük.

In the strict Mesopotamian tradition are some pieces which are probably of the Persian Achaemenid period, perhaps fifth century B.C. Two little seated lions looking backwards perhaps formed the ends of a necklace (132117–18). Two small fittings (132112, 132110) ornamented with rosettes and volute-patterns, might be the buckles of a garment, a girdle, or the like; or they might be the legs of a miniature table. A third example, obviously from the same object, is in the Louvre. The front and back are not the same, the back preserving remains of coloured paste inlays.

Lastly, we have a set of fine animal figures, evidently sequins, once sewn on to a Persian king's or chief priest's robe. There are two walking lions, their bodies curiously divided by raised partitions, perhaps once filled with colour,
an ajouré circle with lions rampant and addorsed, and five boars’ heads, couped. A similar but larger set is in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

These elegant and sophisticated pieces (Pl. VII) are a valuable addition to the collections of the Museum, which, though it already is proud to own the famous Achaemenid ‘Treasure of the Oxus’ (now remounted), was hitherto not possessed of anything of this kind.

R. D. Barnett

1 See Riemschneider, Die Welt der Hethiter, pls. 107, 108.

A GREEK SILVER MYRTLE-WREATH

THE Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities has recently acquired a Greek silver myrtle-wreath.1 It is made in two sections, the lower end of each being fitted with a loop, bound with silver wire; a band of wool or linen was probably threaded through the loop and fastened round the head. Sheet silver is used for the leaves and the petals; stout wire for the stems, the branches, and the stalks of the berries; and very fine wire for the stamens; the berries themselves are solid balls (Pl. XVIII).

Wreaths are known in Greece from the seventh century B.C. onwards,2 but are extremely rare before the Hellenistic period. We know, however, from inscriptions that they were popular as votive offerings from the fifth century. They were also worn in religious processions, were given as prizes, and were buried with the dead, to commemorate their victory in the battle of life.3

This wreath differs from nearly all surviving examples in its much greater robustness. The others are mostly too flimsy ever to have been worn by a living person, and must have been made solely for funerary purposes, but this one has a substantial quantity of metal in it and would stand a fair amount of wear and tear. The loops, in particular, are attached in such a way as to take quite a considerable strain.

It is not easy to date this wreath by comparison with funerary wreaths, but a myrtle spray in Lord Elgin’s collection, from a tomb of the fifth century B.C. provides a fair parallel.4 Our wreath is unlikely to be earlier than the spray, but could be somewhat later. A date in the fifth or perhaps the fourth century B.C. is therefore probable.

R. A. Higgins

1 Registration no. 1959, 7–20, 1. Length of sections, 6½ in. and 7 in.
2 Artemis Orthia, pl. 203, 14.
3 See Olynthus, x, 158 ff.; G. M. A. Richter,
4 JHS xxxvi, 258, 288.

Handbook of Greek Art, 255; C. Alexander, The Art of the Goldsmith in Classical Times (1928), 45.
TWO GREEK CUPS

The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities acquired in 1958 two Greek vases which are a little out of the ordinary. The first is a Corinthian kotyle, or deep cup, which is decorated with a frieze of animals (Pls. VIII, IX). On one side is a siren, flanked by a griffin and a sphinx; on the reverse, a second griffin is escorted by a lion and a panther. There is a stag under one of the handles, between the panther and the sphinx, and a swan under the other. This assortment of real and imaginary creatures is drawn in the customary technique of silhouette with the details rendered by incised lines and picked out with lavish stripes and dots of red; red lines are also used to enliven the interior of the cup, the underside and foot, and the patterns on the exterior. On the other hand the small frieze of swans below the rim is in pure silhouette without incisions or added colour. Each of the griffins sits with his wings raised above his back, the leading edge and tip of the far wing just showing above the near one. We know from other examples how the line which divides the two wings should run; on our vase the artist went badly astray when he came to this part of the drawing, making a different error each time. It may be that this stylization of the wings was unfamiliar to him, but the mistakes might equally well be due to a temporary lapse, or even to simple carelessness.

On most Corinthian vases the space around the figures on a frieze of this sort is filled with small rosettes and dots; the absence of all such filling-ornament from this kotyle is striking, but its omission, though somewhat uncommon, is far from unique; parallels can also be found for the subsidiary zone of birds round the rim. The case is different when one comes to consider the style of the drawing; in some ways it resembles the Delicate Style studied and described by Payne, Amyx, and Hopper, but the relationship is only very general and it has not so far been possible to match the details of the drawing. As sometimes happens, one cannot even say for certain whether the kotyle is Early or Middle Corinthian, or go beyond the statement that it was made somewhere around 600 B.C. with a margin of fifteen or twenty years on either side of that date.

The second vase, too, is a drinking cup; an Attic stemmed kylix of the class known to archaeologists as Cassel cups (Pl. X a). The patterns on its lip and lower body are standard for its class, but unlike most Cassel cups it has in the zone between the handles, not a wreath of stylized leaves, but a group of two figures, a donkey in excited pursuit of a maenad; the group is repeated on the other side of the vase. Red is used for the upper part of the maenad’s tunic and for the central panel of her skirt, for the donkey’s mane, and for a stripe on his rump. The tongues which decorate the lip of the cup are alternately red and black, and there is the ghost of a red or white line which marked off the black
base of the bowl from the rays above it; each of the palmettes at the handles has a red heart.

Cups of this kind are commonly dated to the second half of the sixth century B.C.

P. E. CORBETT

1 Registration number 1958, 7–21, 1. Height, 11.2 cm. Greatest diameter, 16.9 cm. Mended from five pieces; about half the foot is restored, and so is one handle.

2 See, for example, the griffin-bird, H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 28, 5.

3 For the omission of filling-ornament see Payne, 64; for the birds, Payne, 279, no. 189; 295, nos. 678–81.

4 Payne, 64 and pl. 28, 10–12; D. A. Amyx, ‘Corinthian Vases in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon’, in *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, i (1943), 209 ff., and pls. 28 and 29 a–c; R. J. Hopper, *BSA* xlv (1949), 165. For an earlier stage, see Payne, pl. 22, and *CVA* Louvre III C a, pl. 11, 4–11. I am indebted to Professor Amyx for discussing the vase with me.

5 Registration number 1958, 12–17, 1. Height, 9.0 cm. Greatest diameter, 14.0 cm. Mended from five pieces; one side of the vase is much damaged by flaking and is therefore not illustrated. For references on Cassel cups, see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, 197.

6 There are a few other Cassel cups with figures on them: J. Boehlau, *Griechische Altertümer aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogel* (Karlsruhe), no. 94, pl. 1, 3; on either side a satyr and a maenad—a more usual pair than ours; *Arkhiologiske Ephemeri*, 1938, 147, fig. 22. 1; 149, fig. 23a; a siren; *CVA* Cambridge, ii, pl. 21. 44; a swan. There is also the elaborate example in Würzburg with complex patterns and a frieze of animals; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pls. 117 and 125, no. 450. For a good example with patterns instead of figures see *CVA* New York, ii, pls. 20 and 39, no. 33.

A FRAGMENT OF A MARBLE RELIEF

The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities acquired recently a fragment of a marble relief (Pl. XI) which comprises the head and upper part of the body of a young Gallic woman wearing a cloak pinned by a brooch on her right shoulder, a torque round her neck and an armlet on her right upper arm. Her body is semi-frontal and her head, turned almost in full profile to her left, looks slightly downwards. The fragment, of Luna marble, is 9 in. high and approximately 8 in. wide; the head is a little under one-third life-size. The top of the slab preserves the curve of the relief ground and the flat frame surrounding it; the flat and obviously modern surface at the back is clear evidence that the fragment has been sliced down in recent times.

This charming but tantalizingly small fragment of ancient sculpture is, as the kind of marble shows, a work of the Roman period, but, like so much of Roman
sculpture, is plainly inspired by Hellenistic prototypes. The Gauls had made their first appearance in ancient art with the victories of the Attalid dynasty of Pergamon over the invading Galatians.² The Gallic victory monuments of Pergamene sculpture now survive only in later copies, the most famous of which are the Gallic chieftain and his wife in the Ludovisi collection³ and the so-called Dying Gladiator in the Capitoline Museum at Rome,⁴ but many of the figure types and groups created by Pergamene sculptors have a long later history in Etruscan funerary reliefs and in the triumphal art of the Roman Empire.

Hence it is that the Gallic woman of our fragment, whose idealized features and short wavy hair remind one very strongly of the wife in the Ludovisi group and whose whole attitude of quiet resignation makes one think at first glance of an Attic grave relief of the fifth century B.C., seems to belong to the art of the Hellenistic world. Only the precise rendering of the detail of her dress, of the fibula, torques, and armilla, suggest an attention to historical accuracy that is more the characteristic of Roman sculpture.⁵

In the Augustan period when artists in the Roman world were most closely dependent on the art of the classical and Hellenistic worlds and when our fragment is most likely to have been carved, battles between Romans and Gauls were a theme that appeared frequently on Roman sculptural monuments. One of the few surviving examples is a magnificent battle-frieze now in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua⁶ which comes from some major public building of the late Augustan period in Rome. The British Museum fragment, which appears from the detail of the frame to be part of an architectural panel or frieze, is of sufficiently high quality to come from some similar monument in Rome itself. The figure of a captive native woman introduces into such scenes of war and violence an element of pathos much beloved by ancient artists.

In the absence of any direct information about the provenience of this piece any more positive assertion about its date and place of manufacture is clearly rash, but the fragment is an interesting addition to the Museum’s comparatively small collection of Roman historical sculpture. Its publication seems to provide a good opportunity to resurrect from the obscurity of the sculpture basements another small fragment of Roman historical relief which has been in the Museum’s collections since 1805. Sculpture no. 555 (Pl. X b) came to the Museum in the Towneley collection; although it is catalogued as a work of the fifth century B.C.⁷ and has been assigned to the mid-fourth century and the Hellenistic period,⁸ it is, in fact, a fragment of a Roman historical frieze. The head in high relief is that of a Roman flamen wearing the characteristic cap with apex, the background figure a veiled Roman lady, and the scene probably a sacrificial procession of the kind which is well known from the frieze of the Ara Pacis. The most probable date of the fragment is the Flavian period, the style comparing very closely with that of the now famous Cancelleria reliefs.⁹ It is an interesting reflection upon the
style and quality of much Roman historical relief-sculpture that this piece has passed for so long as a work of classical Greek art. D. E. Strong

1 Registration number 1958, 2–13, 1.
2 For the Pergamene groups and their later history see P. R. von Bieńkowski, *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst*, Vienna, 1908.
5 The fibula is a La Tène type belonging to the general period 50 B.C.–A.D. 80. The detail is rendered with the same kind of precision as in the dress of the figures in the famous Hadrianeum province series (see P. R. von Bieńkowski, *De Simulacris Barbararum Gentium* (Cracow, 1900), esp. figs. 53–8).

A DECORATED TILE PAVEMENT FROM THE QUEEN’S CHAMBER, CLARENDON PALACE, WILTSHIRE, DATED 1250–1252

The Department of British and Medieval Antiquities has recently acquired by the gift of the owner, Major S. V. Christie-Miller, an important piece of medieval tile pavement from the site of the royal palace at Clarendon, near Salisbury, Wiltshire. This pavement was uncovered during excavations carried out by Professor Tancred Borenius and Mr. John Charlton in the 1930’s, and was reburied on the outbreak of war in 1939. It was brought to the notice of the Museum by the owner in 1956 and uncovered in the spring of 1957 when it was found that, as the owner feared, it had been partially robbed since 1939. After a careful examination it was decided to lift what remained and this was done in June 1957 when Major Christie-Miller presented what was salvaged to the Museum.

With the tiles lifted in 1957 it has been possible to repair and reassemble two sections of the pavement sufficient to demonstrate the arrangement of all that remained in the 1930’s. These sections are shown at Pl. XII and will be discussed in greater detail later.

The pavement was found in a room identified by the excavators as one of the queen’s apartments. These consisted of three communicating rooms running roughly north–south with a chapel running east from the southernmost. This pavement was in the most northerly room, which had its door in the southwest corner. The portion of pavement discovered in 1935 lay along the west wall of the room, beginning about 9 ft. from the door and extending northwards for about 10 ft. 9 in. It extended eastwards into the room for about 5 ft. 6 in. and was roughly rectangular. It was composed of lead-glazed earthenware tiles both
plain and decorated, arranged in six panels running west to east across the room. These may be seen in the photograph of the reassembled sections at Pl. XII. For convenience these panels have been numbered consecutively from 1 to 6, beginning with the very fragmentary panel at the southern edge. This may be seen more clearly in the plan at Pl. XIII. The south-east corner was robbed between 1939 and 1957.

Section I consists of the remains of panels 1, 2, and 3 and a single strip of tiles to indicate the position of panel 4. Panel 1 was extremely fragmentary, but sufficient remained to show that its arrangement was the same as that of panel 2. Panel 2, as may be seen from Pl. XII, consisted of a series of four-tile decorated squares surrounded by borders of dark green oblong tiles. In the 1930's three complete examples of these decorated four-tile squares remained in panel 2, but by 1957 only the most westerly one remained, and that was badly broken. More of the plain green tiles remained and with these and fragments of decorated tiles bearing the same designs as the originals it has been possible to indicate the arrangement of this panel. It is probable that panels 1 and 2 were both part of a wider panel composed of several rows of these four-tile decorated squares, extending southwards possibly for 4 or 5 ft. Panel 3 is an elaborate border panel separating panels 1 and 2 from panel 4. It also has suffered damage at its eastern end but has been reassembled to demonstrate the correct arrangement of the tiles by consolidating what remained. Again more of the plain than of the patterned tiles had been left. The plan at Pl. XIII indicates which tiles occupy their original positions. Panel 4, now represented by a single strip of tiles against panel 3, and a three-tile wide strip in Section II against panel 5, was originally ten tiles wide. It was composed entirely of tiles of one design set square, making a repeating pattern of large open, and small pierced, quatrefoils. Panel 4 had been damaged near its north-eastern corner by a subsidence of the ground under the floor and no attempt was made to replace the tiles in this panel in their original positions.

Section II consists of a strip three tiles wide of panel 4, as has been mentioned, and the remains of panels 5 and 6. Panel 5 is another border panel, consisting entirely of undecorated green and yellow tiles arranged alternately in a simple geometric pattern. Panel 6 is another wide decorated panel the extent of which is unknown as it did not survive to its northern limit. Its main motif is a four-tile decorated square set diagonally, bearing an elaborate foliated cross within a large open quatrefoil (see Pl. XII). This end of the pavement had suffered less than the other. The remains of panels 5 and 6 have been consolidated, but, as may be seen on Pl. XIII, most of the tiles occupy their original positions.

It is possible that the pavement was arranged in a series of alternating wide and narrow panels, the wide ones being, by analogy with panel 4—the only one surviving to its complete width—between 4 and 5 ft. wide; but medieval arrangement was not normally symmetrical and this is only conjecture.
All of the tiles in panels 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 are 5\(\frac{3}{4}\)-in. squares or portions of them; the tiles in the diagonal part of panel 5 are 4-in. squares or portions of them. The plain tiles are either dark green or yellow. The yellow was obtained by coating the red earthenware tile body with a white slip and applying a clear lead glaze. The dark green was obtained by adding copper oxide to the lead glaze and applying it direct to the earthenware body. The design on the decorated tiles is inlaid. The unfired tile quarry was stamped with a wooden stamp bearing the design in relief, which was thus left in the tile in intaglio. The cavities were then filled with white pipe clay and the tile was glazed with a clear lead glaze and fired, the result being a yellow design on a golden-brown ground. Six different designs appear in the surviving portion of the pavement. The evidence, which cannot be discussed here, suggests that the tiles were made locally. They were set in a 3-in. bed of mortar which lay over a foundation of rubble, flint, and mortar between 3 and 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. thick. This rested on the soil, which was only about \(\frac{3}{4}\) in. deep above the natural chalk, and it is therefore surprising that it had not been removed.

This pavement is unusually closely dated from contemporary records. It was in the most northerly of the queen’s three chambers, and instructions to pave these rooms are contained in the Liberate Rolls. The relevant entries are on: 30 July, 34 Henry III (1250), 2 July, 35 Henry III (1251), and 9 July, 36 Henry III (1252). [The Liberate Rolls are in the Public Record Office. The entry for July 1250 is published: Calendar of Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III, vol. iii, 1245–51 (London, 1937), p. 296; that for July 1251 is published: ibid., p. 362; the text of that for July 1252 was furnished by Dr. S. B. Storey from page-proofs of an unpublished Calendar of Liberate Rolls 1251–60.] Unfortunately it is not possible to distinguish between the three chambers in the records and identify them individually with the three existing rooms, but plainly this pavement was ordered on one of these three dates and thus between 30 July 1250 and 9 July 1252. The work seems to have been executed very promptly. The Pipe Roll for Wiltshire for 1251 records payment for the pavement ordered on 30 July 1250. The sum includes payment for other work ordered at the same time and the cost of the pavement is therefore not known. The roll for the following year records payments for work ordered on 2 July, 35 Henry III, and 9 July, 36 Henry III. No later roll records payment for work ordered on those dates, and one may therefore conclude that both pavements ordered then were completed and paid for by the end of the Exchequer year 36 Henry III, which terminated at Michaelmas 1252. It may therefore be assumed that the surviving piece of pavement was ordered, completed, and paid for either between 30 July 1250 and Michaelmas 1251, or between 2 July 1251 and Michaelmas 1252.

This pavement thus holds a very early place in the series of inlaid tile pave-
ments in this country. It immediately antedates that in the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey, which is dated between 1253 and 1259, and although pavements were ordered at earlier dates for Westminster Palace, none of these is known to survive. There was also at least one earlier decorated tile pavement at Clarendon, and there were several others dating from the same period, but although scattered tiles survive from these, no other piece of pavement was found in situ.

E. Eames

CARLO GINORI AND DOCCIA

The exceptional qualities and interests of the Marchese Carlo Ginori (1701–57), the founder of the Italian porcelain factory of Doccia, near Florence, are well known.¹ His political acumen won him the Governorship of Leghorn, the most important seaport on the Tuscan coast, from the Empress Maria Theresa, the new foreign sovereign of Tuscany after 300 years of the rule of the Medicis. In this privileged position of authority the Marchese was able to carry out many of his enlightened researches. As ‘Segretario delle Tratte’ he arranged for all the judges and secretaries of state to send him samples of all soils, rocks, stones, &c., in their districts, thereby building up a remarkable collection of Tuscan Natural History. His ships brought back from Africa and the Far East rare birds, some of which he would send to the Imperial Aviary at Schönbrunn, but many were kept at Doccia where the gardens, so celebrated for their rare plants, were in the charge of Ulrich Prucker, the eminent botanist, whom Carlo Ginori had brought back with him from Vienna. His many other activities, described elsewhere, show him to have been a man of exceptional qualities and interests, even judged by the highest standards of his era—the Age of Enlightened Despotism.

The recent purchase by the British Museum of a strange Doccia porcelain object, 1956, 7–4, 1 (Pl. XIV a), has illuminated yet another of his learned ventures—the science of marine plant life. The object consists of a base in the form of a plate on which are placed several stunted bare trees and tree-trunks rising to a maximum of 7½ in. in height. Seated amongst them is a nude putto holding a glazed cartouche bearing the following inscription:

\[
\begin{align*}
UT. SPONTE. NATURAE \\
\text{(H)IC. MARINA."}E. PLANTAE. \\
\text{NASCANTUR} \\
\text{(C)AROLUS. MARCHIO. GINORI} \\
\text{MERSIT.} \\
\text{ANNO SAL. MDCCCLIV} \\
\text{PISCATORES. REDDITE} \\
\text{AD. INCREMENTUM} \\
\text{PHYSICES}
\end{align*}
\]
Apart from the cartouche, the rest of the piece is biscuit porcelain. The science of marine plant life did not really begin until the middle of the nineteenth century, but over a hundred years earlier Carlo Ginori was experimenting with the growth of coral and other marine plants. According to the account given in the Elogi agli Uomini illustri toscani (1772), the Marchese carried out these trials in the Cecina Sea, the area around the mouth of the River Cecina, 20 miles south of Leghorn. One of the Marchese’s greatest works at this time was to have the Cecina marches on either side of the river drained and turned into profitable farming land. In the Elogi it is stated that in order to preserve the discoveries for posterity the Marchese followed the suggestions of the knowledgeable Frenchman, Signor Joannon di Saint Laurent, ‘gettando in alcune scogliere delle Porcelane con l’indicazione del tempo’. The British Museum’s recent acquisition is clearly one of these pieces of porcelain placed on a reef of rocks in the Cecina Sea to record the Marchese’s experiments to grow coral and other marine plants.

The inscription on the cartouche (Pl. XIV a) is ambiguous because neither verb has a direct object and may be translated in one of two ways:

In order that by the law of nature marine plants may grow here, the Marchese Carlo Ginori submerged (it/them) in the year of our Salvation 1754. O! Fishermen give (it/them) back for the growth of science.

The fact that the cartouche only is glazed suggests that the intention was to protect the inscription from being obscured by marine growths and so preserve its legibility. It would seem, therefore, that it was the Marchese’s hope that coral and other marine growths would form on the rest of the unglazed object, so that when it was found the inscription on it would not only record the time and nature of the experiment but the object itself would bear evidence of the success of the experiment. Indeed, except where recently cleaned away (as on the putto), these marine growths still remain (Pl. XIV b). Obviously, the object was primarily a ‘marker’ or ‘signpost’ to the Marchese’s experimental beds of coral and marine plants, which the finder of the object would return to and investigate, but it was also part of the experiment that coral and marine growths should form on the biscuit porcelain.

This interpretation is confirmed by the existence of another Doccia porcelain object (Pl. XV a) made from the same type of experiment two years earlier, which is now in the private collection of the Marchese Leonardo Ginori-Lesci, a direct descendant of Carlo Ginori. This object has the same little putto looking over the top of a cartouche which is embedded in a simple rocky base. The inscription reads:
and can have only one meaning:

In the year of our Salvation, 1752, Marchese Carlo Ginori submerged marine plants that by their own accord they might grow here and fishermen might pull them out and give them back for the adornment of the Imperial Treasury and the increase of science.

There can be no doubt therefore that in this case the object is a ‘marker’ or ‘signpost’ to the Marchese’s bed of sea-plants nearby. There is no apparent reason why the Marchese should have chosen to write a different inscription in 1754 if he wished to convey the same meaning as he did when he wrote this inscription in 1752. This reasoning is made all the more cogent by the survival of one other Doccia porcelain group connected with these marine experiments (Pl. XV b). This group, which is also in the private collection of the Marchese Leonardo Ginori-Leschi, is a smaller and less elaborate version of the group in the British Museum, having the same putto but in a different pose, and a similar glazed cartouche bearing the same inscription except for the date, which is 1751. That the ambiguous inscription used in 1751 was not abandoned in 1754 in favour of the straightforward inscription of 1752 may be taken to indicate it should be read with the alternative meaning and that the object should be given back by the fishermen for the increase of knowledge because it would bear on its unglazed surfaces the evidence of the Marchese’s trials.

Quite apart from the light thrown by these objects on Carlo Ginori’s character and his pioneer work in this field of marine natural history, they have a special significance in the history of the products of the Doccia porcelain factory. Two fruit dishes, signed and dated 1746, and a few pieces of table-ware which on heraldic grounds can be dated to the fifties, are the only dated products of the factory known and therefore these three previously unpublished and largely unknown, dated works are especially welcome.

Hugh Tait

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2 The author would like to express his thanks to the Marchese Leonardo Ginori-Leschi for his generous co-operation.
LORD BURLINGTON AND FATHER RIPA’S
CHINESE ENGRAVINGS

On 7 September 1724 there set foot at Deal an Italian missionary priest who had been received with great distinction at the Chinese court and was then returning to Europe on board a ship of the East India Company. His name was Father Matteo Ripa (1682–1746). Two days later he was in London, where his arrival made some stir, so that he was asked for by the king, George I, to whom he was presented by the Sardinian Ambassador. He had brought with him for the king an impression of the map of China and Tartary which he had himself engraved for the emperor K’ang-hsi, after the surveys of the Jesuits. This celebrated map, in 50 sheets¹ was engraved by Ripa in the years 1713–19. The copy of the map presented to George I, and bearing manuscript names in Italian, is still preserved with King George III’s Topographical Collection in the British Museum.²

He was also invited to East India House, admitted to a public session, and invited to dine (he refers to them simply as the Company of Merchants but their identity is certain). And by their favour his goods were exempt from all Customs duty, and he sailed from London for Naples on 5 October with his five Chinese proselytes.

An acquisition³ recently made by the Department of Oriental Antiquities strongly suggests that Father Ripa may have had other contacts in London than these. This is an album bound in eighteenth-century red morocco and lettered ‘Emperor of China’s Palaces’, in which are mounted thirty-four engraved views in Chinese taste. The volume bears the bookplate of the Chiswick House Library, and its immediate provenance was Compton Place, the Duke of Devonshire’s Eastbourne house.⁴ Since it is most unlikely that these engraved views should have been acquired for Chiswick House at a later date, it is a fair presumption that they were in the collection of the celebrated Earl of Burlington (1694–1753), architect and patron. His library was afterwards housed in the villa, which he built next to the old house at Chiswick between 1725 and 1729.⁵ But Burlington had already by 1724 twice visited Italy and established a position as a leader of taste in England. He would have been one of the first to meet the interesting stranger from the East and able to converse with him in Italian. That this is not merely surmise follows from a close study of this volume of engraved views.

These do in fact represent the art of Chinese landscape painting seen, with only slight modifications to European taste, in Father Ripa’s engravings. We know about their production from both Eastern and Western sources. In 1703 K’ang-hsi, greatest of the Ch’ing emperors, started to build a series of palaces at Jehol in southern Manchuria the original home of his people, the Manchus, and about 150 miles north-east of Peking. This palace area received the name
Pi-shu Shan-chuang. In 1711, probably in connexion with the celebrations to mark his sixtieth birthday in the spring of 1713, the emperor chose thirty-six views of these palaces to be the subject of poems, nominally his own compositions, and paintings commissioned from Shên Yü, a member of his Grand Secretariat. These views were then ordered to be engraved on copper by Father Matteo Ripa, the Italian secular priest who was attached to the mission to the Chinese court from 1711 to 1723, and who has left a long account of his mission. From this we know that the emperor had inquired whether any of the mission were competent in copper-plate engraving. Father Ripa had watched the etching of a plate in Naples and agreed to try his hand; and in spite of difficulties in finding the materials and constructing a press, his work much pleased the emperor, who was astounded that a drawing could be reproduced thus without destroying it, as happened in woodcutting. Apparently, however, the acid was too weak to etch the plate sufficiently and a graver was used to strengthen the lines. It was common for the outlines to be etched on a plate which was afterwards engraved at this time in Europe, and the views of Jehol conform to this practice. Ripa's account of this commission represents that the views were drawn by the Chinese officials in consultation with him, and that he was given two Chinese pupils to instruct in the arts of etching and engraving. The engraving of the thirty-six views was completed in the October of K'ang-hsi's sixtieth year (i.e. 1713) and presented to the emperor who was delighted with them and distributed sets to members of his family.

It is to be expected that this series of engravings is very rare. Pelliot in 1927 knew of five copies, one of them in the Bibliothèque Nationale and another in a London bookseller's, with the titles written in Italian in manuscript. Two copies from the Phillipps collection passed in 1950 through the hands of a London dealer to find permanent homes in the New York Public Library and the Bodleian Library. The latter copy is folded in the style of a Chinese book with velvet covers but the plates are guarded. The former, now in New York, was accompanied by an autograph letter from Father Ripa to his Superior in Rome, Father Alessandro Bussi, dated from Jehol 26 August 1714, in which he states that up till that date he had supplied about seventy sets of the plates to the emperor; and now sends two copies, one intended for the Pope, as well as one of the original drawings by the Chinese painter, 'one of the best painters of his Majesty', to compare with his engravings. Dr. Walter Fuchs mentions a set in the Dresden Print Room, in the margins of some of which is the name of the engraver Chang K'uei, whom he assumes to be one of the two Chinese assistants whom Ripa trained to help him.

The volume now acquired for the Museum contains only thirty-four out of the series of thirty-six views, but it also bears manuscript titles in Italian, which appear to be in the hand of Ripa himself by comparison with the handwriting
of his letter in New York, as well as the printed titles in Chinese. Ripa records\(^{10}\) that the emperor wished him to engrave the titles to his plates in Chinese, but that he was afraid that he might unknowingly be led thus to engrave something contrary to his religion, and so evaded it on the excuse of his inability to imitate Chinese characters. Presumably therefore the Chinese titles are by one of his two assistants. But Ripa could certainly transliterate Chinese, and he left an unpublished manuscript Chinese–Latin dictionary in the college at Naples which he founded.\(^{11}\) Each of the thirty-four plates in the Museum series has written in the left lower margin a title transcribed in Italian vocalization followed by an Italian translation. The set in the Bibliothèque Nationale has longer Italian captions also in the engraver’s autograph.\(^{12}\) This is apparently the only reproduction which has been published of Ripa’s engravings, apart from one in Messrs. Robinson’s Catalogue of 1950, referred to above, and one in the Bodleian Library Record.

After examining the Chinese evidence, we must cast some doubt on Ripa’s story that the thirty-six views were painted especially for him to engrave. For these same views were cut on wood for the Chinese volumes containing the emperor’s poems with preface dated 1711, and colophon of 1712.\(^ {13}\) A comparison shows that these are the same views and that they are more literal translations of the Chinese idiom. From these volumes, which bear the title Pi-shu Shan-chuang San-shih-liu Ching Shih Ping T’u, we learn that the views were painted by Shên Yü, the controller of an Imperial Storehouse. They were cut on wood by Chu Kuei and Mei Yü-feng.\(^ {14}\) It is therefore apparent that the Chinese woodcut edition must have preceded Ripa’s engraved plates, and that the views cannot have been drawn especially for him. This would be supported by the fact that he was allowed to retain one at least of the originals so that he could forward it to Rome in 1714. But a comparison of the plates (Pl. XVI a, b)\(^ {15}\) is certainly favourable to Father Ripa, whose work is more lively and even gives a better idea of Chinese landscape painting. And so it was that in September 1724, the polite society of London had the opportunity of meeting Father Ripa at the Court of St. James, and of seeing the great map of China which he had engraved and the thirty-six views of Jehol. The time was propitious, for there was intense curiosity about China and especially about her ideas of the proper setting for villas and for what would be called landscape gardening. Already writers like Addison and Pope were praising natural scenery, and Burlington was already planning improvements to his Chiswick House property, and diversifying the garden. It is likely that these prints were studied by the circle of cognoscenti who gathered there for discussion, a generation before William Chambers returned from his visit to China, and that Kent would have seen them before he designed the more romantic parts of the Chiswick House garden,\(^ {16}\) and still more that at Stowe.\(^ {17}\) Kent’s sympathy with the Chinese attitude and
the novelty of his view-point are well illustrated by Horace Walpole's remark that ‘It was Kent who first leaped the fence and saw that all Nature was a garden’. The Views of Jephel from the Chiswick House Library may therefore have marked a point d'appui in the development of English taste.

BASIL GRAY

1 No complete copy of this engraved edition of the map was known to Walter Fuchs when he wrote his article 'Der Kupferdruck in China vom 10. bis 19. Jahrhundert', in Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 1950, pp. 77–8, which contains the fullest references to Ripa’s work yet published. He had previously published a monograph on the whole history of the Jesuit maps: 'Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghái-zeit, seine Entstehungsgeschichte...', Monumenta Serica, Monograph series iv, Peking, 1943.

2 K. Top. CXVI. 15; 15. a; 15. b, i.e. three rolls of maps. These notes also are certainly in Ripa’s autograph.

3 1955–2–12–01. It contains no title-page or indication of authorship or date.

4 In 1892 the contents of Chiswick House were removed by the Duke of Devonshire and scattered among his other residences.


7 Les Influences européennes sur l'art chinois au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle, 1948.

8 William H. Robinson Ltd. A Selection of Precious Manuscripts, Historic Documents, and Rare Books, the majority from the Renowned collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, BT. (1792–1872), London, 1950. The copy now in the New York Public Library was no. 99 in this catalogue (with a plate). For the second copy see Bodleian Library Record, iii, 1950–1, pp. 282–3 (with a plate).

9 The writer is indebted to Dr. Karl Kup for photostats of this letter, which is now in the New York Public Library.

10 M. Ripa, op. cit. i, 441.

11 Encyclopaedia Italiana, xix, 389.

12 P. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 21, fig. 11.

13 The preface is dated 6th month of the 50th year of K'ang-hsi, the postface 6th month of the 51st year of K'ang-hsi.

14 There is also a Ch’ien Lung reprint with additional poems by that emperor and fresh views, published in 1741.

15 The title of this view on the engraved plate and of the poem which follows in the Chinese text is Yün yung shui t'ai, a half-line from the T’ang poet Tu Mu. It means literally 'The form of cloud; the manner of water...', consonant with Ripa’s translation ‘Loco simile alle nubi, ed all’ acqua’.


17 O. Siren, China and Gardens of Europe of the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1950, p. 27.

THE HEDWIG GLASS FOR THE MUSEUM

The Trustees have recently purchased out of the Brooke Sewell fund a cut-glass beaker, one of a group of vessels known as Hedwig glasses (Pl. XVII).

The glass is of the colour of smoky topaz, transparent, slightly bubbly and of a thickness averaging 3/8 in. The beaker stands on a shallow and slightly projecting footring, the rim of which is broken in three places; the base is concave with a pronounced pontil mark. The slightly flaring sides are 5 5/8 in. high; the diameter at the top is 5 1/8 in. and at the bottom 4 1/8 in. The outside walls are carved in relief; a lion and a griffon, each with a front paw raised, confront an
eagle with outstretched wings. Opposite the eagle are two paired palmettes placed one above the other.

The carving was evidently executed on the wheel. The edges of the raised areas in the design either rise gradually from the ground or terminate in a sharply profiled edge. The ground has been sliced in a series of irregular facets, but the top and bottom of the walls retain the original thickness of the glass. Details such as the feathers of the eagle and griffon, the lion’s mane, and the veins of the leaves are rendered by hatched or reticulated lines engraved in the glass.

The piece was in the collection of a minister in Thüringen before the First World War and was published by Dr. Kurt Erdmann in the Burlington Magazine for May 1949 as belonging to a German private owner.

Thirteen other so-called Hedwig glasses are known: ten are in public and private collections in Germany and Poland, one in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and two in the Convent of St. Maria d’Oignies, Namur. All are beaker-shaped with the same projecting footrim, but of varying dimensions; the largest is that in the Rijksmuseum with a height of 6 in., the smallest is one of the two in the Convent of St. Maria d’Oignies with a height of 3 1/8 in. Eight are carved with animals, either a lion, eagle, or griffon: only in the British Museum example are all three combined.

A number of Hedwig glasses have once been given metal mounts; the earliest mounts being those of the two glasses in the Convent of St. Maria d’Oignies, which have been attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century. Several others have portions cut out of their footrings, as if for mounting in metal.

Tradition associates three of the glasses with St. Hedwig, patroness of Silesia (d. 1243). A legend which is found in the Acta Sanctorum (for 17 October) tells how the Saint’s abstention from wine made her husband anxious for her health. Watching one day his wife at mealtime, unbeknown to her, he saw her pour into her glass water which turned to wine as she lifted it to drink. Not too much credence should be given to the claims made for the three glasses; for, after all, the miracle concerned a single occasion and a single vessel. Czihak, the authority on Silesian glass, records no less than seven claimants, including two belonging to the group under discussion and four unrelated pieces, one of which he describes as not earlier than 1650.

The known Hedwig glasses are so close to one another in shape, material, and style that they were almost certainly produced in a single workshop within a short span of time.

The Oriental origin of the glasses was generally accepted as early as the last century: but the precise date and provenance are still open to doubt. A certain stylistic relationship with the rock-crystal vessels carved in Egypt in the tenth century and in the first half of the eleventh century has led Schmidt, followed by
all subsequent art historians, to attribute the Hedwig glasses to Egypt in the
twelfth century on the hypothesis that knowledge of the glyptic art is a pre-
requisite of glass-cutting. Glass vessels similar in technique and style are rare; a
bowl of thick walls carved with three lions in the treasury of St. Mark’s, Venice,¹
is usually considered Egyptian and of late tenth-century date, while a fragment
in the British Museum,² carved with two unidentified animals and said to have
been found at Taushanli in Asia Minor, has been called Mesopotamian and dated
as early as A.D. 800.

We may have to look eastward to Iran for the origin of our Hedwig glass, for
in recent years finds have proved that Persia had a flourishing glass industry in
the Middle Ages. These include vessels with wheel-cut decoration of the ninth to
tenth centuries and, although none to date is exactly similar to the Hedwig group,
it is possible that the long-awaited documented piece may one day be recovered.

R. H. PINDER-WILSON

¹ C. J. Lamm, Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten, Berlin, 1930,
ii, pl. 61 (17).  ² Ibid. ii, pl. 56 (1).
Good Sir,

I am to acquaint you with some reasons which I have to conclude, that it is not for your own advantage to send me more goods. I am now gone from London, and shall not be in England until the spring, so my former letters may be of no more use. If you may not obtain this spring, I will send you another; but this is only to inform you, that I shall not be in England this year. I am now at York, and shall not go to London. I shall therefore not be able to send you any goods this year, but I want my goods. If you can do any kindness to me, I shall be glad. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

Robert Burton

[Signature]

[Date] 7th of August 1685

About my letter, I am ready to send you what you shall desire. I shall be glad to hear from you in future. I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

Robert Burton

[Signature]
VI. AN EGYPTIAN PLASTER CAST
IX. CORINTHIAN KOTYLE
X. a. ATTIC KYLIX
b. RELIEF FROM THE TOWNELEY COLLECTION. (B.M.
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The cover illustration is a woodcut taken from Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, Richard Pynson, London, c. 1490

Binding cases designed to hold one volume of the Quarterly (4 parts) are now available from the British Museum, price 2s. 3d. each (post free). It is regretted that the Museum cannot undertake the work of binding the parts into these cases.
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FOUR ENGLISH COUNTY MAPS
1602–3

ABOUT the year 1600 a Dutch or Flemish mapseller projected an atlas of English county maps, derived in the main from those of Saxton, but incorporating features and nomenclature from other sources. No more than twelve maps seem to have been engraved. None is signed; but that they belong to a single series can be inferred from their uniformity of style, size, and scale, and from their reappearance as a group in collections of maps assembled by the successive mapsellers into whose possession the set of plates passed during the seventeenth century. Three of the printed maps bear dates—Essex 1602, Leicester-with-Rutland 1602, Warwick 1603; and it may be supposed that the projected atlas was abandoned in face of the competition anticipated from John Speed’s county maps, the first plates for which were engraved between 1603 and 1605.

The anonymous 1602–3 series was first identified by Edward Heawood in 1926; but of its authorship and the circumstances in which the maps were compiled and published, he was unable to find any direct evidence other than that contained in the engraved maps and one somewhat later literary reference. The map of Essex has the imprint ‘Hans Woutneel exquedebat’, engraved over the imperfectly erased words ‘Christophorus Saxton descriptis’; Woutneel was a Dutch book- and printseller, resident in London from before 1580 to after 1604, who acted as agent for engravers and printers of the Netherlands. That the maps were engraved in the Low Countries is apparent from their style and some errors in orthography. Although Heawood at first supposed the engraving to have been executed at Antwerp by or for the successors of Ortelius, the Amsterdam workshop of Jodocus Hondius, where Speed’s maps were to be engraved, is indicated (as Heawood noted in 1932) by ‘the one piece of positive evidence so far met with’. This is a reference by the antiquary William Burton, who, in the preface to his Description of Leicestershire (1622), wrote: ‘... at the request of a friend of mine I rectified (certain yeres passed, Christopher Saxtons mappe of this Countie) with an addition of 80. townes, which was graven at Amsterdam by Iodocus Hondius 1602, and since imitated by M. Speed.’ Since the title legend of the Anonymous map of Leicester-with-Rutland states that it contains over 80 names not in Saxton’s map, and an impression of Saxton’s map of Warwick-with-Leicester formerly owned by Burton has some of the new names added in his hand, it is clear that the map to which he referred in 1622 was that of the Anonymous series, although his ‘friend’ and intermediary with the engraver has hitherto remained unidentified.

The previously printed maps which served as a basis for the 1602–3 series
were those of Saxton, for ten counties, and of John Norden, for two. To them the anonymous cartographer, in the process of compilation, added material from manuscript maps and other unpublished sources of information; besides many new names (including those supplied by Burton), the additions included roads, the boundaries of hundreds (keyed by letters to a list in a separate panel), and tables of conventional signs. These novel features in English county cartography are absent from Saxton’s maps but are found in those of Norden, who must indeed have contributed materials to the compiler of the Anonymous maps. Another possible collaborator mentioned by Heawood was the herald and topographer William Smith (c. 1550–1618), who included in his *Particular Description of England* (1588) a number of town plans and views and in his genealogical manuscripts maps of Cheshire and Lancashire, all from his own hand and in part from his observations. Smith’s two county maps are clearly the prototypes (at one or two removes) of the corresponding Anonymous printed maps, but Heawood could cite no other evidence for his association with the series.

Four manuscript county maps purchased by the Trustees from Messrs. Francis Edwards Ltd in 1958 throw much new light on the authorship and publication of the Anonymous series of 1602–3. These manuscript maps are evidently the originals of the corresponding printed maps in the Anonymous series, prepared by an English hand as fair drafts for a Dutch or Flemish engraver. The outlines drawn in pen-and-ink on the face of the maps have been traced in pencil on the dorse, thus providing a reversed design for the engraver to copy on to his plate; and with the same object the circles denoting inhabited places have been punched neatly through the paper. The following counties are represented:

Hertfordshire: ‘Hartfordiae Comitatus Descriptio . . .’ The date 1601 above the title is corrected to 1602 (the printed version is undated). The four cardinal compass points and the names of adjacent counties, in English, have been deleted, and Latin forms inserted; and a Latin list of symbols is added to the English. All additions are in a different hand from that of the original drawing. The map is a close copy (on twice the scale) of Norden’s map as engraved by William Kip in 1598.

Worcestershire: ‘Vigorniensis . . . Comitat° Descriptio . . . Anno Domini 1602.’ Below the date is added, in another hand: ‘Ioannes Woutrnelius excu.’ (Neither date nor imprint is in the engraved version.) The list of symbols is in English only. A copy of Saxton’s map, with hundreds added.

Warwickshire: ‘Warwici comitatus descriptio . . . 1603.’ The lower part of the panel in the top right-hand corner has, in a later hand, the words ‘Laet dit wit’ (‘leave this blank’) — an instruction which is observed in the printed map. The list of symbols is in English and Latin. Said in the title to be after Saxton; but on a much larger scale, and with roads added.
Cheshire: ‘Cestriae Comitatus Pallatinatus [sic] . . . .’ Undated. The list of symbols is in English only. A close copy of Smith’s manuscript map.

The content, arrangement, and (in some cases) decoration of the manuscript maps agree closely with those of their printed counterparts.

The newly acquired manuscript maps, whose English authorship is attested by the language of their legends and list of symbols, were evidently edited for engraving in the Netherlands, no doubt at Amsterdam, as exemplified in the substitution (by another hand) of Latin for English legends and in the instruction to the engraver—‘Laet dit wit’—scribbled on one map. That the date 1602 and Woutneel’s imprint are found on the manuscript map of Worcestershire but not on its printed counterpart suggests that by 1603 Woutneel had dropped out of the project, or perhaps been superseded by Hondius, whose subsequent engagement to engrave Speed’s maps might well account for his loss of interest in the earlier series.

The four manuscript maps are plainly due to one and the same cartographer. Comparison of the script in which their names and legends are written with the cursive script found on many pages of William Smith’s genealogical and topographical collections leaves little room for doubt about the identity of the two hands. The evidence for Smith’s authorship of the Anonymous series is further strengthened by comparison of his maps of Cheshire and Lancashire with the Anonymous maps of these counties (Pl. xix). Besides the affinities already noted by Heawood, we may now cite the decorative detail of the Anonymous manuscript map of Cheshire, which is plainly derived from that of Smith’s signed maps of 1585 and 1588: it has similar strapwork and fretwork ornamentation, and in all three the title-cartouche is surmounted by the same device—a female figure seated in the entrance of a tent, holding a cornucopia and leaning on a corn-sheaf—which does not reappear in the engraved map.

If the manuscript drafts now brought to light point with a high degree of probability to William Smith as the cartographer of the Anonymous 1602-3 series and the intermediary by whom unpublished information from Norden, Burton, and perhaps other topographers was collected for it, they also help to define his relationship with other Elizabethan mapmakers. His earliest known cartographic work dates from 1568, when he surveyed and drew a plan of Bristol; and he continued his activity in this field during his residence of about ten years (c. 1575–c. 1584) in Nuremberg. In this city, which had since the fifteenth century been the principal centre of the German cartographic industry and of allied studies and crafts, Smith evidently became familiar with the techniques of German mapmakers. Some of the innovations generally credited to Norden—for instance, the table of symbols and the use of a grid for map references—were devices which had been employed by German cartographers for half a century.
or more; and it has been conjectured that Smith brought them to Norden’s notice. Smith’s authorship of the Anonymous maps, in which Norden’s manuscript materials are incorporated, provides the first testimony to direct communication between the two men, which must have begun before Norden completed his first county survey (Northamptonshire) in 1591 and which was still active ten years later.

Speed also acknowledged his debt to Smith not only implicitly, by copying half a dozen of his town plans and views and borrowing details of topography and ornament from the maps of the 1602–3 series, but also explicitly in the title of the two versions of his map of Cheshire (the native county of both men). We can hardly doubt that, had it been completed, William Smith’s county atlas would have forestalled that of Speed and earned the celebrity which the Theatre has enjoyed since its first publication in 1611–12.

R. A. Skelton

1 Peter Stent (c. 1643–63), John Overton (c. 1663–1713), Henry Overton (c. 1707–57). Each of these mapsellers inserted his imprint on the plates.

2 A preliminary plate of Cheshire, ‘first described by Christopher Saxton, revised and devided by William Smith, augmented and performed by John Speed’, was engraved by William Rogers in 1604 or 1604. The earliest plate engraved by Hondius for Speed bears the date 1605.


5 E. Heawood, English County Maps in the Collection of the Royal Geographical Society (1932), P. 5.

6 This is a set of Saxton’s maps, with an old binding stamped William Burton, in the library of the Royal Geographical Society (264. g. 8).

7 The Anonymous maps of Surrey and Hertfordshire are close copies of Norden’s printed maps. The Anonymous maps of Essex and Warwickshire show the road system, presumably copied from unpublished surveys by Norden, although no map of the latter county by him is known. For an analysis of Norden’s several versions of the Essex roads, and their representation in the Anonymous map, see F. G. Emmison and R. A. Skelton, ‘The Description of Essex, by John Norden, 1594’, Geographical Journal, cxxiii (1957), pp. 37–41.


9 Smith’s maps of Cheshire, dated 1585 and 1588 respectively, are found in two manuscripts of his description of the county: B.M., MS. Harl. 1046, fol. 132, and Bodleian, Rawlinson MS. B. 282. His map of Lancashire, signed ‘WSR 1598’ [i.e. William Smith Rougedragon], is in his Visitation of Lancashire, MS. Harl. 6159.

10 Mr. R. V. Tooley, who discovered the four manuscript maps, recalls having seen one of Somerset in the same series and with the same characteristics; its present whereabouts are unknown. This map would be of particular interest, since the engraved map of Somerset in the Anonymous series is not known to exist and no survey of the county by Norden is recorded. Mr. Tooley informs me that the maps were found in Holland.

11 Norden’s three battle symbols (at Danefield, St. Alban’s, and Barnet) are copied into the manuscript map; its draughtsman, however, corrects the error made by Norden, or his engraver, who wrote the name ‘bernet feylde’ against the battle symbol near St. Alban’s.

12 In the printed maps, the lists of symbols are given in both languages. The use of Latin in such map-legends was doubtless intended to encourage sales in Europe.

13 Heawood (1932), p. 5.

14 For the first version, see note 2 above; the legend of the Hondius version reads ‘Performed by John Speede, assisted by William Smyth’. For Speed’s debt to Smith, see Heawood (1926), pp. 334–6, and R. A. Skelton, ‘Tudor Town Plans in John Speed’s Theatre’, Archaeological Journal, cviii (1952), pp. iii–12.

15 In view of their association with the engraved maps of the Anonymous series, the four manuscript maps here described are placed in the Map Room, classmark Maps C. 2. cc. 2 (12–15).
AN ELIZABETHAN NAVAL TRACT

In the closing phase of the Spanish war, during Queen Elizabeth’s last years, Drake’s policy of harrying the queen’s enemies in their home waters was still pursued by the English. The last of the invasion armadas had sailed from Iberian ports and been scattered by storm in 1601; but in 1600–3 seaborne Spanish reinforcement of the Irish rebels had to be impeached by ‘distressing the ships within the havens themselves’, and there was still the hope of intercepting the treasure fleets from the Indies. Besides the royal squadrons which for several seasons patrolled the Atlantic coasts of the peninsula, numerous privateers exercised a licensed piracy on shipping along the Portuguese and Spanish seaboard, under letters of marque from the Lord Admiral. As John Hagthorpe wrote in 1625, the Spanish ‘have good cause to remember, how they were baited in the Queense time: there being never lesse then 200 sayle of voluntaries and others, upon their coastes’.

Sir Thomas Sherley (1564–1628), of Wiston in Sussex, the eldest of three adventurous brothers, made at least five such privateering voyages to the coasts of Portugal between 1598 and 1603. He was (as a modern biographer observes) ‘not too successful a pirate’, and his ventures contributed, in Fuller’s words, ‘to the great honour of his nation, but to small enriching of himself’. His last, and most disastrous, enterprise ended in his capture in the Aegean in 1603 and nearly three years in a Turkish prison. Although Hakluyt printed a handful of narratives, raids of this character left few written records other than those of proceedings in the High Court of Admiralty and casual references in the State Papers; and Sherley’s expeditions are no better chronicled than others. The events on his fourth voyage (March–June 1602) have hitherto been known to historians only from two letters to Sir Robert Cecil, one to the Privy Council, and one private letter written after the voyage. Bibliographers, however, had noted that the Stationers’ Register, on 20 August 1602, recorded the entry to Thomas Pavier of A true Journall of the late voyage made by ... Sir Thomas Sherley ...⁴ and on 15 July 1959 a copy of this otherwise unknown tract was offered for sale at Christie’s from the library of Major J. H. Weller-Poley, of Boxted Hall, Suffolk. This unique copy has now been acquired by the Trustees.

The title and collation are: A true discourse, of the late voyage made by the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Sherley the youger, Knight: on the coast of Spaine, with foure Ships and two Pinnasses ... Wherein is shewed the taking of three townes, Boaro, Taureado and Fyguaro, with a Castle and a Priorie. Written by a Gentleman that was in the Voyage. London, Thomas Pauyer, 1602. 4°. 8 leaves: A B⁴. (A³−B³ paged 1–9.) First and last leaves blank. Wanting B⁴ (blank).

The pamphlet provides a day-to-day narrative of the expedition, evidently
derived from the journal of one of Sherley’s ‘Assistants’. The considerable force collected at ‘the great charge of the sayd Sir Thomas and others his friends’ comprised four ships (whose names and commanders are given) and three pinnaces, with 900 soldiers in addition to the crews. The oared pinnaces were for use in inshore work and coastal raids, e.g. in the landing of troops on beaches; and the large number of soldiers carried indicates that Sherley contemplated military operations on land.

The squadron was prepared at Southampton, where it was long delayed by adverse winds. On 1 April 1602 it put to sea from Cowes, but because of unfavourable weather it did not clear Plymouth until 2 May. The factions common in Elizabethan expeditions had already emerged; one ship ‘forsooke the Admirall’ in the Channel, and 400 soldiers with their captains deserted at Plymouth, where 40 more were left behind by mistake. On 11 May the ships were off Aveiro, south of Oporto, but the dangerous bar (for which presumably no chart was carried) discouraged a landing, and they sailed south to the estuary of the Rio Mondego, an important harbour for Spanish shipping and then navigable up to Coimbra. Here the coastal towns of Buarcos and Taverede were taken without resistance and Figueira da Foz was stormed (13–15 May). By now ‘the Countrey was growne very hotte’, and after parleys with D. João de Pina, representing the inhabitants, Sherley took hostages and hauled off to the south. He intended to attempt Garachico, on the island of Tenerife in the Canaries, but, learning that plague was raging there, decided instead to attack Ayamonte, a Spanish town at the mouth of the Rio Guadiana. On 21 May they rounded Cape St. Vincent, and on 27 May they heard from an English captain ‘that the Queenes ships had met with the Spanish Fleet’; this referred to Sir Richard Leveson’s encounter with the treasure fleet from the Azores. Ayamonte was reconnoitred and bombarded between 30 May and 3 June, but proved too strong for storming. After conference with the captains and masters Sherley decided to go to Graciosa, in the Azores, to revictual; a north-westerly storm, backing to south-west, frustrated this purpose, and on 15 June ‘we directed our course for England’, reaching Southampton on 20 June 1602 (misprinted ‘10. day of June’ in the pamphlet).

Sherley’s ‘tedious and unprofitable voyage’ (as the unknown journalist calls it) attracted satirical comment, and John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton on 27 June: ‘Sr Thomas Sherley is returned with his navy royal, and yesterday . . . posted to the Court, as though they had brought tidings of the taking of Seville or some such town, whereas . . . they have sacked but two poor hamlets of two dozen houses in Portugal’. Rumours ‘of the taking of Gyblaltar, and Aymounte’ were similarly discredited by the author of the pamphlet published two months after Sherley’s return. This undistinguished naval occasion left no mark on events, but it illustrates a period of English history in which ‘even when
plunder was the main object... fame and honour were also prized, and damaging the King of Spain's empire was thought a thing worth while in itself.9

R. A. SKELTON

1 England's Exchequer (1625), p. 25; cited by K. R. Andrews, English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies 1588–1595 (1959), p. 16. Dr. Andrews's introduction discusses in detail the economics and conduct of privateering voyages such as that described in the present article.


3 Sherley to Cecil, 19 March 1602 (H.M.C., Hatfield, xii. 78)—see note 5 below; Mayor of Southampton to Privy Council, 8 April (H.M.C., Hatfield, xii. 99); Sir Thomas Sherley the elder to Cecil, 11 April (H.M.C., Hatfield, xii. 103); John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 27 June 1602—see note 7 below.

4 Arber, Transcript, iii. 214.

5 Sherley wrote to Cecil on 19 March, recalling Cecil's promise 'to adventure 1000l. with me', and soliciting dispatch of this sum.

6 His father indeed assured Cecil (11 April 1602) that 'his purpose is to seek nothing at sea, but at land'. 7 S.P. Dom. 1602–3, p. 209.


NOTES ON ASSOCIATION COPIES, III

A NOTE in a recent number of the B.M.Q. (vol. xxi, no. 2) by the present writer drew attention to two books from the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall which had belonged to Joannes Sphyractes, law professor in the University of Basle from 1537 onwards. Two further volumes of the same provenance have now passed through the cataloguer's hands. One is a copy of Rodolphus Agricola, De inventione dialectica libri tres cum scholiis Ioannis Matthaei Phirisemij, Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinaeum, 1534, 40. The other contains three octavo tracts, viz. (1) Stanislaus Orichovius [Orzechowski], De lege coelibatus, &c., Basileae, in officina I. Oporini, 1551 (2) Pomponius Laetus, Opera varia, Moguntiae, ex aedibus I. Schoeffer, 1521 [with the addition of Henricus Bebelius, De Romanorum magistratibus, s.n., from the same press] (3) Herodianus, Libri octo ab Angelo Politiano Latinitate donati, Parisiis, apud S. Colinaeum, ex officina L. Blaublomii, 1529. At the foot of the title-page of the Agricola are the familiar inscriptions 'Sum Ioannis Sphyractae Basileiensis & amicoju' and 'socii', and they were no doubt to be read in full in the same position in the Herodian until cut short at 'Basileiēσis' by the seventeenth-century binder who dressed the volume in brown calf and stamped it with the arms of Coke of Norfolk in gold.

A provenance more interesting to the English reader pertains to the Museum copy of Thomas Moufet, De venis mesaraicis, L. Ostenius, Basle, 1578, 40 (press-mark: 1179.h.4(1)), which bears on the title-page the author's autograph dedication: 'Ornatiss. Viro Dn:... Bodlaeo συμπληταισ ἀμα καὶ φιλολογίασ nomine Tho: Moufetus', a space being left for the dedicatee's personal name. Thomas Moufet, or Muffett, was born in 1553, graduated at Cambridge,
travelled on the Continent in 1578–80, became a distinguished physician and botanist after settling down in England, and died in 1604. While in Basle in 1578 and 1579 he studied medicine under the famous professor Felix Platterus and it was presumably there that he took occasion to present his newly printed book to 'Bodlaeus', who can scarcely be other than the founder of the Bodleian Library himself, then still a commoner and engaged, like Moufet, on a continental tour which lasted from 1576 to 1580. The omission of the personal name is odd; perhaps it was with a sense of favours to come but upon slight acquaintance that Moufet presented his book to 'Master Bodley' (obviously an influential young man), and then omitted to verify his first name before parting with the gift.

It may be added that another copy of the *De venis mesaracis* equipped with a dedication is on record. It is to be found in the Cambridge University Library and the inscription on the title-page runs as follows: Cl. V. D. Thomae Larkin Hippocraticae verae Medicinæ fætori, eiusdemq: apud inclytos Cantabrigienses Professori Regio, Amico meo singulari et Praeceptorìi colendissimo dd. Tho: Moufetus, in aedib. Basiliensis Archiatri Hygium & Therapeiā [*...*]. Here again the binder has been doing a mischief and at least one more word ['colens?'] is required to complete the sense. Thomas Larkin, or Lorkin, had been Moufet's tutor at Cambridge. From the concluding words of the dedication we may presumably infer that Moufet actually lodged in the house of the professor of medicine at Basle, no doubt Felix Platterus himself. V. SCHOLDERER

'THE CASE OF THE MISSING THREE-QUARTER'

It was in the year 1877 or thereabouts that the young Mr. Sherlock Holmes, after completing his university career, came up to London and took rooms 'in Montague Street, just round the corner from the British Museum', where he stayed, 'filling in my too abundant leisure time by studying all those branches of science which might make me more efficient'. From this it is fair to infer that the great detective made full use of the resources of the national Library so close at hand—then open to readers, thanks to the recent introduction of the electric light, until 8 p.m. in winter, and 7 p.m. in summer. In those days, manuscripts other than 'select' could be consulted in the Reading-Room, but Holmes must surely have also been familiar from an early period with the Students' Room of the Department of Manuscripts. How otherwise could he have compiled his monumental work *On Early English Charters*, in connexion with which he was still pursuing 'some laborious researches', apparently in the Bodleian, as late as 1895? We may also legitimately conclude that his principal interest in this branch of study was the vexed question of authenticity which, even today, remains the cardinal problem of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, and on which the
pronouncements of Sir Edward Bond, in his introduction to the great series of *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters*, completed in 1878, no doubt formed the starting-point of his research. Holmes was equally at home with medieval manuscripts, since we find him successfully deciphering a ‘palimpsest roll’, which turns out to contain ‘nothing more exciting than an Abbey’s accounts dating from the second half of the fifteenth century’, while a further product of his palaeographical studies was the ‘little monograph’ *Upon the Dating of Old Documents*, which, Sir Sydney Roberts has opined, ‘probably dealt in the main with the problem of handwritings from the sixteenth century onwards’.

But there are other fields of research in which Holmes is likely to have been aided by his familiarity with the Museum. If, as experts declared, his privately printed *On the Polyphonic Motets of Lassus* was really the ‘last word upon the subject’ does it not follow that he must have exploited to the full the resources of the Music Room? Nor is it at all probable that he would have commenced his study of *Chaldean Roots in the Ancient Cornish Language* without seeking the advice of Henry Jenner, Assistant successively in the Department of Manuscripts and the Department of Printed Books, the author of numerous articles on Cornish and an invaluable *Handbook of the Cornish Language*.

Against the background of these associations we may acclaim, as an especially happy gesture, the gift to the Museum of the original autograph manuscript of one of the Sherlock Holmes stories, ‘The Case of the Missing Three-Quarter’, originally published in the *Strand Magazine* for August 1904 and reprinted in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905). Inserted at the beginning is a calligraphically written presentation inscription, which may be reproduced here:

Presented to the British People
on the occasion of
The Centennial Anniversary
of
The Birth of
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
May 22nd 1859
1959

**United States**
J. Bliss Austin
Lew David Feldman
E. T. Guymon, Jr.
Rollin V. N. Hadley, Jr.
Edgar W. Smith

**Great Britain**
Sherlock Holmes
Society of London
Friends of the National Libraries

The manuscript, formerly owned by one of the greatest authorities on Holmes,
Victor Starrett, and containing his book-plate and signature, is especially welcome since the Museum hitherto possessed no literary autograph work of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. It consists of 25 pages of foolscap, written on one side only in Doyle’s beautifully neat and legible script. It is clearly the fair copy as sent to the printer, and contains only a few changes or corrections, none of them of any great importance. We see, for instance, that ‘Mr. Cyril Overton of Trinity College’ was originally Mr. Charles Overton of Magdalene. The approximate location of Bentley’s private hotel is indicated by the statement that the porter last saw Godfrey Staunton and his father-in-law ‘almost running down Northumberland Avenue in the direction of the Thames Embankment’; the wording was no doubt altered when Doyle realized that this would take them away from any railway terminus from which they could travel to Cambridge. Indeed we may infer that Doyle, like Watson, was ‘not familiar with Cambridgeshire scenery’, since he originally wrote ‘Fenchurch Street’ instead of ‘King’s Cross’ as the starting-point of Holmes’s and Watson’s journey. Another point of interest is the description of Pompey, the draghound, who was instrumental in providing the dénouement: ‘a squat little longhaired lop-eared white-and-tan dog, something between a beagle and a spaniel’. It is a little difficult to form a visual impression, and possibly Sidney Paget, in two of whose illustrations Pompey features prominently, was similarly embarrassed and induced Doyle to adopt the canonical and less exotic delineation. The only regrettable absence from the manuscript (now Additional MS. 50065) is the two slips of blotting-paper (originally affixed to the manuscript with sealing-wax, but presumably detached for the block-maker), one showing the reversed impression of the closing words of Godfrey Staunton’s telegram, the other showing the words the right way round, as read by Holmes through the paper. In this connexion it is interesting to note that originally, when Holmes and Watson emerged from Bentley’s hotel, they found that ‘there were two telegraph offices at equal distances from the hotel. We halted outside one of them.’ It is tantalizing to speculate that, had this version been maintained, we might have learned two, instead of only one, of Holmes’s ‘seven different schemes’ for getting a sight of Godfrey Staunton’s telegram!

T. C. Skeat

1 The Musgrave Ritual.
3 The Three Students.
4 The Golden Pince-Nex.
5 The Hound of the Baskervilles, chap. ii: ‘it would be a poor expert who could not give the date of a document within a decade or so.’
6 Doctor Watson: Protogomena to the study of a biographical problem, with a bibliography of Sherlock Holmes (1931), p. 31.
7 The Bruce-Partington Plans.
8 The Devil’s Foot.
9 Mr. Blakeney has kindly reminded me that in Wisteria Lodge there is a reference to Holmes having spent a morning in the Museum reading up the subject of Voodooism; but this does not seem to have led to any literary work by Holmes.
ANGLO-SAXON England saw two periods of renascence in the twin spheres of ecclesiastical organization and learning, and each has left monuments to itself in some of the greatest books ever made in Europe. After the Council of Whitby in 673 men like Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop brought the Celtic Christianity of Northumbria under the influence of Italy and so opened the way for the making of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Codex Amiatinus. In the second half of the tenth century Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury from 960 to 988, and Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester from 963 to 984, introduced the reformed monasticism of France into Southern England and launched an artistic revival of which the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold (Pls. xx, xxI) is, by common consent, the finest achievement. The Codex Amiatinus was made as a gift to the Pope, and it is fitting that it should have found a permanent resting place, if not in the Vatican, at Florence. The preservation of the Lindisfarne Gospels has been assured since Sir Robert Cotton acquired it between 1609 and 1613–14, and like the rest of his manuscripts it has been a national heirloom since 1700. As the result of an inexorable political and economic process which began many generations ago, the Benedictional has now had to pass from private ownership and it is a matter of satisfaction to the world of learning that it has joined the Lindisfarne Gospels in the national collection of manuscripts. Its acquisition can be regarded as one of the chief landmarks in the British Museum’s two hundred years of history.

In August 1957 H.M. Treasury and the Board of Inland Revenue announced that they had reached an agreement with the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement for the acceptance by the nation of Hardwick Hall and Park and eight major works of art from the collections of Chatsworth in settlement of estate duty. The Benedictional (now Add. MS. 49598) was one of the four works of art allocated to the British Museum. It had belonged to the dukes of Devonshire since about 1720, having been presented to William Cavendish, the 2nd Duke, by General Hatton Compton, Lieutenant of the Tower, who died in 1741. In 1720–1 Edward Harley, later 2nd Earl of Oxford, acting through his librarian Humfrey Wanley and William Sherard, the botanist, tried to obtain it for his own collection, but although the duke had ‘no great value for it’ and agreed to ask General Compton if he might part with it, the negotiations ultimately failed.¹ The manuscript thereafter remained at Chatsworth and although it could always be examined by scholars, it was most widely known through the account laid before the Society of Antiquaries by John Gage in 1832,² and the magnificent facsimile presented to the members of the Roxburghe Club in 1910 by the 8th Duke of Devonshire (d. 1908) and his successor, the 9th Duke.³ This includes a full transcript and a long introduction by Sir George Warner, then Keeper of
Manuscripts in the Museum, on the historical, palæographical, and archæological sides, and the Rev. H. A. Wilson on the liturgical side.\(^4\)

A Latin poem written in gold Rustic capitals (ff. 4\(^b\), 5) records that the Benedictional was written for Bishop Æthelwold by the scribe Godeman. This was probably the Winchester monk, apparently of the Old Minster and not the New, who was chaplain to Æthelwold and later abbot of his patron’s foundation at Thorney. A Benedictional is, in Warner’s words (op. cit., p. ix), a ‘collection of forms of episcopal benediction, appropriated to the different Sundays, saints’ days and other festivals throughout the year’. Among the saints to whose day a benediction is allotted in St. Æthelwold’s book are Benedict, Swithun, and Ætheldreda, and each is introduced by a full-page miniature. St. Benedict founded the order to which Æthelwold belonged; St. Ætheldreda (Pl. xx) was Abbess of Ely, which Æthelwold re-founded in 970; the Benediction for St. Swithun’s day refers to the spate of miracles which followed the saint’s translation, in 971, at the Old Minster, which was Æthelwold’s own cathedral priory. The Benedictional seems, therefore, to have been made for his personal use between 971 and his death in 984, probably at the Old Minster. Sts. Judoc and Grimbold, the chief saints of the New Minster (afterwards known as Hyde Abbey), are not mentioned. Professor Wormald (op. cit., p. 9) has shown that the fragments of fifteenth-century documents with which the manuscript has at some time been repaired (see esp. ff. 26*, 26**) include a list of New Minster relics; and although the date of the repairs is uncertain, this ought to mean that the manuscript remained at Winchester, conceivably in the New Minster, until the Dissolution or even later.\(^5\)

The Benedictional is written on 119 leaves of vellum, measuring 11⅛ × 8⅜ in. Most of the text is written in black in a large Carolingian minuscule hand of the kind introduced into England from France during the ecclesiastical reforms of the late tenth century;\(^6\) rubrics are mostly in red uncialis; gold capitals (both square and Rustic) and uncialis are used in the first words of benedictions and elsewhere. Two of the largest initials are historiated and the openings of nineteen benedictions are enclosed, like the miniatures, in a gold frame or arch, filled with acanthus leaves in colours (Pl. xx). The volume begins with an incomplete series of full-page miniatures—seven remain out of a probable nineteen—representing the Choirs of Heaven, and twenty-one more survive in the text, most of which face the opening of a benediction (Wormald, op. cit., pp. 11–12). Eleven of these—out of an original twelve—contain scenes from the life of Christ appropriate to days in the Temporale; nine—out of an original eleven—are for saints’ days; and one, which is unframed and only partly painted, represents a bishop, perhaps Æthelwold himself, pronouncing the benediction (Pl. xxi). It precedes the benediction for the dedication of a church and may perhaps have something to do with the dedication of Winchester Cathedral in 980.

58
Thanks to the researches of Sir George Warner and Professors Homburger and Wormald we know that both the typical acanthus ornament and the figure style of the Benedictional, as of the manuscripts of the ‘Winchester’ school in general, were derived not from English archetypes but from manuscripts and ivories produced in more than one of the great Carolingian schools which flourished in Northern France and on the Rhine during the ninth century. At the end of the seventh century the painters of the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels borrowed the figure style of sixth-century Italy, but Eadfrith’s magnificent decoration in the Gospels is a purely Insular blend of vigorous native traditions, which were carried to the Continent by the English missionaries of the eighth century and contributed to the formation of the Carolingian schools mentioned above. Æthelwold’s painters were less fortunate than Eadfrith. Due to the wounds inflicted on it by the invasions of the ninth century, the native tradition available to them was too impoverished to serve their high purpose, and they had to go back to its brilliant Continental offshoot. Exhibited side by side, the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold succinctly and magnificently epitomize the growth, decline, and rebirth of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

T. J. Brown

1 Wanley’s Diary, B.M., Lansdowne MS. 771, ff. 11b, 20b, 33, 43b. Cf. Lansdowne MSS. 771, f. 201; 772, f. 64.
2 'A Dissertation on St. Æthelwold’s Benedictional', Archaeologia, xxiv (1832), pp. 1–117, pls i–xxii.
4 Shorter but no less important studies of the manuscript have since been published by Professor Otto Homburger, Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im X. Jahrhundert (1912), pp. 7–43, and by Professor Francis Wormald, The Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, 1959. Other notices include J. O. Westwood, Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts (1868), pl. 45; The Palaeographical Society, 1st ser. (1874–83), pls. 142–4; E. G. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century (1926), pp. 7–9, pls. 4–7; A. Boeckler, Abendländische Miniaturen (1930), pp. 53–54, &c., pl. 45; F. Wormald, ‘Decorated Initials in English MSS. from A.D. 900 to 1100’, Archaeologia, xci (1945), pp. 131–3; T. D. Kendrick, Late Saxon and Viking Art (1949), pp. 6–10, pls. iii–v; D. Talbot Rice, English Art; 871–1100 (1952), pp. 185–9, pls. 48–51; Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages (1954), pp. 42–44, &c., pls. 26–27; A. Grabar and C. Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting (1957), pp. 179–83.
5 Mr. H. M. Nixon considers that the remains of the late seventeenth-century covers inlaid in the modern binding are not in fact the work of Samuel Mearne, binder to Charles II (cf. Warner, op. cit., p. xliii).

LETTERS OF J. M. W. TURNER

The acquisition in 1959 of over eighty autograph letters and documents of Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851), the painter, admirably supplements the collection of autograph notes for his lectures as Professor of Perspective to the Royal Academy (Add. MS. 46151) and the few letters which were the only Turner manuscripts hitherto preserved in the Department
of Manuscripts. The new letters formerly belonged to Dr. A. J. Finberg who published or quoted about half of them in *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.*, 1939. They are, at present, inserted or lightly mounted in two volumes (Add. MSS. 50118–19) and cover the periods 1809–27 and 1828–51 respectively.

Turner’s letters, whether business or personal, are lively if inelegant. The business letters show his concern over the details of his commissions. A series (17 November 1809–13 April 1812) to James Wyatt, carver and gilder of Oxford, relate to a painting of the High Street, Oxford, commissioned by Wyatt, who proposed to publish the view as an engraving. These letters include such advice as the following: on the size of the engraving—‘it is rather difficult to get a large one done, for many engravers think the print of *Wilson’s Niobe* large, but it appears to me the proportion should be about 3 to 2, or 18 inches by 30 inches’ (20? November 1809); and on engravers—‘their prices are as different as their abilities’, with a list of those he recommends (23 November 1809). Turner was anxious to be accurate in the details of the dress of the figures in the picture: thus he writes, ‘is it right or wrong to introduce the Bishop crossing the street in conversation(?) with his robes, whether he should wear a cap? What kind of a staff the Beadle uses, and if they wear caps’ (28 February 1810). Turner notes in his next letter (14 March 1810) ‘...I took the hint, for the sake of color, to introduce some Ladies’; they may have displaced the Bishop for he does not appear in the completed picture. Wyatt wished this and a companion picture to be exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1812 and Turner’s last letter to him in this collection (13 April 1812) brought the news ‘Your Pictures are hung at the Academy, but not to my satisfaction at least...if you still think, notwithstanding there [sic] situations are as unfortunate as could possibly be allotted them (from the Pictures close to them), that their remaining there may be advantageous to you—there they shall remain.’

Turner’s transactions with W. B. Cooke, the engraver, are represented by a few letters and his autograph receipt to Cooke for £22. 10s., dated 11 June 1814, for three drawings (‘Lyme Landes-End and Poole’) in the series made to illustrate the latter’s *Picturesque Views of the Southern Coast of England*, 1814–26. Turner’s autograph draft (October? 1818) and a copy of the final agreement (9 February 1819) for thirty-six drawings of the Rhine between Cologne and Mayence relate to a later project which was forestalled by Ackermann’s *Tour of the Rhine* and therefore abandoned; Finberg notes, however (op. cit., p. 256), that at least two Rhine drawings by Turner, of the exact size (11½ × 8½ ins.) specified in this agreement, are extant.

Of Turner’s academic work as Professor of Perspective to the Royal Academy, a post which he held from 1807 to 1838, there is little mention, except, obliquely, in a letter-poem addressed to John Taylor, the editor of *The Sun*. Turner’s thanks
for an encouraging notice of his second lecture on perspective given on 14 January 1811, are conveyed in the following verse:

    THANKS gentle Sir for what you sent
    With so much kindness praise—'besprente'
    Upon a Subject which forsooth
    Has nothing in it but its truth
    Where lines so round about applied
    At last gives the parabolide.
    Commixt, perplexing and obscure,
    Fitter to puzzle then allure; . . .

A number of discursive personal letters to James Holworthy, the watercolourist, take up much of the remainder of the first volume (Add. MS. 50118). Several describe the discomforts of a sketching trip in a singularly inclement summer: 'Weather incessantly (? ) wet. I shall be web-foot like a Drake—excepting the curled feather—but I must proceed—Northward' (31 July 1816); again, 'A most confounded pass. Tho' on Horseback still the passage out of Teesdale leaves everything far behind for difficulty—Bogged most completely Horse and its Rider and nine hours making 11 miles' (11 September 1816).

Among the later letters, one to Thomas Griffith (1 February 1844) reflects the growing demand for Turner's pictures. Griffith had acted for some years as agent for the sale of Turner's work and was now, apparently, receiving inquiries for the unsold earlier pictures, which were stored in Turner's gallery. Turner describes their condition: 'The large Pictures I am rather fond of tho' it is a pity they are subject to neglect and Dirt. The Palestrina I shall open my mouth widely e're I part with it. The Pas de Calais is now in the Gallery (suffering). The Orange Merchant I could not get at—if I could find a young man acquainted with Picture cleaning and would help me to clean accidental stains away, [it] would be a happiness to drag them from their dark abode.'

John Ruskin and his father are the recipients of several notes in the second volume (Add. MS. 50119). Of these perhaps the most interesting is Turner's first letter to the younger Ruskin, whom he did not meet until June 1840. Angered by an attack in Blackwood's Magazine on the three Turner pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1836, Ruskin (then seventeen) had written a reply which he proposed to send to the editor for publication. On his father's advice, he first submitted a fair copy to Turner under cover of his initials 'J. R.' Turner's characteristic reply (6 October 1836) runs: 'I beg to thank you for your zeal, kindness, and trouble you have taken in my behalf, in regard of the criticism of Blackwoods Mag for Oct respecting my works; but I never move in these matters—they are of no import save mischief and the meal tub. . . .' Ruskin later (19 May 1880) endorsed the letter, 'The first letter I ever received from
Turner; thanking me for a letter in defence of his picture of "Juliet and her nurse" the first I ever wrote about his works.' Ruskin's article is not in the present collection. It was apparently sent, as Turner suggested in a postscript to the letter just quoted, to H. A. J. Munro, the purchaser of 'Juliet and her nurse', and Ruskin, himself, was unable to trace it in later years (Finberg, op. cit., p. 364).

Other letters to friends include many to the Wells family, William Frederick Wells, who first suggested to Turner the idea of the Liber Studiorum, a series of landscape drawings engraved under Turner's own supervision (cf. Finberg, op. cit., p. 128) of which the first number was published in 1807, and his daughters Emma and Clara (afterwards Mrs. Wheeler). A note (19 March 1829) declining an invitation to dine and ending with the lament 'Time Time Time So(?) more haste the worse Speed' and a pictograph signature, is addressed to the latter (Pl. xxxi). John Hornby Maw of Guildford, the amateur painter and collector, and Charles Eastlake, later President of the Royal Academy, are other recipients, while a few copies and annotations in the hand of Ruskin and a letter to Turner from Francis Chantrey, the sculptor, are also included in the collection.

PAMELA J. WILLETTS

1 Turner's eccentric punctuation has not been retained in its entirety.

PRIORISTA OF ANGELO AND FRANCESCO GADDI

'AGEM' and 'a real jewel for an antiquarian' are the affectionate words used by Seymour Kirkup to describe the Gaddi Priorista which has recently been acquired by the Department of Manuscripts by means of the Bridgewater Fund (Egerton 3764). But not only antiquarians will delight in this acquisition, which comprises lists of all the priors or magistrates of Florence from 1282 to 1532 and a full marginal commentary containing original material for the history of Florence.

The Florentine republic was governed by a Signoria of eight Priors and a Gonfaloniere di Giustizia with the help of their two 'Colleges' and other councils. The Signoria was normally elected by lot for a period of two months, but at moments of political crisis power could be given by the citizens to an extraordinary council or balia and election made by hand instead of by lot. From 1434 onwards, the period in which the Medici were beginning to establish political predominance in Florence, such election a mano became gradually a permanent institution and Balie were frequently appointed, and it is in this period that the entries in the Gaddi Priorista are especially interesting; for, as well as naming all the priors of Florence, the Priorista also contains lists of members of balle, exiled citizens, accopiatori (who were responsible for making the election of the Signoria) and other officials, all of whom are of particular significance in a period of
changing power. In this ever-moving kaleidoscope of names, it is possible to discern a few which shine more brightly and constantly than the others, and it is in these that the political interest of the period centres.

Valuable for this material alone, which one would normally expect to find only in the Florentine Archives, the Priorista is even more valuable on account of its full marginal notes which constitute a contemporary chronicle or diary. It is evident that for the earlier period these notes derive closely from the Villani *Cronache* and have little original value, but for the later period they become much fuller and are almost certainly based on first-hand information. Angelo Gaddi and Francesco his son were descended from Taddeo Gaddi the painter, whose frescoes can still be seen with those of his son Agnolo in S. Croce in Florence; they both played an active part in the political life of their city, as one can see from entries in the Priorista itself, for Angelo was three times a prior of Florence and Francesco in turn a prior, secretary to different magistracies and finally head of the second Chancery in Florence, a member of the Dieci and frequent emissary and ambassador to other states.²

It is therefore safe to assume that much of their journal was based on personal information, and in two instances this was certainly the case. Angelo Gaddi, for example, when describing the entry of the Emperor Frederick III into Florence in 1452, says that ‘we granted him 17,000 florins to do him honour, since I, the writer, who then found myself one of the Signori, was present when the grant was made’; and he adds that when the emperor left after staying about a month with his family and retinue at the expense of the Commune, he had spent ‘quite a lot more than the grant of 17,000 florins mentioned above’, a figure much larger than that mentioned by the Florentine historian Domenico Buoninsegni who no doubt lacked Angelo’s inside information.³ And Francesco Gaddi, in one of the longest and most vivid entries in the Priorista describing the entry of Charles VIII of France into Florence in November 1494 (already published from another manuscript in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, iv, pt. 2 (1853), pp. 41–49), tells how he, the writer, who then found himself one of the ‘ministers of the palace serving the noble Signori’ (i.e. Secretary of the 2nd Chancery), had to deliver a few brief but well-chosen words in French to welcome Charles.⁴

Another entry into Florence no less triumphal than those above which certainly deserves to be mentioned was that of ‘uno animale detto la giraffa’ which entered Florence on 11 November 1487, the day of San Martino, at about 21 hours with a lion and other animals. They came as a gift from the Sultan of Babylon (i.e. the Sultan of Egypt), and it is sad to read only a few lines below that ‘the said Giraffe then died in Florence, where it had lodged in the stables of the Pope, on the fourth of January 1488 [1489 n.s.] after staying alive in Florence for 13 months and 22 days’.⁵

It was the two passages described above, in which Angelo and Francesco Gaddi
refer to themselves in the first person as 'io scrittore', which misled Seymour Kirkup into thinking that his manuscript was the original autograph version of Francesco Gaddi. In fact, the original manuscript in the hand of Francesco Gaddi is to be found in the State Archives of Florence (Tratte, 132\textsuperscript{bis}), but although Egerton 3764 is nearly contemporary with the autograph manuscript (with some later additions) and derives from it, it is not identical with it and in some places contains additional information.\footnote{The whereabouts of a third manuscript of the Gaddi Priorista once owned by G. Aiazzii (from which the extract referred to above was published in the Archivio Storico Italiano in 1853) is not at present known.}

The Department has been fortunate to acquire this Priorista, whose historical narrative and full lists of magistrates provide both flesh and bones for the history of Florence in this period.

\textbf{Alison M. Brown}

\footnote{In letters to [Francis Capper] Brooke, who bought this manuscript at the Seymour Kirkup sale (Sotheby's Sale-cat. 11 December 1871, lot 1674). The letters are bound at the beginning of the volume, ff. iii and iv.}

\footnote{Eg. 3764, ff. 165, 171\textsuperscript{b}, 181\textsuperscript{b}, 217\textsuperscript{b}, 228; P. Litta, Famiglie Celebr i Italiane, ii (1825); D. Marzi, La Cancelleria della Repubblica Fiorentina (1910), p. 266; A. M. Bandini, Catalogus Codicum Lat. Bibli. Mediceae Laurentianae, iv (1777), pp. iii–xiii, and C. Bologna, Inventario de' mobili di Francesco di Angelo Gaddi 1496 (Pernazze Bumiller-Stiller, 1883), pp. 5–12.}

\footnote{Eg. 3764, ff. 181\textsuperscript{b}. Buoninsegna, (Storie della Città di Firenze 1410–1460 (1637), pp. 96–97) says he cost the Commune ‘about thirteen thousand florins’.}

\footnote{Eg. 3764, f. 228; in a slightly differing version in the Arch. Stor. Ital. iv, pt. 2 (1853), p. 47.}

\footnote{Eg. 3764, f. 219\textsuperscript{b}; cf. also the Ricordi Storici di Filippo and Alamanno Rinuccini, ed. Aiazzii (1840), p. cxxiii; the Diario Fiorentino of L. Landucci (1883), p. 52 (‘una giraffa molto grande e molto bella e piacevole’) and P. Beckford, Familiar Letters from Italy (1805), i, pp. 137–8.}

\footnote{For this information I am indebted to Dr. N. Rubinstein, who has made a careful study of the manuscript.}

\footnote{There is a late (18th-century) copy of the Priorista in two vols. in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, ii, i, 242–3.}

AN ALEPPPO MERCHANT’S LETTER-BOOK

The general outlines of the expansion of English overseas trade during the reign of Elizabeth I are well known and economic historians are today largely occupied in filling in the details. Studies of individual merchants and groups of merchants are therefore in fashion, and for such studies letter-books are particularly valuable. Letter-books give a less detailed account of a merchant’s trade than his ledgers do but they provide much more background information. It is fortunate that there has been preserved in the Sloane collection (Sloane 867) the letter-book of a Levant merchant, William Clarke, for the Levant Company was one of the main trading bodies founded in the sixteenth century. It is fortunate too that this book relates to the years 1598–1602, for the records of the Levant Company which are preserved in the Public Record Office lack the volumes which covered the period before 1605.\footnote{In letters to [Francis Capper] Brooke, who bought this manuscript at the Seymour Kirkup sale (Sotheby’s Sale-cat. 11 December 1871, lot 1674). The letters are bound at the beginning of the volume, ff. iii and iv.}
William Clarke traded in Aleppo which was one of the three main centres of trade in the Sultan's dominions; the other two were Constantinople and Cairo. The letter-book (which contains 150 folios and measures 8½ inches by 12½ inches) contains 370 of his letters, the first of which is dated 22 March 1597/8 and the last 18 October 1602; in addition there are copies of an invoice (f. 74v) and a bill of lading (f. 21v). Clarke addressed letters to forty-eight different persons and mentioned 140 letters which he received in return. There are a few personal letters to members of his family and friends, and a number of letters to other merchants in the Levant, as well as instructions to the factor marine at Iskenderon (the port which served Aleppo) and to ships' officers concerning the loading and unloading of goods. The bulk of the book consists of letters addressed to the merchants in England for whom Clarke was acting as factor and these deal with the quantities and qualities of goods bought and sold, the arrival of ships at Iskenderon and of caravans at Aleppo, the prices of commodities, the best merchandise to send from England, and local events which affected the trade (such as plague, rebellions, and changes of officials). From these letters it is possible to reconstruct in considerable detail the character and extent of William Clarke's business.

Clarke became a freeman of the Drapers' Company of London on 15 July 1601. If he served the normal apprenticeship of seven years he entered the service of his master, Thomas Garway, about 1594. He was in Aleppo by August 1596, for during that month he and fifteen other merchants signed a letter repudiating the jurisdiction of George Dorrington, the vice-consul of the Levant Company in Aleppo. He must have been at least eighteen or nineteen at this time, and he was therefore born in or before 1578. During the period which the letter-book covers he paid a visit to England, leaving Aleppo in November 1600 and returning in December 1601. He was still in Aleppo in November 1606, but was back in London by March 1608/9. The records of the Levant Company indicate that he spent the rest of his life in England, becoming an Assistant of the Company, and holding the office of Treasurer from February 1623/4 until February 1625/6. He died in November 1630 and was buried at St. Dunstan in the East. His will and the Orphanage records of the Chamber of the City of London show that his total estate was over £6,000, to which must be added the value of his lands in Warwickshire and Essex. Since his family was in reduced circumstances in 1598 and his widowed mother was forced to lease out the family lands in order to raise money to provide Clarke with a trading stock (f. 23v), he can be said to have had a successful career, although he was of course far removed in wealth from the great merchants of London.

The importance of Aleppo as a centre of trade at the end of the sixteenth century was generally recognized. John Eldred, Jan van Linschoten, William Lithgow, and Fynes Morrison were among the travellers who emphasized its
key position. So did Pedro Teixeira, a Portuguese who visited it in 1605 on his way home from India. He commented too on the ‘khans’ in which foreign merchants lived and stored their goods. These were strong buildings in the form of cloisters built round a central yard; several merchants shared each ‘khan’. Teixeira noted fourteen of these buildings occupied by Venetian merchants, five by French, three by English, and two by Dutch. He estimated that the Venetian trade was worth up to 1½ million ducats per annum, the French up to 800,000 ducats, the English about 300,000, and the Dutch about 150,000.

The English merchants in Aleppo were collectively referred to as the ‘English company’ and their organization was a reproduction in miniature of that of the parent company in London. As the governor ruled in London, the consul ruled in Aleppo. Both groups had their courts (the proceedings of which were recorded in the court-books), their secretaries, and their treasurers. There were also minor officials such as the beadles in London and the dragomen in Aleppo. The Aleppo company also had a chaplain to attend to its spiritual welfare. It is possible to estimate the size of the English community in Clarke’s time by comparing lists of names of merchants attending courts in August 1596 with those signing two collective letters written in the same month. A total of twenty names (including that of William Clarke) is thus obtained.

It was a desire to obtain easier access to the spices, drugs, and dyestuffs of the East which was the chief reason for English attempts to gain a share of the Levant trade (combined of course with a desire to find new markets for English cloth). In the event, however, it was soon after the Levant Company had opened up trade with the Sultan’s dominions that the Levant’s position as the main channel through which the goods of the East reached Europe received a crushing blow. Ever since Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497–8 the possibility of the ruin of the Levant trade had existed; but in fact it was not until the end of the sixteenth century when the Dutch and English began to sail to the Indies that the overland route fell into decay. William Clarke’s letter-book covers the period which saw the successful completion of the first Dutch voyage to the Indies and the beginning of the English East India Company. The consternation which the news of the first event caused is mirrored in its pages. The founding of the East India Company (largely by members of the Levant Company) is not referred to; but the growth of this company was to result in a radical alteration of English trade to the Mediterranean. For in its early days the Levant Company shipped from Aleppo to England large quantities of goods which came originally from the East Indies. After 1600 these goods disappeared either immediately or gradually from the bills of lading until a stage was reached when the East India Company was shipping spices and drugs from the Indies to England and the Levant Company was then supplying the dominions of the Great Turk with them. Pepper for example was imported by the Levant
Company in the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth century it was one of the commodities exported from England to Turkey.

The letter-book shows the beginning of this change in the character of the Levant trade. The earliest letters have many references to cloves, pepper, nut-megs, mace, and cinnamon, all of which came from the Indies. In September 1599 the news of the return of the Dutch ships from the East reached Aleppo and the English merchants there immediately began to look for alternative cargoes. Clarke wrote with great relief that the news had come just in time to prevent him buying ten sacks of cloves; he and all the other merchants were hoping to buy silk instead of spices (f. 62v). Silk in fact continued to be one of the chief foundations of the Levant Company’s trade during the remainder of its history, because a great deal of silk was produced in the Levant itself and because, like spice, it was valuable in relation to its bulk. Even before the decline of the spice trade it was eagerly sought after. In September 1598 Clarke reported that merchants were ready to pull the silk off the camels’ backs as soon as the caravans arrived, and that many bought without even opening the bales (f. 19r). During Clarke’s period at Aleppo indigo remained a staple item of trade although like spice it originated in the Indies; but by 1620 the East India Company had a monopoly of it too. Galls (which were used for ink manufacture and dyeing) and cotton were produced in the immediate vicinity of Aleppo and so were secure from the competition of the East India merchants; Clarke dealt in both of them. There was only one important commodity handled by the Levant Company which Clarke rarely mentioned. This was because the trade in currants did not flow through Aleppo; the island of Zante was the main centre for them.

The staple commodities exported from England to Aleppo at this period were rabbit-skins, tin and, above all, kerseys. Kerseys sold well because the common people wore them; only the rich wore broad-cloth. It is not surprising that when Clarke was seeking some consolation after the news of the successful return of the Dutch ships had plunged the Levant merchants into gloom, he wrote that the trade would only be worth while for galls, cotton, silk, indigo, and for the sale of kerseys (f. 67v). Clarke regularly reported the prices at which kerseys were selling in Aleppo, and sometimes referred to the amount which they cost in England. Dark colours sold much better than light ones. Broad-cloth sold very badly because the Italian cloth sold by the Venetians was of a much higher quality (f. 3r). After kerseys tin was the most important commodity which England exported to the Levant. At the end of the sixteenth century a quarter of the Levant Company’s trade was in tin. In Aleppo during the period covered by the letter-book there was, however, a glut of tin. Clarke frequently stated that the town was ‘cloy’d’ with it (ff. 38r, 52r, 80r, 94r). The third staple commodity (but a long way behind the other two) was rabbit-skins. According to Fynes
Morrison, the Turks used these skins to line their coats because they were cool in a loose garment and warm in a close garment.10

William Clarke was a factor, and the letter-book shows that the responsibility of the factor was usually greater than that of the principal in England. The latter often acted virtually as an agent, buying goods to send to the Levant on the factor's instructions and selling those which the factor thought best to send home. The factor had also to take advantage of the market more rapidly, because the merchant in England usually had capital to draw on and so could hold back goods until a favourable opportunity occurred. The factor had to dispose rapidly of his merchandise in order to obtain goods for his return cargo. He rarely had any surplus which he could draw on if it was a bad time for sales. He had to be fully experienced in all branches of the trade with which he was concerned; if, for example, he dealt in cloth he had to be well acquainted with the manufacturing processes. He had to supply his principal with regular information, and expected regular letters in return concerning the state of business at home. Clarke continually complained about the time which letters took to reach Aleppo. Those which came all the way by sea from England took two months and upwards, but those which came through Constantinople took four or five months. He was also discouraged by the frequency with which his letters to England went astray, although he usually sent at least two copies of each letter by different routes.

In accordance with the factor's recommendations the merchant in England purchased goods and shipped them. Clarke often referred to the need for careful packing since the bales were tossed about for six weeks or more in ships that were often leaky; many arrived at Aleppo in a damaged condition. When the goods arrived at Iskenderon an official of the Company called the factor marine took charge of them. They were stored in a magazine which the Company had built until he was able to arrange for their transport by camel to Aleppo. The caravans usually took three days, and the goods were often stolen or damaged on the way. On arrival in Aleppo the bales were taken to the customs house; it was not unknown for merchants to meet a caravan outside Aleppo and remove certain items which they did not wish the customs officials to see. Clarke smuggled some bags of gold and silver in this way in March 1601/2 (f. 126v).

When the goods were finally stored in their warehouses the merchants had to decide how to dispose of them to the best advantage. In practice they nearly always had to resort to barter. Clarke considered that this had an unfortunate effect on the trade, and apparently this was the general opinion since from time to time the English merchants in Aleppo held a court and agreed not to barter and not to sell below fixed prices. Invariably one merchant broke the agreement and the remainder had to follow suit. Nothing seemed able to prevent the bulk of dealings in Aleppo being conducted on a basis of barter. Indeed the position
was often worse; merchants were unable to dispose of English commodities unless they could offer a portion of ready money with them. In March 1598/9 Clarke reported that kerseys could not be exchanged for any desirable commodity unless some cash was offered as part of the deal (f. 47v).

The most important time for purchasing goods was in the summer and early autumn for the chief shipments to England took place in the autumn and early winter. As summer progressed the arrival of caravans was anxiously awaited. One caravan came from Mecca each August or September, and caravans of silk came from Persia; but the great majority of the caravans referred to in the letter-book came from Baghdad. The merchants also travelled into the country round Aleppo to buy the products of the region such as galls and cotton. There was then the expensive business of transporting the bales to Iskenderon. Clarke once tried to save money by making up two very heavy bales of cinnamon, but the camel-driver insisted that they should be repacked as three (f. 62v). When they arrived at the port it was the duty of the factor marine to see that the bales were safely stowed on board ship.

The final task of the factor in Aleppo was to inform his principal of the state of his account and of the goods which had been shipped to England. General statements of account were sent each year (f. 39v), and each time a consignment was shipped letters giving a general description of it were sent to England. A detailed invoice with prices and quantities fully set out was also dispatched; this often went in the ship which carried the goods (f. 114v) while the letters travelled by different routes. Two bills of lading were sent to the factor marine, and after certification by the purser one was sent in the ship to England and the other was returned to the factor in Aleppo to serve as a final record of the shipment (f. 28v).

P. R. HARRIS

1 The charter of the Levant Company was issued in January 1591/2. The Company was an amalgamation of the Turkey Company which was founded in 1581, and the Venice Company which was founded in 1583.
2 Lans. MS. 241, ff. 394v, 395v.
4 Register of St. Dunstan in the East, p. 197. His will (P.C.C. Scroope 108; codicil, St. John 36) was dated 16 November and proved 4 December 1630.
5 Hakluyt, Principal Navigations (Glasgow, 1903–5), vi. 2, 3; v. 506; Lithgow, Total Discourse of the Rare Adventures (Glasgow, 1906), p. 147; Moryson, An Itinerary (Glasgow, 1907), ii. 60; iv. 122.
7 Lans. MS. 241, ff. 394v, 395v, 399v.
10 Moryson, An Itinerary (Glasgow, 1907), iv. 226.
'THE HOUSE IN THE WOODS'

BY HERCULES SEGHERS

In the history of print-making Hercules Seghers stands out as the most experimental artist in the medium. Whereas other artists accepted and turned to good effect the inherent limitations of etching, producing as a result finer prints, Seghers was primarily concerned in trying out new methods, which did much to break down the barrier between the reproductive nature of print-making and the uniqueness of a painting or a drawing. His originality lies particularly in his use of colour and his attitude to the etched plate. Colour-printing was unknown before Seghers and, curiously enough, was not taken up again by other artists until the late nineteenth century. Other artists regarded the etched plate as the end of the process; not so Seghers for whom the bitten design merely provided a starting-point for new and varied effects. Instead of the conventional use of black ink Seghers often printed in colour, sometimes on coloured prepared paper or linen. Washes of colour were in many cases added either to the plate—a process which directly foreshadows the monotype—or afterwards to the print itself to depict tone or new features in the composition. As a result hardly any two impressions from the same plate are identical; sometimes they may only vary in the colour of the paper, whilst in other prints the composition has been radically altered.

Seghers' output was small, both in the number of plates he etched, some sixty-two, and in the number of impressions taken from each plate—often only one or two exist. A new discovery is therefore something of an event and though 'The House in the Woods'¹ acquired for the Department in 1956 (Pl. xxxiv a) is already known in two impressions,² it differs from these in two respects. The new acquisition shows 5 centimetres more of the composition at the top; the tree in the right foreground is shown at its full height and not cut off half-way as in the other impressions. Secondly the artist has used a much coarser linen and, though printing in black as in the other two impressions, has added touches of yellow oil-paint afterwards to bring out the foliage and the grass. Unfortunately the clarity of the print is impaired by the later addition of varnish and the scratched surface, but it gives far more the effect of an oil painting than the two other known examples.

C. J. White

¹ Springer no. 41. 15.4 x 9.6 cm. Purchased from the widow of the late Joseph Ceci, formerly a Clerical Officer in the Department, in whose collection it lay unrecognized. 1956–7–14–62.
² One is already in the B.M., and the other is in the Rijksprentkabinet, Amsterdam.
SOME NEWLY ACQUIRED GREEK COINS

The selection of Greek coins here illustrated (Pl. xxiii) and discussed serves as a reminder that it is still possible to have surprises, in the shape of new and unsuspected types which are still coming to light. Such surprises during recent years have included—to quote only two outstanding examples—the Tissaphernes coin acquired in 1948 (B.M.Q. xv (1941–50), pl. xx. 8), and the Cyrene coin acquired in 1955 (B.M.Q. xxi (1957), pl. xi. a, b). Again in the present selection we are fortunate enough to be able to point to at least five specimens of types which were quite unknown ten years ago.

No. 1 is a silver stater of Aegina, of c. 520 B.C., curious because the sea-turtle on the obverse, which is the regular type of this mint, appears to be carrying a smaller turtle on its back: it is in fact a normal coin which has been countermarked—one can only speculate for what reason—with the dies of a smaller denomination. Similarly on the reverse the incuse punchmark is restruck with a smaller punchmark. No. 2 is a silver stater of Corinthian types (showing Pegasus and the head of Athena Chalinitis) but minted c. 350 B.C. for the town of Stratos in Acarnania: it is so inscribed, and behind Athena’s head appears as a small adjunct device the head of Achelous. No. 3 is somewhat later in date, c. 300 B.C., a charming and excessively rare example of the ‘facing head’ style (the head being of Artemis), with reverse type a charging bull, minted for Oinoe, a town on the small island of Ikaria near Samos. Then just over a century later there is another and grander version of Artemis, her bow and quiver shown behind the head as at Oinoe, but now on a tetradrachm minted at Eretria (no. 4): here the reverse type, enclosed in a heavy wreath border, is a cow prepared for sacrifice with fillets attached to her horns. This Eretrian coin dates from about 196 B.C. The recent defeat of Macedonia by the Romans under Flamininus led to a proclamation of freedom for the Greeks (under Roman auspices), and one of the first results is seen in the appearance of new coinages. Athens at this time began a new issue showing a Hellenistic version of the Phidian Athena, examples of which came to light in the Anthedon hoard together with Eretrian coins like our no. 4, with its fastidious and elegant details and aristocratic bearing, a small-scale work of art fully of its own time but under strong influence of earlier classical style. Our specimen, which comes from the Lockett collection, fills an important gap in the Museum’s collection.

The next coins to be described are among our prime examples of new types recently discovered, and come from Asia Minor. No. 5 is of Tarsus and dates from c. 425–400 B.C., a silver stater with an obverse type—Melkart riding over the sea on a hippocamp—only previously known at Tyre in Phoenicia, a complete novelty for Tarsus: the reverse is also new, however, and shows Poseidon with his trident and in the background a huge ear of corn, with the name of the
city, τρις, in Aramaic letters on the right. Of even greater interest are the new coins from Lycia, of which nos. 6–8 are a selection. All are of the early fourth century B.C. Nos. 6 and 7 were issued by a dynasty named Mithrapata. The main type of no. 6, showing a lion-scap and the Lycian triskelion (a primitive solar emblem akin to the swastika) is supplemented by a minute head of Herakles, shown en face wearing his lion-skin head-dress and the club beside the head, a really fine and gem-like piece of engraving. The dynasty’s name is of course given in Lycian script. No. 7, also of Mithrapata, is of quite new type: a splendid angry-looking lion’s head on the obverse is matched by a superb portrait on the reverse which is a triumph of fourth-century Greek art. No. 8 is a smaller coin of another ruler, Zagabaha, and is again a new type: the lion-scap on the obverse is backed by a three-quarter facing head of Athena, with helmet and hair shown in exuberant detail that is not indeed original to the Lycian artist but derives closely from his model—which is one of the great masterpieces of coinage at Syracuse, by Eukleidas. Yet the Lycian copy is of superlative quality and one of the most important additions to our knowledge of Lycian coinage. It seems very likely that these coins, together with others which have recently been on the market, may come from a newly discovered hoard of Lycian coins, which also contained specimens minted for a dynasty with the Greek-sounding name of Pāriklēs. It is, above all, interesting that Lycia, already the source of so many important pieces of Greek art, should now give us such striking new examples in the realm of numismatics.

Also from Asia Minor, but of the Roman period, come two further recently acquired coins. No. 9, presented by Mr. H. von Aulock, is a rare bronze issue of Aezanis in Phrygia, with a portrait head of the proconsul Valerius Messala Potitus, governor of the province c. 24 B.C. (the reverse shows a hand holding scales): it is interesting that such an honorific portrait could occur during the reign of Augustus. At all events it seems clear, in spite of the small dimensions and lack of detail, that the portrait is not that of the emperor. No. 10 is a silver tetradrachm minted under Hadrian at Aegae in Cilicia. A cuirassed bust on the obverse is accompanied by the emperor’s titulature in Greek: the reverse, which is dated year 164 of the Caesarian era, and so A.D. 118/9, with the mint-mark of Aegae (a goat) below, shows a head which, on account of the harpa behind the neck, must be identified as Perseus, although he is not here wearing the customary Phrygian helmet. It is a new type for this mint.

Finally, no. 11 represents a very notable addition to the Museum’s outstanding collection of Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins: it is a silver tetradrachm of Archelaus. The splendid series of coins made for the successors of Alexander and the Seleucids in what is now Afghanistan and north-west India are of great historical value and likewise constitute a document of great importance for the spread and development of Hellenistic art. For about a century from c. 250 B.C. onwards, the
coins were purely Greek in style and were minted at Bactra (Balkh): after this
date, though the Greek concept was in the main preserved, minting took place
mainly south of the Hindu Kush, and the inscriptions on the coin are given both
in Greek and Kharosthi script. Until 1948 only one of the later kings of this
dynasty, Antialcidas, was known ever to have issued a coin of the older, purely
Greek type: in that year, however, there was discovered at Qunduz (north of
the Hindu Kush) a great coin-hoard containing, alongside many of the older
Bactrian coins of purely Greek type, a few pieces also of purely Greek type,
minted for no less than six other kings of the later group—for whom previously
only the bilingual Greek-Kharosthi pieces were known. This discovery was
a momentous addition to our knowledge of the Bactrian coin-series: and it is
likely enough that our no. 11 may be a 'leakage' from this hoard. The splendid
obverse type, showing the head-and-shoulders portrait of the king wearing a
helmet with a cockade formed of a bull's ear and horn, wielding a spear, and
with the aegis of Zeus across his shoulders as the symbol of the divinity of the
Hellenistic ruler, is a similar general concept to that of the bilingual Antialcidas
coin discussed in B.M.Q. xxi. 3, p. 71. The larger size of the Attic tetradrachm
which, as here, has been worked by a masterly die-engraver, however, gives our
new coin, no. 11, a more impressive and dramatic effect. It is well set off by the
intense vitality of the reverse type, where Zeus appears wielding his thunderbolt,
a composition perhaps inspired by some lost piece of Hellenistic sculpture.

The name of Archebios, as of the other members of the later Indo-Greek
dynasty, is unknown to the historical writers of antiquity. From their coins and
from some other indications we can infer that the dynasty had its base in the
Kabul valley, with a capital at Alexandria-sub-Caucaso (near Charikar), possibly
retaining some hold on part of the territory north of the Hindu Kush near
Qunduz, but certainly ruling the whole of the region from Kabul down into
India as far as Taxila and very possibly farther, with control of the other valleys
adjoining. Archebios himself may well have been a descendant of Eukratides,
who was known to the classical sources and who reigned about 170–150 B.C.: on
his coins Eukratides wears an identical helmet to that worn by Archebios.
The latter would be datable to about 120 B.C. or so, though it seems doubtful
whether he was, as has sometimes been stated, the last of the Greek kings at
Taxila before the Indo-Scythic invasion under Mauzes.

It seems virtually certain that the purely Greek style, Attic-weight coinage
of Archebios and others as represented in the Qunduz hoard must have been
minted at Alexandria-sub-Caucaso. The moneyers' monograms on the Qunduz
coins are also found on the bilingual Greek-Kharosthi coins of the same kings,
and it is beyond doubt that Alexandria was the mint of much if not all of the
bilingual coinage. This may throw some new light on a problem concerning the
minting arrangements of Eukratides, Archebios' possible forbear, whose bilingual
issue, with rare exceptions, consisted wholly of square copper coins, struck at Alexandria, of a type that afterwards became usual in other reigns. Yet many of the monograms on these coppers are the same as those which occur on a whole series of Eukratides’ purely Greek silver tetradrachms. At first sight it seems certain that these Eukratides tetradrachms, in common with the earlier Bactrian coins, should be of the Bactra mint: if so, it has been suggested that the monograms used both on silver and copper represent officials who were responsible for the issue on both sides of the Hindu Kush. But with the Qunduz coins in mind this now seems less likely—even if it were at all a practicable arrangement—and there seems no really convincing reason why Eukratides should not have been the first king to have minted purely Greek silver at Alexandria: this seems at least a strong possibility for those tetradrachms of Eukratides on which he is shown helmeted, for it is on this series only and not on the bareheaded tetradrachms that the monograms occur which correspond to the copper issues. It seems likely enough then that Eukratides set the precedent for the later kings: though after Eukratides the purely Greek tetradrachms are never again plentiful, being for general circulation superseded by the bilingual silver. The Greek tetradrachms of Archebios, as of Menander, Lysias, Hermaios, and others, and especially the double-decadrachms of Amyntas, which were also from the Qunduz hoard, and which are the largest silver coins struck anywhere in antiquity, must in fact all be thought of as representing ‘occasional’ issues minted for special purposes, such as for instance presentation to notables of the state or of foreign states.

G. K. Jenkins

1 Margaret Thompson in Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society), v. 25 ff.
2 A specimen was recently published by H. Bloesch in Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, xxxix (1958–9), pl. iv. 69.
3 B.M. Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks, pl. 17. 69.
5 An earlier coin of Aegae with a head of Perseus is Hunter, pl. lviii. 21, but this type is the more usual helmeted head.
6 BMC Greek and Scythic Kings, pl. vii. 9.
8 As e.g. by Sir William Tarn in The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 315.
9 Another, and rare, copper issue of Eukratides was minted at Kapisa (B.M.C. pl. vi. 8): but is there any cogent reason why Alexandria and Kapisa have to be virtually the same place, as Tarn insists (op. cit. passim)? At all events, two distinct mints are not impossible.
A recent acquisition by the Trustees has helped to fill one of the larger gaps in the collection of sculpture in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. It is a statuette in grey-green schist of Heqa-maacet-rē, Ramesses IV, a king of the XXth Dynasty who reigned for about six years in the mid-twelfth century B.C. (probably from 1161 to 1155 B.C.). The king is represented in a kneeling position; originally, no doubt, he was shown presenting an offering of some kind to a deity. Unfortunately the fore-part of the statuette, comprising the front of the base, the knees and the hands of the figure, was sawn away, possibly in antiquity, and we can only surmise what the king was shown to be holding. The two principal alternatives are a large ritual object and twin ointment bowls. The former, which could be an offering-table, a shrine, or a large vessel, is unlikely because the king’s arms are shown to be resting on and following the line of the thighs. Statues of kings making votive offerings of bowls of ointment are not uncommon and those in stone invariably show the arms resting on the thighs. For exhibition purposes the statuette has been restored to its probable original form, the hands holding ointment bowls. The piece is illustrated with and without restoration on Plates xxiv, xxv. Apart from the front portion, the statuette is substantially complete, the only other damage being to the lower part of the back pillar, the rear corners of the base, the nose and the tip of the uraeus.

The height of the statuette, including the base, is 27 in.; the base being 3½ in. high, 9¼ in. wide, and 15¼ in. deep (as restored). The king is represented wearing the nemes head-dress, the lappets of which have no vertical line on their inner edges, and the shendyt kilt. The back pillar extends from immediately below the end of the tail of the nemes to the base. The inscriptions on the statuette, which show no signs of having been altered or of being usurpations, firmly establish the identity of the king represented. The right shoulder carries his prenomen, Heqa-maacet-rē, in a cartouche, and the left shoulder his nomen, Ramesses, also in cartouche. The prenomen occurs again on the girdle of the kilt, but there in an oval, not in a cartouche. There were originally dedicatory inscriptions on the sides and top of the base; the signs that now remain on the sides allow us to read only the titles and name ‘Son of Rē, Lord of Diadems, Ramesses . . . ’ on the left and on the right. On the top of the base the signs preserved on the right suggest that the dedication of the statuette may have been in part to the Nile or to the Nile in inundation (Hcapy); they read ḫ kē kē ḫ . . . ‘high of inundation’, a possible epithet of Hcapy. On the top of the left of the base the first of the preserved signs, ḫ, equally suggest a dedication to the Nile in inundation, being what is left of the words Hcapy wr ‘Great Nile’. Here the dedication is shared by ‘Amen-ḥ-rē, 75
Lord) of the Thrones of the Two Lands'. Two vertical columns of text on the back pillar describe the king as: ‘(1) The Good God, excellent in monuments (\textit{mnh msw}), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Heka-
ma\textar{et}-r\mbox{\text{"e}}, \text{[beloved of]} \text{Amen}[{-}\text{r}\mbox{\text{"e}}\text{.\ldots}]. (2) The Good God, contented with Truth \textit{(M\text{	extity{x\text{"e}}t})}, the Son of R\mbox{\text{"e}}, Lord of Diadems, Ramesses.\ldots’

Royal sculpture of the Ramesside Period, subsequent to the reign of Ramesses III, is uncommon and the Museum is particularly fortunate in acquiring a piece that is not only of some rarity but is also of considerable artistic merit. The execution is characterized by that technical skill and high standard of finish found regularly in royal sculpture of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and while the body is rather formal and static in posture, the face possesses a sensitivity of expression which is altogether unexpected in sculpture of this later period. Other sculptures in the round of Ramesses IV with which comparison can be made are few: in Cairo there are a sandstone torso found at Karnak,\textsuperscript{5} a composition statuette from the Karnak \textit{cachette},\textsuperscript{6} and a schist standing statue of a king holding before him a figure of the god Am\text{"un, also from the Karnak \textit{cachette}.\textsuperscript{7} The last is inscribed with the names of Ramesses VI, but it has been pointed out recently that these names are surcharged and that the originals were probably those of Ramesses IV.\textsuperscript{8} There is much stylistic similarity between this statue and that now acquired by the Museum, and between them they considerably strengthen the case of those who maintain that the Late Ramesside Period was not wholly a period of decadence and that the reign of Ramesses IV in particular was one of considerably greater achievement than has generally been allowed.\textsuperscript{9} Evidence of his activities in temples and other buildings can be found throughout the length of Egypt and it shows that the country did not lapse into anarchy and decline immediately after the death of Ramesses III.\textsuperscript{10} The most important object in the Museum dating from the reign of this Pharaoh is undoubtedly the Great Harris Papyrus, a document containing a detailed list of the benefactions of Ramesses III during his reign and an account of that king's reign. It was prepared by his son, Ramesses IV, and is the most magnificent secular document from Ancient Egypt, being 133 feet long and containing 117 columns of text.\textsuperscript{11} Otherwise the collection hitherto contained from this reign only a fragment of an alabaster vase bearing the name of the king,\textsuperscript{12} a number of scarabs similarly inscribed,\textsuperscript{13} and a stela of the royal scribe H\text{"ori.}\textsuperscript{14} A further interesting fact about this statuette of Ramesses IV is that it probably belongs to that select group of Egyptian sculpture which arrived in this country before interest in Ancient Egypt was revived in modern times by Napoleon's expedition. Such sculptures are rare and come mostly from Italy whither they had been taken in antiquity.\textsuperscript{15} A royal head in green schist, already in the Museum and formerly in the Towneley collection, belongs to this group.\textsuperscript{16} The statuette of Ramesses IV was, until recently, in the Oak Gallery of the Vyne,
the home of the late Sir Henry Chute, near Basingstoke. It is not known when the piece came into the possession of the Chute family, but it was certainly established as part of the collection of antique busts and other objects occupying the Oak Gallery in 1888.\textsuperscript{17} One group of classical inscriptions at the Vyne was brought from Italy in 1730\textsuperscript{18} and another group of busts and other objects was purchased in Italy in 1753.\textsuperscript{19} It is highly probable that the statuette of Ramesses IV was included in this latter group. It has never previously been noticed in Egyptological literature and the one mention of it in print is in the volume devoted to the history of the Vyne.\textsuperscript{20}

T. G. H. James


2 e.g. Cairo 42073 (offering-table), cf. Legrain, \textit{Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers}, vol. i, pl. \textit{xxxiv}; Cairo 42061 (large vase), cf. Legrain, vol. i, pl. \textit{xxxv}; Cairo 42073 (offering-table), cf. Legrain, vol. i, pl. \textit{xlii}; B.M. 96 (offering-table), cf. Budge, \textit{Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum}, pl. \textit{xxii}.\footnote{The earliest known example is the statuette of Pepi I in the Brooklyn Museum, cf. Aldred, \textit{Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt}, pls. 61, 62. The type occurs occasionally in the Middle Kingdom, e.g. Cairo 42013 (Seosir III), cf. Legrain, vol. i, pl. vii, and frequently in the New Kingdom, e.g. MMA, \textit{30. 3. 1} (Hatshpsut), cf. Aldred, \textit{New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt}, pl. \textit{20}; Cairo 42055 (Tuthmosis III), cf. Legrain, vol. i, pl. \textit{xxxii}; Turin 1375 (Amenophis II), cf. Aldred, op. cit., pl. \textit{51}; Cairo 42191 (Pinodjem), cf. Legrain, vol. ii, pl. \textit{liii}. On the other hand, bronze statuettes of the same type regularly show the arms at a higher angle, raised above the thighs, e.g. B.M. 64564 (Tuthmosis IV), cf. B.M.Q. \textit{XV}, pl. \textit{23} and B.M. 32747 (Late New Kingdom), cf. Aldred, \textit{J.E.A.}, vol. \textit{xlii}, pl. ii; Berlin 2503, 2504, 8433 (all Late Period), cf. Roeder, \textit{Ägyptische Bronzefiguren}, pl. \textit{44}; also cf. Hornemann, \textit{Types of Ancient Egyptian Statues}, iii, pl. \textit{621} (Late Period). This difference between the statuettes in bronze and those in stone is probably due to the fact that it is technically easier to carve arms resting on thighs than to have them extending freely from the body; in small bronze figures this difficulty is not so great.}

3 Cairo \textit{J. 36351}, cf. Legrain, \textit{Annales du Service}, v, p. 36 and pl. vi. I am indebted to Miss Rosalind Moss for providing me with information about this and other monuments of Ramesses IV.\footnote{Cairo 42151, cf. Legrain, \textit{Statues et statuettes}, ii, pl. 14.} \footnote{Cairo 42153, cf. Legrain, op. cit. ii, pl. 16.}


5 For details see Porter, Moss and Burney, \textit{Topographical Bibliography}, viii, pp. \textit{407} ff., particularly pp. \textit{416}–\textit{17} where objects from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli are listed; the head of the female sphinx now in the Brooklyn Museum was originally brought to England by Gavin Hamilton who acquired it in \textit{1771}, probably from Tivoli, see Cooney, \textit{Five Years collecting Egyptian Art}, p. 3 and pls. 7–10.\footnote{Egyptian Sculpture \textit{97}.}


7 Cairo 42153, cf. Legrain, op. cit. ii, pl. 16.\footnote{Op. cit., p. 143.}\footnote{See note \textit{17} above.}
TWO ITALIAN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
DRAWINGS OF ANTIQUE SCULPTURE

A SHEET with two Italian seventeenth-century drawings has been presented
to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities by Mr. Philip
Pouncey. The recto drawing, in brown ink and wash (Pl. xxvi), repre-
sents a statue of a veiled woman holding a pot in her left hand; below her right
hand, but unrelated to the main subject, is lightly sketched the diminutive figure
of a Roman sacrificial attendant. The verso drawing, in brown ink (Pl. xxvii),
represents scenes from the legend of Medea which are clearly copied from a
Roman sarcophagus relief; the artist divided a single frieze into two sections
and to economize in space drew the right side below the left.

Mr. Pouncey presented the drawing to the Greek and Roman Department
believing it to be connected in some way with drawings in the well-known dal
Pozzo-Albani collection.¹ This collection of drawings from antique sculpture,
&c., formed in the first half of the seventeenth century by Cassiano dal Pozzo,
was bought by Pope Clement XI Albani in 1703 and passed in 1714 into the
hands of Cardinal Alessandro Albani. A large part of the collection was acquired
by George III and brought to England in 1762; it is now in the Library at
Windsor Castle. A number of other dal Pozzo drawings came into the possession
of A. W. Franks and were presented to the British Museum by Sir Hercules
Read; they are now kept in two folio volumes in the Department of Greek and
Roman Antiquities.

The sculptures represented on the recently acquired drawings can be readily
identified. The Medea frieze comes from the lid of a Roman sarcophagus of
Hadrianic or Antonine date now in the Vatican Museum.² It has been known
since the middle of the sixteenth century; from the early seventeenth century it
was in the Palazzo Lancellotti and passed to the Vatican in the early nineteenth
century. The lid seems to be unique among surviving examples, so that there
can be little doubt about the identification. The recto drawing represents a
statue now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, of a woman sacrificing, usually called
a Vestal Virgin. The earliest reference to this statue is to be found in the inven-
tory of the Uffizi Gallery made in 1600.³

Mr. Pouncey’s conjecture that the drawing is connected with the dal Pozzo
album receives some confirmation from a statement of J. J. Winckelmann
which may be quoted here in full. Publishing an engraving of the Vatican sarco-
phagus lid in Monumenti Antichi Inediti, Rome, 1767, vol. i, pls. 90, 91, Winckel-
mann writes (vol. ii, p. 122):

Qui bisogna avvertire il lettore, che la mia stampa fu copiata da un disegno della raccolta
di quelli dell’Eño Alessandro Albani, credendo io, che il bassorilievo non esistesse più a Roma.
Dipoi lo scopersi nel palazzo Lancellotti, conforme ho accennato di sopra, e viddi de ciò ch’io
pubblicava, non è che la metà del monumento, il quale essendo stato segato in mezzo, è avvenuto che la punta dell’asta di una figura esistente nell’altra metà sia rimasto in quella metà che porto qui incisa.

Ritrovandosi dunque nel medesimo sito l’altra metà di questo bassorilievo, la esibisco parimente, per non pubblicare una cosa tronca e che può supplirsi. . . .

Winckelmann does not make his meaning absolutely clear but he seems to be saying (and is so interpreted by Robert⁴) that he copied a drawing of the left half of the lid in the Albani collection and then, on finding the complete lid in the Palazzo Lancelotti, drew the right half from life and so completed the published drawing. The Albani drawing which Winckelmann saw must have ended on the right-hand end at precisely the same point as the upper part of the new British Museum drawing, i.e. showing the point of the lance belonging to the figure of Perseus, who is drawn on the section below. We cannot say whether the Albani drawing seen by Winckelmann contained the complete frieze drawn like the British Museum drawing with the two halves one below the other. But it is surely unlikely that only one-half of a complete object was represented and Winckelmann’s mistake could be readily explained by the impression of completeness given to the upper section by the presence of the seated figure at the right end. However this may be, it is certain that the drawing seen by Winckelmann represented the figures of the lid in a style very similar to the British Museum drawing. The total height of the lid is only 31 cm. and the figures are, in fact, rather squat, but both in Winckelmann’s engraving and in the drawing the figures by their proportions and scale give the impression of coming from a much larger piece of sculpture. A more truthful rendering is given by a sixteenth-century drawing published by Robert.⁵

It seems likely, therefore, that Winckelmann saw in the Albani collection a drawing of the Vatican sarcophagus lid with the scene divided in two as on the British Museum drawing and with the figures interpreted in a very similar way. Such a drawing no longer exists in the albums of the dal Pozzo drawings at Windsor and the British Museum. It is perhaps too bold to suggest that the new British Museum drawing is, in fact, the missing Albani one; such drawings were frequently copied by other artists,⁶ but some connexion between it and the missing drawing seen by Winckelmann is strongly suggested by the evidence.

D. E. STRONG

1 See C. C. Vermeule, The Art Bulletin, xxxviii (1956), 31-46. Dr. Vermeule has very kindly presented a copy of his manuscript catalogue of the collection to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

2 C. Robert, Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, ii (Berlin, 1890), no. 194; G. Kashnitz-Weinberg, Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano (Vatican, 1937), no. 473.

3 H. Dürschke, Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien, iii, p. 53, no. 89; Gori, Museum Florentinum, iii (1740), pl. 98.


5 Coburgensis Fol. 155, nr. 217, Robert, pl. lxii.

6 The verso drawing does not, unlike the recto, give the impression of being first-hand work.
A SILVER CUP PRESENTED TO ARTHUR YOUNG

ONE of the sections of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities most interesting to the modern historian is the small group of relics connected with prominent persons in European history.

The Department has now added to this small group by acquiring a silver cup (1955, 5–5, 1) inscribed: ‘The Agricultural Society of the Hundred of West Derby to Arthur Young Esq'r F. R. S. for Promoting the objects of the Society MDCCCII.’ (Pl. xxviii.) A letter sent with the cup to Arthur Young is preserved in the Department of MSS. (Additional MS. 35,129). It is dated 29 January 1803, and reads:

Sir,

Accident and the delay of the silversmith have procrastinated the delivery of the cup.

I am directed by the Society to send you the one accompanying this letter, with the thanks of the Society for your attention to it.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Yours obed.

Will Stanistreet
Sec. & Tres.

Liverpool

The silversmith in question has been identified by the marks on the base of the cup. The hall-mark is London 1802 and the maker’s mark is RH SH Robert, David, and Samuel Hennell of Foster Lane, London, who are known to have been working between 1763 and 1802. The cup is remarkable in its simplicity of design and handsome proportions, for the taste of the times was generally more ornate.

The student of the French Revolution has always turned gratefully to Arthur Young’s Travels in France during the years 1787, 1788 and 1789, for not only has the author given so detailed and vivid a picture of conditions of life in the country districts as well as at court and in the towns that his work is of unrivalled value as an historical document, but he paints his picture in a spontaneous and highly entertaining eighteenth-century style. But though this work is today probably the most frequently read of his writings, it was as a writer on agriculture that Young was most appreciated in his own time. He remains to this day the greatest of English writers on agriculture. He is among the outstanding figures in the Agrarian Revolution of eighteenth-century England, for by his extraordinary enthusiasm for farming, he brought into agriculture ‘the spirit which we generally associate with the great revolution of manufactures’. His numerous works on farming were as much esteemed abroad as at home, and his principal books were translated into French, German, and Russian. He was made an honorary member of countless continental agricultural societies, and among his papers are letters from
La Fayette and Washington on the theory of farming. The Empress of Russia
sent him a gold snuff-box and ermine cloaks for his wife and daughter. He died
in 1820, aged 79, having been the first Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, a
Department created by Pitt in 1792.

Hugh Tait

A CHINESE BLUE AND WHITE BOWL WITH
WESTERN EMBLEMS

Ming porcelain of the sixteenth century, with inscriptions in Latin letters
is extremely uncommon, and the Museum is fortunate to receive as part
of Mr. A. D. Passmore’s benefaction a large bowl (diameter 13½ in.)
hitherto unpublished (Pl. xxxix). The letters in this case, unlike the inscriptions
on some of the other pieces to be referred to, are perfectly legible. They form a
short motto, five times repeated in a scroll which accompanies an emblem inside
a medallion. This motto reads ‘Sapienti nihil novum’—Nothing is news to the
wise. The emblem is a Hydra, a seven-headed beast. The rest of the decoration,
as is usual in this group, is purely Chinese. Of the small number of other pieces
of late Ming porcelain bearing Latin inscriptions no fewer than five bear Chris-
tian dates. A pair of bowls of similar shape with mark of the Hsüan-tè period are
dated 1541, and the name which both bear has been identified as that of Pero de
Faria, Portuguese Governor of Malacca for the second time from 1539 to about
1546.1 Inside the bowl of one of the bowls is a coat of arms, which has been
identified as that of d’Abreu, no doubt the well-known captain under Albuquer-
que who explored the Moluccas. On the outside of this bowl appear the ‘Hun-
dred Children’ a well-known decorative motif of the Ming Period, in the middle
of the century. The other bowl is decorated inside with a seated sage and on the
outside with galloping horsemen, also in a style characteristic of this period and
entirely Chinese in taste. The other three pieces are all closely similar, being
vases with flaring mouths, all decorated with pearl pendants on the neck above a
double line Latin inscription which appears upside-down above the shoulder.
One of these pieces forms part of the Ardebil benefaction of Shāh Abbās I and
bears his cartouche. The body in this case has floral decoration. A second is in
the Walters Gallery, Baltimore,2 and is decorated with lions playing with balls.
The third and best known of the three has the neck cut down and mounted, and
is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is decorated with ducks swimming
among lotus plants. It will be noted that the decoration of all three, as well as
of the two bowls of 1541, apart from the inscription, is entirely Chinese.

Mr. William King3 who originally published the Victoria and Albert vase
(which had been acquired in Constantinople in 1892) read the inscription ‘Isto
mandou fazer Jorge Anrz na era de 1557 reina [ndo . . .]. Mr. Pope submitted his copy of the inscription on the unpublished Ardebil piece, which was exhibited in 1951 in the Chihil Sutun at Isfahan, to Professor C. R. Boxer, who, apparently quite independently, suggested the reading 'O mandou fazer na era de 1552 reina . . .'.

There is no doubt that the inscriptions are intended to be identical, and very little doubt that the date intended is 1552 and not 1557 in both cases. The last three digits are not much distorted from forms current at this date in Europe. But Mr. King's reading of the name, omitted from Professor Boxer's version, seems correct, and the expansion of Anrz to Anriquez most plausible. Mr. Keil gives the form Henriques (loc. cit.). In 1552 there would be no question of Macao as the source of the order for these pieces, and Malacca seems again much the most likely.

In the Exhibition of Portuguese art at the Royal Academy in the winter of 1955–6 another piece of Chinese blue and white porcelain with Western style decoration was exhibited beside the Victoria and Albert vase and one of the two bowls of 1541: this was a bottle (no. 554) painted with an armillary sphere, the badge of King Manoel, and claimed therefore to be earlier than the date of his death, 1521, an argument which does not seem quite conclusive.

In the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, is a Chinese blue and white plate decorated with the coat of arms of Matias de Albuquerque, who became Captain of Malacca in 1577 and Viceroy of India in 1591. It was illustrated in the catalogue of a special exhibition at the Museum in 1954, Portugal na India, na China e no Japão (no. 70), but since it includes no Chinese motifs in the decoration, is unlike the other pieces discussed, or the Passmore bowl.

Nevertheless, it is also to the earlier part of the Wan Li period (1573–1620) that our bowl is to be attributed. In the inside are painted ten panels containing different flowering plants on rocks, and in the centre cranes and water weeds. On the outside are painted between the medallions, five of the Buddhist emblems. The most likely date would be between 1575 and 1585.

Among the extensive collection from the Ardebil shrine now in the Tehran Museum, the only piece in any way comparable is a bowl with figures of sages in medallions of somewhat similar shape. This, assigned to the late sixteenth century, would seem to be rather later in date than the Passmore bowl.

A point of special interest is that a bowl of this type was closely copied in Persia in the seventeenth century, with the motto reduced to unintelligible patterns and the five Buddhist emblems reduced to one, the canopy. This bowl, which is rather larger (diam. 17 ½ in.), is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The interior decoration of the bowl shows a bearded man riding a donkey in the centre, an entirely Persian subject characteristic of the first half of the seventeenth century in draughtsmanship.
There is a second Persian seventeenth-century bowl in the Victoria and Albert with unintelligible script in ribbons, but the medallions in this case contain the figure of a woman over whose head an umbrella is held by a page, a subject which seems also to be of western derivation though the costume and drawing show unmistakably that the immediate source was Chinese. No Chinese original is, however, known.

It is likely that the Chinese originals of these two bowls would have been acquired by Persian merchants at Malacca which was the great trading entrepôt in the later sixteenth century where the Portuguese organized an important international market in Chinese goods. There can be no question of Dutch intervention at this time in the China trade, or indeed, before 1610. It follows therefore that the Passmore bowl must have been decorated for a Portuguese patron and that the emblems must have a Portuguese connotation. For during the next thirty years Portuguese trade with China decreased until the Dutch capture of Malacca in 1640 put an end to the prosperity of Macao.

Basil Gray

2 John A. Pope, Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine (1956), pl. 6, L: Mr. Pope does not reproduce the Ardebil vase.
3 'A document in Ming porcelain', Year Book of Oriental Art and Culture (1924-5), p. 31; Sir H. Garner, ibid., pl. 56A;
6 John A. Pope, Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine, 1956, pl. 106.
7 Arthur Lane, Later Islamic Pottery, 1957, pl. 81A, attributed to Meshed and the second half of the seventeenth century.
8 T'ien-tse Chang, Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644 (Leyden, 1934), p. 107.
9 On the advice of Professor Mario Praz a search was made in Italian Emblem books of the sixteenth century, but without finding that on the Passmore bowl. He remarked that the hydra bears a great resemblance to one of frequent occurrence, e.g. in Camillo Camilli's Imprese illustri (1586), pt. iii, p. 6, but the motto is not found there, or elsewhere.

A THURIBLE COVER FROM WAZIRISTAN

In his excavations at Taxila Sir John Marshall discovered two pottery objects which he finally published under the heading of 'Appliqué Ware'. Only two specimens of this ware were found, one from Jandial, the other from the Dharmarajika. Both were of red clay, the latter with a buff slip. The piece from the Dharmarajika has straight sloping sides with five apertures bordered with appliqué ornament roughly in the shape of a caiya window. Between two of the apertures is a round medallion also appliqué. It terminates in a pierced, circular, knob-finial, from which some appliqué ornaments are broken off. The second piece, from Jandial, is more elaborate and dome-shaped, with four apertures again surrounded by ornament in the shape of a caiya window. Between the apertures
are four pilasters with rough floral capitals supporting vertically grooved āmalakas, which surround a circular, pierced finial. Marshall called the Jandiāl piece a toy hut, and the other the cover of a hut. Doubtless both represent roofs of buildings, but almost certainly served as the covers of incense-burners. Neither was found in any sort of archaeological context, and Marshall suggests that 'both are probably of the mediaeval period'.

No other pieces of this type seem to have been published. Recently, however, F. B. Leeson, Esq., presented to the Museum a third example of red clay and appliqué technique and of more complex design.² (Pl. xxxivb.) It was given to him by a local inhabitant in the North Waziristan Agency of the North-west Frontier Province of Pakistan. The circular rim is notched into a sort of rough dentil pattern. There is a true caitya window on each of the four sides, pierced and with a second, smaller hole above. Each caitya is flanked by two āmalakas, one above the other, each supported by a short stem which in turn is fastened by a loop of clay. The whole is topped by a huge āmalaka with a central pierced finial.

Though of some interest in themselves, these thurible covers, especially the Museum's piece, are especially important as indicative of possible architectural forms of the sikhara or temple towers of the area in which they were found. It must be admitted that no actual examples of this type of sikhara have survived in the north-west, of whose temple architecture we know in any case very little. There are a few domical structures of uncertain date in Gandhāra and especially in the Swat Valley, of which Bālo⁴ with its interesting barrel-vaulted pradakshinā-pathā is the most important. These domes now plain may have originally been decorated with stucco ornament. Such other temples or fragments as have survived show either a straightforward variant⁴ of the medieval 'northern' sikhara found elsewhere in the Hill States, especially in the Kulū Valley, or a second variant with certain 'Gandhāra' survivals, as in the temples of the Salt Range⁵ and Kāfir Kot North and South.

There exists, however, mainly on the western seaboard of Kāthiawār, a small series of temples, which have in common a treatment of the sikhara, which seems to have had no further development in North Indian architecture. The most important of these temples, in order of complexity of sikhara, if not of date, are Gop, Visāvāda, Bileśvara, Son Kānsāri, Kalsar, and Pindara.⁶ They form a group which seems to be earlier than the first fully realized 'northern' sikhara in this area, Sutrāpādā (c. A.D. 700), which itself precedes the pre-Solankī temples of Wadhwan, Sandhera, Miāni, and Ghumli (eighth—tenth centuries A.D.).⁶ Of the early group the sikhara of Gop is the simplest. It is pyramidal in shape, consists of two courses, and is crowned by a hollow-sided cone finial. The lower of the two courses is decorated on each side by two caitya windows, the upper course with one. Each caitya window projects in the manner of a dormer window. The other members of this group are elaborations of this scheme with a larger

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number of courses and consequently of caitya windows. Bileśvara, Son Kānsāri, and Kalsar have small pavilions with small āmalakas and finials at the corners of the courses. Visāvāda is crowned by a large āmalaka. On the Pindara śikhara āmalakas are used at the corners of the courses as real architectural features. The emphasis on all these śikharas is horizontal. At Sutrapāda, the first real ‘northern’ śikhara, the accent though still predominantly horizontal is relieved by the points of the trefoil caitya windows passing into the next course on the rāhā-paga or central rib of the śikhara. In the late group of pre-Solānki temples the multiplication and consequent diminution of caitya windows to produce a sort of honeycomb pattern on the rāhā-paga gives that vertical emphasis which remains characteristic of the ‘northern’ śikhara.7

The origin and date of the Gop śikhara have long exercised scholars. Comparison with Kāshmiri monuments of the eighth century A.D. and later is not helpful, though such few elements as they share may suggest a common origin. That more examples of the Gop type of śikhara probably existed, and that in the ‘Gandhāra’ area, is evident from the British Museum thurible. The distinctive features of the thurible are the use of the heavy āmalaka below the Gop-type finial, and the superimposed āmalakas at the corners. Nevertheless, it comes closer to Gop than any surviving temple śikhara. The date of Gop favoured by scholars varies between the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Recently a radio-carbon test of wood from a beam in the wall of the śikhara has given a date about A.D. 550. If we accept a standard deviation of ±150 years for the Calcutta equipment, this will yield a two-thirds probability of A.D. 400 to 700. The form of the caitya windows, however, with their voluted finials suggests a comparison with post-Gupta fragments from Mūrti8 in the Salt Range and with such monuments at the Viśvakarma Cave at Elura. This, together with the fairly elaborate articulation of the basement walls of the pradakshināpathā would indicate a seventh-century A.D. date for Gop, and probably for the three thurible covers.

Douglas Barrett

3 Sir Aurel Stein, Memoirs Archaeological Survey of India, no. 42, figs. 6–7.
5 With the exception of Malot which is in all respects a Kāshmiri monument.
6 Most of these temples are published by Henry Cousins, Somanātha and Other Medieval Temples in Kāthiawād, Calcutta, 1931.
7 With this group may be compared the temples at Amb and the rather earlier brick temple of Kālar in the Salt Range. (W. S. Talbot, ‘An Ancient Hindu Temple in the Panjāb’, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1903.)
8 Sir Aurel Stein, Archaeological Reconnaissances in N.W. India, and S.E. Iran (London, 1937), pl. 20, fig. 3.
A DATED BUDDHIST IMAGE OF THE NORTHERN WEI PERIOD

THE greatest achievement of the Buddhist sculptors of the Wei period is found in the cave-temples excavated under the patronage of the kings at Yün Kang and Lung Men. By the beginning of the sixth century an independent Chinese style was fully formed, and the prestige of the well-endowed cave sculptors carried the style through north China from Shantung to Kansu. Before A.D. 500 however there was no such unifying influence in the development of styles. Some of the bronze statuettes of this period are crude and simplified versions of models derived from Central Asia and some—like the piece considered here—witness to the naiveté of the faith as it was professed by the T'o Pa Turks who formed the dominant class of the Wei kingdom.

An early type of Wei image is represented by an example which the Brooke Sewell fund recently secured for the Museum. (Pls. xxx, xxxi.) It is of heavily gilded bronze, standing 10 inches high, and shows a figure wearing an elaborate head-dress, with jewel chains hanging from the shoulders and crossing over the belly. In his right hand the figure holds a long-stemmed lotus bud. A scarf appears to be knotted behind the head, its end rising high above it. Other scarves descend from the same knot to either side of the figure and are looped over the arms at the elbow. The left hand holds an end of scarf which is detached and makes no logical shape with the portion draping the arm. In other images of this type the scarf-end is not detached as it is here. In at least one example the left hand holds a flask.1 Confusion between flask and scarf in badly cast or worn images is probably the reason for the oddity seen here.

The inscription on the back of the pedestal includes a date equivalent to A.D. 471 and the usual form of dedication: ‘5th year of Huang Hsing, 3rd month, 21st day, Ch’iu Chi-nu, citizen of Hsin Ch’eng Hsien, ordered this image of Kuan Yin to be made on behalf of his father and mother...’2 The last column and a half of the inscription, comprising about a dozen characters, are illegible, but would express the usual prayer for the welfare of the parents’ spirits. The opening words are ‘to be born above in heaven’, a phrase natural to believers in the paradise doctrines which gained Buddhism its earliest adherents in the Far East.

The identity of the image as Kuan Yin, Avalokiteśvara, is corroborated by the lotus bud held in the right hand, even if the flask is absent from the left. Padmapani, ‘Lotus Bearer’, was an epithet of Avalokiteśvara in India. In China the lotus is dropped as a distinguishing feature of Kuan Yin when images of this type ceased to be made, while the flask was retained. The Lotus Bearer was not depicted in the cave temples.

On the back of the halo is engraved an elaborate scene. Two Buddhas appear seated side by side in a pavilion raised on a four-tier pedestal decorated with

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patterns of scales, waves and a rope twist. The pavilion, decorated with other geometric patterns, has a gabled roof, on which, between the horn-like ornaments of the ridge, stands a large phoenix. Beneath the seated Buddhas are figures of donors. The one on the right is male, dressed in the cap, tunic and trousers of the nomad fashion introduced by the T'o Pa into China, and the other two female, with elaborate head-dress and long loose skirts. All these people are holding offerings, the woman in the centre placing hers in a pedestal bowl not unlike the offering stands which are still to be seen on Buddhist altars. The nature of the offerings, whether they are food or valuables, is not distinguishable. The inscriptions set near the pictures of donors complete the naïve impression which the whole composition gives. The figure on the right is inscribed 'the devout believer Ch'iu Chi-nu (i.e. the dedicatory of the image) when he is doing service to the Buddha', and similarly the other two, (Li?) Han and Liu, each 'when doing service'. As nearly always, even in Buddhist inscriptions of the fifth century, when Turkish names might be expected, the surnames appearing here are common Chinese ones. The inscriptions are badly set out and engraved, and there seems to be some muddle. Between the central and right-hand figures is another legend beginning with 'the priest', followed by two carelessly engraved and now illegible characters, and ending 'when ... the Buddha', the word 'serving' being presumably one of those now unrecognizable. But no figure of a priest is drawn to correspond to this legend.

At least half a dozen images of this form—as defined by head-dress, scarves, lotus and scarf-end or flask—are recorded. The dates given in their inscriptions extend from A.D. 453 to 530. All have a head-halo and body-halo, the former with rays conventionalized as lotus petals. The whole nimbus, edged with curling flames, is boat-shaped, or has slight ogival curves at the top. In the treatment of the draperies the figures vary from crude stiffness, in which the scarves project starkly outwards, to a softer, more naturalistic design, in which the folds of scarves and garments are even more sinuous and logically disposed than those of the present figure. The greatest refinement is seen in the image of the Freer Gallery, in which the too low-waisted proportions of the other figures is corrected. The inscribed date of this piece is, surprisingly, the earliest of all—A.D. 453. Images of the kind with harder lines are dated to A.D. 484, 498, and 530. One might conclude that this shows degeneration of an image type from a sensitively modelled original, were it not that this would contradict the progress of Wei sculpture in general, both large and small, during the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century, which is towards greater naturalism of detail and greater elegance of stylized draperies.

Besides the image-type we have discussed two others were popular as statuettes in the early decades of the sixth century. One of these, instead of the crossed jewel-chains, has two loops of scarf, one in front of each leg; and the other, without chains or scarves, has the garment set in close regular folds, peaked out
sideways at the hem and often giving a sharply serrated outline. The first, with or without the lotus bud, is generally named Kuan Yin, in the inscription, and the second type, Maitreya.

It is interesting that images of these two classes include pieces which, according to their inscriptions, were dedicated by inhabitants of what is now the province of Hopei. Four hsien towns founded by the Northern Wei were called, at least temporarily, Hsin Ch'eng ('New Town'), and of these one near the modern Hsü Shui Hsien in Hopei province is probably the place named in the present inscription. One other image of the same type records a place, Kao Ling Hsien, which unfortunately cannot be located. The bronze statuettes as a whole, however, like the many marble statues recently discovered at Ch'ü Hsien in Hopei, appear to indicate schools of sculptors active in this north-easternmost province of the Wei territory in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Their influence is traceable in the earliest Buddhist statuary of Korea. The styles followed are not those which found most favour with the cave sculptors farther west in Honan and Shansi, and in part they retained archaic designs which were rejected at Yün Kang and Lung Men. The image acquired by the Museum belongs to the group in which this provincial independence is most striking.

The custom of depicting Buddhas and donors on the back of the halo appears to have been followed in the last thirty years of the fifth century. In A.D. 482 we find a Buddha enthroned as Lord of the Paradise, surrounded by Bodhisattvas, and combined with the figures of Gautama and Prabhūtarātna; the pair also appear on our image seated above in the pavilion which represents the latter's stupa opened to receive his successor. The front of the pedestal of a bronze statuette of this subject in the Nezu Museum has figures of two lay donors, man and woman, dressed in much the same fashion as those of our image. Each holds a long-stemmed lotus and between them are two offering-stands. The phoenix perched above the conversing Buddhas in our image is the guardian, more properly a cock, set on the roof of watch towers and gateways in Chinese pictures from the Han Dynasty onwards: 'Marquis Cock, who in the night breaks not faith', as we are informed by the inscription on a Han tomb.

William Watson

1 Ōmura Seigan, Shina Bijutsu-shū Chōkoku Hen, pl. 177, no. 470.
2 頼興五年三月廿一日新城縣民仇寄奴為父母造觀音像○父母生天上...
3 清信士仇寄奴造像時
4 Ōmura, op. cit., pl. 159, no. 465 (A.D. 484); pl. 177, no. 470 (A.D. 492); pl. 191, no. 493 (A.D. 498); pl. 192, no. 495 (A.D. 501); Matsubara Saburō, 'Hokugi Shōkōki Kaikokuhai Kindō-butsu no ittenki', Bijutsu Kenkyu, no. 198 (1958), p. 27, fig. 18 (A.D. 530); Münsterberg, H., Buddhist Bronzes of the Six Dynasties Period', Artibus Asiae, ix. 4, p. 291, plate 5 (A.D. 453).
5 i.e. the piece in the Freer Gallery, Washington, illustrated by Münsterberg, loc. cit.
7 頼陵縣
8 Ōmura, op. cit., pl. 175, no. 464.
9 Catalogue, Seizansō Seishū, vol. ix, pl. xvi.
10 Wang Tu Han Mu Pi Hua (Murals of the Han Tomb at Wang Tu), Peking, 1955.
The art which developed under the Sassanian rulers of Persia was confined neither to the life of the dynasty nor to the political frontiers of the Sassanian State. Sassanian artistic motifs found their way into the art of Central Asia and T'ang China; gained currency in the Islamic world in the period of the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs and partly through the intermediary of the Imperial Court of Byzantium reached western Europe. The tradition persisted in Persia itself during the early centuries of Muslim rule: and in the decorative arts the attribution of certain objects to the Sassanian or Islamic period often gives rise to controversy. This is especially applicable to textiles and metal work. Thus a well-known parcel-gilt silver dish carved and engraved with a 'senmurv' or Hippocampus in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum has been variously given a Sassanian or a post-Sassanian date though the decoration of this piece is indubitably in Sassanian taste.¹

A fine example of Islamic metalwork in Sassanian style has recently been purchased by the Department of Oriental Antiquities from the Brooke Sewell Fund. This is a brass ewer, 11 5/8 in. in height, which is said to have been excavated in Persia (Pl. xxxii). It has a pear-shaped body 5 3/4 in. in diameter at its widest part tapering to a narrow neck and a flat circular mouth; an S-shaped handle with chevron mouldings on its outside edge and a 'spurred' base is attached to the rim of the mouth and the body of the vessel and is surmounted by a thumbpiece in the form of a leaf (Pl. xxxiii b). The latter appears to have been deformed in the process of moulding.² The vessel is supported on a splayed foot-rim completed by a base plate (diameter 3 3/4 in.).

The decoration of the vessel has been executed with a tracing tool. On the body, two medallions on either side of the axis formed by the handle contain each a 'senmurv' or hippocampus. This fabulous beast, half bird, half animal, frequently depicted in Sassanian art, is here given a pair of curling horns—an unusual feature. A two-pronged tongue projects from the beast's open jaws; and a thick mane begins from a little above the snout to join a ruff-like mane around the neck. The smooth area of the neck and breast are decorated with tiny circular punch marks arranged in groups of three. Paired wings are attached to the shoulders and a peacock tail of heart-shaped feathers sweeps majestically round towards the creature's head. Clawed feet, placed one in front of the other, are arranged in a crouching position. A curious feature is the rendering of the articulation of the shoulder.

The two panels formed between the medallions are filled with acanthus scrolls (Pl. xxxiii a). A cable-patterned band at the base of the neck gives definition to the vessel's shoulder: and the neck itself is decorated with false gadroons, alternately wide and narrow. On either side of the lip of the mouth is the head of an animal—
perhaps a cervid or dog—in profile with interior details traced. On the pouring edge are three circular punch marks, and in the middle of each a dot. From the base of the thumbpiece there issues a lotus bud between paired trefoil leaves on stems.

The form of the ewer is a legacy from classical antiquity and its descent can be traced from a type of oinochoe developed in imperial Italy about the second century A.D. Metal vessels of this shape with certain significant differences, however, have been attributed to Sassanian Persia. Perhaps the finest is the bronze ewer found in the Caucasus and now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The pear-shaped body is decorated in relief with rows of half palmettes and lotus buds in relief, and is separated from the neck by a profiled collar. The lip of the mouth is flat and circular. The handle modelled in the form of a feline creature recalls the zoomorphic handles executed by the silversmiths of the Achaemenid period. The pedestal foot attached to the body by means of a narrow waist seems to be characteristic of Sassanian ewers of this type. Others differ too in the form of the mouth which is given a long horizontally projecting spout: in the shape of the body which is oval rather than circular in section; and in the handle which may be attached not to the lip but at the base of the neck. Whether these are of Sassanian or post-Sassanian date is not certain but they do stand apart from a homogeneous group of ewers which can be assigned with certainty to the early Islamic period and to which the British Museum example belongs.

This group depends on a bronze ewer now preserved in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. It is a pear-shaped vessel standing on a rather high and slightly splayed foot-ring; the neck divided from the body by a projecting collar is surmounted by a flat circular mouth. The S-shaped handle attached to the mouth and body is formed in its middle section of six large ‘pearls’: and on its top is a thumbpiece moulded in the form of a curling palmette. The body and neck are faceted and bare of ornament. On either side of the lip are profiles of what appear to be animal heads—unfortunately too damaged to be identifiable: and around the lip an Arabic inscription in Kufic reads: ‘made in Basra by Ibn Yazid in the year 69’ (equivalent to A.D. 686–7). Similar in form and shape—at least in all essentials—to this piece which has the distinction of being the earliest dated piece of Islamic metalwork are six ewers including the one recently acquired by the British Museum. These are:

1. Brass ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum undecorated except for flutings in narrow leaf forms around the neck and profiles of two birds’ heads, the beaks of which are broken off, on the flat mouth. The eyes of these birds are inlaid with copper. The S-shaped handle is scalloped in its middle section and is surmounted by a thumbpiece in the form of a palmette. Low foot-ring with a rosette engraved on the base.
2. Bronze ewer in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Similar to (1) except for relief decoration on body of floral ornament inlaid with copper.

3. Bronze ewer in the Lewisohn collection. This has the same high foot-ring of the 'Basra' ewer; and its handle though S-shaped has the same six 'pearls' in its middle section. The neck and under part of the body are fluted. The thumbpiece consists of palmates in openwork enclosed by a circular lobed frame. The splendid engraved decoration of this piece may be a later addition.

4. Bronze ewer now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (formerly in the Harari collection). Handle with scalloped edge. Projecting collars around the neck, shoulder, and waist of the body. Low foot-ring. Profiled animal heads on flat circular mouth. As in (3) the engraved decoration may have been executed in a later period.

5. Brass ewer in the British Museum.

6. Bronze ewer at one time in the F. R. Martin collection. S-shaped handle with scalloped outer edge but without thumbpiece: collar between body and foot-ring. If the carved or traced decoration is contemporary with the casting, the vessel must date from twelfth to thirteenth century.

It is hardly possible to suggest even a tentative chronology for the vessels forming this group. The ewers in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Walters Art Gallery and the Lewisohn collection cannot be far removed in time from the Basra ewer: while their divergencies would put those in Cairo and the Martin collection at the end of the series. The British Museum ewer could hardly be later than the eighth or early ninth century. It would be equally rash to attribute them to a Basra workshop. Basra had been established little more than fifty years in A.D. 686 and the Arab community must have relied on foreign craftsmen for the supply of luxury objects. Ibn Yazid may well have been an emigre from one of the great centres of Persia where metal-working was founded on a long-established tradition.

The British Museum ewer is important because it provides a link between the Sassanian type described above and the Islamic group depending from the Basra ewer. The decoration on several of the Sassanian type ewers is disposed in exactly the same manner as on the British Museum ewer; that is, a pair of roundels containing animal representations carved or engraved, on either side of the axis formed by the handle as well as panels of ornaments in the two spaces between the roundels.

Finally one significant detail links the decoration of the British Museum ewer with Persia's past beyond the Sassanian period. The general form of the acanthus scrolls in the two filling panels on the front and back of the body looks forward to the arabesque scroll as developed in an engraved circular tray in the State Museum,
Berlin\textsuperscript{15} which has been attributed to the early tenth century A.D.\textsuperscript{16} But in the British Museum ewer the acanthus leaves are so rendered that the near edge is folded up against the far edge of the leaf. The naturalistic and two dimensional effect obtained by purely linear means would be hard to parallel in Islamic art and might be regarded as foreign to its idiom. A similar rendering is rare even in the Sassanian period but occurs in a sculptured capital and panel at Taq i Bustan.\textsuperscript{17} The closest parallel, however, can be seen in a silver bowl found in 1952 in the Kamor region west of the Urals.\textsuperscript{18} In this the floral ornament is composed of acanthus leaves including a trefoil in which the near edge of each of the two lower lobes is curled upwards. The motif is typical of Greco-Bactrian art and the bowl itself has been dated not later than the first century A.D.

R. H. Pinder-Wilson

**TECHNICAL REPORT**

The ewer was subjected to a technical examination in the Research Laboratory to obtain information about its method of manufacture and evidence as to its authenticity. Since this examination was carried out prior to purchase, it was of necessity limited in scope because it was not possible to remove samples for detailed microchemical analysis.

**Method of manufacture**

The metal was shown to be brass by the characteristic appearance which was visible in certain rubbed areas on the rim, the thumb-plate, and the base, as well as a scratch on the body. A microscopic examination of the structure of the metal, where it had been corroded at the rim, showed that the ewer had been cast, and the fact that it was not possible to detect any joints between the handle and the rim or the body indicated that it had been cast complete with handle. When cast, the body was much narrower and was enlarged to its present pear-shape by subsequent working, the curvature of the handle being such that this operation could be readily carried out. The form of the body was achieved by subjecting it to a vigorous planishing while it was supported on a heavy metal stake, which entered through the base which was still open. This hammering expanded the body of the vessel and thinned the metal considerably. At a magnification of \(10\times\) it is possible to see in cracks that the crystal structure of the metal of the body is more elongated than that of the rim. The thin metal is only about 0.4 mm. thick, whilst the cast metal at the neck is about 3 mm. thick. Allowing for compression of the metal, this suggests an increase in the diameter of the vessel of about 3 to 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) in., which has, in fact, occurred. Overthinning on the side now showing most cracks has caused the bottom of the handle on this side to be bent out of its true intended radial orientation. One of the thumb-plates is distorted,
and it appears to have been cast in this condition. Repairs to the casting were apparently made at the time of manufacture by inserting in five places (four near the widest part of the body and one in the neck) circular plugs which had been cut off a brass rod. All the plugs have approximately the same diameter, and the mineralization on them is similar to that on the body. One patch which was not circular in shape has fallen out; this was apparently made at a later date to repair a leak by, it would seem, a less-experienced craftsman. The final operation was the completion of the foot by soldering on the base plate.

No evidence has been discovered to show that metal inlay was present at any time. The tool marks, which are evident on the whole of the body, show clearly that the decoration was carried out by chasing and not engraving, and, furthermore, since the decoration on the body is not visible underneath the handles, where it would have been difficult to use the tracer, it is obvious that the handles were already in position when the decoration was carried out.

Evidence of age

The presence of a thick fan-shaped incrustation of cuprite on that portion of the rim (over which liquid would naturally flow when the ewer was in use) is a significant feature which may be taken as evidence that the ewer was actually used in the past. If, as may be presumed likely, the liquid contained dissolved salts, it would serve to initiate further preferential corrosion in this area during the period when the ewer was buried. It is possible that the vessel was only used for a relatively short period of time, because the handle does not show signs of much wear, and there are no marks of wear on the convex areas of the base.

Owing to the fact that the stretched metal of the body was left in an unannealed condition, it contained unrelieved stresses which have acted as focal points for corrosion during burial. This has resulted in the formation of numerous cracks in the body which are not evident in the neck which had not been subjected to much working. Some of these cracks could have been formed under certain conditions of use, e.g. in the vicinity of a midden, and may have caused the ewer to be discarded as being incapable of further repair.

The patina is very thin, but contains much cuprite and malachite. At present it is overlaid with wax, but when a portion of the wax was removed in a small area, the patina was found to resist the action of acetone and water, and had a satisfactory appearance when viewed between crossed polars at a magnification of 110×. Some of the patina has been cleaned off since excavation in order to reveal the decoration.

Although this ewer could, from a purely technical point of view, have been manufactured and brought to its present condition in, say, 100 years, there can be no question that this has actually been brought about. When the various features listed above are considered together, they provide a self-consistent history of
age and normal usage. It is very unlikely that these features, together with such oddities as repairs to casting faults which are not flush with the surface and yet have been decorated, and a second-generation repair, would be found in a fake. It, therefore, seems reasonable to conclude, on the basis of the technical evidence available, that the condition of the ewer, assuming that it has been exposed to a normal environment, is compatible with the date suggested for it.

A. E. Werner and R. M. Organ

2 See the technical report which accompanies this article.
3 A silver ewer from the Chaourse Treasure—probably second century A.D.—has a pear-shaped body on a low broad footrim. The handle is attached to the circular rim of the mouth and the body of the vessel. A profiled collar is placed rather high around the neck (H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver plate (Greek, Etruscan and Roman)* in the British Museum (London, 1921), p. 39, pl. xxiv.
6 Smirnov, op. cit., pl. 1.
7 Sarre and Kühl, op. cit., Taf. 126, 128, 129 and Smirnov op. cit., pl. xlix.
10 Ht. 14 5/8 in. Sarre and Martin, op. cit., pl. 130.
12 Ht. 11 3/4 in. *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 1295A.
13 F. R. Martin, *Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient* (Stockholm, 1902), Taf. 27.
14 Smirnov, op. cit., pls. xlix, l.
15 Sarre and Martin, op. cit., pl. 137.
17 K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans* (Berlin, 1949), pls. 9, 10.
18 Salomea Fajans, ‘Recent Russian Literature on Newly Found Middle Eastern Metal Vessels’, *Ars Orientalis* (Washington and Michigan), ii (1957), pp. 68–69, pl. 8, figs. 19, 20.

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL RADIOCARBON MEASUREMENTS, I

The first series of radiocarbon dating measurements made at the British Museum Research Laboratory are reported in the following list. All measurements were made in a small mild-steel proportional counter (effective volume just under 500 c.c.) designed by W. R. Loosemore of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell; this is filled with acetylene gas at a pressure of 140 cm. Hg. and has an integral mercury shield. The acetylene is synthesized by a method described by Barker and since improved to give consistent yields around 96 per cent. with no detectable isotopic fractionation. Gas purity is checked by observing the counter characteristic using a cobalt 60 source at a fixed distance and the working point is adjusted to compensate for any slight variations in gas purity. The counter is screened by 8 inches of mild steel and
17 geiger counters in anti-coincidence as well as its integral mercury screen. A layer of paraffin wax containing 15 per cent. by weight of boric acid is also incorporated in the steel shield to reduce the neutron effect. The 'modern' count is 11.3 d.p.m. and the background 4.3 d.p.m. at 760 mm. barometric pressure. The barometric coefficient of the background is slightly less than 1 per cent./cm. Hg.

Additional safeguards to ensure greatest possible accuracy include continuous monitoring of the neutron flux in the steel screen as suggested by de Vries, thorough daily checking of the electronic equipment, and the use of a system of mechanical registers which provides a record of the count distribution in the output channels during each period of measurement. Any departure from normal statistical scatter during an overnight or week-end count is thus quickly detected.

The 'modern' reference sample is taken from the hundredth tree ring counting inwards from the bark of an oak tree recently felled. This sample is the same as that used by the Cambridge laboratory, and its use ensures that the contemporary value in the age calculation is free from the effect of dilution of the atmosphere with inactive carbon by the large-scale combustion of fossil fuels since the industrial revolution.

Background measurements are made using acetylene prepared from anthracite. The early work showed that the background remained very steady within the expected statistical fluctuations over a period of many months, apart from the slight barometric fluctuations. Nevertheless, frequent measurements of background and contemporaneous samples are made, for on two occasions during 1958, a rise in background of a few counts per minute was detected. In both cases, the increase of activity was of a temporary nature, and the rate of decay suggested the presence of fission products. It may be significant that each of these increases in background occurred soon after the announcement of a series of nuclear weapon tests, one in the spring the other in the autumn.

All samples have been measured on at least two occasions, with an interval of at least one month between them, in order to demonstrate that there has been no contamination by radon. In fact, the method of acetylene synthesis and purification was designed to eliminate radon from the sample, and these measurements have confirmed that this is so.

Correction for isotopic fractionation effects is not possible on a routine basis owing to the lack of suitable mass spectrometric facilities. Because of this, and of the possibility of errors due to the effects recently discovered by de Vries it is considered unrealistic to quote errors based solely on the counting statistics. Error terms have been widened therefore to include contributions of ±80 years for isotopic fractionation effects, and ±100 years for the de Vries effects. Ages are calculated on a half life for carbon 14 of 5,568 ± 30 years and are expressed in years B.P. (before present time).

All organic material is treated with dilute 1 per cent. hydrochloric acid in
order to eliminate the possibility of contamination with carbonates. Charcoal
samples are extracted thoroughly, first with hot 1 per cent. hydrochloric acid
and then with hot 1 per cent. caustic soda, in order to remove any carbonate or
humic acid which might be present. When this treatment is completed, the char-
coal is washed with 1 per cent. hydrochloric acid to free it from alkali and finally
with distilled water to remove the acid.

Radiocarbon dates are based on measurements of radioactivity which are
subject to statistical fluctuations. Consequently, they can never have quite the
same precise meaning as calender dates and it is particularly important to note
that the radiocarbon age must never be divorced from its error term which is a
standard deviation and must be interpreted as such.

For example, a radiocarbon age of 2,700 ± 150 years implies that there is
a 68 per cent. probability that the true age lies between 2,550 and 2,850 years,
the limits defined by the standard deviation. If one considers the limits defined
by twice the standard deviation, the probability rises to 95.4 per cent., i.e. in the
above case there is a 95.4 per cent. probability that the true age lies between
2,400 years and 3,000 years. If the limits are widened even further to include
three standard deviations, the probability rises to 99.7 per cent. Again taking the
same example, there is a 99.7 per cent. probability that the true age lies between
2,250 and 3,150 years.

In comparing two radiocarbon ages, account must be taken of the standard
deviation associated with each age. Thus the standard deviation of the sum or
the difference of two ages is obtained by taking the square root of the sum of the
squares of the two standard deviations, e.g. the difference between 3,330 ± 200
years and 3,100 ± 200 years is 230 years with a combined standard deviation of
\( \sqrt{(200^2 + 200^2)} = 280 \) years. The arithmetic difference between the two ages
in this case is less than the combined standard deviation and one can only conclude
that the two ages are not significantly different. If, however, the ages were 3,800
± 200 years and 3,100 ± 200 years, the arithmetic difference between the two
ages would be 700 years, whereas the combined standard deviation has the same
value of ±280 years, i.e. the difference would be written as 700 ± 280 years.
Since the arithmetic difference is more than twice the standard deviation, one can
conclude that the two ages are significantly different. It should be noted, however,
that the difference is not known with any great precision for the combined stan-
dard deviation is quite large by comparison with the arithmetic difference.

In the case where the difference between two ages lies between one and two
combined standard deviations (e.g. 3,500 ± 200 and 3,100 ± 200 with a
difference of 400 ± 280 years) there is still a fair probability that such a difference
is due to chance alone and it would not be advisable to draw highly significant
conclusions as to the relative ages of the samples.

H. Barker and C. J. Mackey

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I. CROSS-CHECK SAMPLES AND SAMPLES OF KNOWN AGE

Serial No.       Description of Sample                          Age (B.P.)
BM 16 St. Cuthbert, Durham, England
   Wood from the original coffin of St. Cuthbert. Sample made available
   by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral. There
   are a number of coffins associated with the bones of the saint but the
   original inner one almost certainly dates to A.D. 698. The known
   age of the sample is thus 1,261 years plus the age of the timber. The
   agreement with the radiocarbon age is satisfactory.       1,333 ± 150

BM 15 Lake Nemi, Italy
   Wood from one of Caligula’s ships recovered from Lake Nemi.
   Historically dated to about A.D. 50. Sample made available by C.
   Cortesi and M. Beneventano, CI4 laboratory, Rome. Known age
   1,909 years plus the age of the timber. Dated by the Stockholm
   laboratory at 2,010 ± 65 years and by the Cambridge laboratory at
   1,905 ± 95 years.                                      2,080 ± 150

BM 22 Sesostris, Egypt
   Wood from the deck of the funerary ship of Sesostris III. Originally
   submitted to the Chicago laboratory by Colonel C. C. Gregg, Chicago
   Natural History Museum, and made available to the British Museum
   Laboratory by Dr. Libby. Known age 3,760 years. Dated by the
   Chicago laboratory (C-81) at 3,621 ± 180.                3,530 ± 150

BM 18 Three Ring Sample, Sequoia
   Wood from the heart of the giant redwood known as Centennial
   stump felled in 1874 with 2,905 rings between the innermost (and
   2,802 rings between the outermost) portion of the sample and the
   outside of the tree. Therefore the known mean age is now 2,938 ± 51
   years. Sample submitted to the Chicago laboratory by E. Schulman
   laboratory of Tree Ring Research, University of Arizona, Tucson.
   Made available to the British Museum by Dr. Libby. Dated by the
   Chicago laboratory at 2,710 ± 130 years (C-159).          2,803 ± 150

BM 19 Ruds Vedby, Zealand, Denmark
   Wood from the zone boundary between the Allerod and the younger
   Dryas periods. Sample made available by H. Tauber of the Copenhagen
   laboratory where it was dated at 10,890 ± 240 years by the
   solid-carbon method (K 101).                            11,333 ± 200
II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SAMPLES

Serial No.

Description of Sample

Age (B.P.)

(A) AFRICA

HOLLEY SHELTER, WARTBURG, NATAL, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Two samples of charcoal from the excavations in progress in a rock shelter on Messrs. Holley Bros. farm 'Everdon' at Wartburg, Natal, South Africa. The site is described by Cramb.6 BM 30 is from the 24–30 in. layer of grid Z 3 and was collected from an ancient hearth together with bone fragments and Middle Stone Age implements. BM 34 was from the 18–24 in. layer of grid Z 2 which adjoins grid Z 3. The grids are 3 feet square so that the samples are quite close to each other both horizontally and vertically. The Middle Stone Age material is homogeneous throughout. Bantu and later Stone Age material is rarely more than 6 in. below the surface. Collected by Gordon Cramb of 5 Old Mill Way, Durban North, and submitted by the Director, Archaeological Survey, Union of South Africa.

BM 30 HOLEY SHELTER. I
Charcoal from the 24–30 in. layer of grid Z 3. 18,200 ± 500

BM 34 HOLEY SHELTER. II
Charcoal from the 18–24 in. layer of grid Z 2. 4,490 ± 150

The close proximity of the samples makes the difference in their ages seem extraordinarily high. However, the excavator has pointed out that the situation of the cave is such that the build up of the floor level may have been extremely slow. The value for BM 30 is not inconsistent with another Middle Stone Age date (Cave of Hearths 15,000 ± 730, Chicago, C. 925). On the other hand, BM 34 is much too young by comparison with other Middle Stone Age dates and one must assume either that the sample is suspect or that the Middle Stone Age people lived uninterrupted in these parts to a period more recent than archaeological work elsewhere in South Africa indicated.

BM 39 Olieboompoort CAVE, WATERBERG, W. TRANSVAAL

Older than 33,000

The cave is on the west side of Olieboompoort, N.W. Waterberg between Ellisras and Vaalwater villages (see S. Africa 1:500,000 Topographic sheet Pietersburg S.E. 25/26). Sample of heavily mineralized material resembling charcoal but probably decayed wood, from bed 2. The nodules were scattered between 36 and 54 in. below the present-day cave floor, in a rich Middle Stone Age Pietersburg culture horizon, i.e. they do not appear to represent a fireplace. Collected by Dr. R. J. Mason during excavations Sept.–Oct. 1954 financed by

98
the Wenner Gren Foundation, and submitted by the Director, Archaeological Survey, Union of South Africa.

The excavation is described by Mason. The sample is from a Pietersburg culture 'Middle' Stone Age horizon and is, therefore, earlier than the later stage of the Pietersburg culture which in the case of the Cave of Hearths has a date of 15,000 ± 730 (Chicago C. 925). An earlier date than 15,100 ± 750 B.P. would, therefore, be expected but more than 33,000 years seems to be too early if the Cave of Hearths date is correct. The sample closely resembled charcoal but nothing remained after treatment with hot 1 per cent. hydrochloric acid and hot 1 per cent. caustic soda. Accordingly, the caustic soda soluble fraction was reprecipitated with acid, washed and dried and used as the source of carbon. Under these circumstances one cannot rule out the possibility of contamination. There are also inconsistences in the Cave of Hearths dates (ref. Chicago C. 924–C. 927) and the problem will remain unresolved until further South African material is dated.

(B) CENTRAL AMERICA

BM 37 LAS CUEVAS, BRITISH HONDURAS

Sample of charcoal from the brown earth layer in trench 7 (in front of floor Z) of the outer cave at Las Cuevas, 2 1/2 miles east of Millionario, Cayo District, British Honduras. The sample was in association with sherds suggesting the Late Classic period and with three-pronged incensaries. Collected in Feb. 1957 by Adrian Digby, Keeper of Ethnography.

(C) EGYPT

BM 21 MENTUHOTEP. THEBES

Section of tree trunk from the mortuary temple of Neb-hepet-Re Mentuhotep (XIth Dynasty) at Deir el Bahri, Thebes. Found by the Egypt Exploration Fund 1907 and now in the collection of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum No. 47791. Expected age 2010 B.C. (3969 B.P.) is based on astronomical evidence and should not be more than 20 years in error. The age obtained is significantly younger than expected.

BM 27 HEMAKA. SAQQARA

Wood, identified by the Forest Products Research Laboratory as a species of Acacia probably A. arabica. From a brick mastaba at Saqqara. The tomb was that of a nobleman, Hemaka, and dates to the reign of Udimu (1st Dynasty). Found by W. B. Emery in 1937 and submitted via the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum.

Expected age 4,958 ± 200 years. The discrepancy is large.
(D) GREAT BRITAIN

BM 17 Hod Hill, Dorset
BM 47

Samples of charcoal from the Iron Age A.B. occupation layer. Collected by J. W. Brailsford, Dept. of British and Medieval Antiquities. Sample BM 17, collected in 1957, was very small in amount and rather unsatisfactory. BM 47 collected in 1958 was selected very carefully in the laboratory from a large soil sample. Close examination of this suggested that rootlet contamination may well have been responsible for the unexpected result on BM 17 which was not a hard charcoal and therefore did not receive the full pre-treatment but only extraction with hydrochloric acid.

BM 40 High Rocks Shelks, Tunbridge Wells

Sample of charcoal from an undisturbed hearth (No. 5) in site F. associated with mesolithic flints. Stratigraphically it belongs to the later Mesolithic phase at High Rocks. Collected in August 1956 and submitted by J. H. Money.

BM 46 Stonehenge, Wilts.

Deer antler found at the base of the clean chalk filling of the ramp leading to Stonehole 56 of the Great Trilithon at Stonehenge. Sample collected in April 1958 by Professor Stuart Piggott. The sample was very heavily mineralized and contained only 10 per cent. of organic material. This was extracted chemically and used for the dating measurement.

BM 49 Nutbane, Hants.

Charcoal from the posts of the second forecourt building in the earthen Long Barrow at Nutbane, Penton Mewsey, Nr. Andover, Hants. This building was purposely burnt when the barrow mound was thrown up to cover the structures in the final phase. Collected during August–October 1957 and submitted by Faith de Mallet Vatcher (née Morgan).10

(E) INDIA

BM 54 Utnur

Charcoal from the first occupation deposit of a Deccan Neolithic ash mound at Utnur, India. Collected by Dr. F. R. Allchin and Dr. P. Srinivasachar in Aug. 1957 and submitted by Dr. Allchin (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London). No previous dates are available from this region of culture but cross dating suggests that it is earlier than Navdatoli Chalcolithic (3,294 ± 125 and 3,503 ± 128).11
(F) MALAYA
BM 43 Lenggong, Perak.
Charcoal from a Neolithic hearth in Cave Gua Harriman Lenggong, Perak. Collected by the late Major P. D. R. Williams-Hunt.

3450 ± 150

(G) SIAM
BM 41 Muang Phet
Charcoal from a depth of 4 ft. in an excavation of an early Buddhist site at Muang Phet, East Siam. Collected in December 1955 and submitted by H. G. Quaritch Wales. 12

1810 ± 150

III. GEOLOGICAL SAMPLE

Serial No.

Description of Sample

Age (B.P.)

GREAT BRITAIN
BM 29 Mounts Bay, Cornwall
Oak from a submerged forest. Collected from below the normal low-tide mark opposite Larrigan, between Penzance and Newlyn. Date of collection believed to be 1883. Submitted by Sir Gavin de Beer, Director, British Museum (Natural History). Photographs of the trees appear in the Transactions of the Royal Cornish Geological Society, xiii (1919), p. 312 and reference is made to them on pp. 313–18. There is an ancient tradition that St. Michaels Mount was at one time situated in a wood and these trees must have formed part of it. Their growth would have been stopped by the changes which led to the Mount becoming an island.

3,656 ± 150

2 H. de Vries, ‘Further Analysis of the Neutron Component of the Background of Counters used for C age Measurements’, Nuclear Physics, iii. 65–68.
10 W. B. Emery, The Tomb of Hemaka, Cairo, 1938.
XIX. DETAILS FROM MS. COUNTY MAPS BY WILLIAM SMITH.

a, b. Cheshire, c. 1602, Maps C. 2. cc. 2 (12).
c, d. Cheshire, 1585, MS. Harl. 1046, fol. 122.
e. Lancashire, 1598, MS. Harl. 6159, ff. 3*-4*.
XX. THE BENEDICTIONAL OF ST. ÆTHELWOLD.
St. Ætheldreda, Christ blessing, ff. 90b, 91.
repleni ut cum eis caelestis sponsi thalamum ualeat ingressum quo ipse.
Dear Clara,

I must not allow
delay the pleasure of buying with
you on Saturday to dinner

Time Time Time
It seems hard to write Speed
XXIV. STATUETTE OF RAMESSES IV.
XXV. STATUETTE OF RAMESSES IV, RESTORED FOR EXHIBITION.
XXVI. A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DRAWING OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE, RECTO.
XXVII. A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DRAWING OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE, VERSO.
XXVIII. A SILVER CUP PRESENTED TO ARTHUR YOUNG.
XXX. BRONZE IMAGE OF KUAN YIN, INSCRIBED WITH DEDICATION AND DATE EQUIVALENT TO A.D. 471.
XXXI. BRONZE IMAGE OF KUAN YIN, INSCRIBED WITH DEDICATION AND DATE EQUIVALENT TO A.D. 471.
XXXII. PERSIAN BRASS EWER.
8th-early 9th century A.D.
XXXIII. PERSIAN BRASS EWER.
a. Front of body.  b. Mouth and thumb piece.
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