

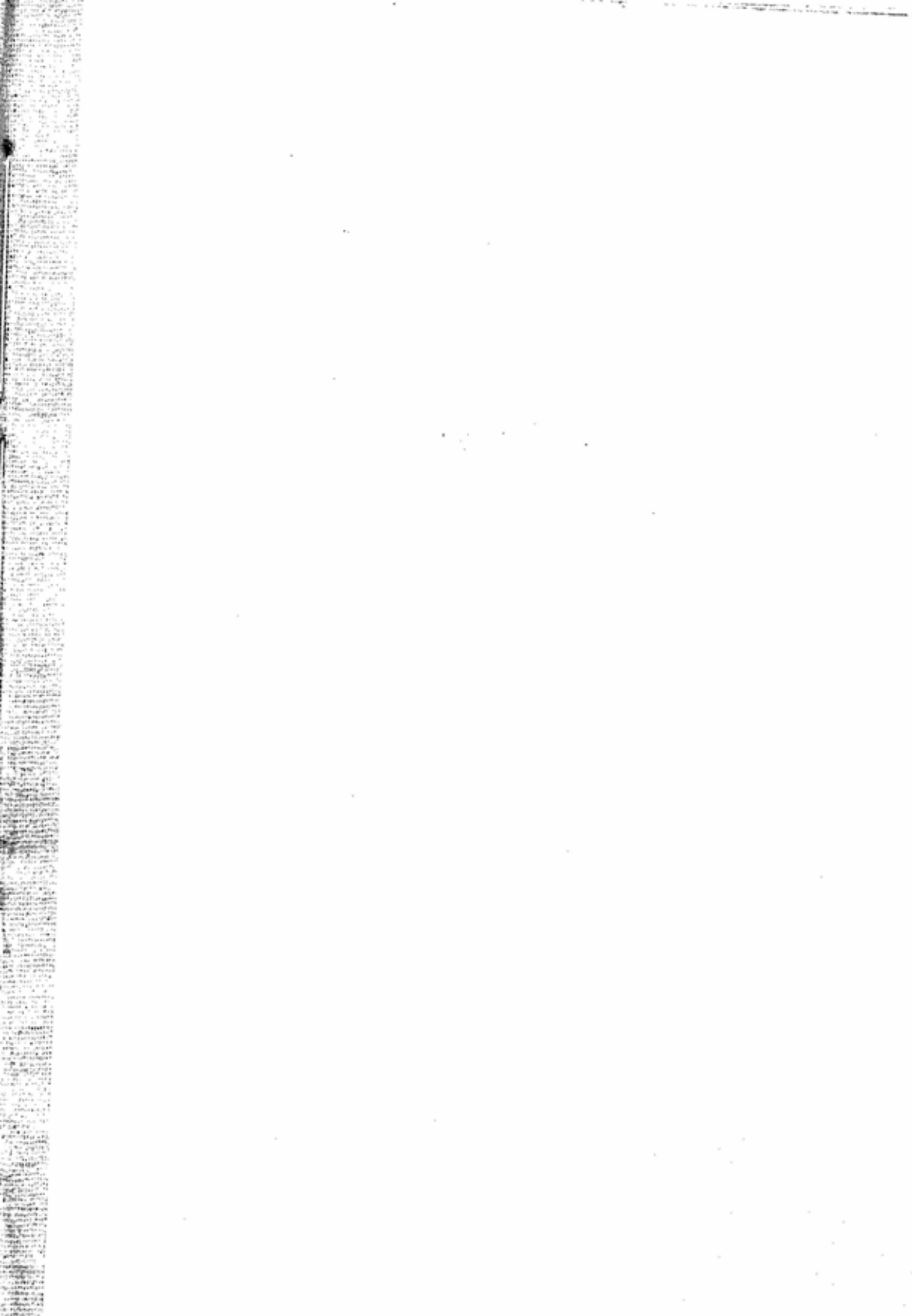
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Height 54 cm.

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SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTING AT SCIGLIANO (COSENZA)

SCIGLIANO is a very small town a few miles south of Cosenza, its provincial capital in Calabria. Further south still is another small town called Martirano. In his history of printing in Italy, Fumagalli¹ writes as follows (my translation):

In 1680 Giovanni Giacomo Palemonio, Bishop of Martorano [*sic*], opened in his episcopal palace at Scigliano a special printing-press to print his own works. He entrusted it from 1680 to 1686 to Duke [*sic*] Mario Barone from Rome, in 1689 to Duke [*sic*] Nicola Sorvillo [*sic*] from Capua, and in 1692 to Chrétien de Vos from Brussels. The first volume printed was *Divinorum et humanorum de fide liber* . . . Sciliani, typis Episcopalibus, Impressore Mario Barone Romano, 1681, in octavo.

Why Fumagalli honours the printers Barone and Servillo with dukedoms is not at all clear.

The books produced at this local and short-lived press in southern Italy must be very rare. There is, for instance, none in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and there was none in the British Museum until January 1965, when the Department of Printed Books acquired by purchase from Florence a copy of the ninth part of Bishop Palemonio's theological writings.² Much mystery surrounds not only the bishop himself, but also his see. Normally one is able to look up all bishops in the standard reference work by Gams³ and find the exact dates of their bishoprics. In this case, however, Gams gives no see named Martirano, but only Martorano, which must be the same place. The spelling Martirano is favoured by the book recently purchased by the British Museum, as well as by Bartholomew's Atlas, the Touring Club Italiano, and the Blue Guides. It must therefore be correct.

Under Martorano, Gams has no bishop named Palemonio, the nearest approach to him being a certain Jacobus Palamella, who was appointed Bishop of Martorano on 16 March 1667, while his successor, Michael Angelus Veraldus, was elected on 9 March 1693. This does not explain what happened to Palamella or when he died. I believe that Palamella and Palemonio must be one and the same man.⁴

In 1950 the Museum acquired by donation the following book:

Gli Affetti descritti da Gio. Iacomo Palemonio de' Signori della Torraca, e del Porto di Sapri. Dedicati alla S. C. Maestà della Imperadrice Eleonora. 2 pt. pp. xlvij. 150. 98. In Venetia. 1666. Presso Gio. Pietro Brigonci. 12°.

The preface shows that the author had been in Vienna with his dear friend Captain Angelo Leonini. Since both Torraca and Sapri are small places on or near the Gulf of Policastro, on the borders of Campania and Calabria, it is not improbable that Palemonio, after his journey to Austria and the publication of his first book in Venice, returned home to the South of Italy and became Bishop of Martirano in 1667. He then had thirteen years in which to write voluminous commentaries on the Bible and sermons before setting up his own press to print them.

The book now acquired by the Museum is entitled:

Motivi su' i Salmi, su' gli Evangelii, e su' i Santi, composti da Gio. Iacomo Palemonio Vescovo di Martirano. Dedicati alla Beatissima Vergine. Parte nona. pp. 511.

Scigliano, 1689. Per lo Ch. Nicolò Servillo Capuano Stampatore Vescovale. 8°.

It is, unfortunately, somewhat worm-eaten, but the text has not suffered irreparably.

The following is a list of the nine parts of Bishop Palemonio's works published at Scigliano:

1. Divinorum et humanorum de fide liber. Sciliani, M. Barone, 1681.
2. Degli affetti e dell'ornamento dell'oratione. Scigliano Diano, Stamperia Vescovale, 1681.
3. Compositioni su' i sette sacramenti. Scigliano, M. Barone, 1683.
4. Considerazioni su' i dieci Comandamenti. Scigliano, M. Barone, 1684.
5. Panegirici in lode della beatissima Vergine. Scigliano, M. Barone, 1684.
6. Panegirici in prosa, ed in versi della beatissima Vergine. Scigliano, M. Barone, 1684.
7. Panegirici in ottava rima in lode di diversi. Scigliano, M. Barone, 1685.
8. Orationes et epigrammata in laudem B. Mariae Virginis Deiparae. Sciliani, M. Barone, 1685.
9. Motivi su' i Salmi, su' gli Evangelii, e su' i Santi. Scigliano, N. Servillo, 1689.⁵

There is no mention in this list of the Belgian printer Chrétien de Vos who is supposed to have taken over the press in 1692.

I have not hitherto come across Barone or Servillo working elsewhere than at Scigliano. They probably learnt the art of printing in Naples.

D. E. RHODES

¹ G. Fumagalli, *Lexicon typographicum Italiae*, Florence, 1905, pp. 390-1.

² There is nothing by Palemonio in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³ P. Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Ratisbonae, 1873.

⁴ Fumagalli notes: 'Jean Jacques Palemonio (Coleti l'appelle Palamolla).' This makes it certain that they are one and the same man. I have failed,

however, to trace the reference in the works of G. A. Coleti. See Gams, *ibid.*, p. 895.

⁵ I am grateful to Dr. Guerrieri Guerrieri, Director of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, for sending me this list. A copy of each of the nine volumes is in her library. Further details may be found in Vito Capialbi, *Memorie delle tipografie calabresi*, second edition, Tivoli, 1941.

PIETRO BEMBO'S LIBRARY REPRESENTED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

THE Venetian Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), now popularly remembered for his love affair with Lucrezia Borgia, was given the place of honour as the doyen of living humanists by his contemporary Paolo Giovio, in his *Elogia veris clarorum virorum* . . ., first printed in Venice in 1546.¹ Bembo's excellent Ciceronian Latin and his sound knowledge of Greek had rightly culminated in 1530 in his appointment as librarian of Cardinal Bessarion's Library, which had been left as a bequest to Venice.² Bembo in his maturity achieved that position of distinction that his background and his scholarly dedication had forecast. Pietro's father, Bernardo, like Palla Strozzi and Cosimo de' Medici, but with much slenderer means, had formed an impressive library.³ There were in it many beautifully illuminated manuscripts, some the work of Bartolomeo di San Vito, which, supplemented by *incunabula*, made an outstanding collection of classical texts. From early youth and throughout a long life, Pietro added to this library—above all, literary manuscripts in Provençal, and autographs of the work of Petrarch and Boccaccio.⁴

Manuscripts from the Library were used by Aldo Manuzio, and thus the Bembo Library played a part in the introduction of cheaply printed books—a revolution comparable in its time to the paperback books of today. A printer's highest cost was often the manuscript on which his printed text was based, and Aldo's friendship with Pietro resulted in his having excellent texts at virtually no cost.⁵ Pietro himself edited for Aldo the *Rime* of Petrarch and the *Commedia* of Dante, printed in 1501 and 1502 respectively.⁶ Of course, Aldo was not allowed to follow the common practice of printers, which was to set the type direct from the manuscript—a practice that has robbed the world of many important classical manuscripts.⁷

The Bembo Library was housed in the family *palazzo* in Venice near the Rialto Bridge until 1527 when, Bernardo having died eight years previously, Pietro purchased a fine *palazzo* in Padua and had the Library transferred.⁸ In the Paduan palace, too, was a private museum of classical antiques—coins, conterniaries, the famous *Mensa Isiaca*, Roman plaques and statues—an art gallery that Marc' Antonio Michiel much admired, and outside was a botanical garden.⁹ Bembo's interests were all-embracing and look forward to the eighteenth-century encyclopaedists.

Pietro Bembo was a literary figure in his own right, producing several best-sellers: his *Rime*, modelled on Petrarch's, went through thirty printings between 1530 and 1560, and even before publication many had circulated in manuscript form.¹⁰ Bembo's rules for Tuscan, his *Prose della Volgar Lingua* (1525), were

adopted as a guide by his generation, and Castiglione and Ariosto, for instance, corrected the texts of their work in accordance with these rules.¹¹ Bembo became official historiographer of Venice, and assiduously collected historical documents, which were to serve as source material.¹² Naturally, with such wide interests Bembo had correspondence with the distinguished, including scholars of international repute like Erasmus, Budé, and Cardinal Pole. The drafts of Bembo's own writings, his notes, and all the material that he garnered for sources were added as they accumulated to the library. There, too, it seems most probable Bembo stored the correspondence that he received, and the drafts of many letters that he sent.

Hence Bembo's Library is one of the most interesting of any of those formed in the Renaissance. It not only had beautiful manuscripts, which can be compared to those of Duke Federigo of Urbino, but it had classical and medieval manuscripts of primary textual importance: indeed, the texts of Petrarch and Boccaccio form the basis of modern Italian.¹³ It is obvious that the Library provides a key to understanding Bembo and his work, and likewise that it would throw light on many humanists and literary figures of the Renaissance.

Pietro Bembo died in 1547, and in the years following, Torquato, his illegitimate son, disposed of much of the Library so that he could purchase, or obtain by exchange, *objets d'art*.¹⁴ It seems that he retained the most beautiful manuscripts, which were principally those made for his grandfather Bernardo. Torquato had little difficulty in selling material from the Library, for scholars were well aware of the importance of the material that was being offered. The material relating to Bembo's literary endeavours passed into the hands of Bembo's literary executors, above all Carlo Gualteruzzi, who were concerned with the publication of Bembo's collected works.¹⁵ Probably after publication, in about 1553, the bulk of this was returned to Torquato, who appears to have sold it where he could, though Gualteruzzi may have retained, and perhaps purchased, many of the drafts of Bembo's letters and related material. Similarly letters addressed to Bembo were sold to editors such as Girolamo Ruscelli and Francesco Sansovino, who intended to use the material in letter collections and anthologies, which were becoming popular in the early years after the mid-century.¹⁶ Material of humanistic interest was sold to Fulvio Orsini and Giovanni Vincenzio Pinelli.¹⁷ Torquato's agent in some of these transactions was Livio Barisone of Padua, and we know that at least one lot remained in his possession.¹⁸

In 1595 Torquato died and the remnant of the Bembo Library was finally dispersed. During the years since Torquato began selling material from the Library, some of it has been destroyed, much of it has changed hands many times. Two large portions, however, can readily be distinguished, for Orsini's Library passed *en bloc* to the Vatican Library, and Pinelli's was purchased by Cardinal Borromeo early in the seventeenth century, and a large portion is now

in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, which Borromeo founded.¹⁹ Unfortunately about a third of Pinelli's Library (and, one supposes, a portion of Bembo's material) was lost in the Bay of Naples when it was being moved by Borromeo to Milan. This part fell into the hands of Turkish pirates, who threw it overboard in disgust.²⁰

A portion of Bernardo Bembo's illuminated manuscripts was, apparently, still for sale in Venice in the early 1610's, and some were then purchased by the English ambassador Wotton, who brought them to England.²¹ These, by Wotton's gift, are now in Eton College Library, and probably Brasenose College Library, Oxford, and King's College Library, Cambridge, have one each.²² Two other manuscripts of Bernardo that came to England in the seventeenth century have passed to North America.²³ Probably, though, the largest portion of Bernardo's illuminated manuscripts was purchased by the local nobility of the *Veneto* and so passed into family libraries there. With the decline in numbers of the nobility in the eighteenth century, enormous libraries were amassed, and Bembo material came together again, above all in the famous Soranzo and Canonici Libraries.²⁴ The latter Library was in turn dispersed at the time of English bibliomania, and consequently more of Bembo's Library was brought to England; the Ficino manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is the best known of this portion.²⁵

The rest of Bembo's Library, often unrecognized for what it represents, is scattered.²⁶ A reconstruction of Bembo's Library, Museum, and Art Gallery would be a most rewarding task, and perhaps 1970, the five-hundredth anniversary of Pietro Bembo's birth, will be marked suitably in this way.²⁷ It is worth stressing that the existing amount of material is exceptional, and certainly for no other humanist is there so much autograph material. Moreover, in Bembo's case this autograph material includes his drafts and revisions of almost all his major works. This short study is merely an attempt to illustrate the material from Bembo's Library that is now to be found in the British Museum.

There can be identified in the British Museum a part of the collection of Bernardo Bembo. Of exceptional importance is Bernardo's autograph 'Zibaldone' or notebook, which merits publication, and which should be the basis of any biography of Bernardo.²⁸ There is an illuminated manuscript of the 'Chronicle' of Eusebius, made in 1474 by Bartolomeo di San Vito, with Bembo's coat of arms, and so probably a part of Bernardo's Library, rather than a gift for a friend.²⁹ A copy of Annio da Viterbo's *Antiquitates* . . ., printed in 1498, has marginal annotations in what appears to be Bernardo's hand, and so it was probably his book.³⁰

What of the material that Pietro added to his father's collection? The British Museum has a portion of Pietro Bembo's *Epistolario*. The letters were of both kinds: those addressed to Bembo, and those written by him. There is none of the

former in the British Museum, though there is the draft of a letter addressed to Bembo, and it is most likely that a fair copy reached Bembo.³¹ Bembo, indeed, saved many of the letters that were sent to him as a kind of incoming mail file, and there is an interesting series of them in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.³²

Pietro Bembo also kept an outgoing mail file, which consisted of drafts of his own letters, and of transcripts of drafts that had been considered unworthy to send because of some copying imperfection or revision.³³ Sometimes two drafts of the same letter exist, for Bembo seems to have been unwilling to destroy anything that he had written. The British Museum possesses thirty-one such drafts or rejected copies, and in two cases there are two drafts of the same letter.³⁴ Another part of this mail file is in the Bodleian Library, and the largest portion of all is in the Vatican Library.³⁵

Bembo used his outgoing mail file as the source for a selection of his own letters, which he intended to be published posthumously. The original transcription of this compilation exists, though it is now broken into parts, suffering in its way rather like the famous *Codex Atlanticus* of Leonardo da Vinci.³⁶ Two extensive portions, which were in the Borghese family library in the nineteenth century, are now in the Vatican Secret Archives, and were identified over fifty years ago.³⁷ A small part, which has not hitherto been recognized, is found in the British Museum, bound with the drafts already mentioned.³⁸ Probably this part is the only other now in existence, as the first folios of the compilation were cut off and almost certainly destroyed when it was received for publication purposes sometime between 1548 and 1552. The stubs of the cut-away folios exist, and these give sufficient text for us to recognize the letters that are missing; fortunately, too, we know what these folios contained from a copy that was made before the mutilation.³⁹

The portion that now begins with the stubs consists of letters addressed to women, while the other main part consists of letters to men. In the top right-hand corner of almost all the folios of both portions there is a folio number; for instance, the first complete folio of the letters to women has the number 5, and the second folio of those to men has the number 52. These numbers indicate the original order of the folios, and if one arranges the folios with these numbers in numerical ascending order the original arrangement of Bembo's compilation can be reconstructed. It becomes apparent that the two portions of the Vatican Secret Archives formed almost a complete whole. As already mentioned the initial folios are cut away, while the title or cover is missing (the folios numbered 1 to 4), as are the folios 42 to 51 inclusive. The British Museum has the folios numbered 41 to 49 inclusive, and the original numbers are clearly visible in the top right-hand corner.⁴⁰ Moreover, the paper and watermark, apart from the text and calligraphy, provide conclusive proof that these folios were once a part of the original compilation.

The original compilation was rearranged by Bembo and later suffered at the hands of his literary executors, but there is sufficient evidence for the various changes to be correctly attributed. Bembo himself, for instance, expanded the selection, and what had previously consisted of fifty-one folios of letters addressed to women was increased to over a hundred, by the inclusion of what we now know to be a heavily edited version of his love letters to Maria Savorgnan—a collection that Bembo had originally thought to publish as a separate entity. Again, at a later date, Bembo decided to remove the letters that had been transcribed on the folios numbered 41 to 49, and to place them after the inserted love letters to Maria. Probably in making this change the folios 50 and 51 of the original compilation were removed and rejected. A possible explanation is that folio 50 had to be removed since it was the corresponding half of folio 41; perhaps the verso of folio 50 contained the first few lines of the inserted letters to Maria. Bembo probably removed folio 51 (and its corresponding half) and had the text of the Maria letters rewritten, so that what had been on folios 50 and 51 was on the recto and verso of a single folio, which replaced folios 50 and 51, and this did not bear the folio number of the original series. The evidence for these conclusions is the original folio numeration, the watermarks of the various sheets, the changes in calligraphy, and the nature of the gatherings of the folios.

On the other hand, Bembo also pruned the original collection, and two letters on folios numbered 84 and 85, which were rejected, are now in the Collection *Autografi Campori*, in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. Carlo Gualteruzzi at some time had these two folios and repaired the fold with a part of a letter addressed to him.⁴¹

After Bembo's death, Gualteruzzi, as literary executor, received Bembo's revised compilation of his Letter Collection, which probably consisted of sewn gatherings in one cover. Gualteruzzi also obtained Bembo's outgoing mail file and other material that was thought relevant. Gualteruzzi initially selected suitable letters for publication from all this, and listed the letters chosen. Presumably this new selection was sent to copyists for transcription of the letters, and all the material, with the new transcription, was passed to editors for checking and revision, before the new transcription was accepted as the printer's copy.

This process was conducted over a period of four years, and the selected letters appeared in four volumes, printed by three publishers as far apart as Rome and Venice. The last volume, consisting of letters addressed to women, was published in 1552 by Scotto in Venice, and it is significant that all the letters of the drafts and the part of Bembo's letter compilation, which are now in the British Museum manuscript, are addressed to women.⁴² Some of the drafts and all of the letters in Bembo's compilation in this manuscript were selected by Gualteruzzi for publication. Hence it is likely that after publication in 1552 they remained forgotten in the possession of some copyist, or perhaps even in Scotto's

printing-house, and were not returned to Torquato with the rest of the literary material. The pages of the compilation in the British Museum manuscript had become detached from the main part of the compilation in the course of copying for publication—a situation all the more understandable since they had previously been removed by Bembo and reinserted.

Most of the drafts and the main portion of Bembo's own compilation were retained by Gualteruzzi, I suspect, and subsequently passed to the Barberini Library, and, when that collection was dispersed, to the Vatican Library and elsewhere.⁴³ Bembo's compilation (in the two main portions) passed to the Borghese Library, before finally coming to the Vatican Secret Archives.⁴⁴

How did the British Museum come to acquire the missing folios of Bembo's letter compilation, and the thirty-one drafts? They were purchased by the Museum in 1816, when they made up, as they still do, a part of a manuscript. The whole manuscript contains autograph letters, essentially, some being of famous Frenchmen, and probably had been bound for the Chevalier Binda, who sold it to the Museum with several other manuscripts of a similar nature.⁴⁵ Unfortunately Binda is a shadowy figure and the main portion of his library was not sold until between 1852 and 1863.⁴⁶ In fact little is certainly known of the Bembo material between the time that it was used for the fourth volume of Bembo's *Letters* and Binda's ownership. It is worth remembering that, as a result of the Napoleonic domination of Italy, much Italian material of all sorts found its way to France. Many religious orders were suppressed, noble families had their property confiscated, or became bankrupt. In consequence libraries were broken up, and many of the treasures came to France as booty or souvenirs.⁴⁷ Probably it was during these vicissitudes that the Bembo material came to Binda. Why he sold it in 1816 is yet another difficulty, but perhaps he wished to curry favour with some in England in the *post*-Congress of Vienna period.

A clue to the provenance of the Bembo material is given in Sir Frederic Madden's notice of the 'Binda Papers', where he says that 'all apparently came from the Archives of the Aldobrandini family'.⁴⁸ These Archives are as mysterious as Binda and appear to have escaped the notice of bibliophiles.⁴⁹ Moreover, Madden's source is unknown to us, though writing as he was less than twenty years after the purchase, he was likely to have had reliable evidence for his statement.

Many of the papers date to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in particular to the pontificates of Clement VIII (1592–1605) and Paul V (1605–21). Clement VIII was the most illustrious of the Aldobrandini family, and some of the 'Binda Papers' may have been collected by him when he was a Cardinal, and these supplemented by him when he was Pope. He advanced his own family, particularly Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, who died in 1621, and it is likely that this Cardinal added material to the collection, which may have been housed in the

family *palazzo* in Rome, or in the famous Villa Aldobrandini.⁵⁰ Certainly many of the letters of Frenchmen, above all those of Sully, can be accounted for in this way.⁵¹

It is worth noting that the Aldobrandini family became extinct by 1767, when the family title and property was conferred on a Borghese.⁵² Hence the sale of the Aldobrandini Archives some years later is not surprising.⁵³ It is true that Paul V was a Borghese, and some of the 'Binda Papers' relate to Cardinal Borghese (who was Scipione Caffarelli). It has already been mentioned that in the nineteenth century the Borghese family possessed the manuscript of Bembo's own Letter Collection, but despite the apparent family connexion there is no evidence that this Letter Collection and the British Museum Bembo's material were together in either the Aldobrandini or Borghese Archives. The main portion of Bembo's Letter Collection in the late eighteenth century belonged to the Barberini family, and had probably been in their possession from Gualteruzzi in the late sixteenth century. There is no evidence, either, for believing that a part of the Borghese Archives was sold with the Aldobrandini material, for it is likely that the papers of Cardinal Borghese had been retained by Cardinal Aldobrandini and had formed a part of the Aldobrandini Archives from the early seventeenth century. It is not improbable that the Bembo material of the 'Binda Papers' had belonged to Clement VIII or to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.

Another possible clue may be found in the other manuscripts that Binda owned. Apart from the five sold in 1816, apparently the rest of Binda's manuscripts and autographs was not sold until December 1863. In this sale there was a collection of original letters sent by Abate Canonici to Abate Carlo Maria Masnago of the Church of San Simpliciano, Milan, and written between 1788 and 1793.⁵⁴ It could be that Binda obtained the residue of Masnago's Library (since Canonici himself had obtained much of it), and that the Bembo material, with the rest of the 'Binda Papers' formed a part of it; this supposes Masnago to have himself purchased the Aldobrandini Archives. Alternatively, Binda may have made the purchase of the Archives and of the residue of Masnago's Library separately.

The British Museum, of course, has an outstanding holding of Bembo's printed works;⁵⁵ it has a manuscript containing a letter of Bembo's that was sent to the addressee, copies of other letters written by Bembo, and material of importance for his biography.⁵⁶ But none of this formed a part of Bembo's Library and it has no place here.

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APPENDIX

Pietro Bembo's Epistolario in the British Museum

A. DRAFTS OF BEMBO'S LETTERS

(MS. Additional 6873)

1. Fols. 16-17^v, 1 August 1504, to Lucrezia Borgia.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 9-11; cf. *Opere*, iii. 311-12.⁵⁷
2. Fols. 18-19^v, 12 April 1531, to Vittoria Colonna.⁵⁸
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 94-95; cf. *Opere*, iii. 333.
3. Fol. 20-20^v, 16 October 1536, to [Veronica Gambara]. See Plate II.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 58-59; cf. *Opere*, iii. 324.
4. Fol. 21-21^v, 6 June 1537, to Elisabetta Querini.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 107-9, with the date 5 June; cf. *Opere*, iii. 337.
5. Fol. 22-22^v, 6 April 1538, to Vittoria Colonna.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), p. 98; cf. *Opere*, iii. 334.
6. Fols. 23-24^v, 10 May 1538, to Elisabetta Querini.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 109-10; cf. *Opere*, iii. 338.
7. Fol. 25-25^v, 26 October 1538, to Veronica Gambara.* See Plate II.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 62-63; cf. *Opere*, iii. 325.
8. Fols. 26-27^v, 8 January 1539, to Elisabetta Querini.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 110-11, without the date; cf. *Opere*, iii. 338.
9. Fols. 28-29^v, 23 February 1539, to Vittoria Colonna.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 98-99; cf. *Opere*, iii. 334-5.
10. Fols. 30-31^v, 15 March 1539, to Vittoria Colonna.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 99-101; cf. *Opere*, iii. 335, where it is misdated 1559.
11. Fols. 32-33^v, 4 April 1539, to Vittoria Colonna.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 101-2; cf. *Opere*, iii. 335.
12. Fols. 34-35^v, 10 July 1539, to Elisabetta Querini.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), p. 112; cf. *Opere*, iii. 338.⁵⁹
13. Fol. 37-37^v, 13 September 1539, to Elisabetta Querini.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), p. 115, with the date 12 September; cf. *Opere*, iii. 339.
14. Fols. 38-39^v, 11 January 1540, to Artosina degli Aleotti.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 128-9; cf. *Opere*, iii. 343.
15. Fols. 40-41^v, 25 July 1541, to Costanza [written Gostanza by Bembo] Fregoso.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 92-93; cf. *Opere*, iii. 333.

16. Fols. 42-43^v, 2 August 1541, to Leonora Gonzaga.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 81-83; cf. *Opere*, iii. 330, where the date is given as 11 August.
17. Fols. 44-45^v, 1 October 1541, to Vittoria Colonna.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 102-3; cf. *Opere*, iii. 335-6.
18. Fols. 46-47^v, 18 November 1541, to Vittoria Colonna.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 103-4; cf. *Opere*, iii. 336.
19. Fols. 48-49^v, 6 March 1542, to Leonora Gonzaga.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 83-85; cf. *Opere*, iii. 330-1.
20. Fol. 50-50^v, 10 June 1542, to Elena Bembo.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 125-6; cf. *Opere*, iii. 342.
21. Fols. 51-52^v, 1 May 1543, to Elena Bembo.*
Printed from this draft in *Alcune lettere di celebri scrittori italiani*, ed. A. Mortara (Prato, 1852), pp. 1-2.^{60*}
22. Fols. 53-54^v, 27 November 1543, to Elena Bembo.
Printed in *Alcune lettere . . .*, ed. A. Mortara (Prato, 1852), pp. 2-5, with the incorrect date of 27 May; printed correctly in *The Gentlest Art of Renaissance Italy*, ed. K. T. Butler (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 66-68.
23. Fol. 57-57^v, 5 December 1543, to Elena Bembo (first draft).*
24. Fols. 55-56^v, 5 December 1543, to Elena Bembo (second draft).*
Printed in *Alcune lettere . . .*, ed. A. Mortara (Prato, 1852), pp. 5-6.
25. Fol. 58-58^v, 17 December 1543, to [Veronica Gambara].*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 70-71; cf. *Opere*, iii. 327.
26. Fols. 59-60^v, 19 December 1543, to Leonora Gonzaga.*
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 86-87; cf. *Opere*, iii. 331.
27. Fols. 61-62^v, 7 February 1544, to Elisabetta Querini.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 120-1; cf. *Opere*, iii. 340-1.
28. Fols. 63-64^v, 11 April 1544, to Elena Bembo.*
Printed in *Alcune lettere . . .*, ed. A. Mortara (Prato, 1852), p. 6.
29. Fol. 65-65^v, 14 October 1544, to Veronica Gambara.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 71-73; cf. *Opere*, iii. 327-8.
30. Fol. 66-66^v, no date, to Elisabetta Querini (first draft).*
31. Fol. 76-76^v, no date, to Elisabetta Querini (second draft).*
Begins: 'Vengo a V.S. tale quale io posso . . .'. Unpublished.

B. BEMBO'S LETTERS IN A PART OF HIS OWN LETTER-COLLECTION
(MS. Additional 6873)

1. Fol. 67 (original foliation 41), 14 July 1503, to F. F. [Lucrezia Borgia]. See Plate 1.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 249-50; cf. *Opere*, iii. 375.

2. Fol. 67-67^v (41-41^v), 18 July 1503, to F. F.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), p. 250; cf. *Opere*, iii. 375.
3. Fols. 67^v-68 (41^v-42), no date, to F. F. Begins: 'Io part a dolcissima . . .'.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 250-1, as to Anon.; cf. *Opere*, iii. 375-6.
4. Fol. 68-68^v (42-42^v), 5 October 1503, to F. F.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 251-3; cf. *Opere*, iii. 376.
5. Fol. 69-69^v (43-43^v), 18 October 1503, to F. F.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 253-5; cf. *Opere*, iii. 376-7.
6. Fols. 69^v-70^v (43^v-44^v), 25 October 1503, to F. F.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 255-6; cf. *Opere*, iii. 377.
7. Fols. 70^v-71 (44^v-45), Mercoledì di Santo [3 April] 1504, to Madonna L[isabetta] da S[iena].
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 256-7, as to F. F.; cf. *Opere*, iii. 377.
8. Fols. 71-72 (45-46), no date, to M[adonna] G[ostanza Fregoso].⁶¹ Begins: 'È possibile che ogni volta . . .'.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 263-5, as to Anon.; cf. *Opere*, iii. 377-8.
9. Fol. 72-72^v (46-46^v), 3 February 1508, no addressee's name [Costanza Fregoso].
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), p. 262; cf. *Opere*, iii. 377.
10. Fols. 72^v-74^v (46^v-48^v), 10 February 1508, to Madonna N[icola].
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 258-62, as to F. F.; cf. *Opere*, iii. 378-9.
11. Fol. 74^v (48^v), 1 January 1508, to Mad[onna] G[ostanza Fregoso].
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), p. 265, as to Anon.; cf. *Opere*, iii. 380.
12. Fol. 75-75^v (49-49^v), 10 June 1508, to Madonna Alessandra.
Printed in Bembo, *Lettere*, iv (Venice, 1552), pp. 265-7, as to Anon.; cf. *Opere*, iii. 379-80.

C. DRAFT OF LETTER SENT TO BEMBO

(MS. Additional 21520)

- I. Fol. 19-19^v, dated merely 1538, from Marco Girolamo Vida, Bishop of Alba. Unpublished.

¹ Cf. E. Müntz, 'Le Musée de Portraits de Paul Jove', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xxxvi (Paris, 1901), p. 276. The most reliable account of the love affair between Bembo and Lucrezia Borgia is in M. Bellonci, *Lucrezia Borgia* (Milan, rev. ed., 1960).

² C. Castellani, 'Pietro Bembo Bibliotecario della Libreria di S. Marco in Venezia', *Atti dell'Imp.*

Reg. Ist. Veneto, serie vii, tom. vii (1895-6), pp. 826-98; L. Labowsky, 'Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library found in Milan', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, v (London, 1961), pp. 113-28; C. H. Clough, 'Cardinal Bessarion and Greek at the Court of Urbino', *Manuscripta*, viii (1964), pp. 167, 170-1.

³ G. Fiocco, 'La Biblioteca di Palla Strozzi', in *Studi . . . in onore di Tammaro De Marinis* (Verona,

1964), ii, pp. 289-310; for Cosimo see F. Pintor, 'Per la storia della Libreria Medicea nel Rinascimento', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, iii (1960), pp. 190-210; C. S. Gutkind, *Cosimo de' Medici* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 225-35. A useful general survey is D. Robathan, 'Libraries of the Italian Renaissance', in *The Medieval Library*, ed. J. Westfall Thompson (New York, 2nd ed., 1957), pp. 509-88, 699.

* References to Bernardo's Library are in V. Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo: Le sue relazioni coi Medici', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xxviii (1896), pp. 348-61; and his 'Per B. Bembo: Le relazioni letterarie, i codici e gli scritti', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xxxi (1898), pp. 49-81. For Pietro see V. Cian, *Un decennio della vita di M. P. Bembo* (Turin, 1885), pp. 73-101, especially 97-99; V. Branca and P. G. Ricci, *Un autografo del Decameron* (Padua, 1962); I intend to give the evidence elsewhere that this latter manuscript (now Hamilton 90, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Marburg) was actually owned by Bembo.

⁵ Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press* . . . (London, 1891), pp. 25-26. Aldo's Greek Grammar of Lascaris (1495) was printed from a copy corrected by the author, furnished by P. Bembo and Angelo Gabriele, see A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes* . . . (Paris, 3rd ed., 1834), p. 3.

⁶ V. Cian, *Un decennio* . . . , pp. 89-96.

⁷ Brown, pp. 44-45.

⁸ O. Ronchi, 'La casa di P. Bembo in Padova', *Atti della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Padova*, xl (Padua, 1924), offprint pp. 1-47.

⁹ For the museum in general see V. Cian, *Un decennio* . . . , pp. 105-7; O. Ronchi, 'Nella casa di Bembo', *Atti della R. Accad. . . di Padova*, xlii (Padua, 1926), offprint. W. Wynn Wescott, *Tabula Bembina sive Mensa Isiaca* (Bath, 1887, 100 copies printed); for his bronze plaques of Roman Law see L. Michelini Tocci, 'Agapito . . .', *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda* (Vatican City, 1962), ii, p. 268, n. 3; for coins see Cian, pp. 44, n. 4; 105, n. 3; 193, and L. Rizzoli, *Un secolo di vivissimo fervore numismatico in Padova* (Padua, 1936), pp. 11-13. For the statues see A. Ferrajoli, 'Il ruolo della corte di Leone X', *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, xxxvii (Rome, 1914), pp. 312-15, and C. H. Clough, 'The Problem of P. Bembo's Rime', *Italica*, xli (1964), pp. 318-22. For the

gallery see *Notizie di opera di disegno nella prima metà del sec. XVI*, ed. J. Morelli and rev. G. Frizzoni (Bologna, 1884), pp. 40-63, and S. S. Branca, *Il Collezionismo Veneziano* . . . Padua, 1965), pp. 63-64; for the garden see Ronchi, pp. 14-17.

¹⁰ T. W. Elwert, *Studi di Letteratura Veneziana* (Venice-Rome, 1958), p. 113.

¹¹ For Ariosto cf. E. Zanette, 'I silenzi di P. Bembo', *Nuova Antologia*, xcv (1960), pp. 319-21; for Castiglione see G. Ghinassi, 'L'ultimo revisore del "Cortegiano"', *Studi di Filologia Italiana*, xxi (1963), p. 248; cf. also F. Guiccardini, *I Ricordi*, ed. R. Spongano (Florence, 1951), pp. lxxxi-lxxxii.

¹² C. Lagomaggiore, 'L'Istoria Viniziana' di M. P. Bembo, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, vii, pp. 5-31, 334-72; viii, pp. 162-80, 317-46; ix, pp. 33-113, 308-41 (1904-5), and C. H. Clough, 'Le "Lettere Storiche" di Luigi da Porto fonte della "Istoria Viniziana" di P. Bembo', *Archivio Veneto*, serie v, lxxiii (1963), pp. 5-15.

¹³ It was from them, and Dante, that Bembo drew his examples for his *Prose della Volgar Lingua* (Venice, 1525).

¹⁴ For Torquato see G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia* . . . , ii, parte ii (Brescia, 1760), pp. 769-70; for his disposal of the manuscripts see P. de Nolhac, 'La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini . . .', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences, Philologiques et Historiques*, lxxiv (Paris, 1887), especially pp. 105, 106, n. 6; S. Prete, *Il codice bembino di Terenzio* (Vatican City, 1950), p. 20; cf. V. Cian, *Un decennio* . . . , p. 93, n. 3.

¹⁵ For Gualteruzzi see F. Vecchietti and T. Moro, *Biblioteca Picena* . . . (Osimo, 1796), v, pp. 156-60, and Ferrajoli, pp. 307-11; for him as executor see V. Cian, *Un decennio* . . . , p. 203, and M. Pecoraro, *Per la Storia dei Carmi del Bembo* (Venice-Rome, 1959), pp. 39-40, where the references to Caro should read Della Casa.

¹⁶ C. H. Clough, 'Cesare Anselmi . . .', *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia per il 1961*, clx (Brescia, 1963), pp. 219-27.

¹⁷ For Orsini see De Nolhac; for Pinelli, *ibid.*, pp. 91-111, and A. Rivolta, 'L'umanista G. V. Pinelli', *Scuola Cattolica*, i (1914), pp. 89-190.

¹⁸ C. H. Clough, 'A portion of P. Bembo's *Epistolario*', forthcoming in *The Bodleian Library Record*, concerned with MS. Ital. c. 23, which belonged to Soranzo and Canonici.

¹⁹ A. Rivolta, 'Introduzione', *Catalogo dei codici Pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1933).

²⁰ Rivolta, *Catalogo* . . . , p. lxxix; moreover, some manuscripts had been sold by a servant while Pinelli was ill, and at his death the Venetian Government sequestered a part of his Library.

²¹ For Wotton see J. W. Stoye, *English Travelers Abroad (1604-1667)* (London, 1952), index references.

²² The Eton College manuscripts certainly from Bernardo's Library are: 87, 128, 135, 137, 138, 147, 149, 151, 153, 156; there are several others given by Wotton that may have this provenance, see *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*, ed. M. R. James (Cambridge, 1895), especially p. viii. James refers to Brasenose College Library MS. 18 and King's College Library MS. 34. It is likely that other manuscripts copied by Bartolomeo di San Vito may have been in Bernardo's Library, see the list in J. Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 50-53, and T. De Marinis, 'Nota per B. Sanvito . . .', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (Vatican City, 1964), iv, pp. 185-8.

²³ For the two manuscripts in North America see S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* . . . (New York, 1935), i, p. 960, and *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts: An Exhibition* . . . Feb. 14-April 1, 1955. *Harvard College Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 29 and plate 42; and C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement* . . . (New York, 1962), p. 84, and L. Witten, 'Collecting Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts Today', *Library Trends*, ix (1961), p. 402. This latter manuscript was sold by Mr. T. Marston in 1962 and is now owned by Mrs. L. Witten of New Haven, Conn., to whom I am most grateful for help with this manuscript.

²⁴ James C. Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility* . . . (Baltimore, 1962), and the review by C. H. Clough, *The Canadian Historical Review*, xlv (1964), pp. 345-6. The best account of the libraries is in Irma Merolle, *L'Abate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua Biblioteca* (Rome-Florence, 1958).

²⁵ MS. Canonici Class Lat. 156, see P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), pp. 160-1.

²⁶ A manuscript of Bernardo is Latinus bibl. publ. 160a, Universitätsbibliothek, Leiden, see P. O. Kristeller, pp. 159-60 and also Cod. E. vi. 10, Bibl. Naz. Turin, see C. Frati, 'Un codice . . .', *Raccolta di Studi* . . . ad A. D'Ancona. (Florence, 1901), pp. 193-208. A letter sent to Bernardo by Antonio Vinciguerra, 25 May

1498 is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, cf. Lawrence Witten, *Catalogue 4* [of manuscripts for sale] (New Haven, Conn., 1957), item 116. For a copy of Machiavelli's *Decennale* owned by P. Bembo, see E. H. Wilkins, W. A. Jackson, R. H. Rouse, 'The First *Decennale* of Machiavelli', *Studies in the Renaissance*, xi (1964), pp. 77, n. 2; for his copy of a Petrarch see V. Cian, 'Un Petrarca aldino del 1521 postillato da P. Bembo', *Bullettino del Museo Civico, di Padova*, n.s. iv (1928), offprint pp. 1-8, and V. Cian, 'P. Bembo, postillatore . . .', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xcvi, pp. 255-90 (1931), xcix, pp. 225-64; c, pp. 209-63 (1932); c, pp. 263-6 has an appendix by G. Bertoni. C. Dionisotti has recently said of these marginal notes that they are 'non però autografe', see P. Bembo, *Prose e Rime*, ed. C. Dionisotti (Turin, 1960), p. 63; a copy of *Gli Asolani* which may have corrections in Bembo's hand is in the Pearsons Plimpton Collection, Wellesley College, U.S.A., see *Catalogue* . . . , ed. M. H. Jackson (Harvard, 1929), pp. 46-47. For a Bembo MS. in the Biblioteca Comunale, Treviso (cod. 30, n. 1) see V. Cian, 'Contributo alla storia dell'enciclopedismo . . .', *Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di Giovanni Sforza* (Lucca, 1915), p. 312, n. 2.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has a volume of poems written in 1543, probably at Bembo's order for Elisabetta Querini, but this did not form a part of his Library, cf. A. Fairbank and B. Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting* (London, 1960), p. 35. The *Census* and its *Supplement*, cited in note 23, list two other manuscripts that may have been in Bembo's possession for a time.

²⁷ Cf. D. S. Duncan, *Italian Studies*, xviii (1963), p. 8.

²⁸ The most detailed account is in G. Neilson, 'The "Zibaldone" of B. Bembo', *Athenaeum*, no. 3556 (London, 21 December 1895), pp. 871-2, and translated by E. Levi, *Rassegna Bibliografica della Letteratura Italiana*, lv (Pisa, 1896), pp. 46-50. Possibly Neilson (for whom see *D.N.B.*, 1922-3, p. 630) obtained the manuscript from a bookseller of Brescia, cf. V. Cian, 'Per B. Bembo, Le sue relazioni . . .', cited in note 4, p. 349, n. 1. The manuscript was purchased by the Museum in 1924 and is now MS. Additional 41068A; an index made by Neilson is MS. Additional 41068B, see *British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1921-25* (London, 1950), pp. 219-20. See Plate III (a).

I am able to identify the manuscript as having

been in the Canonici Library (see note 24 above), where it was numbered 297, while the description slip written by J. Morelli is pasted in the fly-leaf. The vellum binding and what may be the original pressmark (now obscured by the Museum's accession number) suggests it may have been in the Soranzo Library.

²⁹ MS. Royal 14 C. III, see *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection*, ed. G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson (London, 1921), i, p. 133, where there are some inaccuracies, cf. Fairbank and Wolpe, pp. 55-56, where there is also a plate of the title-page.

³⁰ Pressmark IB, 19034, in *B.M.C.* iv, pp. 118-19, where the marginal notes are not mentioned. I have compared the hand of these notes with that of Bernardo's 'Zibaldone', proved to be autograph, and there is a considerable similarity; for instance, the marginal note in Annio, f. H iii and 'Zibaldone', new fol. nos. 110, 155, cf. Plate III. We know that Bernardo did annotate his manuscripts and printed books (cf. Eton College MS. 138, actually a printed text of 1476, with Bernardo's notes in the margins, see James, pp. 65-66).

It is worth noting that the Annio has been rebound, and that f. a ii has the no. 1200 in the top right-hand corner. This may relate to some inventory of the Bembo Library (cf. Eton College MS. 137, has the no. 76, see James, p. 65). Professor Augusto Campana tells me that he has further evidence of such an inventory, which Fulvio Orsini referred to when making purchases, and that he will publish it shortly; cf. P. De Nolhac, pp. 367-69.

³¹ Appendix, C, in Latin; cf. *Catalogue of Additions . . . 1854-1860 . . .* (London, 1875), p. 434; from *Autographs . . . from the Collections of D. Turner and H. W. Ray* (Puttick and Simpson, London, Sale 3 April 1860), lot 817, from the Ray Collection.

³² MS. Ital. c. 23, and see note 18; also MS. Vat. Lat. 14189 in the Vatican Library; MS. H. 245 inf. (originally a Crevenna MS., see *Catalogue raisonné . . . de M. Pierre Crevenna*, no place [Amsterdam], 1776, iv, pp. 65-66, 295), MS. H. 245 inf. (2) and MS. H. 246 inf., in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, cf. P. Giovio, *Opera, I: Epistularum*, ed. G. G. Ferrero (Rome, 1956), I, p. 17.

³³ See note 18.

³⁴ Appendix, A, and Plate II.

³⁵ MS. Ital. c. 23 and see note 18; MS. Vat. Lat. 8176, MS. Barb. Lat. 5692, MS. Chigiano L. VIII. 304, all of the Vatican Library.

³⁶ C. Pedretti, *Leonardo da Vinci: Fragments at Windsor* (London, 1957), pp. 11-18.

³⁷ MS. Borghese I. 175 and MS. Borghese II. 449. Their nature was recognized by Ferrajoli, p. 308, n. 2, and cf. V. Cian, *Lettere d'amore e segretari galanti . . . Per Nozze Magno—Romanello* (Pisa, 1905), pp. x-xii. P. Bembo, *Opere in volgari*, ed. M. Marti (Florence, 1961), pp. 987-94, 964-71, misunderstands their nature. I deal with them in a fully documented study, 'The editing of P. Bembo's *Epistolario*', forthcoming in a collection of my Italian Renaissance Studies, in *Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum* (L. S. Olschki, Florence).

³⁸ Appendix, B.

³⁹ The stubs remain for what were probably folios 2, 3, 4. The editors did not publish the letters on the cut-away folios, or the first letter on folio 5. These letters to Lucrezia Borgia were probably considered indelicate for someone who had died a Cardinal. The text of the letters on the cut-away folios is found in MS. Ital. 1005, ff. 1-4^v, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and for this manuscript see G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei Manoscritti Italiani delle Biblioteche di Francia* (Rome, 1886), i, p. 176, and for its nature cf. P. Bembo and Maria Savorgnan, *Carteggio d'Amore*, ed. C. Dionisotti (Florence, 1950), p. xxxvi.

⁴⁰ Appendix, B, where the original foliation is indicated. See also Plate I.

⁴¹ *Busta* 4, items 3 and 4; item 4 was originally folio 84, item 3, folio 85. The paper used to attach the two sheets is clearly a letter cover, with the word [Gu]alteruzzi.

⁴² Appendix, A and B. All are in Italian.

⁴³ The Barberini Library was purchased by the Pope in 1902 and added to the Vatican Library. The following almost certainly belonged to Gualteruzzi: MS. Barb. Lat. 5694, MS. Barb. Lat. 5695, MS. Chigiano L. VIII. 304 (and cf. note 35). In the late eighteenth century what is now MS. Borghese I. 175 (see note 37) was in the Barberini Library, according to a note on a portion copied from it by Giovanni Priuli, in MS. Cl. X Ital. 22 (7394), title-page, Marciana Library, Venice; it seems possible, therefore, that some items were sold before 1902. For the Barberini Library see L. Frati, *Dizionario Bio-Bibliografico dei Bibliotecari e Bibliofili Italiani . . .* (Florence, 1933), under Barberini, and Jeanne Bignami-Odier, 'Guide aux départements des MSS. . .', *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist. de l'École Française de Rome*, li (1934), p. 206.

⁴⁴ The Borghese Library was bought by the

Pope in 1891 and placed in the Vatican Secret Archives, see Frati and Bignami-Odier, cited in note 43.

⁴⁵ The 'Catalogue of Additions . . .', MS., in the Students' Room, Department of Manuscripts (see T. C. Skeat, *The British Museum: The Catalogues of the Manuscript Collections*, London, rev. ed., 1962, p. 5, no. 7), which was prepared by Sir Frederic Madden between 1829 and 1837, vol. xxii, ff. 5-9, describes MS. Additional 6873 in detail and dates the purchase to 7 Feb. 1816, see f. 1, cf. text above note 48 and notes 57 and 59; see also *Catalogue of Additional MSS. 6666-10018* (Skeat, p. 6, no. 16), p. 12: 'A Collection of Letters and Papers, chiefly originals. Lettered "Binda Papers", purchased [from] Chevalier Binda in 1816. In 5 vols., 6873-6877.' The Bembo letters are in MS. Additional 6873, ff. 16-76^v (see Appendix, A and B).

Dr. C. E. Wright, Deputy Keeper, Department of Manuscripts, most kindly has searched the Departmental Archives, which are very incomplete for the early nineteenth century. He tells me that there there is nothing about the Museum's purchase of the 'Binda Papers'.

⁴⁶ Binda is not in the biographical repertories. *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. le chevalier B* [sic] (Paris, 1852-63; six parts, the first three sold by Frank, the last three by Labitte). This large library is attributed to Binda by G. Ottino and G. Fumagalli, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica* (Graz, 1957), S. II, 6901.

⁴⁷ Cf. C. H. Clough, 'A forgotten library: The Leopold von Ranke Collection . . .', *Librarium: Revue de la Société Suisse des Bibliophiles*, vii (Zürich, 1964), pp. 73-79, and the sources listed there; for paintings and sculptures carried to France, see C. Gould, *Trophy of Conquest* (London, 1965).

⁴⁸ Cited in note 45.

⁴⁹ These Archives, or Library, are not in Frati, cited note 43, or in M. Parenti, *Aggiunte al Dizionario . . .* (Florence, 1952-60).

⁵⁰ G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica* (Venice; 103 vols., 1840-61), i, pp. 216-17; xiv, pp. 43-54; c, pp. 212-13. For Pietro Aldobrandini see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960), II, pp. 107-12.

⁵¹ For the autograph letters of Sully in MS. Additional 6873 see D. Buisseret and B. Barbiche, 'Les convictions religieuses de Sully', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, cxi (1964), pp. 223-30, though this does not deal with the provenance of the manuscript.

⁵² Moroni, cited in note 50, c, pp. 212-13; P. Litta, *Famiglie Italiane Celebri*, under Aldobrandini; G. Borghese, 'I Borghese', *Le Grandi Famiglie Romane*, x (Rome, 1954), p. 48.

⁵³ The date of the disposal of the Library is not known. Canonici's reference in 1782 to the purchase of a Bible of Clement VIII (see Merolle, cited note 24, p. 28) is not related at all to the Aldobrandini Library.

⁵⁴ The last portion of the supposed Binda sale, 11-12 Dec. 1863, consisted of manuscripts and autographs. Included were: 'Canonici, correspondance bibliographique, 1788-98 [sic], environ 150 lettres, 1 vol. in 4°; . . . 150 lettres de littérateurs italiens, dont une de Métafaste . . .; Magliabecchi . . . sa correspondance avec Bacchini . . .; Sannaz, lettre aut., sign., au cardinal Seripando, Naples, 10 octobre 1517; 2 lettres du même au même . . .', cf. the synopsis with the prices realized in *L'Amateur d'Autographes*, no. 48 (Paris, 16 décembre 1863), p. 384, and M. De Lescure, *Les Autographes en France et à l'étranger* (Paris, 1865), p. 99, which reprints this synopsis.

The Canonici letters appear to be MS. Additional 26059, see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1854-1875* (London, 1877), ii, p. 247, under 1864, where the letters are correctly described as being 1788-1793 and now number about a hundred, with a few torn portions of letters of 1787. It was purchased from *A Catalogue of . . . rare and valuable books . . .* (Puttick and Simpson, London, Sale, 13 Dec. 1864), Lot 1439. These letters were used by Signora Merolle, cited note 24. The bibliographical notes on ff. 95, 98 in the hand of Jacopo Morelli (1745-1819), bound in the manuscripts, were perhaps sent by Morelli to Masnago.

⁵⁵ B.M.C. xiii, pp. 426-36.

⁵⁶ There are seventeenth-century copies of three letters written by Bembo in MS. Egerton 44, ff. 13-15^v, see *Index to Additional Manuscripts, 1783-1835* (London, 1849), p. 37. They were copied from the originals that were sent, and these are now in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. Bembo's original letter sent to P. Vettori, 5 Feb. 1546, is in MS. Additional 10275, ff. 67-68^v, see *Additions to the Manuscripts . . ., 1836-40* (London, 1843), p. 26, and cf. D. Giannotti, *Lettere a P. Vettori*, ed. R. Ridolfi and C. Roth (Florence, 1932), p. 176.

⁵⁷ The first publication is given, and for ease of reference also that in P. Bembo, *Opere* (Venice, 1729).

The asterisk indicates the letters that are entirely in Bembo's hand; even those not so indicated usually have corrections in Bembo's hand; cf. Madden's description cited in note 45. Madden also points out that there are many variants from the printed text (the 1729 edition faithfully reprints the text of the first publication). There are two main reasons for these variants; first, Bembo sought to improve the language and style of his letters when he had them copied into his own Letter Collection, which was used as the basis of the printed collection. Secondly, the literary executors and printers made changes for the sake of consistency and sometimes inadvertently. I deal fully with the problem of text variants in my articles cited in note 37.

⁵⁸ This letter was signed and sealed, but almost certainly it was retained by Bembo and was not the one sent.

⁵⁹ Fol. 36-36^v, is a copy of this letter. Madden, cited in note 45, says it is 'a bad attempt at a facsimile of the preceding letter'. There is no watermark.

⁶⁰ Mortara describes this (and likewise nos. 21, 22, 27) as the original letter sent, but he is incorrect.

⁶¹ Bembo changed the G. of the addressee's name in this letter and in 11 to B. I have discussed the significance of this in my 'P. Bembo, Madonna G., Berenice and Veronica Gambara', *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia per 1963*, clxii (Brescia, 1965), pp. 212, 227.

EDITH SITWELL LETTERS

"ARE you ill? You are so pale. . . ." Dame Edith was asked one day by a fellow member at the Sesame Club where she stayed when in London. She described her riposte and its effect: "I always go as white as a sheet when I am bored." (Which is true.) She then went away.¹ The public personality, the talent for the witty, if crushing remark, the conviction that the world was mainly made up of bores trying to waste her time and harm her poetry—all are there. In Dame Edith's posthumously published 'autobiography', *Taken Care Of*, it was principally these aspects which were allowed to appear.² They combine to make the collection of over two hundred of her letters, recently bought by the Department of Manuscripts and numbered Add. MSS. 52609-111, vivid and splendidly anecdotal reading.³ But in them is also revealed a warmer private individual, extraordinarily sensitive and vulnerable, generous and strongly protective of her family and friends, and above all a dedicated and extremely hard-working writer.

These letters are all written to John Lehmann, editor, critic, and poet. They begin on 6 April 1943, shortly after the correspondents had been introduced by Demetrios Capetanakis, the young Greek poet, who died of an incurable disease less than a year later. They continue to May 1953. The memory of Capetanakis was an important bond,⁴ and the friendship grew out of mutually profitable literary enterprise. Mr. Lehmann was at that time editor of *New Writing* and *Daylight* and *The Penguin New Writing*, and later of the *Orpheus* miscellanies. The second letter, dated 28 May 1943, finds Dame Edith responding warmly to his suggestion that she should contribute:

. . . it has given me so much pleasure that you have asked me to write for *New Writing* and *Daylight*. I shall love to.

Now the series of literary reminiscences or sketches for a poet's autobiography would be rather difficult for me—for this reason that Osbert is writing his autobiography, and that if I were to write of other poets personally—much of our material would clash. But of course if you were meaning a series of notes about what had formed the trend of one's mind, that would be easier.—Or what about further notes on Shakespeare? I am intending to write a large book on the old gentleman. The Shakespeare notes would be the most enjoyable to do.

By 8 June 1943 she had expanded her first idea:

I think it might be interesting to write about the necessity for sharpness and a kind of crudeness, in women's poetry. . . . I could then speak about the necessity of studying *very early poetry*, and the necessity of studying *Verlaine* because his rhythms, his movements, are suitable to women's muscles.

In fact, although both these ideas were eventually used in prose pieces,⁵ Dame Edith's first contribution was appropriately a poem, *Invocation*.⁶

Invocation began the series of her new poems, first published by Mr. Lehmann, until *The Penguin New Writing*, the longest lived of his magazines, ceased publication in 1950. Dame Edith's poetic output falls into two distinct periods. The most memorable of her earlier poems, culminating in *Gold Coast Customs* (1929), were in one sense very much of their period. They shared the interest of the linguistic specialists—the so-called Semanticists—in exploring the link between sound and meaning. Dame Edith's technique (sometimes as, in *Façade*, extremely successful), was often to draw meaning out of semi-nonsense phrases. For eleven years, until 1940, Dame Edith produced almost no poetry. *Lullaby*, published in that year, marked the beginning of a second productive period. It was distinguished by a more explicit treatment of the subject and by more direct thought; the characteristics of her later poetry. Whatever the eventual estimate of the relative merits of the two kinds—and the later poems stand at present higher in critical esteem—the post-1940 work is important in that it represents at least a third of the total preserved in her *Collected Poems*.⁷ Mr. Lehmann also brought out three of Dame Edith's books during these years, her long atomic bomb poem, *The Shadow of Cain* (1947); a reissue of her favourite prose work, a romantic novel based on the life of Swift, *I Live Under a Black Sun* (1948); her anthology *The American Genius* (1951).

The letters reflect in varying detail some of the stages in the conception, the execution, and the public reception of much of Dame Edith's work, undertaken both for Mr. Lehmann and for others, between these years. The association was at its height between 1943 and 1946. One manuscript poem is included in this collection, an almost unrecognizable draft of *A Song at Morning*, which first appeared in *Horizon*, December 1944. Its history, as recorded in the letters, serves admirably to illustrate how extensive the information about Dame Edith's working methods sometimes is. These lines were originally part of the long poem *Eurydice* dedicated to Mr. Lehmann, and written between August and November

1944.⁸ On 28 August, the poem is named as *Eurydice* and some lines—as incorporated in the manuscript draft—are quoted. By 6 September there are '52 lines done in all . . .' and four days later the poem is 'nearly finished'. But on 6 October work is still continuing: 'My temptation now is to make Eurydice miles long.' On 13 October Dame Edith wrote: 'I want to have one more look at Eurydice . . . the lines you liked, which I wrote first, do not seem at the moment to fit. I think they will have to be a separate Song.' Before this letter was sent off, she added a postscript:

I wrote the other letter yesterday, mainly in the afternoon; then held it up because I thought I should probably finish the small poem,—the Song,—which I am sending . . . the Horizon anthology. When it comes out in *book* form, it will be put with Eurydice. But by itself that point would not be understood, so I'm just calling it 'A Song at Morning.'⁹

Dame Edith was always strongly affected by her critical reception: 'in order to be able to work, I do need sympathy and comprehension . . .'¹⁰ In reviews, broadcasts, lectures, and essays, which culminated in a short study prepared for the British Council in 1952, Mr. Lehmann answered this need:

I could not have believed it possible for another to enter so completely into the workings of my mind, understand so exactly what I am trying to do. I am sometimes driven almost mad by the incomprehension, even of people who say they like my poems. Here is *complete* comprehension. Of course that is what great criticism does, but it is still very astonishing. It is the greatest possible incentive to work.¹¹

Her response to attack was almost instinctive, arising out of the strongly emotional experience which writing was to her. She said of her 'Mother to her dead Child . . .', a war poem: 'It was a frightful poem to write, really an agony; and I can't ever read it aloud. It makes me feel my eyes are bleeding . . .'¹² Adverse criticism of Dame Edith's work was the mainspring of the constant passionate feuds, in which she invited the support of her friends, as so many St. Georges to fight the literary dragons. She was more than usually detached when she wrote: '. . ., there are moments when, for a lark, I feel like sharpening my wits on wooden heads in the way that cats sharpen their claws on the legs of kitchen tables.'¹³ Occasionally the target of her opponents' attack appeared to be personal, and this understandably caused very great pain. She quoted a letter she had written in 1947 upon a rumour:

Oh dear! Have you been telling people I am a deleterious and dangerous old person who is out to corrupt the morals of the young? It all sounds very interesting—if a trifle squalid. But if you have, I fear I must disillusion you. (The illusion in any case, wouldn't survive five minutes conversation with me.) . . .

... although I hope and believe the young like me, I can be an extremely alarming old person when I like, and they behave themselves in my presence!¹⁴

She could make a joke of a less than enthusiastic review: 'The T.L.S. has given my *Canticle* a review which I think must have been written by an old moss-grown low-church clergyman, with a beard dripping with rains, living in a Manse in or outside Aberdeen.'¹⁵ But to an unfavourable comparison of her atomic bomb poems with the work of another woman poet, her reaction was furious:

I am so indignant about the way in which my poems, (my work of nearly 30 years,) have been treated, that I will never, *never* allow the British public to see one of my poems again. Never.

They shall all be published in book form in America, and I will give them to my friends here ...¹⁶

Dame Edith made three visits to the United States during the period of these letters. Her reception was enthusiastic. On her first trip she wrote from New York on 12 December 1948:

I like the Americans more than I can say,—finding them courteous, charming and kind. And I enjoy myself, most of the time, very much. And we *seem* to be having a great success, if I may say so, 10,000 tried to get into the Town Hall, when we read poems, I lectured to 1400 people at Yale, and read, the same evening, to the Elizabethan Club, to which only two other women have ever been admitted. ...¹⁷

A performance of *Façade*, also in New York the next February had 'a wild success'. On her second visit, in 1951, Dame Edith wrote from San Francisco:

... the reading in Hollywood was a great success, I do think. Lots of film stars, including Harpo Marx, came. And during my reading of the Macbeth Sleep-Walking scene, I was just announcing that Hell is murky, when a poor gentleman in the audience uttered the most piercing shrieks, and was carried out by four men, foaming at the mouth. As one of the spectators said to me 'You ought to be awfully pleased. It was one of the most flattering things I have ever seen.' ...

In Hollywood I got into a Laocoon entanglement with Miss Mary Pickford, that last[ed] for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. Miss Pickford was heavily plastered, but very dignified. She discoursed to me of her role as Little Lord Fauntleroy, and said she always regarded herself as a Spiritual Beacon ...¹⁸

One of the most attractive features of this correspondence is the generous praise for many younger writers. Dame Edith was wide-ranging in her taste. Here are just two of the many examples which could be chosen. Probably the

best known of the poets she supported was Dylan Thomas: 'I think him a wonderful poet.' In 1946 Dame Edith was active in persuading the Society of Authors to allot its entire travel grant so that Dylan Thomas could take his family to the States. She anticipated objections:

I worry about a certain habit, terribly. But that is because I am terrified of it harming him *physically*. It obviously does *not* harm his work, because his latest book of poems is infinitely greater than anything else he has done.

We don't want what happened to Swinburne to happen to him.¹⁹

In 1944 she discovered the work of another young man, José García Villa, a Philippino, who was living and working in the States, and wrote a picturesque description inspired by his book of poems:

They are very strange, and he is the only really good quite new poet whose work I have seen. It is strange to think of this (presumably) minute creature, the colour of dark green New Zealand jade, spinning these flame-sharp poems out of himself.²⁰

In everything Dame Edith's life was centred upon her work. There are humorous lightning sketches in these letters of her at Renishaw, often barricaded in her room against distracting visitors or the threat of contamination from a cold; an impression of short war-time and post-war visits to London, entertaining literary friends to 'monster' tea-parties; a record of readings sometimes with the specially composed music of Walton, or Britten, or Tippett, or Humphrey Searle. For a poet who listed 'silence' among her recreations in *Who's Who*, it is appropriate to conclude with this half-humorous, half-despairing, and wholly typical description of her efforts to find peace in which to work:

The gardener's daughter, . . . aged 11 (The child who, at the age of 4, shouted 'I want Beauty and I will have Beauty'—and then threw an iron bar at Robins: it transpired afterwards that Beauty was her dog) has taken to screaming. Thank God the gardener's cottage is in a distant garden. She screamed for four days and four nights without stopping, excepting to put food in her mouth. There were then two days and nights of peace. But she has now started again, and the affair seems endless . . .²¹

JENNY LEWIS

I am very grateful to Mr. Francis Sitwell for his kind permission to reproduce the extracts from Dame Edith's correspondence which appear in this article.

¹ Letter 15 June 1948; Add. MS. 52610.

² In a letter of 21 May 1951, Add. MS. 52611, Dame Edith gave her reasons for refusing to write an autobiography, and added:

'What I *do* propose doing, is keeping an elaborate diary, which should produce a feeling of characterisation without telling the inner side of my life.'

³ Also in the Department's collections are one letter to Sir Sydney Cockerell, 1957 (Add. MS. 52753), and thirty-eight letters to Christabel, Lady Aberconway, 1925-62 (Add. MS. 52556). In a letter of 9 July 1962 Dame Edith wrote:

'Did I tell you that at the two sales of my unfinished (for the most part) manuscripts at

Sotheby's, I made fifteen thousand pounds. This is pretty good, as I am still, officially, alive.'

Now in the Edith Sitwell collection at the University of Texas, where there are 248 manuscript notebooks and some few other items.

⁴ Capetanakis died on 9 Mar. 1944. Dame Edith contributed an article on his poetry to the memorial, 'A Greek Poet in England', *New Writing and Daylight*, Autumn 1944, which was reprinted in *Demetrios Capetanakis*, 1947, published by John Lehmann.

⁵ Notes on 'King Lear', and 'Iago', *New Writing and Daylight*, 1945 and 1946; incorporated in *A Notebook on William Shakespeare*, 1948. 'Some Notes on the Making of a Poem', *Orpheus I*, 1948; 'On My Poetry', *Orpheus II*, 1949. Cf. Letter of 29 May 1947; Add. MS. 52610: 'I shall begin by writing about inspiration. This, I think, may give people a nasty shock, as I think the coming of inspiration is definitely a mystical experience...'

⁶ *New Writing and Daylight*, Winter 1943-4.

⁷ Macmillan, 1957.

⁸ First published in *Horizon*, v. 12, no. 68, Aug. 1945.

⁹ In fact the two poems were always printed separately.

¹⁰ Letter, 13 June 1944; Add. MS. 52609.

¹¹ Letter, 6 Sept. 1944; Add. MS. 52609.

¹² Ibid., referring to Mr. Henry Reed's sympathetic essay on her poetry, in *Penguin New Writing*, 21, 1944.

¹³ Letter, 19 May 1950, written from Sir Osbert Sitwell's Italian home, the Castello di Montegufoni, near Florence; Add. MS. 52611.

¹⁴ Letter, 29 Nov. 1947. But on 4 Aug. 1948 Dame Edith wrote: 'I liked Mr. —, and had evidently got him all wrong... I don't believe for one moment that he said the horrible things about me—for they were horrible,—that he was supposed to have said...'; both letters, Add. MS. 52610.

¹⁵ Letter, 1 Oct. 1949; Add. MS. 52611.

¹⁶ Letter, 6 Nov. 1949, referring to a review, 'Poetry Today', *Time and Tide*, 29 Oct. 1949; Add. MS. 52611.

¹⁷ A joint visit, by Dame Edith and her elder brother Sir Osbert Sitwell; Add. MS. 52610.

¹⁸ Letter, 17 Jan. 1951; Add. MS. 52611.

¹⁹ Letter, 12 Dec. 1946; Add. MS. 52610.

²⁰ Letter, [6 Aug. 1944?]; Add. MS. 52609.

²¹ Letter, 19 Jan. 1950; Add. MS. 52611. Readers of Sir Osbert's autobiography will remember Robins, his valet.

A RECONSTRUCTED ASTRONOMICAL MANUSCRIPT FROM CHRIST CHURCH LIBRARY CANTERBURY

COLLECTIONS of notes on the computus necessary for calculating the dates of ecclesiastical feasts, in particular the date of Easter, were from early times included in manuscript psalters, missals, and other liturgical books, often in close association with the calendar and frequently accompanied by astronomical tables, while some independent astronomical collections are known. Most of the material in these computi, or 'gerim' as Aelfric called them,¹ was more or less common knowledge and it is not yet possible to trace exact sources for much of it; the same calculations and directions occur again and again in slightly different wording in many manuscripts. Henel suggests that one frequently found type of Anglo-Saxon computus was compiled about 970 but notes that its components derive from much earlier sources.² Much is to be most conveniently found in the works of Isidore and Bede, and various anonymous works sometimes attributed to the latter,³ but the question of ultimate sources cannot be discussed here.

Few of the numerous medieval compilations on astronomy can have the varied interest of Egerton MS. 3314. It contains much of this common stock of useful knowledge but through its associations and history is of more importance than many similar collections. Textually it is not without significance. The manuscript opens with a gathering (ff. 1b-8b) mainly in the autograph of Salomon, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. His introductory note (f. 1b) is worth quoting in full:

Peccator ego Salomon ecclesie Christi dictus monachus, cum modernorum compotistarum diligenter scripta reuoluerem, apud illos notulas repperi, quibus aliqua quae ab antiquis dicta sunt diffusius, iocunde breuitatis compendio colligantur. Quas ego deuote suspiciens & iccirco suscipiens, huius uoluminis inscripsi uestibulo, opere pretium ratus, si ea quae mihi uidebantur utilia, in noticiam posteritatis transfunderem. De meo quoque non nichil addidi, forte non minus utile, & si minus autenticum. Non mihi uicio uerti debet, quod non omnia singillatim in uersus duxerim. Officiosus quippe calamus ordini potius quo prosit, quam quo delectet, excepit singula prout ei quando & quando sunt exhibita. Sed & in calce huius scedule quiddam de magistri Cunestabuli scriptis inserui, in quo sane contra Marianum & Gerlandum pro ecclesia de annis domini astronomicis rationibus efficaciter disputatur. Succedit tabula mee utique imperitiae non neglegenda. Verumtamen non nisi digna est, laudem ferat.

Salomon explains that he has added at the beginning of the volume notes on astronomy derived from the work of 'modern' writers on the computus who have summarized what ancient writers said at greater length. He is thus noting down what he regards as ancient knowledge, though obtained at second hand. He says further that he has added something of his own and apologizes for not putting everything into verse, but he is an official and more skilled in matters of utility than of delight. He concludes by saying that at the end of the 'scedula' he has included some notes on the writings of 'Magister Cunestabulus', in which the errors in chronology of Gerlandus and Marianus are 'effectively disputed'.⁴ After this follows his own table (f. 8b).

Salomon, himself, can be identified as one of the monks of Christ Church who visited Rome in 1198 to put the case of the monks in their long-drawn-out quarrel with Archbishop Hubert Walter over church buildings at Lambeth.⁵ He was subsequently sub-prior of Christ Church⁶ and was the donor of a number of books to the libraries of Christ Church and St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.⁷ Salomon's notes in Egerton 3314 were written at a slightly earlier period of his life. The dates 1184 and 1204 are cited in directions for calculating the moon of Septuagesima on f. 6, the former date as though in the past, the latter as twenty years inclusive from the date of writing [thus 1185]. From the make-up of the volume it would appear that Salomon added a completely new gathering to a volume which was then in unbound state. At the end of the volume Salomon seems to have transcribed the treatise 'Quomodo inueniri possint concurrentes & data cuiuslibet anni per manum' (ff. 73-75b). In the calendar in the main part

of Egerton 3314 he has made additions pointing out the errors of Gerlandus and Marianus.

Salomon's notes at the beginning of the manuscript consist for the most part of mnemonic rules for the computus, many being in verse form. Some derive from Bede, or the anonymous works wrongly attributed to Bede, but much is still unidentified. The most interesting part of Salomon's section is, however, his notes on the treatise of the *Cunestabulus* which he has marked by marginal guide letters (see Pl. IV). The notes are sufficiently detailed to enable the identification of a complete copy of the treatise in Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xii, ff. 87-97b. This is none other than the treatise quoted by Haskins⁸ beginning '*Sepe auctorum uolumina qui de compoto uel principaliter uel incidenter egerunt, studiose reuolui. Inter quos inuenio quosdam iuniores in arte calculatoria non mediocriter eruditos, longo usui ecclesie rationibus uehementer ut uidetur acutis obuiare . . .*' Haskins notes that the author is an admirer of Gerland, and imitates his computus in the opening of his own work, but does not follow him, as Salomon remarks in Egerton MS. 3314, on questions affecting church usage.⁹ Haskins also notes that the author had a broader range of quotation than most computists and that the treatise is an early example of Arabic influence on computational writings. The treatise was possibly written in 1175;¹⁰ thus Salomon's notes may be remarkably close to the date of composition of the treatise. Haskins did not have access to the Egerton MS., which was only acquired by the Museum in 1945, and could not therefore identify the Cotton treatise as the *Computus Cunestabuli*. He pointed out, however, that three copies of a '*compotus constabularii*' are listed in Prior Eastry's catalogue of the library at Christ Church compiled in the early fourteenth century.¹¹ No copy of this treatise has hitherto been identified, but it now seems probable that the Vitellius MS. is one of the three Christ Church copies. It is preserved in a large composite volume which obviously consists of the remains of a number of different manuscripts. Unhappily this is one of the volumes damaged by the fire in the Cotton Library in 1731 and the original make-up of the manuscript can no longer be determined. It is perhaps significant that some of the verses in Salomon's introduction can also be traced in the Vitellius MS., in further sections of notes on the computus immediately following the *Computus Cunestabuli*.¹² It thus seems likely that a Canterbury provenance can be considered for at least part of the contents of Vitellius A. xii.¹³ The Vitellius volume also contains a copy of the treatise on the computus by Rabanus Maurus, a work which is quoted in the main body of the Egerton MS. (ff. 47b-48).

The first recto of Salomon's gathering in Egerton 3314 must originally have been blank. On it was subsequently added, in a thirteenth-century hand, the title '*Aedthelardus de compoto*', while in the top left-hand corner occurs a letter interpreted by Ker as a 'C' followed by an unidentified symbol.¹⁴ The title

identifies the Egerton MS. as a volume in Prior Eastry's catalogue of the Christ Church MSS. described as:

Computus Adelardi

In hoc uol. cont.:

Libellus de aeris inpressionibus.

Libellus de inueniendis concurrentibus per annum.¹⁵

Now the notes on the stars, winds, and rains included in ff. 45-72b of Egerton 3314 might conceivably be entitled 'de aeris inpressionibus', although this is a title more frequently given to prognostications from the weather, and the last section in the Egerton volume, as we have seen, is Salomon's transcript of the treatise 'Quomodo inueniri possint concurrentes . . . per *manum*', thus an easy error of ear or hand would explain the cataloguer's entry. It is, however, difficult to suggest any portion of the Egerton volume, as it now exists, to correspond with the 'computus Adelardi'. Apart from a sizeable extract from the computus of Hermannus Contractus the volume consists mainly, as we shall see, of tables, calendar, and brief notes on the computus. A suggested identification by James¹⁶ of the computus Adelardi, which could not be proved at the time he wrote, is now of considerable assistance. James noted that a section of the second part of Cotton MS. Caligula A. xv¹⁷ was entitled in a late-sixteenth-century hand 'Aedthelardus de Compoto'. The text so marked is a late-eleventh-early-twelfth-century copy of the Anglo-Saxon treatise, *De Temporibus Anni*, usually attributed to Aelfric. Henel pointed out that the annotator of Caligula A. xv may have meant the historian Aethelweard, friend and patron of Aelfric, by this attribution; the medieval cataloguer of Egerton 3314 may have had the same intention, although there now seems no reason to dispute the traditional attribution of the treatise to Aelfric himself.¹⁸ The coincidence in form of the Caligula and Egerton titles is no chance; the two manuscripts were once one volume and the title in the Cotton MS. derives directly from the Egerton title leaf. As will be seen there are concordances of script, pricking, and content between the Egerton and Caligula MSS. and the unity of the two manuscripts is proved beyond doubt by an eleventh-century fragment in Latin on the computus at the top of f. 142 in Caligula A. xv which continues and completes, in the same hand, the imperfect paragraph at the foot of f. 44b of the Egerton MS., and by Paschal tables in an early-fifteenth-century hand on ff. 32b-33b of the Egerton MS., marked in the top outer corners 'xxviii folio' and 'xxix folio', which continue in the same hand the latest additions to the Paschal tables in Cotton Caligula A. xv, ff. 138b-39, and agree with the direction there given at the foot of f. 139 'Quere residuum istius operis in xx^oviii^o folio & xxix^o folio seque[nti]'. If exclusive numeration is used the two Egerton leaves are in fact the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth leaves following the Caligula tables, as will be seen in the summary of the make-up of the

original volume given below. Further evidence of the link between the two volumes is that marginal notes to one of the astronomical tables in *Caligula A. xv*, f. 120b, relating to the date of the Passion according to *Marianus* and *Dionysius*, seem to be in the hand of *Salomon*.

One result of the recognition of *Caligula A. xv* (second part) and *Egerton 3314* as one original volume is that the *Caligula MS.* (ff. 120–53) can now be shown to be fragments of a single volume and not of two or three as suggested by *Henel* and *Ker*,¹⁹ who base their opinions on the undoubted differences in script, pricking, and vellum in the *Caligula MS.* These differences can, however, be matched in the *Egerton MS.*, while the two specific points of textual connexion mentioned above overlap these divergences and point again to the piecemeal construction of the original medieval volume.²⁰

The make-up and contents of the reconstructed volume, which is still imperfect in certain sections, may thus be summarized:

(1) *Egerton 3314*, ff. 1–8b (gathering i of eight leaves). Autograph notes by *Salomon*, added in the late twelfth century, including (f. 1b) his introductory note printed above, miscellaneous verses and directions on the computus (ff. 1b–6b), extracts from the *Computus Cunistabuli* (ff. 6b–8), and *Salomon's* table (f. 8b). The first recto has been used as a title leaf and bears the thirteenth-century title '*Aedthelardus de compoto*', the press-mark 'C' or 'G' followed by an unidentified symbol, and various later additions, including a note on a disastrous flood in *Thanet* and *Sheppey* in 1394.²¹

(2) *Cotton MS. Caligula A. xv*, ff. 120–7b, 128–35b, 136–41b (gatherings ii⁸, iii⁸, iv⁶). Various astronomical notes in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, including astronomical tables and verses with line drawings of *St. Pachomius* receiving the Easter tables from the angel, and the angel receiving the tables from the Almighty (ff. 122b–3),²² notes on the computus, prognostics, charms,²³ and Paschal tables with annals relating to *Christ Church*. The annals are of particular interest as the hand which made the entries until 1076 also wrote the whole of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon texts on ff. 120–41 (top), with the exception of the later additions to the Paschal tables, from 1194, and the annals, from 1085. Thus 1076 would appear to indicate the approximate date of writing of this portion of the manuscript. This is confirmed by an entry in a different hand on the middle of f. 141 '*iste cereus consecratus est . . .*' dated 1083. At the foot of f. 141 are notes on the computus in yet another hand, thus dating from after 1083; further notes in this same hand are to be found on f. 9 of *Egerton 3314* which begins the next gathering. The crowding of the notes on f. 141 recto and verso may indicate that these were entered subsequently in a blank space.

(3) *Egerton 3314*, ff. 9–13 (gathering v⁸, 5 blank, 6 and 7 are stubs). Further notes on the computus followed by mnemonic verses for finding the terms of *Septuagesima* beg. '*Kalende februi qui nos exquirunt*', *Quadragesima* beg.

Octone martis kalende quinque', Easter beg. 'None aprilis norunt quinos', Rogation beg. 'Sex idus accomodato quinos' and Pentecost beg. 'None iunii kalende afferunt quinis.' Two verses of a second series for Septuagesima beg. 'Februi kl. kalo quino pensat' and Quadragesima beg. 'Octone martis kalende innuunt quinis' are followed by a space presumably intended for the rest of the second series. The verses are not without interest, for although those for Quadragesima and Easter in the first series are common to a number of manuscripts, including the earlier section of Caligula A. xv, ff. 122b-3,²⁴ the remainder are comparatively rare.²⁵ The first four verses are written in the same hand as f. 9 and the computus notes on Caligula A. xv, f. 141; the remaining verses are a slightly later addition. Folio 13 contains tables in the same early-fifteenth-century hand which wrote the continuation of the Paschal tables in the Cotton and Egerton MSS.

(4) Egerton 3314, ff. 14-21b, 22-29b, 30-37b, 38-44b (gatherings vi-viii⁸, ix¹⁰, 4 is a stub, 5 is blank, 10 is a stub which formed part of Caligula A. xv, f. 142). The main hand in these gatherings is contemporary with the main hand of (3) which supplied f. 42 at a time subsequent to the writing of f. 43 to judge from the wide spacing at the foot of both recto and verso. The chief contents are a sizeable extract (ff. 14-17) from the treatise on the Computus of Hermannus Contractus (cf. Arundel MS. 356, ff. 28-32), calendar with occasional notes by Salomon (ff. 18b-30), tables (ff. 30b-32), continuation in the early-fifteenth-century hand of the Paschal tables in Caligula A. xv (ff. 32b-33b), further notes on the computus deriving partly from the astronomical works by or attributed to Bede but including an early quotation from the computus of Gerland (cf. f. 36 'Luna infima planetarum' and Cotton MS. Vespasian A. ix, f. 50). This section of the volume was not completed, and inserted on ff. 37-40b in several late-fourteenth-early-fifteenth-century hands, are copies of the well-known set of prognostications from the moon's age²⁶ and the Commendacio, De Situ, and De Mirabilibus Britannie of uncertain authorship found in many manuscripts.²⁷ Further notes (ff. 41-44b), in the main hand, on the computus, again deriving from Bede or similar sources,²⁸ end imperfectly at f. 44b 'sed ii adicias & diuide'. The continuation, in the same hand, is to be found at the top of Cotton Caligula A. xv, f. 142 'totam summam per xxx . . .' which is therefore the missing leaf at the end of gathering ix. After a gap, f. 142 of the Caligula MS. continues with notes on the computus in Anglo-Saxon, very probably in the same hand as the main hand of section (4), derived partly from Aelfric and Byrhtferth.²⁹ These are continued on f. 143 in the next gathering.

(5) Cotton MS. Caligula A. xv, ff. 143-52b, 153 (gathering x⁸, xi now consisting of one leaf only). Folio 143 continues the Anglo-Saxon extracts on the computus mentioned in (4). Folios 144-53b, in a different and slightly later hand of the late eleventh-early twelfth century, contain a copy of chapters 4-10 and

part of chapter 11³⁰ of the Anglo-Saxon treatise usually called *De Temporibus Anni* and attributed to Aelfric. Folio 144 bears the heading 'Aedthelardus de Compoto' in a late-sixteenth-century hand which derives from the title-page of Egerton 3314. The remainder of the treatise was presumably contained in the missing portion of gathering xi.

(6) Egerton 3314, ff. 45-52b, 53-60b, 61-68b, 69-75b (gatherings xii, xiii⁸, xiv¹⁰, 5 and 7 are stubs, xv⁸, 7 is a stub). Notes (ff. 45-72b) in Latin on the computus, stars, winds, rain, etc., deriving partly from Bede and Isidore but including apparently quotations from the computus of Rabanus Maurus (ff. 47b-48) and the dialogue between Nimrod and Ioathon (f. 48b).³¹ A group of verses, including the *De Annis Domini* often (wrongly) attributed to Dionysius and other common³² astronomical verses by Bede, Ausonius, etc., are at ff. 57b-61b. There is some relationship in the order and sources of the matter here included and the arrangement of Aelfric's treatise in (5). The script, particularly the rubrics, also bears some resemblance to that of the Anglo-Saxon work. The main text of Egerton 3314 concludes with a copy by Salomon (ff. 73-75b) of the treatise 'Quomodo inueniri possint concurrentes cuiuslibet anni per manum' which also occurs in an early-fourteenth-century manuscript at the Bodleian Library.³³

(7) Egerton 3314, ff. 76-78b (gathering xvi⁴, 2 is a stub). Mainly blank. Scribbles on f. 78b include a copy, in Salomon's hand, of verses on the three Marias, beg. 'Ex ioachim cleopha salome tres anna marias.'

The history of the volume immediately after the Dissolution of the monastery at Christ Church in 1539 is still obscure and it is not yet possible to determine who was responsible for the division of the original volume. There can be no doubt that this was done deliberately, for the Anglo-Saxon material now in Caligula A. xv has been systematically, though not over-carefully, separated from the remainder. The date at which this separation must have occurred seems rather early for Sir Robert Cotton himself to be suspect, although instances of his by no means gentle division of manuscripts are known;³⁴ we do not know exactly when Cotton acquired the Caligula portion of the manuscript. The Egerton section certainly belonged to Dr. John Dee, for it bears his 'Jupiter' sign on f. 1 and in two places on the vellum binding, while marginal annotations on ff. 60b-61 seem to be in his hand. One of Dee's signs on the binding is concealed under a front inside flap of vellum formerly stuck down, which suggests that Dee, himself, had this binding put on; it is not large enough to have covered the section now preserved in Caligula A. xv. Egerton 3314 does not occur in Dee's catalogue of his manuscripts made in 1583, just before his journey to Bohemia and Poland, or in his earlier lists,³⁵ and we do not know how he acquired it. It passed, subsequently, to the library of Sir William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, who died in 1598, if it is safe to deduce that much from its presence in the sale

of his library in 1687,³⁶ when it was acquired by Thomas Grey, 2nd Earl of Stamford. In the eighteenth century it belonged to Robert Butts, possibly the second son of Bishop Butts of Norwich, and it was acquired by the Museum from one of his descendants.

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¹ H. Henel, *Studien zum altenglischen Computus*, 1934, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³ Much of the astronomical matter printed in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xc, is not the work of Bede; see C. W. Jones, *Beda's Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede*, 1939, *passim*.

⁴ C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 1927, pp. 84-85, notes revived interest in the eleventh century in discussion of the dating of the Christian era. Marianus Scotus, the chronicler (died 1082), argued that the Dionysian era currently accepted was twenty-two years too late; Gerland proposed an era seven years earlier than the Dionysian in his computus of 1081. Egerton 3314 includes (ff. 36, 36b) a quotation from Gerland's computus which may be earlier than 1102, the earliest date of quotation from Gerland known to Haskins.

⁵ W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I. Volume II. Epistolae Cantuarienses*, Rolls Series 38, 1865, pp. xci-cix, gives an account of the quarrel. References to Salomon are on pp. ci, cii, 457-8.

⁶ W. G. Searle, *Christ Church Canterbury*, 1902, p. 172.

⁷ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 1964, pp. 242, 245.

⁸ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁹ 'Noueris etiam preter ceteros auctores Gerlandum quoque imitatum, et etiam imitandum in omnibus exceptis hiis in quibus obuiat usui ecclesie. Nam ubi bene dicit nemo melius . . .' Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xii, f. 87, quoted by Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁰ The epoch of the 'present year' is given as 26 on f. 90b of Vitellius A. xii; f. 94 gives the date, 'according to modern Jews', as 4935 = 1175.

¹¹ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 87; M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, p. 49, nos. 288-90.

¹² Cf. Egerton 3314, f. 4 'Flendus eris dum carnis amans genio famularis' and Vitellius A. xii, f. 98b.

¹³ N. R. Ker, *op. cit.*, does not place Vitellius A. xii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36; the letter might possibly be a G. See James, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, for early Christ Church Library symbols.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 49, no. 287.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

¹⁷ The second part only, ff. 120-53b, of Caligula A. xv is relevant here; the first part of the volume was originally a separate manuscript which belonged formerly to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.

¹⁸ H. Henel, *Aelfric's De Temporibus Anni*, Early English Text Society 213, 1942, pp. xlii-xliii. Henel did not know the Egerton MS.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxiv; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 1957, pp. 173-6.

²⁰ The main hands in Egerton 3314+Caligula A. xv are: A. Caligula A. xv, ff. 120-41 (c. 1076; this hand may be the same as Cotton MS. Claudius A. iii, ff. 6-7b, cf. Ker, *ibid.*, pp. 176, 240); B. Caligula A. xv, f. 141 (lower half and verso)+Egerton 3314, ff. 9-11, 42 (after 1083); C. Egerton 3314, ff. 14-17b, 18b-32, 34-37, 41, 43-44b+Caligula A. xv, f. 142 (top) and possibly the Anglo-Saxon notes on ff. 142-3b (contemporary with B); D. Caligula A. xv, ff. 144-53b (late-eleventh to early-twelfth-century); E. Egerton 3314, ff. 45-72b (late-eleventh to early-twelfth-century); F. Egerton 3314, ff. 1b-8b, 73-75b, 78b (part) notes on ff. 20-21 and on Caligula A. xv, f. 120b (Salomon's hand, c. 1185); G. Caligula A. xv, ff. 138b-9+Egerton 3314, ff. 1 (part), 13, 32b-33b, 78b? (part) (early-fifteenth-century).

The prickings are:

36 lines. Caligula A. xv, ff. 120-41+Egerton 3314, ff. 9-13.

38 lines. Egerton 3314, ff. 14-44+Caligula A. xv, ff. 142-53 (the scribe of ff. 144-53 writes only 19 lines per page).

24 lines. Egerton 3314, ff. 45-78b.

²¹ 'Anno domini 1394 21 die januarii id est in vigilia sancti Vincentii tantus ventus quod mirum fuit et nocte sequenti tanta inundatio aquae quod in insulis sicut Taneto et Schepeye plura enormia et dampna facta sunt homines vtriusque sexus et animalia erant submersa . . .'

²² F. Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, 1952, no. 27, pl. 34a, b.

²³ For editions of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics, charms, and computistical matter see H. Henel, *Aelfric's De Temporibus Anni*, 1942, p. xxii, n. 3, 4.

²⁴ See H. Henel, *Studien zum altenglischen Computus*, 1934, pp. 25-26; C. W. Jones, op. cit., p. 57.

²⁵ The last four verses of the first series and a version of the first verse of the second series are, however, printed by K. Strecker, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, iv, fasc. ii, 1923, pp. 670-1, 701-2.

²⁶ Cf. Cotton MS. Tiberius A. iii, ff. 32b-35b, for an eleventh-century copy from Christ Church Library. For other manuscripts see M. Förster, 'Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde III', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, cxxi, 1908, pp. 32-33; 'Die altenglischen Traum-lunare', *Englische Studien*, lx, 1925, pp. 66-67.

²⁷ Cf. W. Stubbs, *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, Rolls Series 68, i, 1876, pp. 10-15, 30.

²⁸ Cf. the anonymous *Liber de Computo* printed by Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxix, 1273-1372.

²⁹ Cf. Henel, *Studien*, pp. 51-54.

³⁰ As printed by Henel, *Aelfric's De Temporibus Anni*, 1942.

³¹ Cf. the extract printed by Haskins, op. cit., p. 340.

³² See Jones, op. cit., p. 93, etc., for references.

³³ Digby MS. 28, f. 14.

³⁴ Cf. N. R. Ker, 'Membra Disiecta', *B.M.Q.* xii, 1938, pp. 130, 131.

³⁵ See M. R. James, *Lists of Manuscripts formerly owned by Dr. John Dee* (Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions, No. 1), 1921.

³⁶ *Bibliotheca Illustris sive Catalogus variorum librorum*, 1687 [sale catalogue of Lord Burghley's Library, 21 Nov. 1687], lot 83 of the Latin MSS.

DELIUS LETTERS

OF course, I don't claim to be a British composer',¹ wrote Frederick Delius in 1919 in one of his frequent diatribes against music in England. Nevertheless, he is generally regarded as an English composer, although both his parents were German by birth and he himself spent most of his life abroad, mainly in France. Only two minor examples of his work are so far to be found in the rich collection of modern music manuscripts built up by the Department of Manuscripts in recent years,² although most of his English contemporaries are extensively represented. The acquisition of the letters which he and his wife wrote to Philip Heseltine ('Peter Warlock') during the twenty years of their friendship is therefore particularly welcome.³ The series consists of more than 200 letters and postcards, the earliest written in April 1911 and the latest in March 1930, only a few months before Heseltine's tragic death. Roughly speaking they fall into three groups. The first and largest consists of letters written by Delius himself during the early years of the friendship. When his health began to fail, soon after the First World War, he fell into the habit of dictating letters to his wife, who often added messages of her own. The third group is made up of letters from Mrs. Delius, most of which were written after the composer had been entirely incapacitated by illness and which include one addressed to Sir Thomas Beecham, written in August 1929 during preparations for the Delius Festival held in the autumn of that year. This last group now

makes up the third of the three volumes into which the collection has been divided. They are numbered Add. MSS. 52547-9.

Philip Heseltine met Delius during his last year at Eton, when paying a holiday visit to an uncle who lived close to the composer's home at Grez-sur-Loing near Fontainebleau. His musical studies were then only just beginning, largely thanks to his recently conceived enthusiasm for Delius's own music. Delius, on the other hand, was a mature composer with a decidedly cosmopolitan background. His English upbringing had been succeeded by years of study in America (where he was ostensibly planting oranges in Florida after convincing his father that he was unsuited to a career in the family woollen business), in Leipzig, and in Paris. Grez had become his home in 1897 and he spent the rest of his life there, apart from short absences occasioned by holiday travel and by attendance at concert performances of his works, and the one real period of exile during the war. In spite of the difference of more than thirty years between their ages, the two took to each other at once and quickly found that they had much in common. Delius was particularly struck by Heseltine's mature appreciation of his own music and encouraged him to make pianoforte arrangements of several pieces.

Extensive quotations from Delius's letters have already been used by Cecil Gray in his biography of Heseltine.⁴ He was able at the same time to publish extracts from the other side of the correspondence. In them we see very clearly how deeply Delius concerned himself with every aspect of the career of his young friend. There are references to his studies and his teachers, to his first efforts in the field of musical criticism, and to his early compositions. His plans for *The Sackbut*, a musical journal which first appeared in 1920 and which he edited for only a short time, received a special measure of encouragement. But Delius did not confine himself to questions of musical interest and a very long letter is full of detailed advice about one of Heseltine's numerous love affairs.⁵

We still await a definitive biography of Delius. Descriptions of day-to-day events in his life are not the most remarkable feature of his letters, although his trips abroad are mentioned as they occur and performances of his music are usually commented upon. The preparation of Heseltine's book on Delius, which was published in 1923, did call forth a certain amount of biographical material, mostly from Mrs. Delius.⁶ The most detailed factual letter describes flight from Grez in 1914 when the German advance seemed too close for comfort. Concealing their valuables and taking with them their greatest treasure, the Gauguin painting 'Nevermore' which Delius had purchased from the artist in Paris in 1895, they struggled as far as Orléans, but returned after only a few days when the danger had passed.⁷ Delius commented:

We had great fun burying our best wine & silver—I would not have missed this experience for anything. The world has gone mad.⁸

Part of the war period was spent in England and the break with the life to which he was accustomed proved very unsettling. Indeed, it was later to be seen as one of the chief factors contributing to the illness which clouded the last years of the composer's life.

A future biographer drawing upon these letters will probably find the references to Delius's own music, the frequent comments upon the state of music at the time, and the passages explaining his philosophy of life to be among their most revealing features. Fenby and Beecham both draw attention to his extreme egoism,⁹ which he derived from the thought of the German philosopher Nietzsche, who laid great stress upon the importance of the individual:

I consider Nietzsche the only free thinker of modern times & for me the most sympathetic one—He is at the same time such a poet. He feels Nature. I believe, myself, in no doctrine whatever—and in nothing but in Nature & in the great forces of Nature—I believe in complete annihilation as far as our personal consciousness goes—Matter, of course, is in an eternal state of change & evolution—In the great Scheme of Nature Man is no more important than a fly [*sic*].¹⁰

Heseltine's reaction to this declaration inspired a further exposition in a letter written just over a month later:

All that has been said about reincarnation—The higher spheres etc is simply childish—Our soul is simply our brain & nervous system & can be entirely destroyed before death.¹¹

Delius described music as the 'expression of a poetic and emotional nature'.¹² Anyone who has listened to his own works will find it easy to understand the distaste with which he regarded the *avant garde* school of the day:

There is really only one quality for great music & that is 'emotion'—Look with what ease hundreds of young composers are quietly expressing themselves in the so-called 'new idiom'. Otherwise the wrong note system—Hundreds of painters are seeing in Cubes—But it all means nothing more than a fashion—and surely intellectual when at its best.¹³

Schönberg and Stravinsky, the latter described as 'a musical acrobat',¹⁴ were both viewed with something akin to scorn, although Delius was forced to admit that Schönberg's *Harmonielehre* was very sound.¹⁵ Richard Strauss (to whom he compared Bernard Shaw¹⁶), Debussy, and Ravel are amongst the composers dismissed as lacking in emotion or mannerist in approach.

The strongest disapproval was reserved for music in England, 'the most disinterested country in the world as regards good art of every description'.¹⁷ In spite of his long voluntary exile, Delius still clearly regarded England as home, and it was a bitter disappointment to him that his work was so long in finding appreciation there. He urged Heseltine to attack any idea of English music. His attitude is apparent in this comment on Percy Grainger:

I consider Percy Grainger the most gifted English composer & the only one who writes English music—& he is an Australian—There is something of the old English robustness & vigor in his music—That part of England which has long ago ceased to exist—or which has emigrated.¹⁸

Outstanding amongst the references to his own music is this description of his method of composition:

I, myself, am entirely at a loss to explain how I compose—I know only that at first I conceive a work suddenly—thro' a feeling—the work appears to me instantaneously as a whole, but as a feeling—the working out of the whole work in detail is then easy as long as I have the feeling—the emotion—it becomes difficult as the emotion becomes less keen; sometimes I am obliged to put the work aside for months—sometimes years—& take it up again, having almost, or entirely, forgotten it; in order to bring back my first feeling.¹⁹

There are also passages in Mrs. Delius's letters describing her part in translating and preparing libretti, sometimes from English into German for foreign performances, and sometimes from German or from Danish into the English with which her husband preferred to work:

Fred's idiom is english, his language is english. Apart from the exceptionally beautiful Zarathustra, german poetry has never appealed to him, as you know.²⁰

Tribute has already been paid to Jelka Delius.²¹ Herself a talented painter, she gave up her independent career on marriage and devoted the whole of her life to the well-being of her husband and the furtherance of his ambitions. At no time can he have been the easiest of companions, and Eric Fenby's vivid description of life at Grez during his last years shows us the difficulties which she was eventually called upon to face.²² As early as 1920 the decline in his health was marked. Of a projected visit to London to settle a financial claim she wrote:

He has not been so very well lately and this constant anxiety about the money makes him so nervous, I should love him to be in a place where he can rest a bit. If he is in an hotel he rushes about all day. . . . Please write a p.c. at once and do not mention anything about his not being very strong; as he hates me to say so. But I can't help it, I get so anxious about him . . .²³

By 1922 the symptoms were definitely those of the disease which was eventually to leave him blind and paralysed and he was reported as having 'such difficulty about using his hands'.²⁴ Twelve years of life remained to him and, after fruitless attempts to find a cure in Germany, he spent them (with one grand exception) at Grez. Mrs. Delius's letters are full of the means by which his interest was kept alive. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to hear his own music, and a constant succession of visitors was encouraged to provide him with live performances of those works which did not require the services of orchestras

and choruses. In 1926 a radio set was acquired and over the years copies of newly made gramophone records of his works were sent out to him from England. Early attempts at dictating music to his wife were not altogether successful but the appearance of Fenby in 1928 enabled him to compose once more. Then at last came the triumph, the recognition, so long awaited. In 1929 a festival of his music was planned to take place in London, under the direction of Sir Thomas Beecham and Philip Heseltine.

During the months before the festival Mrs. Delius provided information for programme notes, suggestions of possible subscribers, testimonials for advertisements, and advice on the choice of works to be performed. She had also to accustom her husband to the idea that it would be possible for him to attend the concerts in person, in spite of his total helplessness. Finally, she accompanied him to London and faced the strain of the crowds, the limelight, the adulation. The festival was indeed a triumph for Delius and he returned to Grez exhausted but happy in the knowledge that he had at last found honour in his own country.

Only three letters and a final postcard date from after the festival. Amongst the details of Delius's troubles there is little, bar an occasional reference to financial crises or to a silence longer than usual, to suggest that Heseltine's life too was fraught with difficulties, personal and professional. Mrs. Delius's last card describes for him the funeral of his uncle, through whom they had met twenty years before. It is addressed to him by his pseudonym, 'Peter Warlock', for he had decided to break the last ties with his family.²⁵ The card was written in March. In December he was found dead in a gas-filled room in London.

J. M. BACKHOUSE

I am very grateful to the authorities of the Delius Trust for permission to reproduce extracts from these letters. As the foliation of the volumes is not yet final, references to the dates of individual letters are given.

¹ Add. MS. 52548, July ? 1918

² 'Dance for Harpsichord' and part of the incidental music to 'Hassan' in Add. MS. 50497. There are some letters in Add. MS. 49602, f. 9, Add. MS. 52256, ff. 98-104b, and in the Royal Philharmonic Society's collection, Loan 48/13, vol. x, ff. 104-117b.

³ Sotheby's sale, 16 Dec. 1964, lot 395. The catalogue description includes eleven extracts from the letters.

⁴ Cecil Gray, *Peter Warlock: A Memoir of Philip Heseltine*, 1934.

⁵ Add. MS. 52547, 2 Jan. 1914.

⁶ Philip Heseltine, *Frederick Delius*, 1923, reprinted with revisions by Hubert Foss in 1952.

⁷ For an account of this adventure see Clare Delius, *Frederick Delius*, 1935, pp. 106-8. The composer's cherished Gauguin is now in the Courtauld Institute Gallery, University of London.

⁸ Add MS. 52547, postmarked 26 Oct. 1914.

⁹ Eric Fenby, *Delius as I Knew Him*, 1936, pp. 162-3. Sir Thomas Beecham, Bart., *A Mingled Chime*, 1944, p. 73.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 52547, 23 June 1912.

¹¹ Add. MS. 52547, 27 July 1912.

¹² Add. MS. 52547, 19 May 1918.

¹³ Add. MS. 52547, 27 May 1917.

¹⁴ Add. MS. 52548, 17 July 1919.

¹⁵ Add. MS. 52547, 27 Dec. 1913. Schönberg's *Harmonielehre* was published in 1911.

¹⁶ Add. MS. 52547, 22 Aug. 1912 and the letter following, which is undated.

¹⁷ Add. MS. 52547, 15 Mar. 1916.

¹⁸ Add. MS. 52547, 23 June 1912. Grainger's friendship with Delius is referred to in Pamela J. Willetts, 'The Percy Grainger Collection', *B.M.Q.* xxvii. 3-4, pp. 65-66.

¹⁹ Add. MS. 52547, postmarked 3 July 1918.

²⁰ Add. MS. 52549, June ? 1929. Delius drew the libretto for his 'Mass of Life', com-

posed 1904-5, from Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*.

²¹ Heinrich Simon, 'Jelka Delius', *Monthly Musical Record*, lxx, 1935, pp. 219-20.

²² Eric Fenby, *Delius as I Knew Him*, 1936.

²³ Add. MS. 52549, 14 June 1920.

²⁴ Add. MS. 52549, 2 Sept. 1922.

²⁵ For the unhappy story of Heseltine's later years, see part III of Cecil Gray's biography cited in note 4 above.

A BRONZE FLUTE WITH DEMOTIC INSCRIPTION

THE bronze flute (No. 12742) illustrated in Plate v left belongs to a familiar type of wind instrument found in Egypt. It is a well-made and well-preserved example, 14½ inches (36 cm.) in length, acquired by the Trustees from the Reverend Greville Chester in 1883. There are four stops placed below three concentric circles. At the other end of the flute is a well-engraved inscription in demotic of the Ptolemaic Period, a script rarely used on metal objects (Plate v right). It reads: *P3-igš irm n3 ntr.w n p3 c.wy n htp n p3 hb di cnh n Dhwti-tyw s3 Nhty-mnt*, 'The (divine) Nubian one and the gods of the resting place of the ibis give life to Thoteus son of Nekthmonth'.

P3-igš, literally 'the Nubian', written with the 'foreign' determinative, is well attested as a proper name; in the form *πεκῦσις* it is found in Greek papyri and survives into Coptic as *πεσωϣ*.¹ The presence of the 'divine' determinative in the word on the flute, as well as the context, requires that the epithet refers to a god. The probability is that a form of Horus is invoked since *Hr-igš* (Greek *ἀρκῦσις*) occurs as a personal name in Greek and demotic papyri.

The phrase *p3 c.wy n htp n p3 hb*, 'the resting-place of the ibis' (to which sometimes is added *p3 bik*, 'and of the falcon'), is found in demotic graffiti in a tomb in Dra Abu Naga, used in the Late Period as a burial place of mummified falcons and ibises.² It would, however, be unwarranted to assume that the flute necessarily came from Thebes on the evidence of so general a place name. The Theban graffiti show that the god invoked there was Thoth to whom the ibis was sacred. The prayer to the 'Nubian one' suggests a more southern origin, perhaps Philae, at the southern end of which was a shrine of a sacred falcon, still frequented in the fourth century A.D. until its destruction by the first Christian bishop of the Aswan region.³ Strabo (*Geography* 17. 1. 49) remarked that the bird was unlike the falcons of Greece and Egypt, being larger and different in the marks of its plumage. He was told that the bird was Ethiopian and was brought from Ethiopia when its predecessor died or before its death. Unfortunately there is no

information regarding the provenance of the flute to confirm the pleasing fancy that Thoteus' gift may once have been played on ritual occasions at the shrine of a predecessor of the bird which Strabo so intently observed as it lay diseased and dying.⁴

A. F. SHORE

¹ Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und Griechische Eigennamen* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 26*-27*.

² Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis During the Winter of 1898-9* (London, 1908), pp. 19-23.

³ Or. 7029 folio 13a, Budge, *Miscellaneous Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (British

Museum, 1915), pp. 445, 961. See also Spiegelberg in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vii, p. 187.

⁴ For a similar flute, doubtless used in ritual processions, see Sir Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, 'The Bucheum', *Forty-First Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society* (1934), i, pp. 99-100, iii, pl. lxxxviii, 3.

A LADY CENTAUR

THE centaurs in their early days were a race of savages that dwelt between Ossa and Pelion,¹ hated by gods and men. The genetics of Greek mythology are not always plausible and often confusing, but impious Ixion, it seems, begot the first centaur on a cloud and he, in turn, begot the hippocentaurs by mixing with Magnesians mares on Mt. Pelion.² The earliest pictures we have do not suggest a uniform result for this union; a creature composed of a complete human figure propelled, as it were, by the hindquarters of a horse is probably the more common in geometric art,³ but there were also centaurs about with equine forelegs at the same time and perhaps they have the longer pedigree, going back as far as the LH III period.⁴ A few misfits had human forelegs ending in hoofs.⁵ The centaur with equine forelegs becomes the dominant breed about 600 B.C., by a fresh infusion of horse presumably, and ever since the centaur has remained a monster compounded of man from head to loins and the body and legs of a horse. Chiron, the wise centaur, as late as the later sixth century has a complete human body with horse hindquarters⁶ but his pedigree was exceptional since he was the child of Philyra and Cronos, who must have been as surprised as anyone when he turned out to be a centaur at all.

Although the physiology of the centaurs remained throughout their later history essentially the same, we detect a profound psychological change in them as the years went by. The earliest centaurs were wild, uncontrolled creatures fighting for the love of it; they had no redeeming features. There were, of course, a few exceptions; Chiron, one of their best representatives, was friendly to men and became the teacher of Achilles and Jason. The others improved with the years. The fact that they were drunk when they behaved so abominably at the wedding feast of Peirithoos would not normally be taken as a sign of redemption but it

does, at least, explain their worst excesses, and, drunk or not, there is a nobility, even a classical serenity, about them on the metopes of the Parthenon. Living as they did among the Greeks, the progressive civilizing of their wild and savage nature was, no doubt, inevitable, but it is, none the less, a little sad to see what became of them in later life. The fierce forest dweller, having always had a propensity that way, gets caught up with Dionysos the wine-god and appears frequently in his celebrations, sometimes pulling his chariot. Having suffered defeat at the hands of Herakles, the centaurs had already got some unwilling experience of this humiliating activity; we find them pulling for Herakles on a late sixth-century vase in Athens⁷ and on an *oenochoe* by the Nikias painter in the Louvre,⁸ four very subdued caricatures of centaurs do it with their hands ignominiously tied behind their backs. Having become a useful member of Dionysiac society, it was not long before the centaur had changed his animal lusts for an idyllic, romantic eroticism, a conception of him particularly dear to the Romans.

No doubt, this was all for the best. But before we dismiss their fate simply as part of the process by which the Greeks humanized all their monsters, we might just reflect how much of the change for the better may have been due to the love of a good centauress, such a one as we see represented on a bone plaque recently acquired by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Pl. vi).⁹ It seems to go without saying that the preservation of the species requires the existence of a female but there is little trace of her early on. The centaurs, we know, lived rough in the mountains and forests and generally ate raw meat,¹⁰ so that their domestic needs were small; their early wildness does not suggest a happy home life. Indeed the absence of suitable mates does much to explain, if not to justify, their record of attempted and generally unsuccessful rape. Eurytion tries to get Mnesimache from Herakles, Nessos to snatch Deianeira, Hylaeos and Rhoecos combine to carry off Atalanta; and all centaurs had a particular taste for nymphs. Chiron is known to have lived happily with a human wife Chariklo, and apparently produced a human son. But there were lady centaurs, if only a few. Somewhat surprisingly on a relief amphora of the early seventh century B.C. from Boeotia we find that symbol of ugliness, the Medusa, represented as a centauress.¹¹ The artist presumably means to suggest the fact that Pegasus will be born from her decapitated body and indeed he is difficult to explain without some equine background, but in early times the Medusa was probably related to the centaurs and as far as we are concerned she qualifies in this picture as the original centauress. In classical Greece the centauress, like the perfect Greek wife, remained at home and was heard of neither for good nor evil, and there do not seem to be any pictures of lady centaurs for most of the fifth century B.C.

It was not until the later fifth century B.C. that a great artist ventured into the privacy of a centaur's domestic life and created a picture that was famous throughout antiquity. The artist was Zeuxis whose picture is described to us by

Lucian, though he knew only a copy, the original having been lost in a shipwreck before his time.¹² On a greensward a centauress, the upper part of her body that of a beautiful woman, lay with her equine quarters partly concealed; two centaur infants were with her, one held to her breast and nursed like a child while the other fed like an animal. Their father, a wild and savage creature but smiling, has brought a lion cub to amuse the youngsters. Lucian praises especially the beauty of the centauress with the almost imperceptible transition from her human to animal nature. It was Zeuxis' most famous picture and the first glimpse of the beauty of the centauress. A terrible sequel seems to be shown in a mosaic found at Hadrian's Villa which was probably copied from a Hellenistic painting.¹³ Wild animals are attacking a centaur family; a lion is exacting vengeance for the abduction of a cub while a tiger digs its claws into the white body of a fallen centauress.

From the time of Zeuxis female centaurs abound.¹⁴ There is the head of a very attractive centauress on a fragment of an Attic red-figure crater from Taranto¹⁵ of about 400 B.C. On a Gnathia vase in the British Museum centauresses are pulling the chariot of Nike, performing the service they later perform for Dionysos.¹⁶ In the Hellenistic period¹⁷ the centauresses follow their mates into the *thiasos* of the god. There is a merry-go-round of centaurs on a silver *phiale mesomphalos* from Santisteban del Puerto (Jaén); one centauress is playing the double flute, another has a tympanum, and all are enjoying a lively revel.¹⁸ Centaurs, male and female, dominate the cortège on the frieze of the Temple of Dionysos at Teos, the ladies playing lyres and tympana.¹⁹ The theme of the centaur-mother is taken up on many monuments of the Roman period.²⁰ On several Dionysiac sarcophagi the centauress, yoked with her husband to the god's chariot, takes advantage of a pause in the procession to feed her infant.²¹ An interesting physiological change has taken place since Zeuxis; in his day the centauress could feed one child at her human breast and the other at her animal teats but now she can only give human suck. The skill of the centaurs as musicians is often noted. On the handsome grave altar of the freedman Amemptus in the Louvre²² the main face shows a male centaur ridden by a Cupid and playing a lyre while a female, also ridden by a Cupid, plays the double pipes.

The lady centaur had become a well-known figure by the time the bone plaque was carved, probably in the late second or early third century A.D. Here she is shown prancing to the right with the upper part of her body and head turned to the front. Below her forelegs there is a tympanum, showing that she was represented as a follower of the Dionysiac revels. Her hair was apparently parted in the centre and brushed back over her ears. The hump in the small of her back is a rather unattractive feature and unusual; her bust was a good deal beyond the abilities of the sculptor. Her only garment is a mantle caught loosely on her left shoulder and apparently round her right lower arm. Centauresses seldom wear

much more. The problems of dressing a lady centaur are obvious and the only really well-dressed example occurs on an onyx cameo in the British Museum.²³ She wears over her equine part a skin, probably a panther skin, which is girt round the barrel, if one may use so crude a term. On the human part of her body she wears a mantle draped so as to leave most of the front exposed. Curtius thought she was too well-dressed to be an ancient centauress and attributed the gem to the Renaissance period.²⁴ On a sarcophagus from St. Medard d'Eyran in the Louvre, the centauress wears a curious little saddle-cloth as well as a cloak.²⁵

The relief, which is worked flat at the back and has a rough moulding at the top, belongs to a large group of bone and ivory reliefs (*crustae*) which served to decorate wooden caskets and furniture. These bone inlays were particularly common in Egypt and there are large collections of Egyptian examples in Alexandria, Cairo, Berlin, and London.²⁶ The Bacchic *thiasos* is one of the favourite subjects of the reliefs; other examples have satyrs, maenads, Nereids, and so on. It is not easy to give a date to individual examples. Some are as late as the fifth century A.D., some as early as the second.²⁷ The earlier examples generally show better classical modelling, more rounded forms, and higher relief, and in our example although there is a roughness that shows the hand of an indifferent craftsman there is not the decadent coarseness of the latest pieces. One could not say with certainty that Egypt is the source of the plaque. There was plenty of bone-carving all over the Empire but the relief does compare in general style and technique with some other Egyptian examples, among them a fragment with a figure of a satyr and part of another figure playing a tambourine which is now in the British Museum presented by the Egyptian Exploration Society.²⁸

D. E. STRONG

¹ *Iliad* xi. 832; *Odyssey* xxi. 295 ff.

² Pindar, *Pythian* ii. 80.

³ For early centaurs, P. V. C. Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, Berlin, 1912.

⁴ C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, 277, no. 11, fig. 589; but they are more probably goats (see J. Boardman, *Island Gems*, London, 1963, 54-55).

⁵ e.g. on a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Berlin, *Jd.A.I.* 1908, 169 ff.

⁶ On a r.f. stamnos from Vulci, Baur, op. cit. 108, no. 266, fig. 26.

⁷ *Festschrift für Carl Weickert*, 41 ff., abb. 1.

⁸ *A.J.A.* 55, 1951, 10, fig. 6.

⁹ Registration number 1964, 10-22, 1.

¹⁰ Euripides, *Herakles*, 181.

¹¹ K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, 1964 pl. 15b.

¹² Lucian, *Zeuxis*, 3-8.

¹³ G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, 1964, Colour pl. xxxvi.

¹⁴ For centauresses in general, *Gymnasium*, lxiv, 1957, 217 ff., n. 38.

¹⁵ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, ii, 265, fig. 94b.

¹⁶ *B.M. Vases*, F 550.

¹⁷ But there was already a *θίασος Κενταύρων* in the fifth century; cf. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1059.

¹⁸ A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de España y Portugal*, Madrid, 1949, pl. 344.

¹⁹ *O.Jh.* xxxviii, 1950, 66 ff.

²⁰ *B. Com.* 58, 1930, 57-104.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 1a-c.

²² W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1905, pl. 1.

²³ *B.M.C.G.*, no. 3540.

²⁴ *A.A.*, 1944-5, 14.

²⁵ *B. Com.* 58, 1930, pl. 1a, 14-15.

²⁶ J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Catalogue

A SHERD WITH A PAINTED INSCRIPTION FROM MONTE TESTACCIO IN ROME

MONTE TESTACCIO, that astonishing dump of broken amphorae brought from the docks and warehouses in the neighbourhood of the Porticus Aemilia, is a veritable open-cast mine of inscribed sherds of great interest in the study of Roman commerce.¹ The mound is 140 ft. high and 3,000 ft. in circumference, and has been estimated to contain some 40,000,000 amphorae.² It is not known when the mound was begun, but material from the top and sides appears to date from the second and third centuries A.D.³ A sherd from a coarse-ware amphora (Pl. VII), which has recently been given to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities,⁴ was found on the slope near point A on the plan of Monte Testaccio on p. 491 of *C.I.L.* xv. ii. 1. It is of a deep orange-buff clay, showing brown at the break, and containing grits and mica. The outer surface is covered with a creamy-buff slip. The fragment is from the shoulder of a full-bellied round amphora, probably of the same shape as that shown in *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1 (1878), pl. 1. 1 (Dressel form 20).⁵

The inscription on the sherd, in black paint, reads D ATICI TRO-, with an obscure brush-stroke or two before the initial D. Sherds with painted letters reading D ATICI ATTICI TROPHIMIANI are known from the same site,⁶ and it seems likely that the name on our fragment is that of the same man. Many amphorae with names in similar lettering and bearing the stamps of Spanish potters, are known from Monte Testaccio:⁷ it has been argued that the form of the writing is Spanish in origin,⁸ probably from Baetica, and that the names are those of the shippers (and owners) of the jars and their contents, which were required to be painted on by the foreign customs office through which the consignments passed.⁹ It seems probable that at least the superficial layers of the mound are the result of breakages of vessels bringing vast quantities of oil and wine to Rome from Spain; the native Italian production had for some time been insufficient to supply the needs of the city.¹⁰ Indeed, Frank goes further and says: 'there is very good reason to believe that most of the products that came to Rome in the jars now lying at Monte Testaccio originated in Spain'.¹¹

The letter painted above the main inscription on our sherd is in a position where it was usual to indicate the weight of the empty amphora. But if it can be read as c-, showing that the amphora weighed 100 Roman pounds (about 75

English pounds) or more, it might well be part of the weight when full. Otherwise it is unusually heavy: most of the jars with unladen weight inscriptions in *C.I.L.* xv. ii. 1 weigh between 80 and 90 Roman pounds.

D. M. BAILEY

¹ Many hundreds are published in *C.I.L.* xv. ii. 1. Also see *Opuscula Archaeologica*, vii, pp. 166 ff. for references.

² T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, v, pp. 272-3.

³ *Opuscula Archaeologica*, vii, p. 167.

⁴ Reg. No., 1965, 5-6, 1.

⁵ *C.I.L.* xv. ii. 1, pl. ii (recently reinterpreted by Lamboglia in *Rivista di Studi Liguri*, xxi,

pp. 242-3, where Dressel Form 20 is dated to the second and third centuries A.D.

⁶ *C.I.L.* xv. ii. 1: 3731-4.

⁷ T. Frank, *ibid.*, p. 273, n. 13.

⁸ *J.R.S.* xxvii, p. 74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁰ Cf. *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, lxxvi, p. 449, and *J.R.S.* xxvii, p. 79.

¹¹ *J.R.S.* xxvii, p. 74.

AN EARLY NEPALESE BRONZE

IN an exhibition 'The Buddhist Art of Tibet and Nepal' held in the British Museum in 1957, it was suggested that virtually all 'early' Nepalese bronzes should be grouped in relation to what was then—and remains—the earliest known dated piece, a Vasudhara of A.D. 1467, and given a formal date of fourteenth to fifteenth century A.D.¹ Of this group the earliest bronze was clearly the well-known British Museum Tara (Pl. viii): since the source of its style and iconography seemed obscure, it was diffidently labelled '13th century A.D. or earlier'. In the summer of 1964 a much more comprehensive exhibition 'The Art of Nepal' was organized by Professor Stella Kramrisch at the Asia House Gallery in New York. Professor Kramrisch's admirable catalogue² of a wealth of new material chosen with scholarship and taste undoubtedly marks real progress in our knowledge of Nepalese art. Her views expressed in the introduction to the catalogue and in the captions are, however, somewhat modified in a more recent paper on the exhibition contributed by her to *Oriental Art*.³

In the New York exhibition the fourteenth to fifteenth century A.D. dating for most 'early' Nepalese bronzes seems to have been retained. Professor Kramrisch's view of the British Museum Tara is not so clear. In the catalogue it is not given a date but is mentioned (p. 35) alongside the Yampi Baha Avalokitesvara, which in the caption (p. 34) is called end of the seventh or early eighth century A.D., but in note 5 (p. 49) is accepted as about 780 A.D. In the paper in *Oriental Art* the British Museum Tara is explicitly dated to about the eighth to ninth century A.D., and is compared with the image of Lakshmi on a stone stele of Vishnu from Changu Narayan. The latter 'corresponds to 9th century A.D. Pala figures', and in the catalogue (p. 31) is called 'circa 9th century A.D.', though it is discussed (pp. 32-33) as if it belonged to the late seventh or early eighth century A.D. We

may accept eighth to ninth century A.D. as her final opinion on the date of the British Museum Tara. There was, however, a small group of bronzes in the exhibition for which even earlier dates were claimed. The important pieces included a Devi (Catalogue no. 4), in the George P. Bickford Collection, dated to the first half of the seventh century A.D.: a Vajrapani (Catalogue no. 5), in the Stanford University Museum, dated to the seventh century A.D.: a Maitreya (Catalogue no. 6), in the Cleveland Museum of Art, dated seventh to eighth century A.D.; and a male figure with attendant (Catalogue no. 7), in the collection of Nasli and Alice Heeramanek, dated to the late eighth century A.D. The Devi (Catalogue no. 3), lent anonymously, has been doubted by most scholars who have handled it, and will, together with the bronze Umamahesvara in the Eilenberg Collection, not be discussed. In this group the most interesting piece from our point of view is the Stanford Vajrapani. Even if one questions her date for this bronze, one must at least agree with Professor Kramrisch that it is Nepalese. But even this has been contested by John D. La Plante, who in a long paper⁴ has attempted to establish that the bronze was cast in north-east India, presumably in Bihar or Bengal. He prefers a date perhaps even earlier than Professor Kramrisch, in the reign of Harshavardhana (about A.D. 606-47).

Before discussing these bronzes and their relation to a recent acquisition of the British Museum, it may be useful to prefix a few comments on Nepalese art in general, using as far as possible the words of Professor Kramrisch, whose estimate of its stylistic status is just and precise, though she is an advocate of early dating. She says (Catalogue, p. 26): 'The art of Nepal is not a regional school of Indian art. It is on the receiving end of a one way traffic.' Again (Reply to Mr. La Plante, p. 289):

The 'naturalism' of Nepali sculptures is formalized on the basis of the 'naturalism' of one or the other Indian school. The naturalism of the Stanford Bodhisattva reproduces in its own terms that of an image from Bihar. Compared with the animated plasticity of the modelling of the Nalanda image, the Stanford Vajrapani appears hard and inert in its summarily modelled mass. Here the 'tendency to simplified geometric formation' is given form.

A qualitative judgement is perhaps permissible: Nepalese sculptures and paintings are good only within the context of Nepalese art and anyone familiar with the source (India) will find that Nepalese art with few exceptions cannot sustain prolonged and detailed contemplation. Moreover, in Nepal a formal or iconographic convention once adopted may be employed not merely for generations but for centuries. In such an art, at once derivative and conservative, 'early' and 'late' elements of style and iconography are frequently found side by side on the same piece, but obviously *for dating* only the latest elements are significant.

The British Museum has recently acquired a gilt bronze Avalokitesvara⁵ (Pls. ix & x) which in style and, where applicable, in details of iconography forms

a pair with the Stanford Vajrapani. Indeed, the height of the Vajrapani being 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches and of the Avalokitesvara, which has lost its halo, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, it might be thought they were a real pair, flanking, the Vajrapani to the left and the Avalokitesvara to the right, a standing image of the Buddha (Professor Kramrisch's identification of the Stanford image as a Vajrapani seems wholly convincing). It will be convenient to compare the two bronzes under the headings used by Mr. La Plante in his paper, emphasizing the identity of style and the small but significant differences of detail.

(a) *The Technical Method of Making the Images.* Both, like the British Museum Tara, are solid cast by the *cire-perdue* method in almost pure copper. On the Avalokitesvara there are breaks at both ankles and at the right wrist. The tips of the central and proper left points of the crown and of the drapery which hangs between the legs are missing. The metallic gilding, now much worn and almost entirely absent from the base, covered the entire image including the hair, which, it seems, was left ungilded on the Vajrapani and the British Museum Tara. When acquired the face and neck of the Avalokitesvara were covered with two layers of gold paint over a layer of carbon which had collected on the metallic gilding of the figure's true surface. Over the gold paint the eyes had been filled with gesso, and with the brows and mouth had been painted in white and black, and blue and red. Clearly the paint, like the trace of vermilion on the mouth of the Vajrapani, did not, as claimed by Mr. La Plante, form part of the original decoration of the images. All paint has been removed from the Avalokitesvara. For Mr. La Plante the Vajrapani—figure, halo, and base—appears to have been cast in one piece. It is fair to question this, at least as regards the halo. The projecting lug for the attachment of the separate but now missing halo remains on the Avalokitesvara. On the lower curve of the halo of the British Museum Tara is a shallow, rectangular depression (a position corresponding with the lug on the Avalokitesvara) which suggests that the same method of attachment was used. Moreover, the lug remains on the George P. Bickford Devi, which has also lost its halo. Tooling of details seems identical on both bronzes. Mr. La Plante, presumably arguing for an Indian provenance, states that Nepalese images are frequently hollow-cast, but in India proper craftsmen were bound never to cast a hollow image for worship. D. R. Thapar, whom he is quoting, is, one must assume, referring to South India, where all metal images of deities, but not of their vahanas, were and continue to be cast solid no matter what their size. In Nepal, North India, and the Deccan, both solid and hollow images were cast, the general principle being that the larger the bronze the more likelihood of its being hollow-cast to save metal. The huge Birmingham Buddha, a North Indian bronze, is, as one would expect, hollow-cast. Finally, Mr. La Plante claims that the use of almost pure copper would indicate that if his bronze was cast in North India, it was probably made before the ninth century A.D.

This may be a fair claim, for Bihar and Bengal at least, but it must be emphasized that a very high copper content is employed in casting images in Nepal well into the fifteenth century A.D., if not later.

(b) *The Flame Halo*. Unfortunately the halo of the Avalokitesvara is not available for comparison with that of the Vajrapani. Mr. La Plante insists that no flame halo of the Pala period (about A.D. 750–twelfth century) is precisely similar to that on his image. This helps him little for he is unable to quote a precisely similar Indian halo of any date. The only useful comparisons are the British Museum Tara, which he accepts as Nepalese, and the two Nepalese stone reliefs (Catalogue nos. VII and VI), which Professor Kramrisch has dated to the end of the seventh or early eighth century A.D. (or about 780 A.D.) and to the ninth century A.D. respectively. The ‘pipal-leaf’ shape of the halo of the Vajrapani is that of the plain halo on the Nepalese male figure with attendant (Catalogue no. 7), a form which is occasionally found on Pala bronzes of the ninth to tenth century A.D.⁶ Moreover, the general conception of the halo on the Vajrapani and Tara—a flame border surrounding three inner rings—is that of the well-known bronze Parvati⁷ dated in the 54th year of Narayanapala (about A.D. 908). The separation of the points of the flame on the halo of the Vajrapani, much emphasized by Mr. La Plante, is no more distinct than on many Pala bronzes⁸ from Nalanda of the reign of Devapala (about A.D. 810–50) and from Kurkihar of the ninth to tenth century A.D.⁹ The flames on the Pala pieces all spring from one spiral base, as on the Vajrapani, but are more ‘alive’. On the Vajrapani halo a small but important feature for dating is the chased decoration of the central inner ring. At top centre and on both sides is a motif, which, shaped like an open vajra (fig. 2 in Mr. La Plante’s paper), is really the binding of a garland of which the cross-hatching on the central inner ring is the summary representation. The same motif in the same positions occurs on the halo of the British Museum Tara, and, in identical and similar forms, on the haloes of Pala stone images,¹⁰ none of which, I venture to claim, would be placed much earlier than the reign of Devapala. It is fair to conclude that the halo on the Vajrapani is a Nepalese adaptation of forms current in the Pala dominion from about A.D. 800 onwards.

(c) *The Crown*. The crown of the Avalokitesvara, with its three points of equal length when complete and inclined outwards, is of the same form as that of the Vajrapani except that the central point of the former contains a seated Buddha, now abraded but probably in the bhumisparsa mudra. On both images the beaded band forming the base of the crown has above each ear an identical half-floret. There are perhaps no exact Indian parallels to these crowns. They bear, however, a close resemblance to those worn by the British Museum Tara and many ‘early’ Nepalese sculptures (Catalogue nos. v, VI, VII, VIII, and x), and to the crowns of some Pala sculptures,¹¹ especially during the Dharmapala period (about A.D. 770–810). They are, I suspect, identical with the crowns worn by the

adoring figures on the book-cover of a Nepalese manuscript dated A.D. 1110 (Catalogue no. 77).

(d) *The Ear-rings.* The Avalokitesvara and the Tara wear the same type of ear-ring in both ears, a large oval jewel with pearled border. The Vajrapani wears this type in his right ear only. In his left is the open circular ear-ring, ubiquitous and useless for dating. The large oval jewel was commonly worn in Kashmir and adjacent regions from the eighth century A.D. onwards. It seems to have been less popular in the Pala dominion, though it is found on sculptures of the Devapala period and later.¹² Apart from the British Museum Tara, it appears on most of the 'early' Nepalese stone sculptures illustrated by Professor Kramrisch (Catalogue nos. vi, where Garuda wears both large oval and open circular ear-rings, vii, viii, and x). The wearing of disparate ear-rings is of course common on Pala sculptures and in Nepalese paintings (Catalogue no. 77), and is no indication of an 'early' date.

(e) *The Armlets.* The Avalokitesvara wears, rather high, armlets with a central jewel in a triangular 'flamed' setting with small pendant below and a single beaded clasp. The armlets of the British Museum Tara are closely similar but worn very high and held by a double beaded clasp. This type of armlet, versions of which are common on Pala sculptures from the Devapala period onward, remained popular in Nepal until the sixteenth century A.D. (Catalogue nos. 10, 19, 26, 38, and 46). The Vajrapani wears beaded spiral armlets with a large oval jewel at the upper terminal. Spiral armlets of similar form but with both ends of the spiral lying on the front of the arm are found in the finest Devapala bronzes.¹³ Both spiral and triangular armlets are worn in the famous Devapala bronze group from Kurkihar of the 'Descent of the Buddha'.¹³ Nepalese sculptures of 'early' dates wear either the Devapala type of spiral armlet (Catalogue nos. vi, vii, and x), or the triangular type (Catalogue nos. vi, vii, and x). On one sculpture, the Vishnu from Changu Narayan (Catalogue no. vi), the Vishnu and Garuda wear spiral armlets closely similar to the Vajrapani's, while the Lakshmi wears triangular armlets identical with those of the British Museum Tara.

(f) *The Bracelets.* Both the Avalokitesvara and the Vajrapani wear a simple round band decorated by a single oval jewel, which is worn on the underside of the wrist by the latter and on the front of the wrist by the former. The bracelets of the British Museum Tara are composed of two beaded bands with again the single oval jewel worn on the front and sides of the wrists. Commonly worn throughout the Pala period, these two types of bracelet are found on all the 'early' Nepalese sculptures already quoted.

(g) *The Necklace.* Both male Bodhisattvas wear a single beaded necklace with an oval jewel in the middle, from which, on the Vajrapani, hang three pendants. This simple type of necklace is not helpful for dating, though, as Mr. La Plante points out, several examples of the single beaded necklace with three pendants

can be found on early ninth century A.D. Pala bronzes, and on an 'early' Nepalese stone figure (Catalogue no. VIII). The British Museum Tara also wears a single beaded necklace, but from it hangs a row of bell ornaments. This necklace seems similar to those worn by female figures on certain 'early' Nepalese stone sculptures (Catalogue nos. III, VII, and IX).

(h) *The Sacred Thread*. On both male Bodhisattvas the yajnopavita or sacred thread, in the form of a beaded strand falls from the proper left shoulder and is caught in a loop over the upper cloth which is tied across the hips. On the curve of the loop, on the Vajrapani, is an oval jewel. The extreme length of the sacred thread and its beaded form, found on North Indian Buddhist sculptures from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., are not helpful features for precise dating. The looping of the sacred thread over the upper cloth is, however, important. The only comparison made by Mr. La Plante is with the well-known Sarnath Manjusri of late seventh or eighth century A.D. date, where the sacred thread is looped not in the upper cloth but in the jewelled girdle. But there are two good parallels of the Pala period: the Avalokitesvara in the Indian Museum of the early ninth century A.D.,¹⁵ and the Manjusri in the British Museum, datable to the reign of Dharmapala.¹⁶ On the former the sacred thread is beaded and the parallel is precise. On the latter it is represented simply as a thread and twists naturalistically over the upper cloth. Once adopted in Nepal the convention of the long sacred thread caught in a loop over the upper cloth continues down to the fourteenth century A.D. (Catalogue nos. VI, VII, VIII, X, and 19).

(i) *The Dhoti and Upper Cloth*. On all three Bodhisattvas the dhoti is engraved with alternating patterned bands separated by double engraved lines, a textile design found on Pala sculptures and in both Pala and Nepalese miniatures well into the twelfth century A.D. It is supported by a belt with a circular beaded clasp. The belt on the Vajrapani is plain, on the Avalokitesvara beaded, and on the Tara beaded between two chains. Similar belts are very common on bronze and stone sculptures of the Dharmapala and Devapala periods, and, of course, in Kashmir. They are found on most 'early' Nepalese sculptures (Catalogue nos. VI, VII, VIII, and 4). The upper cloth, sloping of course in opposite directions, is worn diagonally across the thighs by both male Bodhisattvas. On the Avalokitesvara it is tightly tied at the left thigh, the ends falling away to the knop on the base which supports the lotus stem. On the Vajrapani the ends are drawn up and allowed to hang over the knot in a loop before falling away towards the base. The upper cloth worn as a sash is a very early convention in Indian sculpture and remained popular in North India and the Deccan until the ninth or tenth century A.D. It was still commonly used in the early Pala period, especially where two Bodhisattvas flank a central Buddha.¹⁷ An excellent parallel to the Vajrapani is the ninth century A.D. Bodhisattva in the Indian Museum.¹⁸ On this, as on the other examples quoted, the garment is folded, not 'twirled', if this point is

considered significant. The folded sash is of course worn by most 'early' Nepalese sculptures (Catalogue nos. v, vii, viii, x, 7, and 19).

(j) *Hair Style*. The wearing of the hair, looped high and with three locks on each shoulder, is identical on the two male Bodhisattvas. Among the many similar forms of jatamukuta of the Pala period an exact parallel is provided by the already mentioned Lokanatha in the Indian Museum.¹⁹

(k) *The Lotus Base*. The lotus bases of the Vajrapani, the Avalokitesvara, and the British Museum Tara differ in that the Vajrapani alone rests on what Mr. La Plante calls a 'plain flat ring', and the Avalokitesvara lacks the high-relief staminodes of the other two pieces. Otherwise in each minute detail enumerated by Mr. La Plante, even to the indication of the eight lobes of the seed-pod and of the carpel pits, the three bases are identical. Now the 'plain flat ring' on the base of the Vajrapani is really a vertical foot-rim. This is not apparent in the photographs in Mr. La Plante's paper but is clear in the photograph in Professor Kramrisch's catalogue. A vertical foot-rim is found on Pala bronzes, and indeed on many Negapatam and 'Pala-type' Javanese bronzes, often if not always serving a functional purpose, to enable the lotus base to be fitted to a pedestal, which might, in this case, have supported a triad of Vajrapani, Buddha, and Avalokitesvara. This is clearly the point of the foot-rim on the well-known twelfth century A.D. gilt-bronze Avalokitesvara²⁰ from Kurkihar, now in the Patna Museum, and surely of that on the Stanford Vajrapani. Since this feature is lacking on the Avalokitesvara, it may be argued that it and the Vajrapani do not in fact make up a real pair. In any case, the identity of style of the two male Bodhisattvas once accepted, the 'plain flat ring' loses its significance as a feature setting the Vajrapani apart from all Nepalese bronzes in general and from the British Museum Tara in particular. Simply, so far as the lotus base is concerned, if the Tara is Nepalese, the two male Bodhisattvas are Nepalese.

The lotus bases are even more useful for dating the three bronzes, nicely illustrating both the derivative and the conservative nature of Nepalese art. The lotus base of the Avalokitesvara is of an 'earlier' type than those of the other two pieces. The stamens, projecting above the rising petals, are indicated by a series of incised vertical lines, cut near the top by a single incised horizontal line to form the anthers. This is a translation into linear terms of the typical Pala base of the Devapala bronzes, where the anthers are of course more naturalistically rendered by a projecting milled edge. Similarly, the two rows of rising and falling petals, broad and spaced so that the under row is clearly visible, closely imitate the Devapala base, missing, however, the plasticity and sense of smooth texture of the original. The lotus base of the Avalokitesvara may then be said to follow Pala models which first appear about A.D. 800. So far the bases of the Vajrapani and the Tara are identical with that of the Avalokitesvara. They possess, however, a very important additional feature: over the second row of falling petals

are placed high-relief broad petaloid staminodes. Though Mr. La Plante claims this feature as an innovation of the seventh century A.D., he admits that no Indian sculptures, other than the Vajrapani, are known to him to carry it before the Pala period, that is, before about A.D. 750. We may go further. This feature is not found on any bronze or stone sculpture with a clear claim to belong to the reigns of Dharmapala (about A.D. 770-810) or Devapala (about A.D. 810-50). Indeed, it does not appear on any of the, admittedly small, group of dated bronzes which cover the period from Devapala to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., or to the end of the third quarter of that century, if one wishes to attribute the Kurkihar bronzes dated in the regnal years of Vighrapala to the third king of that name. The best examples of its use on bronze images seem to be the already mentioned gilt-bronze Avalokitesvara from Kurkihar, dated by all scholars to the early twelfth century A.D., and the Vishnu in Lotus-mandala of the Ashmolean Museum, lent to the New York exhibition and there (Catalogue no. 14) also dated to the early twelfth century A.D. On stone sculptures it appears perhaps on a standing Tara, dated in year 3 of Ramapala (about A.D. 1080), and certainly on a seated Bodhisattva, dated in year 42 of Ramapala (about A.D. 1120), and on a seated Parvati, dated in year 3 of Madanapala (about A.D. 1143).²¹ Admittedly on all these pieces, except the Vishnu where a half-lotus throne is represented, the staminodes appear on rising as well as falling petals. Also the petals themselves are closer set and of a later type than on the broad-petalled early Pala base, which does, however, seem to survive until the early eleventh century A.D. on the well-known Cunda from Kurkihar dated in year 21 or 31 of Mahipala (about A.D. 1009 or A.D. 1019). It seems fair on present evidence to claim that the representation of broad petaloid staminodes does not appear on Pala sculptures until the eleventh century A.D. It is therefore suggested that the Vajrapani and the Tara demonstrated the imposition of a later convention on what remains essentially a ninth to tenth century A.D. base. Unless it can be believed that the Nepalese artist himself devised this convention, it follows that neither the Vajrapani or the Tara can be earlier than the eleventh century A.D. The Vajrapani carries with it the Avalokitesvara, which without the evidence of the former, might be held, as far as the base is concerned, to be as early as the ninth century A.D.

If the above argument is convincing, not only are all three Bodhisattvas Nepalese, but all details of their iconography, less the petaloid staminodes, are derived from or are variants of forms current in the Pala dominion during the reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala. As far as actual style is concerned, the two male Bodhisattvas come closest to the Avalokitesvara (Catalogue no. viii) of the Sighe Bahu, Kathesimbhu, Katmandu, dated by Professor Kramrisch in her catalogue to about the eighth century A.D., but, in agreement with Professor Lohuizen de Leeuw, to the ninth to tenth century A.D. in her paper in *Oriental*

Art. The later date seems more acceptable—as a *terminus ante quem non*, since reference is not to other Nepalese images but entirely to the Pala source. If the petaloid staminodes are considered a significant feature, it would seem best to give a formal date of eleventh to twelfth century A.D. to all three bronze Bodhisattvas.

To this group may be added an important bronze which has never been discussed in this context, a seated Vajrapani excavated at Site I at Nalanda.²² Of almost pure copper, it is in all details of halo, crown, jewellery, and costume closely similar to the three bronzes. The armlets are those worn by Vishnu and Garuda on the Vishnu from Changu Narayan (Catalogue no. VI), dated by Professor Kramrisch to about the ninth century A.D. The lotus base is of the same type as the standing Vajrapani and Tara but with an additional row of falling petals, the tips of which only can be seen. The seated Vajrapani has nothing in common with the Pala style, and, in spite of the context in which it was discovered, there can be little doubt that it is another 'early' Nepalese bronze of the group under discussion. It was presumably dedicated at the great monastery by a Nepalese pilgrim. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the circumstances of the find permit any date for the arrival of the bronze at Nalanda between the reign of Devapala and the final destruction of the monastery in the early thirteenth century A.D. The seated Vajrapani may help to elucidate a puzzling feature of the Stanford image. The latter carries a vajra with a pointed central shaft, against which lie flat at either end four lateral points, which are not, says Mr. La Plante, 'the open curved prongs so characteristic of Tantric Buddhism from the eighth century on'. The seated Vajrapani carries a vajra, also with a pointed central shaft, from which at either end of the grip four lateral points have fallen open like the petals of a lotus. In my opinion both vajras are of the same type, on which the prongs, which have only a slight curve inwards, could be locked open or shut. The large stone vajra from Nalanda quoted by Mr. La Plante, was, I believe, of a similar pattern.

Towards the end of his paper Mr. La Plante makes reference to a Vajrapani on a banner painting recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein and now in the British Museum. Though stiff and conventionalized, this painting, one of a group of ten perhaps by a local artist, is evidently based on some such figure as the Stanford Vajrapani or its painted equivalent. Mr. La Plante points out that the lobate character of the seed pod is indicated and the carpel pits represented in the same manner on bronze and painting. One should perhaps add that these two features are almost always present on lotus seats in Nepalese illustrated manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth century A.D., to which Stein himself compared the Tun-huang banner paintings. Unfortunately the paintings cannot be used to date their stylistic source. All that can be fairly said of them is that they are probably not later than the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

the generally accepted date of the closing of the cache. It may be significant that on the lotus seats of the painted Bodhisattvas the petaloid staminodes are not represented.

If the general view presented here is correct, the dates given in Professor Kramrisch's catalogue for the other members of the 'early' group of Nepalese bronzes would need revision. The George P. Bickford Devi is perhaps a little earlier than the British Museum Tara, and may be dated to the tenth to eleventh century A.D. The Cleveland Maitreya is probably contemporary: its Pala source is surely not earlier than the ninth century A.D. The Heeramanek male figure with attendant looks earlier than any bronze here discussed and may well belong to the ninth century A.D.

I wish to thank Mr. Philip Ward for help on the technical aspects of the British Museum bronzes.

DOUGLAS BARRETT

¹ Douglas Barrett, 'The Buddhist Art of Tibet and Nepal', *Oriental Art*, n.s., vol. iii, no. 3, Autumn 1957.

² *The Art of Nepal*, The Asia Society, Inc., 1964.

³ 'The Art of Nepal', *Oriental Art*, n.s., vol. x, No. 4, Winter 1964.

⁴ 'A Pre-Pala Sculpture and its Significance for the International Bodhisattva Style in Asia', *Artibus Asiae*, vol. xxvi, no. 3/4, 1963. To this paper Professor Kramrisch contributes a Note and Mr. La Plante a Reply.

⁵ British Museum, no. 1965, 6-14, 1.

⁶ e.g. A. J. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art*, Leiden, 1933, fig. 5.

⁷ R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933, pl. iii(a).

⁸ e.g. A. J. Bernet Kempers, op. cit., figs. 2, 7, 9, and 17.

⁹ e.g. S. A. Shere, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sculptures in Patna Museum*, Patna, 1957, figs. 35 and 41.

¹⁰ e.g. R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. iii(d), iv(d), viii(c), x(a), xv(a), and xvi(a).

¹¹ e.g. R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. viii(b).

¹² e.g. R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. x(b) and xi(c).

¹³ K. P. Jayaswal, 'Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery', *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. ii, no. 2, 1934, pls. xxviii, 2 and 4, and xxx.

¹⁴ C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Bronzes*, Bombay, 1962, no. 9.

¹⁵ R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. viii(b).

¹⁶ Douglas Barrett, 'An Early Pala Bodhisattva', *B.M.Q.*, vol. xx, no. 1, 1955.

¹⁷ e.g. Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, 1955, pl. 376, 378, and 380 (late-eighth and ninth century A.D. images).

¹⁸ R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. ix(d).

¹⁹ R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. viii(b).

²⁰ S. A. Shere, op. cit., fig. 32.

²¹ R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. v(c), v(a), and vi(b).

²² Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1929-30, pl. xxxiii(d).

A CHINESE BRONZE BELL OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

THE large Chinese bronze bell which has been acquired through the Brooke Sewell fund for the British Museum is a famous and much published piece, which has not been on public exhibition for many years. (Frontispiece and Pl. XI.) It was sold by M. Philippe R. Stoclet, who inherited it in his share of

the estate of his father Adolphe Stoclet, of Brussels, one of the great collectors of Chinese art and antiquities in the years between the two world wars. The collecting of that period was commemorated in an unprecedented and now unrepeatable manner by the great exhibition of Chinese art held by the Royal Academy of Arts in the winter of 1935-6. Then the flower of Chinese art in private and public ownership in Europe and America appeared alongside a large group from the collection of the Imperial Palace in Peking. The Stoclet bell had a distinguished place in this exhibition.¹

When Stoclet acquired the bell, it was said to have been excavated at Chi Hsien, the prefectural city of Wei Hui Fu and headquarters of the Honan-Hopei circuit. Good reason to accept this statement was found in the fact that Chi has an ancient history, and that the tombs of the great might be looked for there. Under the Shang Dynasty, Chi was Mu Yeh, a place situated in the royal domain (*wang chiao*). In the feudal dispensation of the Chou, this territory formed part of the state of Wei (衛). Afterwards it was included in the later Wei (魏), when this state formed upon the collapse of Chin. The tomb from which the bell and its companions were unearthed was probably one of a group of important tombs lying a short distance to the west of the town of Shan Piao Chen, a site further described below.

The British Museum's bell appears to be one of a set of five, all similarly decorated and graded in size, though not necessarily constituting the full chime. If the overall height is taken to indicate the tonal sequence, our bell fits plausibly in the middle of the other four:

	<i>Height</i>
1. Formerly Abteilung für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin ²	35.5 cm.
2. The Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, U.S.A. ³	48.2 cm.
3. The Stoclet bell ⁴	54 cm.
4. Museum van Aziatisk Kunst, Amsterdam ⁵	59 cm.
5. The Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, U.S.A. ⁶	66.8 cm.

Nos. 2 and 5 were formerly in the Winthrop collection in New York; nos. 1 and 4 appear to have reached their museums direct from China. It will be seen that the gradation is broken between 1 and 2, with an interval of height of 12.7 cm. These dimensions probably imply, in the higher part of the musical scale, a further two bells between nos. 1 and 2, but whether the chime consisted of seven or more bells is not certain, for, as Yetts remarks, 'the rules governing sets of bells are imperfectly known'. The only set of bells which has been preserved undoubtedly complete, and with the beam and pillars which supported them, numbered thirteen.⁷ These bells are all of the kind termed *pien chung*, i.e. bells tuned to a scale and used in ceremonial music performed at the royal and feudal courts. The decoration of the British Museum bell and the others from

the same set represents the fullest development of the so-called Huai style, which receives its name from the contents of richly furnished tombs situated in the Huai river valley, and specially near the town of Shou Hsien in Anhui province. Until its conquest by Ch'u in 241 B.C. this territory was in the state of Wu.

The best-documented examples of the Huai style in this region came from a tomb excavated in 1955, in which many bronzes were inscribed with the name of a Marquis of Ts'ai.⁸ This allusion serves to date the tomb in the first half of the fifth century B.C., when Marquis Chao of Ts'ai fled from his own state under the threat of Ch'u and enjoyed the protection of Wu. But it is by no means certain that the Huai style first took shape in Wu territory. A clay mould section for a bell handle, which corresponds almost exactly to the handle of our bell, was excavated in 1956 at Hou Ma in south Shansi.⁹ It was one of many mould parts recovered from the site of an ancient bronze foundry, much of whose products was of the so-called Li Yü style of the late sixth century B.C. This foundry may well have cast the bells found at Chi Hsien. There are good grounds for thinking that work in the Huai style was executed in north Honan, where indeed the style probably originated, at a time as early or somewhat earlier than the earliest pieces recovered from tombs in Wu.

The feature of the British Museum bell which first attracts the eye is the handle formed of confronted openwork dragons. The same creature, with a more cat-like head, can represent a tiger. A winged tiger in quite similar style, one of a pair which was once mounted as handles on a vessel, is in the Museum's collection.¹⁰ The animals on the bell have heavier tails, their wings are tiny (the Chinese dragon had no need of wings to move through its clouds), and the head is of the dragon convention which was established by the early fifth century. The snout is rolled upwards in the manner found in the animal designs of the Steppe tradition. Swollen, scaly tongues hang from the dragons' mouths and support the top arch of the handle, and heavy crests curve down from the top of the heads on to the haunches. The claws of the feet are of the shape which lies behind the ring-foot convention of the Steppe art. The dragons' bodies are covered with imbricated pattern, units of spiral-and-triangle, bands of hachuring, etc., and most of the plastic detail of the head and limb joints is formed with the hook-and-volute motif which above all else hallmarks the Huai style.

The dragons of the handle are *k'uei lung*, descended from the single-footed dragons ubiquitous in the bronze ornament of the late Shang period. The remaining ornament of the bell is based upon the *p'an ch'ih*, or coiled serpentine dragon. This design traces its ancestry to linear motifs which invaded the bronze ornament in Honan in the later eighth century B.C. The elaboration of the *p'an ch'ih*, by way of interlaced designs, produced eventually the repetitive hook-and-volute, as it is seen in varied forms filling the symmetrically designed panels on

the top of the bell on either side of the handle. They are combined with the dispersed parts of the ancient monster mask, the *t'ao t'ieh*, which in texts of age comparable to that of the bells is explicitly described as an admonitory symbol. The eyes, curled nostrils, brows, and claws are discernible amid the mass of scrolling. Two designs in the scrolling, in the upper part, are rather detailed representations of wings. The two sides of the bell have identical ornament. A *p'an ch'ih* with feline head and clawed feet adorns each of the bosses, on which the bell was struck. The monster is eating a goose, whose neck and feet protrude from his jaws. The vertical central panel (which on some bells is left plain or bears an inscription) and the zones between the rows of bosses are filled with an interlocking design suggestive of interlacery, though on closer inspection this effect proves illusory and the ribbon-like elements discontinuous. The parts of the meander are connected by the scatter of the hook-and-volute motif, which rises in sharp relief. The horizontal panels include biting monster heads in profile.

The bands of the design in the horizontal panels are covered with engraved spirals and triangles, and, in the vertical panels, with beaded lines or rope-twist. In the vertical panels the animal masks are upside down and face to the front, and look like ram-heads. The most striking and original part of all this decoration is that composing the lowest zone. It presents fanciful additions to the conventional stock, in a way peculiar to the ornament of bells, and to this part of the bell in particular. The *t'ao t'ieh* mask is complete, possessing unparalleled elaboration in the grotesque twin dragon heads which rise above it. The mysterious growth of scrolled shapes extending on either side of the mask is a traditional feature of the most ancient (Shang Dynasty) versions of the *t'ao t'ieh*. They are here revived and interpreted in the new idiom, with every device of scrolling and every variety of minor ornament.

From the style of this conventional ornament we can at present deduce a date for the bells only within a period of fifty or sixty years, at the end of the sixth or in the first half of the fifth century B.C. But a case can be made for a closer dating. They (or most of them) were reported to have been excavated together with a famous pair of bronze *hu*-vases which are now in the Cull collection. The inscription cast on the *hu* was discussed at great length by Yetts.¹¹ It reads in translation:

At Huang Ch'ih the Prince of Han was aided by Chao Meng. With the bronze bestowed by the Prince of Han this vessel has been cast for sacrificial offerings. Yü.

Huang Ch'ih ('Yellow Pond'), a place near K'aifeng in Honan, had been the scene of a conference at which the king of the south-eastern state of Wu, Fu Ch'ai, had demanded the presidency of a treaty then in force which bound several states to mutual assistance against the attacks of Ch'u. Chao Meng and Yü,

named in the inscription, are thought to be members of the deputation from the state of Chin. The *hu* would naturally have been cast after the date of the conference, 482 B.C. Fu Ch'ai at the conference secured Chin's protection for his own territory. If Yetts's unproven but fairly plausible identification of the Prince of Han with Fu Ch'ai himself is accepted, the bronzes celebrating the conference would appear to have been cast before 473 B.C. In that year Wu was overrun by its neighbour Yüeh, and Fu Ch'ai killed himself, after which it is improbable that his part in the Huang Ch'ih conference should be celebrated. But even if the Prince of Han proved to be a different person from Fu Ch'ai, it is still improbable that the *hu* should post-date the conference by more than a decade or two.

The inference that the Cull *hu*, and, through its association, the British Museum bell, were made after 482 B.C. and probably before (at the outside) 460 B.C., prompts comment on two lots of comparable bronzes of which bells are the most notable part. One is the contents of the tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai, already mentioned. An earlier date of 519 or 518 B.C. (T'ang Lan and Ch'en Meng-chia respectively) and a later of 457 B.C. (Kuo Mo-jo) have been proposed.¹² The later date depends upon the occupant of the tomb being a Marquis Sheng, and this argument has been weakened by the discovery of another tomb with a claim to this distinction. The Ts'ai bronzes display the provincial features associated with the bronzework of the state of Ch'u: a weight and clumsiness of construction distinct from the bronzework of Honan; and in the decoration a crowded and simplified treatment of the hook-and-volute motif which also is probably a provincial character rather than a mark of devolution and later date as compared with the more northern products.

The Chi Hsien bells now distributed in western museums must be compared also with bells and other material obtained at the same place or near by. The burial place, which has an unascertained number of tombs of the Warring States period, is situated at Shan Piao Chen, 20 km. west of the modern Chi Hsien and 5 km. north-west of the ancient site of the town.¹³ A water duct from the near-by hills to the village disturbed the eastern edge of the burial ground, and in 1928 there was further disturbance when a road was built through the middle of it. From that time onwards the inhabitants of the surrounding villages began to search for tombs and some of them must have been explored. In 1935 an exceptionally large tomb ("Tomb no. 1") was located and 1,016 objects were recovered; these finds came at once to the notice of the authorities and were preserved, and the tomb was examined. No further excavations at the site seem to have taken place before the publication of these finds, which was delayed until 1959.

In Tomb no. 1 at Shan Piao Chen were found two sets of bronze bells, one of five and the other of nine pieces. The former set is so similar to the British Museum bell and those outside China which seem to go with it, that one may wonder if they do not together compose a single chime. All the bells outside

China, except the Berlin bell, are larger than those recovered in 1935, and descend plausibly in size. The total height, the only dimension available for all of the bells, is taken as the standard of comparison in the following table. As it is customary for all the dimensions of bells to be reduced proportionately (or approximately so) through a chime, the comparison of heights is enough to demonstrate almost conclusively that the sets of bells belong to different chimes:

	<i>Ht. of bell in cm.</i>	<i>Present location</i>	<i>Difference from preceding bell in cm.</i>
1.	66.8	Fogg Museum	
2.	59	Museum van Aziatisk Kunst, Amsterdam	7.8
3.	54	British Museum	4.5
4.	48.2	Fogg Museum	5.8
5.	47.9	China	0.3
6.	43.6	"	4.3
7.	41.0	"	2.6
8.	36.1	"	4.9
9.	35.5	Berlin	0.6
10.	32.4	China	3.1

The former Berlin bell fits badly in the series, and the interval between the small bell of the Fogg Museum and the largest of the Chinese series seems too small. From the descent in height of nos. 6 and 7, both certainly in the Chinese chime, it appears however that the intervals of height of neighbouring bells of a chime may vary considerably. Whether this is determined by the musical intervals, or is a convenience of the caster (the tuning being adjusted by varying the thickness of the metal), is not yet determined. Apart from the discrepancy in the sizes, the absence of decoration in the central vertical panel of the Chinese set is against their combination with the others. A chime of thirteen bells is vouched for by the Hsin Yang find, and one set found at Shan Piao Chen numbers nine bells, but sets of ten seem not to occur.

The tuning of the bells must be the reason for some features of the casting to be seen on the British Museum specimen. At the centre of the inner side of each face, reaching to the lip, is a depression measuring about 8×10 cm., where the thickness of the metal is reduced to 0.9 cm. from the average of 1.4 cm. At two places at equal distances along each face, on the inner side, are also thickenings 5 cm. wide and rising for 6 cm. These begin 3 cm. from the lip and increase in thickness upwards, reaching a maximum of about 2 cm. There are no signs of removal of metal after casting, as might be expected to happen in the tuning. The adjustments we have described must have been made on a bell after casting in the first instance, but were thereafter incorporated in the casting moulds.

It is clear that our bell was cast in a piece-mould, the main joints running up the centre of the narrower sides of the bell. Certain flaws in the ornament filling the horizontal panels, being exactly repeated in different places, indicate the procedure followed in manufacturing the casting mould. Each section of the ornament was prepared in separate positive form, and from this strips of clay were impressed with the design and transferred to their proper place on the large clay mould of the bell itself. The flaws in question were caused by a break crossing the positive model and are such as to suggest that this model was itself made of clay. This resembles the methods reflected in the debris of the Hou Ma foundry. The casting finish of the British Museum bell is excellent, improvement of the surface of the cold metal being confined to the lines of the mould joints.

WILLIAM WATSON

¹ *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art*, London, 1935-6, no. 181.

² 'Chinesische Bronzen aus der Abteilung für Ostasiatische Kunst an den Staatlichen Museen, Berlin' (*Dritte Jahrgang der Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst*, Berlin, 1928), pl. 17.

³ Umehara Sueji, *Sengoku-shiki dōki no kenkyū*, pl. xcix; *Shina kodō seika*, vol. iii, pl. 198.

⁴ *Ibid.*, respectively, pl. c (detail) and vol. iii, pl. 197.

⁵ H. F. E. Visser, *Asiatic Art in private collections in Holland and Belgium*, no. 28 and pls. 25, 26.

⁶ This bell has apparently not been published.

⁷ *Wen wu t'san k'ao tzü liao*, 1957, no. 8, cover; and *Honan Hsin Yang Ch'u mu ch'u t'u wen wu t'u lu*, Chengchou, 1959, pls. 8-25.

⁸ Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences, *Shou Hsien Ts'ai hou mu ch'u t'u i wu*, Peking, 1956.

⁹ *Wen wu t'san k'ao tzü liao*, 1960, nos. 8-9, pp. 14 ff.

¹⁰ *Handbook to the Collections of Early Chinese Antiquities*, British Museum, 1963, p. 53, fig. 14a.

¹¹ W. P. Yetts, *The Gull Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1939, pp. 53 ff.

¹² Opinions on the dating of the Ts'ai tomb are discussed in A. Soper: 'The Tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai', *Oriental Art*, vol. x, no. 3 (Autumn 1964).

¹³ Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences, *Shan Piao Chen yü Liu Li Ko*, Peking, 1959.

A HOUSE BOARD FROM TELEFOMIN TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA

TELEFOMIN is the headquarters of the Telefomin Sub-district of the Sepik District of the Territory of New Guinea. Strictly, Telefomin is a tribal, not a place name, and should probably be spelt Telefolmin: the suffix *-min* signifies 'people'. The station lies in a wide valley at 4,700 feet, surrounded by mountains rising to 10,000 feet or more. The Sepik River, here a mountain stream, rises not far to the south-east and flows through the valley.

The carved plank illustrated in Plate XIIIa was obtained in December 1963 during a week spent in Telefomin in the course of the Department of Ethno-

graphy's expedition to New Guinea. During this week a small collection was made among the Telefomin for comparative purposes.¹ The plank has been given the number 1964 Oc. 3. 1. It is believed to be the only one (up to the middle of 1964) to have been taken from the valley, but the present account is not the first record of these boards: one was illustrated, without description, by Colin Simpson in one of his books on New Guinea,² and they had been mentioned previously by Stuart Campbell and Wallace Kienzie in articles in the *Geographical Journal*³ and *Oceania*.⁴

In the Telefomin villages houses are of two kinds: family houses and men's houses. Women, girls, and young boys live in their family houses, and men use them during the day. The men and the older boys sleep and spend much of their time in the men's houses, where the ancestral relics are kept and certain phases of the initiation rites are held. In the villages visited (most of those within about three miles of the station to the south and some of the Misinmin villages to the west) a majority of houses of both kinds have these carved planks. They can be seen on some Urapmin houses in the lower Tifalmin valley, which opens into the Telefomin valley at its south-western extremity. Among the Tifalmin of the upper valley there were, early in 1964, two: a damaged one (the door-opening missing) on a house in Oksivip village, and a fine example on the cult house in the village of Brolemavip at the head of the valley. I do not know to what extent they occur among other neighbours of the Telefomin, but they seem to be absent in the area administered from the Oksapmin Patrol Post to the east; indeed, in a part of this area at least, the houses are of a different type. They are also, apparently, absent among the peoples of the West Irian Star Mountains, who are culturally related to the peoples of the Telefomin Sub-district.⁵ Plate XIII shows how the boards are fastened to the house façade, with the point in the gable, so that the opening cut into the lower part forms the entrance. They have no structural function.

The board described here came from a family house in Angkevip village, near the Government station. It was said to be about nineteen years old in 1963 (its age being fixed by reference to a war-time glider landing) and seems to have been cut with a steel tool, which would probably have been available at that time. It is coloured red, white, and black, and unlike many Telefomin boards has not been repainted with European pigments. The colours have worn somewhat thin. Its height is 9 ft. 8 in.

The meanings ascribed to different elements of the pattern were recorded in the presence of several men and met with general agreement. However, native informants in this area frequently differ when asked what the parts of any pattern represent, though there seems to be an underlying consistency. The meanings given here (see Fig. 1) must therefore be accepted with reservation. They might not be applicable to another plank of apparently identical type.

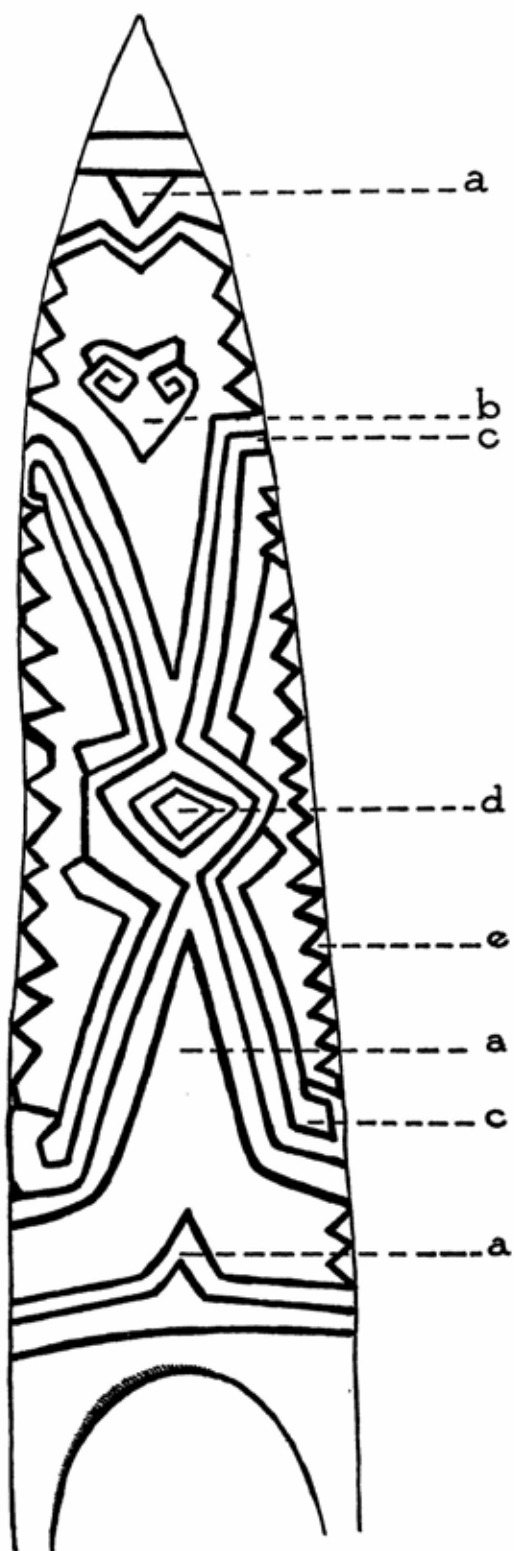


FIG. 1. A house board from Telefomin, Territory of New Guinea

- (a) 'Cassowary's beak.' Cassowary and wild pig are the largest game animals. Cassowary feathers are commonly used in making dance ornaments, and the quills are passed vertically through the pierced nostrils of men.
- (b) 'Marks made in bark by a boring grub.' This meaning is sometimes ascribed to the element *e*.
- (c) 'Crocodile's foot.' The crocodile rarely if ever penetrates into the valley, but it reaches its threshold and there is a crocodile skull in one of the houses. Among the Tifalmin, and probably among the Telefomin too, pieces of crocodile bone are valued as magical objects.
- (d) 'Conus shell [an ornament] obtained from the Duanmin.' The Duanmin are one of the peoples living in the Tekin valley about 12 miles south-west of the Oksapmin Patrol Post.⁶
- (e) 'Snake.'

The whole pattern was said to have 'come from' the Duanmin.⁷ It is, however, a common one among the Telefomin, both on house boards and on war shields; and also, on shields at least, among the closely related Eliptamin to the north and Urapmin of the lower Tifalmin valley.

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¹ The board was obtained through the good offices of Mr. Barry Craig, head teacher of the Department of Education school. But for the friendly relations of Mr. and Mrs. Craig with the rather reserved Telefomin this collection could hardly have been made in so short a time.

² Colin Simpson, *Adam with Arrows* (London and Sydney, 1954), opposite p. 145; reprinted in *Plumes and Arrows* (London, etc., 1963), opposite p. 329.

³ Stuart Campbell, 'The Country between the Headwaters of the Fly and Sepik Rivers in New Guinea', *Geographical Journal*, xcii, no. 3 (1938), pp. 232-58.

⁴ Wallace Kienzie and Stuart Campbell, 'Notes on the Natives of the Fly and Sepik River Headwaters, New Guinea', *Oceania*, viii, no. 4 (1938), pp. 463-81. This has an illustration (pl. ii b) of houses, but the door planks cannot be clearly seen.

⁵ Dr. S. Kooijman, 'Material Aspects of the Star Mountains Culture', *Nova Guinea: Anthropology*, nos. 2-3 (1962), pp. 15-44.

⁶ The Tekin River mentioned flows into the Strickland. On Patrol maps it is sometimes called 'Tekin 2'. The upper Sepik is also known as the Tekin. Another tributary of the Strickland south of the Tekin 2 has been called Tekin 3.

⁷ There seems to be confusion here with the Duranmin, who live north of the Om (upper Strickland) valley on the southern slopes of the D'Albertis Dome. There is a traditional and important trade connexion between the Telefomin and the Duranmin through the Eliptamin, who have garden areas on both sides of the Sepik-Om watershed. The Telefomin say that they obtained stone adze blades and discoid stone club heads from the Duranmin. Conus shell ornaments collected in the Telefomin and Tifalmin valleys were said to have come from the Duranmin by this route. See the map published as fig. 1, 'The British Museum Ethnographical Expedition to New Guinea, 1963-4: A Preliminary Report', *B.M.Q.* xxix, Nos. 3-4 (1965).

A CARVED TREE-FERN HOUSE DECORATION FROM NORTH MALEKULA, NEW HEBRIDES

AMOGH is the head village of the Big Nambas, who inhabit the north-west of Malekula. It is in one of the few areas in the New Hebrides which maintain something of the traditional forms of social and religious life, including the elaboration of a symbolic death and rebirth ritual involving the sacrifice of tusked boars, known as *Maki*,¹ which, in all its variety of local phrasing, was the most important feature of this culture.

The carved image from Amogh illustrated in Plate XIII (numbered 1963 Oc. 8. 1) is a status symbol, erected at the front end of a men's lodge as a horizontal extension of the ridge-pole. An example is shown *in situ* in Plate XIV. These house decorations would seem to be unique to the Big Nambas; even Speiser² shows nothing comparable from any other area, although possibly analogous images representing hawks were placed at the end of the ridge-poles of *Maki* shrines lining the dancing grounds of the Small Islands off the north-east coast of Malekula. These shrines on the Small Islands of Atchin and Wala were constructed like small lodges complete with thatched (or partly thatched) roofs and were known there as 'the house of the pig'. The hawk image, forming the front end of the ridge-pole, was supported by a vertical post carved to represent a human figure called on Wala *demits miel*, meaning literally 'the dead who walk about', implying that the ancestors, whose representative is the vertical image, are in fact present at the shrine. Indeed their presence is essential for the success of the rite, and they are summoned by a preliminary danced invocation some weeks before the main ceremony is due to take place.

The analogy of the Amogh image (called *Bonaret*, which is also the generic name for the tree from which it is carved) with the hawk image is further strengthened if one considers that the *Maki* is associated with patrilineal kinship organization and that the men using the lodge decorated by a *Bonaret* are all members of the same patriline. Thus although the Amogh Big Nambas appear to have forgotten their significance (or were unwilling to admit it) it seems probable that these images were once thought of as being representative of the ancestors, who determine the course of the living through their involvement with the *Maki* ritual.

The occasion for the erection of a *Bonaret* is determined by the elder of the patriline when he considers that he has celebrated *Maki* sufficiently often to warrant this public glorification of his prestige. Unlike the Small Islanders, the groups living on the Big Island of Malekula possess the institution of chieftainship. This is most highly developed among the Big Nambas; and, as for all other undertakings, the chief's approval must be sought before the *Bonaret* may be

set up. Once this has been gained and a suitable payment of pigs made to the chief, the carving is commissioned from the sculptor, who belongs to a lineage inheriting the right to perform this function.³ The sculptor also receives a payment of pigs, made when the work is complete.

The *Bonaret* illustrated (Pl. XIII) was commissioned by the collector from the present sculptor, Meleun Nelamo, who lives outside Amogh at a village called Lotebenpal. This was during a field expedition in 1962, after permission had been granted by Meleun Wirghambat, who is now Chief of the Big Nambas. The carving was done in secret in a concealed clearing in the bush near Lotebenpal; it was therefore not possible to photograph the various stages of the work. It consists of two stylized faces deeply incised on opposite sides of the trunk, surmounted at either end by a pair of collars. The inner collar in each case has a serrated edge while the outer one is plain. It was not possible to discover the detailed meaning of any of these features, all questions directed to this end being met with the invariable response that the carving was as it was because that was the way it was done. However that may be, it seems clear that the ridge-pole image is indeed a status symbol and perhaps also an outward visible sign of the inward spiritual grace achieved as a result of participating in the celebration of *Maki*, like the well-known tusks of the sacrificed boars which also decorate the ends of the side supports of the roof thatching.

RAYMOND CLAUSEN

¹ John Layard, *Stone Men of Malekula* (London, 1942); A. Bernard Deacon, *Malekula* (London, 1934).

aus den Neuen Hebriden und den Banks-Inseln (Berlin, 1923).

³ Jean Guiart, *L'Organisation sociale et politique du Nord Malekula* (Paris, 1952).

² Dr. Felix Speiser, *Ethnographische Materialien*

REVIEW

ZINC IN ANTIQUITY

Orichalcum and Related Ancient Alloys. EARLE R. CALEY. The American Numismatic Society, New York. 115 pages, 43 tables, 110 references.

Chemical analysis having any pretence to precision makes use of considerable manpower and in the museum laboratory the effort cannot often be seen to be profitable compared with expenditure of comparable manpower directly on the cleaning or conservation of antiquities. Nevertheless, scientist and curator alike, we all have the instinctive feeling that analysis ought to be useful in solving problems of provenance. We therefore feel deflated when on comparing a new, hardly acquired analysis with figures reported from other sources we find that

the comparison is in fact inconclusive. Responsibility for our deflation may rest with ourselves, because we have been insufficiently precise in our analysis or in our sampling. On the other hand, the comparison analyses themselves may be faulty, either because they have been inaccurate or because they have been made on objects of uncertain origin.

Neither of these troubles will beset the worker who relies on comparative analyses provided by Professor Caley. The objects of his attention are coins of self-declared period and origin and the analyses have been carried out on carefully prepared samples by a completely destructive 'wet' method that does not suffer from some of the uncertainties of the various non-destructive methods.

This particular slim volume is the most recent in a series devoted to analyses of coinage from selected periods. It repeats the pattern set by his two earlier monographs on Ancient Greek Bronze Coins and on Parthian Coins.

The book is without an index but its contents are arranged logically, discussing in turn the earliest copper alloys containing zinc; the origin of 'Orichalcum'; previous analyses of orichalcum coins; new analyses of orichalcum; analyses of Roman coins composed of other alloys containing zinc; the manufacture of orichalcum; and finally comparisons of a few orichalcum objects, not coins, with modern forgeries.

Professor Caley blends history with analytical fact. He records the doubt that exists concerning the possibility of a piece of zinc having survived in the metallic form since the second century B.C. in the Agora, Athens. He discusses the literary evidence for a belief that the ancient Greeks of the fourth century B.C. knew metallic zinc as 'false silver', although the metal was not recognized in modern Europe until 1509. He suggests that the account by Theopompus (fourth century B.C.) that is usually assumed to refer to the manufacture of brass in fact describes a refining process for bronze, but that a compilation of the third century B.C. does probably allude to a cementation process for the preparation of brass in use by the Mossynoeci who dwelt in Pontus.

Having analysed the literary evidence bearing on orichalcum he next analyses the early analytical work and recalculates some eighteenth-century results to conform to modern standards. This chapter concludes with a plea for satisfactory chemical analyses of a long series of adequately described and closely dated coins.

He follows this with an account of analyses made in his own laboratory on such a series of twenty-five coins spanning the period from 20 B.C. to A.D. 179. From these and the best of earlier analyses he has discovered that there was a change in the composition of the alloy called orichalcum at a date after the reign of Claudius. He concludes that orichalcum for the minting of sestertii and dupondii during the reigns of Augustus and Claudius was always newly manufactured by a single standardized procedure without the use of any secondary metal but that much of the orichalcum for coins of Nero and subsequent

emperors was obtained by remelting worn coins from previous reigns, possibly because the supply of zinc was approaching exhaustion. Later, after Trajan, this source was supplemented by additions of miscellaneous scrap copper and bronze. The resulting alloys were not orichalcum in the proper meaning of the term.

Caley defines orichalcum as an alloy of copper and zinc in which the proportion of zinc is sufficiently high to give it a colour appreciably different from that of copper alone, say not less than 5 per cent., and in which the proportion of any other metal or combination of other metals is considerably lower than that of zinc. The definition reflects the outlook of numismatists who for lack of analytical assistance classify a coin according to its colour. Nevertheless, the analyst who is requested to assign a name to the alloy he has examined will find the definition useful, especially if read in conjunction with a discussion of several similar alloys that are not orichalcum.

The logical conclusion of a survey such as this is an application to problems of provenance. Because there have been systematic changes in the composition of orichalcum and zinc-bronze alloys throughout the Roman period there exists a possibility that illegible coins, or objects sufficiently small to have been made from coins, could be dated by a knowledge of their composition. From the comparatively small number of analyses available a series of twenty-three categories of alloy have been assigned to ranges of date. The individual alloying metals considered in arriving at this division consist only of zinc, tin, and lead, but it is indicated that some narrowing of range might result if arsenic and sulphur were also included. The analyses of five modern forgeries are discussed.

This book will undoubtedly prove to be of great value not only to the numismatist concerned with the Roman period but to all who make use of analyses.

R. M. ORGAN

SHORTER NOTICES

RED SANDSTONE RAILING PILLAR

CARVED on one face with the figure of a boy playing a double flute, and on the other with lotus rosettes.

India. Mathura style. About A.D. 100.
Ht. 1 ft. 8 in. (Pl. xv.)

Small pillars of this kind, which surrounded early Buddhist stupas or burial-mounds, have been found in fair numbers at Mathura, near Agra, which in the first to third centuries A.D. was one of the capitals of the Kushan Empire in India. The best known of these pillars show female figures or yakshis: a few, like the piece now acquired, are carved with male figures. The subject is a boy wearing a close-fitting round cap and a short tailored jerkin which hardly reaches to the navel. Both garments are foreign to India and were worn in the colder north-western parts of the Kushan Empire, in Afghanistan, North-west Frontier Province, and Kashmir. Bands of musicians and dancers in early Indian sculpture and painting are occasionally represented in this costume and are obviously intended to hail from the northern provinces. The double flute is again foreign to India, though it is found in a slightly earlier carving at the famous Buddhist stupa of Sanchi. Complete

or partial nudity is characteristic of the sculptures of girls and youths at Mathura and is probably due ultimately to influences from the art of the classical Mediterranean world.

A BRONZE CEREMONIAL SPEARHEAD OF THE YAYOI CULTURE

THE spearhead belongs to the Yayoi culture of Japan, the first metal-using culture of that country, which extended from about 200 B.C. to about A.D. 300. It was found at Suku in Fukuoka prefecture, Kyushu, on the type site of the middle division of the Yayoi period, which is fixed at about 100 B.C. to A.D. 100. The Yayoi bronze weapons derive their forms in the first place from Korea and ultimately from China, the earliest of them resembling Chinese weapons of the third century B.C. In the middle stage of the Japanese development as represented at Suku, spearheads of exaggerated length were sometimes made. The present example is one of them. They can only have served for ceremony, or as an ingot of bronze representing wealth. Its length is $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Given by Professor S. Umehara, of Kyoto.

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Altre Lettere giovanili et amoroſe ſcritte a Daine.

Ad FF.

E gli mi gioua che ogni giorno perſuade con accorte inuentioni qualche ragione d'accreſcere il mio fuoco: ſi come hoggi hauete fatto con quella, che la voſtra lucidiſſima fronte rignea. Beneche ſe fate ciò, perche ſentendomi in qualche parte calda uogliate uedere arder altrui: non riſo per ogniuna delle voſtre fauſſe. Ha- uere molti Mancibelli nel mio petto. Se fate, perche lateru- male naturalmente ui ſia caro: chi accuſare mi potrà giuſta- mente; ſe cogli intendera le ragioni de l'arder mio? Certo io peccar non poſſo dando a l'angelò et a tanto miracoli fede. Di ui faccia amore giuſta uendetta; ſe ſete altra nella fron- te di quello, che ſete nel cuore. Ad xmy. di Luglio. m. m.

Ad .FF.

Non perche io poſſa dire in quante dolce amaritudine m'habbia inuato queſta partita, ui ſcriuo, o luce della mia uita; ma per ſola pregar ~~che~~ ^{ui} che u'habbiare ui ſteſſa cara; et la vo- ſtra ſalute, che alquanto pare che ſia offeſa, procurate; accio che la mia uita non pera. Il uerſo, che hauete hora in a- parte d'intorno, è già tutto nel mio cuore ſcolpito: ilquale a meſſima altra coſa fu luogo; che al penſier di ui. Coſi ha-

Ho non sommo piacere mio molto il tuo d. Michele, giovane
 a disvino a molto ardore a gentile. Ha hanno del 22^o fine
 tutto quello; che si vorrà: che mi sia tuo infinitamente.
 Alla delissima lettera vostra non so che mi rispondere:
 in maniera mi soprabondare d'ammanta a nuovo a novità.
 Orsa questi anni si faranno mi di al Casiro: se a Dio pia-
 rava conceder mi tanta grazia. Io so; uno sono sempre
 stato dalla mia giovanezza in qua, tuttora di v. s.
 Alla mi buona a a me ora a dolo grazia bacia la
 mano. State sano. All' xxvj. Iombro m d xxxvij
 di Padova.

Il Bembo scrivere

Hoc et n. / quas paulatim mitigat iras. Hoc minuit la. / inf. moxq. rōa. / quat.

Longa est. / Aut quid omnia / homini longa? / No. / modo / quous. / modo / id est / in / cōsu. / l' t' go / in / b' quous. / mox / opimatis / affertur / est / s' u' d' u' s'.

Hoc mōs / sigs / ex / p' u' n' d' u' b' i' t' / x' u' i'.

Mo. / p' u' n' d' u' b' i' t' / s' i' a' r' / i' m' p' h' u' s' s' e' / d' e' t' r' o' n'.

Collegi / h' p' i' d' i' / q' u' o' / d' u' x' i' s' / l' o' h' i' s' / a' n' o.

Actus / c' u' m' / n' o' t' i' n' d' i' / e' r' / t' i' b' i' / m' o' n' s'.

Mobilis / q' u' o' d' / h' a' t' u' r' / d' i' m' u' s' / e' t' / a' n' i' s'.

Reddō / q' u' o' d' / s' a' m' / s' i' t' / p' u' o' / e' t' / p' o' t' e' r' o' / r' e' t' o.

Signa / h' m' u' / e' s' t' i' t' / p' u' b' l' i' c' u' s' / c' o' l' l' u' d' e' r' e' / e' t' / i' n' a.

Colligat / n' o' / p' o' t' e' r' o' / r' e' t' o' / e' t' / m' u' n' d' u' s' / i' n' / t' e' r' a' s'.

Inhibet / i' n' u' e' n' i' s' / t' o' m' o' / c' u' s' t' o' d' e' / m' o' n' s'.

Omnia / m' i' / L' u' c' i' i' / a' l' i' o' n' a.

Sunt / t' o' m' p' u' s' / t' o' m' u' s' / i' n' g'.

Job. e. g. / d' i' l' i' g' e' n' t' e' / m' o' d' i' c' a' / p' r' i' m' o' / m' o' d' i' c' a'.

h' o' s' t' i' a' / p' p' e' / s' u' m' / e' t' / o' r' i' g' i' n' a' l' e'.

q' u' o' d' / s' i' c' u' t' / m' u' n' d' u' s' / d' i' c' t' u' s' / e' s' t'.

Sunt / i' n' g' / m' o' d' i' c' a' / e' p' i' / d' o' c' t' o' r' e'.

h' o' s' t' i' a' / p' p' e' / s' u' m' / e' t' / o' r' i' g' i' n' a' l' e'.

q' u' o' d' / s' i' c' u' t' / m' u' n' d' u' s' / d' i' c' t' u' s' / e' s' t'.

Sunt / i' n' g' / m' o' d' i' c' a' / e' p' i' / d' o' c' t' o' r' e'.

h' o' s' t' i' a' / p' p' e' / s' u' m' / e' t' / o' r' i' g' i' n' a' l' e'.

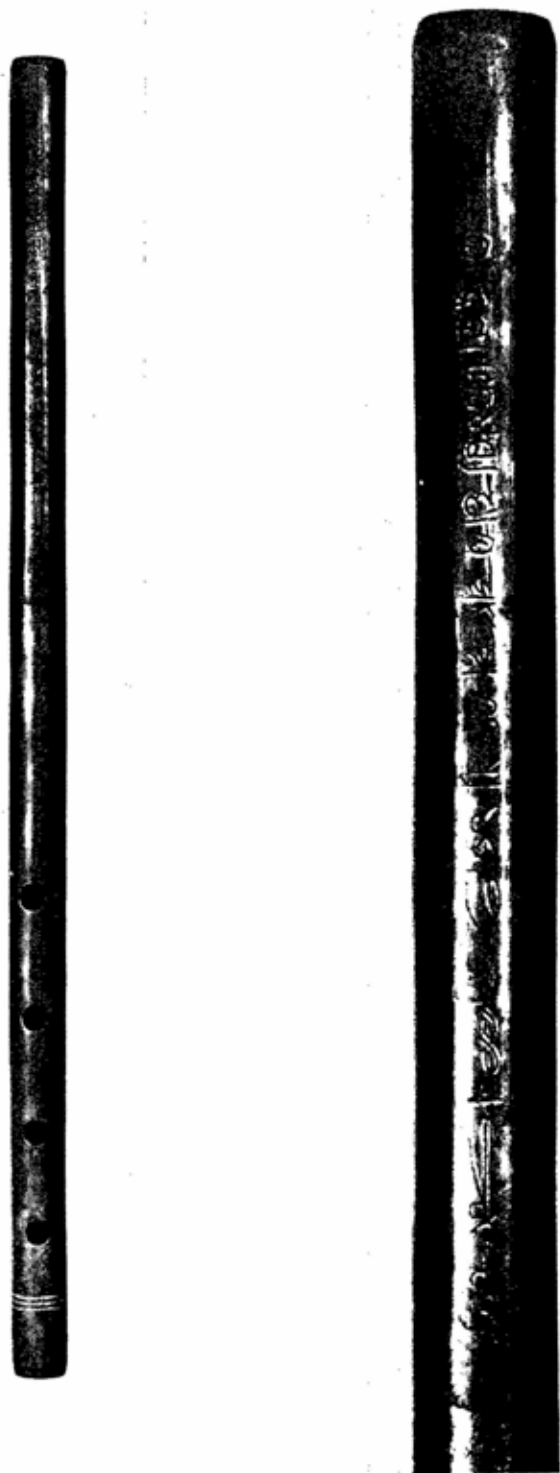
III. (a) A PORTION OF BERNARDO BEMBO'S AUTOGRAPH 'ZIBALDONE'

Add. MS. 41068A, f. 110 (pencil foliation). (Size of original 141 mm. X 195 mm.)

et decem.

oribus tradit. Et ob id ecclesia re
cipit eum & facit argumentum
apud ueteres Iudeos & christianos: licet nō apud modernos Iudeos: quibus etiam
ipsa lux ueteris testamenti ferme obscuratur. Sed de his alias. Vocabulum uero zanedrin quia sepe occurrit interpretatur a Talmudistis collegium sceptri & publi
ce potestatis totius regni: quę erat penes .lxx. seniores ex principalioribus de tribu
Iuda & aliarū tribubus quibus unus rex pręerat & locus sui Salomō rex decreto Da
uid & dei posuit Matathym ut exposuimus. Dicunt aut Talmudistę in libro zane
drin q hoc erat publicum sceptrum institutū a deo in deserto. Numeri. xi. capitu
lū ubi deus instituens regimē totius populi ait ad Moysen. Congrega inquit mihi
hi septuaginta uirōs de senioribus Israel: quos tu nosti q. senes populi sunt & magi
stri: & duces eos ad ostium tabernaculi federis: faciesq. ibi stare tecum. Et descendat
& loquar tibi: & auferam de spiritu tuo: tradamq. eis ut sustentēt onus populi te
cum: & nō tu solus graueris. Super hoc sceptrū erat tribus Iuda & rex: sicut & Moys
es. Vnde zanedrin erat collegiū publici regiminis & potestatis quibus unus pre
erat. Et hii dicunt. usitato ueteri uocabulo senes siue ueteres. Romana uero lingua
Senatores. Aramea & Etrusca / Lucii / ultima syllaba habente accentū: & Grece Pa
lei. Porro etiam est opus ut sint magistri: id est uerbis: et uerbo pareatur: quos
Romani a uerbo & dicto imperioso dictatores uocant: & cōmuni uocabulo unico
Magistratus. Ergo collegium publicę potestatis etiā apud Hebręos uetusissimos
dicebatur Senatorium magistrale: apud Romanos Senatorium dictionale: apud
Etruscos Lucumoniū: apud Grecos Paleologum. Vnde nomina importantia pub
licam potestatem apud ueteres cōposita inuenimus ex duabus dictionibus qua

Flui



V. INSCRIBED FLUTE FROM EGYPT



VI. A LADY CENTAUR



VII. A SHERD WITH A PAINTED INSCRIPTION FROM MONTE TESTACCIO IN ROME



VIII. TARA, NEPAL. 11th-12th century A.D.



IX. AVALOKITESVARA. Nepal. 11th-12th century A.D.

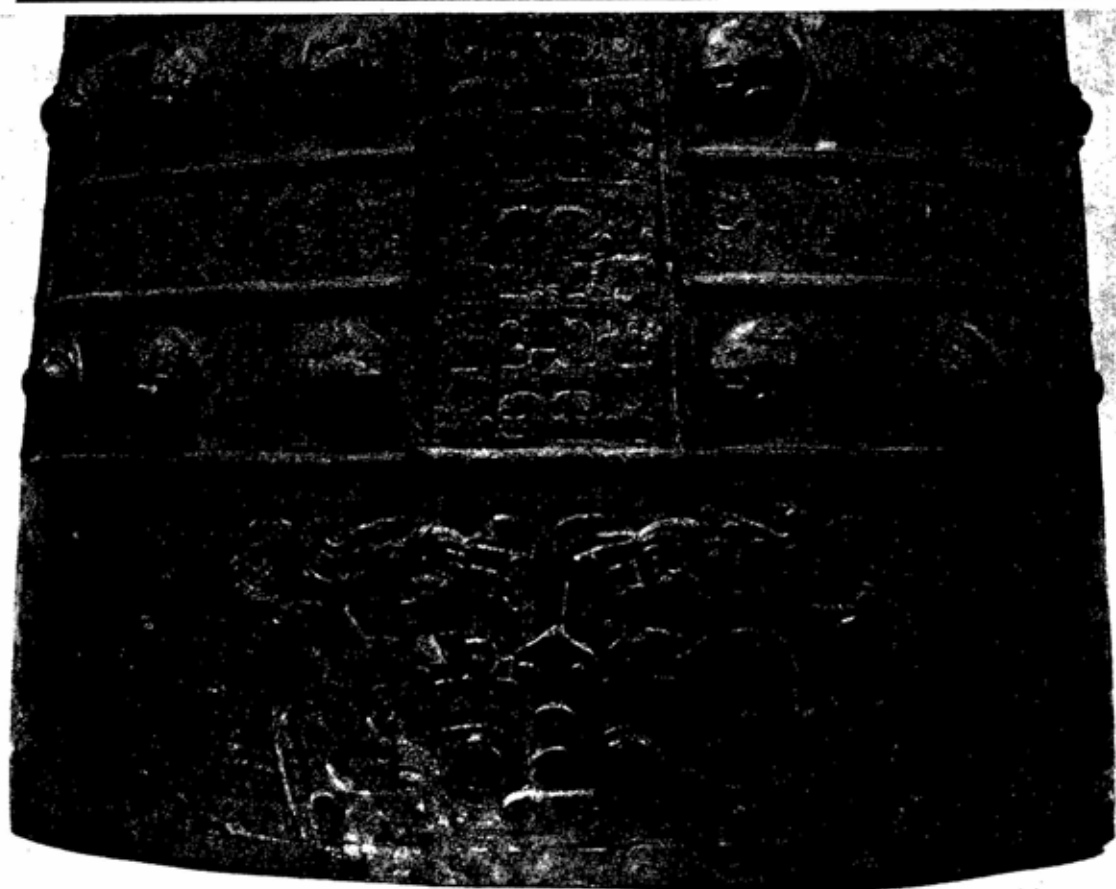


X. Reverse of Plate VIII

a



b



XI. CHINESE BRONZE BELL, PIEN CHUNG. First half of the 5th century B.C. Height 54 cm.

(a) DETAIL OF THE HANDLE



XII. (a) A CARVED AND PAINTED HOUSE BOARD FROM ANGKEVIP VILLAGE
Telefomin valley, Territory of New Guinea

(b) A BOARD IN POSITION ON A FAMILY HOUSE IN ANGKEMAVIP VILLAGE
Telefomin valley



XIII. A HOUSE DECORATION CARVED IN TREE FERN
from the Big Nambas tribe of North Malekula New Hebrides



XIV. A BIG NAMBAS HOUSE WITH TREE-FERN DECORATION



XV. BOY PLAYING A DOUBLE FLUTE
Red sandstone. Mathura. A.D. 100. Height 1 foot 8 inches

FRANCIS COX AND HIS 'FRAGMENTA'

ON 26 August 1834 Francis Cox, Esq., of No. 21 Brompton Cresent, drew up his last will and testament. He signed it on 19 September in the presence of John Twells, Matthias Attwood, and Matthias Wolverley Attwood, all of 27 Gracechurch Street, and all members of the well-known banking firm of Spooner, Attwood & Co. On 3 October the testator died and a fortnight later probate was granted to Sarah Cox, his widow and sole executrix.¹ Sarah was left all effects and the interest arising from £3,000 invested in 3 per cent. Consols. Six months after her decease the interest on £2,000 was to go to the Blue Coat School, Birmingham, and the interest on the other £1,000 to the Birmingham General Hospital. There was, however, a special clause in the will which read as follows:

Moreover should the volumes called the *Fragmenta* be in my possession at the time of my death consisting of one hundred folio volumes and which have been collecting for upwards of half a century be deemed worthy the acceptance of the Governors I leave devise and bequeath them to the Museum in Russell St. Bloomsbury.

The English is queer but the sense is plain, and it is a little strange that it was not until 7 April of the following year that Mrs. Cox wrote to Sir Henry Ellis, the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, to inform him of the bequest. Her letter was little more than a transcript of the relevant passage from her husband's will, and it was imperfect at that, as the number of volumes in the bequest was not specified. (There are signs that the figure '100' was originally written before the word 'folio' but was afterwards erased.) However, the Principal Librarian or the Secretary must have made inquiries, for when the Trustees of the Museum met on 11 April and Mrs. Cox's letter was considered, the Secretary recorded in the Minutes: 'An Extract from the Will of the late Francis Cox, Esq. was read, bequeathing to the Trustees a large Collection of Cuttings from Newspapers bound in about ninety-eight Volumes.' 'About ninety-eight' also reads oddly but, whatever the exact number of volumes, the collection was obviously a substantial one and the Trustees accepted the bequest. There were delays before it reached them. On 9 May Mrs. Cox begged Sir Henry Ellis not to send for it until she had informed him that she had looked it over, for she found it a much more formidable undertaking than she had anticipated. On 11 July the Trustees met again and, having heard nothing further from Mrs. Cox, directed the Secretary to apply for the delivery of the collection. Six days later Mrs. Cox sent an apologetic reply. She explained that she had been prevented by illness from looking it over but hoped to finish the task in a few days' time. On 7 August she wrote to the Secretary, whose name she consistently misspelled: 'Mrs. Cox's compliments to Mr. Foxhall (Forshall)

and begs to inform him that the "Fragmenta" will be ready for removal to the British Museum by twelve o'clock on Tuesday next (11 August)—and she trusts the Gentlemen of the Committee will give her such an acknowledgement as she can show to Mr. Cox's friends, and at the same time as would have been gratifying to him.'

The 'Fragmenta' were collected and no doubt an appropriate acknowledgement was sent, but Cox himself would have been far from gratified if he could have known how little credit he himself was to receive. When the collection reached the Museum it was found to consist of *ninety-four* volumes and to include much else beside cuttings from newspapers. In the 'List of Additions made to the Collections in the British Museum in the year MDCCLXXXV', published in 1837, it was entered under the heading FRAGMENTS and described as '94 Volumes of parts of books and newspapers, advertisements, playbills, etc. etc., pasted on blank leaves. fol. Presented by Mrs. Cox.' A similar entry, but with the heading altered to FRAGMENTA and with the omission of the note about Mrs. Cox, was made in the annotated and interleaved copy of the 1813-19 printed catalogue that served until about 1850 as the General Catalogue of the library.² What entry, if any, was made for the 'Fragmenta' in its successor, a transcribed catalogue using movable slips, it is impossible to say, as, so far as I am aware, no part of this catalogue survives. It can, however, be said with some confidence that there was no mention of them in the great 'Catalogue of Printed Books' published from 1881 to 1905. There was nothing, at any rate, under FRAGMENTS, FRAGMENTA, COX, COLLECTIONS, or any other heading that would readily suggest itself. This catalogue, however, like its predecessor, was continuously being brought up to date by the insertion of new entries, and these were made for books which had long been in the library as well as for current acquisitions. In 1922 the 'Fragmenta' were recatalogued and an accessions-entry for them was duly printed and incorporated. The heading was, surprisingly, BURNEY (Charles) D.D. and the description read:

[A collection of miscellaneous cuttings from newspapers, made for Burney and continued after his death.] 94 vol. [1788-1833.] sm. fol.

In the revised edition of the General Catalogue that was started in 1931 but subsequently abandoned this entry was taken over without substantial change. It was placed at the end of a section entitled 'Miscellaneous Collections made by Charles Burney'. I myself amended it later, but only to add the words 'Burney Collection. "Fragmenta"' at the beginning. (As the volumes were all lettered 'Fragmenta' on the spine it was clear that if they were referred to at all it would be under that title.) Unfortunately I knew nothing then of the history of the collection and had not studied it with sufficient care to discover that the date of 1788 was misleading and that, whatever the connexion with Burney, there was

plenty of internal evidence for Cox's 'authorship'. Some of this I shall mention later, but in view of the facts which I have set out above it is obviously no longer necessary to make out a case for Cox on the basis of what can be gathered from the volumes themselves. At this point I will mention only a small printed label which is to be found in the top left-hand corner of the second numbered page of volume 1. It is inconspicuously placed and could easily be overlooked. The printed portion reads: 'Fra. Cox. No.—' and the manuscript addition, if I have deciphered it rightly, 'Vol. 1. 1789–1790'.

Who, then, was Francis Cox and what was the nature of the collection on which he had laboured for more than half a century? I will deal with the easier question—the nature of the collection—first.

The 'cuttings from newspapers' may indeed be said to constitute the main bulk of it, but even on the pages on which they are pasted down their sequence is often interrupted by other ephemeral matter, and between the leaves, and not normally covered by the pagination, a number of more substantial pieces have occasionally been bound in. In the first volume, from p. 4 to p. 127, the separate cuttings are numbered in ink in the margins. Perhaps Cox hoped at first to be able to provide some sort of index to them; if so, it is not surprising that he should soon have abandoned the attempt. The longer cuttings would have been easy enough to deal with, but the great mass of miscellaneous snippets, squeezed in wherever there was a gap to be filled, would soon have overwhelmed even the most tireless indexer. What would have been more useful, and much easier to compile, would have been an index to all material *other* than cuttings from newspapers. I have attempted something of the sort myself.

The overall order of cuttings and insertions is roughly (very roughly) chronological and the period covered extends from the 1750's³ (Cox's own initial date and the date given in the *B.M. Catalogue*, as published, must be disregarded) to the early spring of 1833. In the first five volumes the dates are very mixed, but from vol. 6 onwards, in spite of occasional aberrations, a fairly steady progression is maintained. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, with their military, political, and economic repercussions on Great Britain, now begin almost to monopolize Cox's attention and, though miscellaneous oddments are still to be found in plenty, some sort of continuity is at last established. His compilation remains chiefly entertaining as a scrap-book but it now becomes useful as a chronicle as well.⁴

The cuttings come from a great variety of newspapers (some forty are either named or are easily identifiable) but even more striking is the wide range of their subject-matter: banking, books, boxing, charities, cock-fighting, concerts, cricket, horse-racing, legal proceedings, lotteries, patent medicines, poetry, police court news, politics, public affairs, scandal, the theatre, trade—Cox was obviously interested in them all and the alphabetical order in which I have

arranged them only slightly exaggerates the casual way in which they jostle one another. A similar variety is to be found in the inserted pieces, which, from the bibliographical point of view, form the most valuable part of the collection.

A few of the items have a special interest in that they contribute something to our knowledge of Cox himself. I shall deal with these first. The earliest in date is a set of verses 'Upon the Death of Lord Nelson', signed F. C. and dated Birmingham, 14 November 1805. Of these there are two editions (represented by two copies of the earlier and one of the later printing), both from the press of Swinney and Ferrall of Birmingham,⁵ and on his copy of the later edition, which shows only trifling textual variations, Cox has acknowledged his authorship by expanding F. C. to F. Cox in manuscript. The first twelve of the total of twenty-two lines will suffice to show how Cox acquitted himself when he tried his hand at original composition.

Long had the Foe escap'd the bravest Tar,
That ere reap'd laurels in the storms of War,
When Gallic Pride, combin'd with Haughty Spain,
Sail'd o'er, with arrogance, the raging main,
Great Bronté, then, with heart of English Oak
The honest feelings of his soul bespoke:
'This day—your duty do—'Tis Freedom's cause,
'Fight for your King—your Country, and your Laws!
'My sailors dear!—on Providence believe,
'To die is Life—to Conquer is to Live.
'England commands!—a proud impressive call,
'To nobly act your parts, to Stand or Fall . . .

I have found nothing else that I can identify with certainty as from Cox's pen, but there are other pieces that possess a milder personal interest. They include:

1. An autograph letter, in Italian, from Charles James Fox to 'Mr. Buonaiuti, No. 2, St. Martin's Street', 5 September 1796, with the manuscript note: 'This letter was given me by Mr. Weichsel, the leader of the band at the Opera A.D. 1808 January. F. Cox, York Place, Queen's Elm, Brompton.' B. Serafino Buonaiuti wrote, or adapted, many libretti for the Italian Opera in London.⁶ Fox complains that in a 'sonetto' sent him by Buonaiuti two 'verses' had been changed for the worse from the form in which Buonaiuti had read them to him. The letter mentions Mrs. Armistead, Fox's mistress. The blank parts of it have been ruthlessly plastered over with newspaper cuttings. 17 (174*).
2. Copies of *The Freeman's Journal and Philadelphia Mercantile Advertiser* (12 June 1809), *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* (7 June 1809) and *The Public Advertiser*, New York (15 June 1809), each bearing a manuscript note by Cox. From the notes we learn that the papers were brought over from America by a certain Samuel Rabone and presented to Cox by Samuel's brother James at Snitterfield, near Stratford on Avon, 24 Nov. 1809. 17 (154, 179, 161).

3. *Catalogue of a Sale of Merino Sheep* at Sadler's Repository, Goswell Street, 17 Aug. 1809 with Cox's signature and his address '14 York Place, Brompton'. 18 (57).
4. A permit, signed C. Cunningham [Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Cunningham, 1755-1834] and dated 17 July 1810, giving permission for 'Mrs. Billington and party' to visit the dockyard at Deptford on the occasion of the launching of the *Queen Charlotte* 'of 120 guns'. A manuscript note shows that the party consisted of Mrs. Billington, Mrs. Nichols and Mr. and Mrs. Cox. 18 (158).
5. An imperfect copy of the programme of the Vocal Concert on 6 May 1814. The part preserved consists mainly of a long list of the subscribers to the concerts for 1814. Among the names are those of Mr. and Mrs. Cox, Miss Cox and Miss E. Cox. 29 (141).
6. *Chelsea Vestry Room*, July 17, 1815. *At a meeting of the Committee appointed to manage and collect the Subscription for the Relief of the Families of the Soldiers who were killed and wounded at the Battle of Waterloo*, etc. Resolved to transfer the £593. 14s. 3d. collected to the Committee of the Waterloo Subscription at the City of London Tavern. Under 'York Place' Cox appears with a subscription of £1 and just above him a Mrs. Raban [Rabone?] with a subscription of 6s. 31 (322).
7. *Royal Jennerian Society for the Extermination of the Small Pox by the Extension of Vaccination*, etc. A leaflet on the Society's work. Addressed to — Cox, Esq., Brompton Crescent, and dated 20 July 1816. 33 (133).
8. *Report of the Proceedings at the Dinner of the Political Union . . . 11 October 1830*, to commemorate the French Revolution of July 1830. Birmingham, printed by William Hodgetts, 1830. With manuscript inscription: 'From Matthias Attwood M.P. to Francis Cox of Brompton Crescent, London, for the F—g—m—a. October 19th. 1830.' 86 (14).
9. [p. 1.] *The following letter confidentially communicated to his grace the Duke of Wellington, in March, 1830, on the Poor Laws*, as well as other Proceedings deeply injurious to the cause of humanity, is respectfully submitted to the Right Honourable Lord Brougham, and Robert Gordon, Esq., M.P., who is legislating for the support of the Poor, and the protection and care of the Insane, will provide a stop to the unjust exclusion of the Graduates of Scotland and Ireland, as well as Surgeons of the Army and Navy, from appointments in this department, etc. [Without title-page. The introductory note is signed: 'A friend to the Insane' and dated 12 July 1832. The letter itself is headed 'Bloomsbury, 12th March 1830' and signed: 'Regis, Patriæ, Curiaque, amicus.' A manuscript note at the foot of the last page reads 'Given to Mr. Francis Cox of Brompton Crescent by the author D. Veitch M.D. Sept. 6th 1832.'] pp. 8. J & G. Nichols, printers, Earl's Court, Cranbourn Street, Soho, [1832.] 80.

The writer urges that the poor need work not work-houses, and that commissioners in lunacy should be men with special knowledge of diseases of the mind and should not derive emoluments, other than their official salaries, from the mad-house over which they preside. Nothing whatever is said in the pamphlet itself about the injustice done to Graduates of Scotland and Ireland and Surgeons of the Army and Navy. Perhaps D. Veitch was one of these but I have not found him in any of the relevant calendars. Oddly enough, facing this pamphlet is a single sheet headed: *Cholera Morbus. To the Inhabitants of Chelsea and its Vicinity*, signed James Veitch, M.D., addressed from 26 Cadogan Place, and dated 14 Nov.

1831. James Veitch graduated at Edinburgh in June 1808 and died at his residence in Ovington Square, Brompton, on 4 July 1856, aged 86, being then deputy inspector of hospitals and fleets. He was the author of several medical pamphlets and was presumably related to the other, obscurer, Veitch. 92 (5).

Mention should also perhaps be made here of one (p. 342) of a number of pages of manuscript in vol. 15. This contains some curious instructions on how to travel to France during the war, signed J. Playter and dated 7 Feb. 1804. It ends with a reference to Brussels and the words 'where shall always be most happy to see any friend of Mr. and Mrs. Cox, feeling myself their much obliged J. Playter'. The page appears to be a fair copy in Cox's hand.

From this evidence, slight as it is, we may conclude that Cox was a Birmingham man; that he had some connexion with the Warwickshire family of Rabone; that he moved to London before January 1808, living first at York Place, Brompton, and later in Brompton Crescent; that among his friends were Charles Weichsel, the leader of the band at the Opera, his famous sister the singer Mrs. Billington and, later, the banker-M. P. Matthias Attwood; that in 1804 he was interested, probably not on his own account, in finding out how one could get to France in spite of the war; that he was a humanitarian and sympathetic to reform; and, finally, that he was married and had two daughters.

This is little enough. The surprising thing is that even from other sources it does not seem possible to discover much more about the man. One small but important piece of information is provided by the registers of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington. In recording Cox's burial on 10 October 1834 they give his age as eighty-two. He was therefore born in 1752 and was thus about thirty when he started his collection. Whether he was a native of Birmingham or not he certainly seems to have spent a good deal of his life there and in a brief notice of his death Aris's *Birmingham Gazette* (17 November 1834) referred to him as 'late of this town'.⁷ Perhaps he is to be identified with the Francis Cox, described as a linen-draper, who appears in the Birmingham directories from 1785 to 1803 as living at 9 Bull Street, but this is by no means certain: another Francis Cox, a brush-maker in Deritend, is listed in the directory for 1797 and, as I have already indicated, Cox was still in Birmingham in November 1805 when he published his verses on Nelson's death. As will be seen, he does not appear to have moved to London till 1807. At a date not yet established he married Sarah, the daughter of James Rabone, of Snitterfield, near Stratford on Avon.⁸ As there is no record of the marriage in the Registers of Marriages at Snitterfield⁹ it is possible that it took place in London. Cox arrived in the capital at the latest in the early spring of 1807, for the Chelsea rate-books show him at 14 York Place from March 1807 to June 1816. Some time in the latter year he left York Place for Brompton Crescent. This fell within the parish of Kensington and the rate-books of that parish record him as responsible for the first rate of 1816. He remained at 21 Brompton Crescent for the rest of his life and when he died his

widow kept on the house until her death on 26 January 1850. On 15 July 1850 'the library of the late Francis Cox, Esq.' was sold at Sotheby's,¹⁰ presumably at the instance of Edward Rabone, of Smethwick Hall, whom Mrs. Cox had appointed sole executor of her estate in her will¹¹ and who came to London on her death. The library consisted of some 2,200 volumes, sold in 285 lots, but it fetched only £129. 2s. 6d., including the £12. 12s. paid for 'a capital book-case, beautifully carved'. It was, indeed, not a particularly notable collection, but the catalogue shows that Cox was a man of cultivated tastes and catholic interests. English and French Literature, especially poetry and drama, Art, History and Biography, Topography, are all well represented, and there is an impressive number of works of reference and runs of periodicals. The oldest, and the scarcest, book he possessed was the Venice 1501 edition of Joannes de Sacro Bosco's *Sphaera Mundi*. With three other volumes thrown in it sold for 2s.

To return to the 'Fragmenta'. I have already given some indication of the contents of the collection and have singled out a few pieces that have some bearing on Cox's life. I must now give a rough sampling of the remainder. The types of material that recur most frequently include: ephemeral publications of various kinds relating to Birmingham and to the Chelsea-Kensington district of London; playbills; newspapers and periodicals (complete numbers as well as cuttings); sale catalogues; prospectuses; trade advertisements; and puffs for lotteries. I can mention only a few of the items, or groups of items, that seem to me to be of special interest. The two that head the list stand rather apart from the rest: the first is the earliest printed piece in the volume, the second is, apart from the letter from Charles James Fox, the only manuscript of any real importance.

1. *Vertus et effets de l'excellente Eau admirable ou Eau de Cologne*. Approuvée par la Faculté de Médecine, le 13 Janvier 1727. pp. 4. [Cologne?, 1727.] Refers to the invention of Eau de Cologne by an Italian 'Sr. Paul Feminis' about a hundred years earlier and claims that Jean Antoine Farina is his sole authorised successor. 2 (8).
2. An autograph letter from Captain R. Barbor to his brother James Barbor, of Bilston, Staffordshire, 5 May 1782, headed 'Alfred, at Sea, y^e 5th May 82'. Describes the defeat of the French fleet off Les Saintes in the West Indies on 12 April 1782. 94 (280).
3. PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS

(a) *Observations concerning the Distress of the Country*. January 1816 and 1817. [By Matthias Attwood?] pp. 26. Thomas Wilson: London, 1817. Manuscript note on the title-page 'With Mr. Attwood's Com^{ts}'. This is perhaps the pamphlet mentioned by Cobbett in his Register for 25 Oct. 1835 (see C. M. Wakefield's *Life of Thomas Attwood*, p. 63). Wakefield had never seen a copy, and it is not recorded in Halkett and Laing. There is nothing by Matthias Attwood in the *B.M. Catalogue*. 33 (247).

(b) *Speech of Matthias Attwood, Esq., M.P. in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, the 8th of June, 1830, in the Debate on the State of the Currency*. pp. 50. Printed for the

Proprietors of 'The Mirror of Parliament': London, [1830.] With manuscript note on the title-page, presumably in Attwood's hand, 'To Francis C. Brompton Crescent'. 85 (136).

(c) *Report of the Mission to the Sikhs. A fragment. Published by the direction of some pious orthodox Christians.* Lake, printer, Uxbridge, [1814?] s.sh. 4°. A satire on Christian doctrine. 28 (179).

(d) *Advertisement Extraordinary. To be seen at Covent Garden Market, a full Grown Lamb, of a very Gluttonous Appetite, having swallowed upwards of 600 Tories and 300 Whigs within four Days. He is expected to swallow a few more and then to be cut up for Dog's Meat.* Brown, printer, 62 Chandos Street, Covent Garden, [1819.] A satire on the Hon. George Lamb who stood successfully as candidate for Westminster at the by-election caused by the death of Sir Samuel Romilly. The election lasted from 13 Feb.-3 March 1819 and the hustings were in Covent Garden. 41 (119).

(e) *Notice to All whom it may concern.* [A hand-bill signed: A true Canadian, and dated Ernest-Town, 20 June 1820, opposing the candidature of Barnabas Bidwell for the representation of the County of Lennox and Addington, Ontario, on the grounds that he was an alien.¹²] 44 (30).

(f) *Bedford House. 124 High Holborn.* The Proprietors of this Establishment, feeling in common with their fellow-citizens, the utmost indignation at the recent conduct of the Duke of Wellington, are extremely anxious to get rid of everything bearing his name; they have therefore determined to sell their extensive Stock of Wellington Boots, at cost price, and express their hope that Boots bearing such an odious appellation will be trampled under foot!! by all classes of the public, as an emblem of the fate richly merited by every enemy of the people. N.B. A great variety of Children's, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Shoes Selling off, Great Bargains. Barnes, printer, 46 Bridge-house Place, Newington Causeway. [May 1832?] s.sh. 90 (130).

(g) *Secret History of the late Petticoat Plot against the Liberties of the People.* By an Officer of Her Majesty's Household. pp. 8. Printed & sold by W. P. Chubb, at the London Spy Office, 48 Holywell Street, Strand. Sold at Birmingham, by J. Guest, Steelhouse Lane, and by one or more Booksellers in every Town in England. [1832.] 8°.

A scurrilous attack upon the Queen, accusing her of intriguing to secure the defeat of the Reform Bill. 90 (156).

4. NEWSPAPERS

In addition to the three newspapers I have already mentioned there are several more which have been preserved complete in single issues or short runs. The following list, which is alphabetically arranged, is confined to items which are not to be found in the British Museum's Newspaper Library at Colindale. *Acadian Recorder*, 3 Nov. 1832: 94 (103); *The Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton & St. George's Weekly Advertiser*, a long run of numbers or substantial cuttings from 22 Feb. 1817 to 24 Dec. 1819: 35-45; *The Conception-Bay Mercury*, 16 July 1830: 87 (102); *The Derby and Chesterfield Reporter*, 30 Sept. 1830: 85 (304); *The Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow and North British Commercial and Literary Advertiser*, 6 Mar. 1830: 76 (174); *Jamaica Courant*, 30 Nov. 1817: 37 (211); *The Kingston Chronicle*, 6 Dec. 1817: 37 (224); *The Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 1, 4 Jan. 1833: 94 (105).

5. PLAYBILLS

These are numerous, especially for the London and Birmingham theatres, but many of them are already to be found in the special collection of Playbills at the British Museum. Among the exceptions I have noted (there must be many more) are:

Beaumaris, Anglesey. The Theatre, Church St., 15 May 1801: 16 (111); *Birmingham*. Gentlemen's Theatre, Livery St., 26 Apr. 1793: 3 (107); Hotel, Temple Row, 7 July 1795: 2 (115); 23, 25, 26 May 1802: 16 (113); Rose Inn, Edgbaston St., 14 May 1798: 16 (153); Union Tavern, Cherry St., 27-30 May 1798: 12 (304); *Kidderminster*. The Theatre, 17 May 1792: 3 (59); *Leicester*. The Theatre, 13 Oct. 1803: 16 (228); *London*. Argyll Rooms, 10 Feb. 1813 (Mrs. Siddons's Readings of *Macbeth*): 13 (310); Surrey Theatre, 2 Sept. 1828 (Weber's *Oberon*): 79 (243); Pavilion, New Road, Sloane Square, 29 Sept. 1830: 85 (297); Western Subscription Theatre, New Road (the same as the preceding), 11, 12 Apr. 1831: 87 (152); Amphion Concert Rooms, Fulham Rd., 4, 6, 8 July 1831 (The Infant Kean as Gloucester in *Richard III*): 88 (65); Royal West London Theatre, Tottenham Street, 6 Sept. 1828: 79 (261); 23 Feb. 1829: 87 (240); New Royal Kensington Subscription Theatre, Brown's Buildings, 9 July, 18 Aug. 1831: 88 (68, 152); Royal Panarmonion Subscription Theatre, King's Cross, 26, 27, 28 Sept.: 88 (257), 28 Oct. 1831: 88 (266); Royal Orange Subscription Theatre, Queen St., Pimlico, 12, 13 Jan., 14 March, 11 April 1832: 89 (154, 185, 252); *Manchester*. Theatre Royal, 23 May 1797: 12 (305); 11 Feb. 1802: 16 (51); *Worthing*. The Theatre, 31 July 1809 17 (194).

6. SALE CATALOGUES

Cox appears to have been a regular attender at auctions—auctions of prints and paintings, coins, antiquities, furniture, wines, horses, house property, etc., as well as of books. Unfortunately he was mostly content to preserve only the title-pages for his 'Fragmenta'. This is all the more tantalizing in that many of them relate to sales of which there are no catalogues in the B.M. Special mention should be made of the numerous catalogues, or parts of catalogues, of sales at Christie's over the years 1809-33. The B.M. has nothing for these years in its main collection and at least thirty of Cox's copies are complete. Another copy of some note is the catalogue of 'the printing materials of the old established printing office of the late W. Phillips', sold by Wheatley & Adlard on 23 March 1829, which contains the type-specimens lacking in the copy (which has, however, manuscript additions, corrections and prices) recorded in the B.M.'s *Catalogue of English Book Sales*. Some of the pieces bear manuscript notes in Cox's hand. Two of his comments on prices fetched at the sale by Stewart of the library of an unnamed collector, 16-19 March 1814, are worth quoting. Lot 195 was Thomas Churchyard's 'The fortunate farewell to the most forward and noble Earle of Essex', 1599, and lot 196 the same writer's 'A Pleasant Chronicle penned in Verse', 1593. Against the former Cox has written 'Such was the book mania that 4 Leaves sold for Twenty two guineas', and against the latter 'In the next lot the enormous price for only 6 leaves was thirty six & a half.' 28 (183).

7. BOOKSELLERS' CATALOGUES

There is only a handful of these. Two of the more interesting are:

(a) *A Catalogue of Moral, Useful, and Entertaining Books*, printed on fine Wove Paper,

and may be had of the Person who leaves this Bill, who will call again with the Books, etc. Dean & Munday, 35 Threadneedle Street, London, [1785.] s.sh.fol. With the heading: 'Licensed according to Act of Parliament, which took place on the 1st of August, 1785, in the 25th Year George III.' This was 25 George III, c. 78 (supplementing 9 & 11 William III, c. 27) and was entitled 'An Act for granting to His Majesty additional duties on hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen; and for regulating their trade'. 18 (149).

(b) *Books printed and sold by F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, Salop*; and to be had of Scatcherd & Co., Ave-Maria Lane, London. 4 pp. [Wellington, c. 1825.] 76 (245).

8. PROSPECTUSES

Two specimens, from a total of more than fifty, must suffice:

(a) *Prospectus d'un ouvrage* qui pourra contenir 50 à 60 pages 8^{vo}, proposé par souscription de cinq schelings, pour faciliter au fils d'une Saxonne, ci-devant maître de langue Française, à bord de la Frégate Amélia, les moyens de faire connoître la méchanceté l'envie et la jalousie de ses infames délateurs, etc. De l'imprimerie de R. Juigné, 17 Margaret-Street, Cavendish Square, [1810?] s.sh. 4°. Apparently Mrs. Billington's copy. The author is variously referred to as 'Mr. Anthony S.' and 'Antoine, surnommé Vit-Trop'. I have not been able to identify him or to discover whether his pamphlet was ever published. 18 (168).

(b) Edinburgh. February 1829. On the First of June will be published, inscribed by permission to the King's Most Gracious Majesty, volume first, of a new edition of *The Waverley Novels*, to be continued in monthly volumes; revised and corrected, with a general preface, an introduction to each novel, and notes, historical and illustrative by the author, etc. pp. 12. Edinburgh: published for the Proprietors by Cadell & Company, Edinburgh; Simpkin & Marshall, London, [1829.] 18°. With pp. 307-310 of *Waverley* inserted as specimen pages. This was the edition published in 48 volumes from 1829-34. 85 (66).

One question remains to be discussed. What, if anything, had Charles Burney, D.D., to do with the 'Fragmenta'? The cataloguer responsible for recataloguing the collection in 1922 may have had evidence that convinced him that their compilation was undertaken at Burney's suggestion and on his behalf, but, if he did, that evidence is no longer to be found. Everything seems to point to Cox's having worked from beginning to end purely for his own amusement. The very terms in which he described the collection in his will seem to bear this out. Cox may well have known Burney; I am fairly certain that he did.¹³ He preserved the hymn sheet issued on the occasion of a charity sermon preached by Burney at St. Luke's, Chelsea (Cox's own parish church) on 21 October 1810 and there are references to Burney's activities in some of the cuttings. Cox may indeed have been related to the Richard Cox, familiarly known as Dicky Cox, who was one of the oldest friends of Burney's father, the historian of music, but no reference to any Francis Cox has so far been found in the Burney family papers. These are, however, both numerous and widely scattered and their recording, sorting, and indexing is as yet far from complete.¹⁴ There is still a chance that

somewhere among them the name of Francis Cox may one day be discovered and even that some sort of collaboration between him and the younger Charles Burney can be established. Meanwhile his claim to be given the sole credit for the compilation of the 'Fragmenta' seems to be a very strong one indeed.

C. B. OLDMAN

¹ The will is preserved in the Principal Probate Registry (Literary Dept.), Somerset House.

² The location of the collection was first given as 'Journal Room'; later, on its removal to the general library, it was assigned the press-mark 936.g. It now stands at 937.g. 1-94. I shall refer to particular items by the volume number, followed by the page number in round brackets.

³ For one exceptional item that is even earlier see p. 71.

⁴ Vol. 6 (183 pages) covers the period from March to Sept. 1792, vol. 7 (314 pages) that from Oct. 1792 to Feb. 1793, and so on. Vol. 94, the last (298 pages), runs from 31 Dec. 1832 to 17 March 1833.

⁵ 19 (1), 18 (14), 17 (184).

⁶ Whether he is to be identified with, or was related to, the S. Buonaiuti who acted as Lord Holland's librarian and contributed an account of the introduction of the dahlia to the Holland House garden to Alexander McDonald's *Complete Dictionary of Gardening* (1807) I have been unable to establish.

⁷ I owe this information to the former City Librarian of Birmingham, the late V. H. Woods.

⁸ 'On the 26th ult. at Brompton, Sarah, widow of Francis Cox, Esq., and daughter of the late James Rabone, Esq., of Snitterfield'. *The Times*, 15 Feb. 1850, recording her death.

⁹ Printed in Phillimore's *Warwickshire Parish Registers* (vol. 3, 1906, pp. 111-28).

¹⁰ There is a priced copy of the catalogue in the B.M., pressmark S.-C.S. 327. (3.)

¹¹ Preserved in the Principal Probate Registry (Literary Dept.), Somerset House. Neither the will nor the records of the Blue Coat School or the Birmingham General Hospital, which duly received their legacies after Sarah Cox's death, provide any further information about Francis Cox.

¹² On Barnabas Bidwell (1763-1833) and his chequered career see the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

¹³ It is perhaps worth noting that the long list of subscribers to *Poems, upon several subjects* (1808), by the former actress Mrs. Iliff, included, together with the names of Burney and his wife, the names of four Coxes. One of these was a Miss Cox, of Blackheath (Burney kept a school at Greenwich), and another, more significantly, a Mr. John Cox, of Stratford on Avon.

¹⁴ An international committee has been formed to supervise the publication of the Burney Papers and work is proceeding under the editorship of Miss Joyce Hemlow, Professor of English Literature at McGill University, Montreal, and author of *The History of Fanny Burney* (Oxford, 1958).

SOME LETTERS OF ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD

IT is probably for his contribution to the victory of Trafalgar that Vice-Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood is most frequently remembered. In that battle he led the attack on the enemy's van and succeeded to the command on the death of his friend, Lord Nelson. Shortly afterwards he was raised to the peerage as Baron Collingwood of Coldburne and Hethpoole, places in his native Northumberland. From 1805 until his death in 1810 he served continuously at sea as Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. His achievements during these years were less spectacular than those of his earlier career, but his tasks now were more arduous and his responsibilities at their greatest.¹

Through a bequest by the late Mr. Edward Gordon Collingwood of Dissington, Northumberland, the Department of Manuscripts has acquired thirteen autograph letters of Admiral Lord Collingwood. These have now been numbered Add. MS. 52780. Eleven of the letters were addressed to Collingwood's cousin, Edward Collingwood of Dissington and Chirton who died in 1806, leaving the Admiral his estate at Chirton.² None of the latter has been published. The remaining two were written, on internal evidence, to Walter Spencer-Stanhope of Horsforth and Cannon Hall, Yorkshire,³ at that time a Member of Parliament for Carlisle, one of whose sons, Edward (grandfather of the donor of the present papers), assumed the name of Collingwood on inheriting the estates of Dissington and Shipley from his great-uncle, the above-mentioned Edward Collingwood; these were part of a longer series used by the late Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling in her *Letter-bag of Lady Elizabeth Spencer-Stanhope*, published in 1913.⁴

The principal collections of Collingwood's papers in the Department of Manuscripts are Add. MSS. 14272-80, comprising letter-books, copies of orders, 1782-91 and 1805-9, together with a journal, 1807-8 (which, however, is not autograph) and Add. MSS. 40096-8,⁵ comprising letters and reports received by Collingwood, 1805-9. Mention must also be made of Add. MS. 37425 which contains some signed orders and autograph letters of Collingwood, 1806-10; while autograph letters of his are also to be found in other collections, particularly in the Nelson Papers (Add. MSS. 34902-92). The newly acquired private letters are thus an important addition to the Department's material relating to Collingwood.

Two collections of his correspondence have been printed: in 1828 his son-in-law, G. L. Newnham Collingwood, published a selective version of letters combined with a memoir;⁶ this was, for long, the standard work; then, in 1957, the Navy Records Society published further letters edited by the late Professor Edward Hughes.⁷ The latter volume was compiled mainly from manuscripts at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, or in the possession of Dr. Edward Foyle Collingwood, a collateral descendant of the Admiral, of Lilburn Tower, Alnwick; no letter printed wholly or partly by Newnham Collingwood was included. Collingwood's fame as a naval commander and national hero had remained unassailed for many years but in 1887 Sir John Laughton, the naval historian, adopted a more critical, even disparaging, attitude in his contribution to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Professor Hughes provided some correctives to Laughton's views and, having made public for the first time the contents of over two hundred of Collingwood's personal letters, could state: 'Now, at long last, the man's full stature can be measured from his own intimate private letters to his closest friends.'⁸ The letters contained in Add. MS. 52780 will make possible an even fuller study of their author.

Collingwood played leading roles in the battle of 'the glorious first of June'

1794, and in that off Cape St. Vincent on 14 February 1797.⁹ After each of these engagements he wrote a detailed narrative to his cousin in Northumberland; these accounts resemble others contained in letters published by Newnham Collingwood or in the volume of the Navy Records Society; but Collingwood, even when he wrote a number of letters about the same events, succeeded in varying his narratives so that certain details, or a characteristic comment, in one letter will not necessarily be found elsewhere. The interest of these passages may be indicated by some quotations from his letter of 22 February 1797, written on board the *Excellent* in Lagos Bay after the recent victory over the Spaniards in a battle 'perhaps as brilliant a one as ever was exhibited upon the sea':

. . . On Valentine's day in the morning we discovered them—and immediately made an impetuous assault upon them, which divided them into two parts—then turning our whole force on the larger division which adhered to Don Cordova their Admiral—stuck close to them 'till near the close of day—when we collected the fruits of our Victory—two first rates San Salvador del Mundi & San Josef, of 112 guns each—the San Nicholas of 80+Sⁿ. Ysidro of 74—I had the good fortune to get the *Excellent* early into action and was warmly and well engaged all day. . . . We fought our way through their line untill we got up to the Santissima Trinidad of 130 guns. . . .

The most desirable prize, nevertheless, escaped:

I had an envious longing for the Santissima Trinidad which is the largest ship in the world—a four decker—and at one time had no doubt of her . . . three ships that *Excellent* engaged was not more distant than the breadth of your dining room—so that we literally burnt their whiskers—two of them that ran on board of each other Commodore Nelson boarded and took sword in hand and (what may never happen again) received the submission and swords of the officers on the quarter deck of the first rate the San Josef, while one of his seamen made a bundle of them, with as much composure as if he had been tying faggots—I lost eleven men and have a few wounded—the protection of Providence was great, considering what a scene we were engaged in—I have got the Picture of San Ysidro the Patron of my ship—the least I cou'd do for his holiness after he had delivered his charge up to me was to give him a good birth in my Cabbin—I understand the Spanish ships always carry the Picture of their Patron Saint to sea with them this is a very good one—you shall see it at Morpeth some day I hope.¹⁰

Other letters in this group provide fresh evidence of the admiral's character and outlook.

In May 1798, for example, when he had heard of the concentration of French ships and troops at Toulon and Marseilles which he believed was in preparation for an attack on the British Isles, he wrote, as follows, to his cousin from the *Excellent* off Cadiz:

. . . the present state of our country gives me many hours of uneasiness—No land was ever assailed by so powerfull or so rancorous an enemy—the whole force almost of Europe is directed by the most virulent hatred—and all the treasure they can seize from friend or foe is

exhausted in the preparation they are making to overwhelm us but it is not this that so much disturbs my peace—or excites my apprehension—as the dissensions—the want of energy and exertion to repel this host—when the question is, whether we shall have a country to call ours—or become very abjects on the face of the earth—the slaves and bond men of frenchmen—every luxury goes on at full speed in the Capital—and while men shou'd be sharpening their swords—they are disputing points of little moment—hunting down a miserable fox—or listening to the squalling of an Italian Castrata [*sic*]. . . .¹¹

By the end of 1798 Collingwood was back in English waters. In common with other captains he had found the Earl of St. Vincent a difficult Commander-in-Chief:

The station I left was latterly rather disagreeable—the strange innovations which the Chief made in all the ordinary modes of discipline, and the high hand with which he carried himself towards some officers, made it very unpleasant to all—for my part, I had the good fortune to keep clear of all disputes—nor do I know he ever said an uncivil thing to me or, of me—and that is a very singular case—for very few escaped the asperity of his temper—and his not sending me with the reinforcement to L^d. Nelson when of right I ought to have gone, if an Admiral did not, gave me so much dissatisfaction that from that day I looked to my return to England with very great impatience. . . . He treated S^r. Jn^o. Orde¹² very ill—I never cou'd discover what was the cause, but when two proud Dons meet—it is not difficult to find a cause of difference—I believe S^r. Jn^o. Orde is as zealous in the publick service as himself—but in his manners and stile of living there was a magnificence that the Chief was perhaps jealous of, and so in a very unprecedented way he sent him home. . . .¹³

But, when the earl was made First Lord of the Admiralty in 1801, Collingwood considered the appointment in the best interests of the navy:

Our Late Chief (Earl St. Vincent) has now arrived at the summit of his ambition—no man in England is more capable of conducting the Naval department than he is—besides his having the advantage of much professional information which cannot be so well understood by Landmen—he has more hours for business than most men—having little taste for pleasure and seldom sleeps more than 4 or 5 hours in a night. . . .¹⁴

In 1805 Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, was accused of embezzlement. He was impeached before the House of Lords but acquitted on all charges. It is interesting to find that Collingwood, while he did not hesitate to express his disgust at corruption in high places, considered the case, when he heard of it in its early stages, as the untimely product of political intrigue and animosity:

. . . I am afraid there is a little embarrass in all the high offices at present, this contention of Ministers & Statesmen, the discord that subsists in Parliament, in hope of overturning the present administration, under the pretence of punishing delinquents—paralyzes all the functions of government—every effort to resist, or counteract the enemy seems to be suspended—though I have no mercy for peculators—which I consider as robbers, with the addition of

breach of trust—it would have been a happy thing if Lord Melville and his Mr. Trotter¹⁵ had been reserved for a time of more Leisure—for it has set the whole hive a buzzing—and I am afraid poor honesty will have an unconquerable host to contend with—The exposure of such practises makes one sick of greatness—I would not give the peace & contentment that inhabits my little house at Morpeth to possess a Palace obtained by practises that would ever cause one painful reflection.¹⁶

The letters to Edward Collingwood end in May 1805. The two to Spencer-Stanhope belong to 1806; Collingwood wrote the earlier of these, dated 6 March, to acknowledge congratulations on the victory at Trafalgar and on his elevation to the peerage; it also contains some lines of outstanding interest that are not matched by a similar passage in any other Collingwood letter so far published:

I have indeed had a severe loss in the death of my excellent friend Lord Nelson—since the year 73 we have been on terms of the greatest intimacy—chance has thrown us very much together in service—and on many occasions we have acted in concert—there is scarce a naval subject that has not been the subject of our discussion—so that his opinions were familiar to me—and so firmly founded on principles of honour—of justice—of attachment to his country—at the same time so entirely divested of every thing interested to himself—that it was impossible to consider him, but with admiration—he liked fame—and was open to flattery—so that people sometimes got about him, who were unworthy of him—he is a loss to his country, that cannot easily be replaced.¹⁷

Collingwood died on 7 March 1810; his body was brought back to London and buried in St. Paul's close to that of Nelson. A. N. E. D. SCHOFIELD

¹ On this period of Collingwood's life, see D. F. Stephenson, *Admiral Collingwood and the Problems of the Naval Blockade after Trafalgar*, 1948, also *The Private Correspondence of Admiral Lord Collingwood*, ed. Edward Hughes, *Navy Records Society*, vol. xcvi, 1957, p. xi.

² See H. H. E. Craster, *A History of Northumberland*, 1907, viii, pp. 325–6; A. M. W. Stirling (formerly Pickering), *Annals of a Yorkshire House*, 1911, ii, pp. 163–4 (where a portrait of Edward Collingwood is reproduced). Also included in this bequest and now in Add. MS. 52780 are some letters, of family and local interest, from Edward Collingwood and his father of the same name (d. 1783) to the latter's daughter, Winifred, wife of Thomas Babbington Pulleine of Carlton Hall, near Richmond, Yorkshire; Mary Winifred, daughter of the last mentioned, married Walter Spencer-Stanhope, M.P.

³ On Walter Spencer-Stanhope, see Hughes, op. cit., pp. 12–250 *passim*; there is also much information about him in Stirling, op. cit., where several portraits are reproduced and a pedigree of the family is given at p. 348.

⁴ Op. cit., i. 57–99. For an account of the whole

body of the Spencer-Stanhope Papers and their present locations, see the *Bulletin of the National Register of Archives*, no. 11, 1961, pp. 18–22.

⁵ Part of a collection of Collingwood Papers sold at Sotheby's, sale-cat. 12 July 1921, lots 173–99.

⁶ G. L. Newnham Collingwood, *A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood interspersed with Memoirs of his Life*, 1828.

⁷ Hughes, op. cit.; W. Clark Russell, *Collingwood*, 1891, and Geoffrey Murray, *The Life of Admiral Collingwood*, 1936, used some previously unpublished material.

⁸ Op. cit., p. ix; see also p. xiii, where the editor calls attention to the twelve official letter-books of Collingwood in the possession of the National Maritime Museum.

⁹ See W. James, *The Naval History of Great Britain*, 1886, i, pp. 143–87; ii, pp. 35–55.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 52780, Collingwood to Edward Collingwood, 22 Feb. 1797; cf. letters published by Newnham Collingwood, op. cit., pp. 29–35; Hughes, op. cit., pp. 79–84. The picture to which Collingwood refers was reproduced by Murray,

op. cit., p. 100; it was then in the possession of Dr. E. F. Collingwood. Add. MS. 34905, fol. 261, contains a letter written by Collingwood to Nelson on 15 Feb. 1797: '... First let me congratulate you on the successes of yesterday—on the brilliancy it attached to the British Navy, and the humility to her enemies—and next on the distinguished part my dear Comodore ever takes when the honours & the interests of his country are contended for—it adds very much to the satisfaction I had in thumping the Spaniards that I releaved you a little—The highest honours are due to you my dear friend & Culloden—you formed the plan of attack—we were only accessories to the Dons ruin . . . ' This is given in a garbled form by Newnham Collingwood, op. cit., p. 36: a good illustration of the unreliability of this work.

¹¹ Add. MS. 52780, Collingwood to Edward Collingwood, 2 May 1798.

¹² Admiral Sir John Orde, ordered back to England in 1798 by St. Vincent.

¹³ Add. MS. 52780, Collingwood to Edward Collingwood, 14 Dec. 1798; cf. letters published by Newnham Collingwood, op. cit., pp. 62–64; Hughes, op. cit., pp. 89–91; see also Collingwood's letter to Nelson, 27 September 1798, Add. MS. 34907, fol. 316^b, in which, after

referring to the differences between Orde and St. Vincent, he wrote: '... Trifles light as air served as confirmation of deadly hatred—such are the effects which for ever arise from inactive armaments—had we had more consequential business those animosities wou'd not have arisen.'

¹⁴ Add. MS. 52780, Collingwood to Edward Collingwood, 28 March 1801.

¹⁵ Trotter was Melville's paymaster.

¹⁶ Add. MS. 52780, Collingwood to Edward Collingwood, 16 May 1805; cf. the letter published by Hughes, op. cit., p. 160; see also the quotation from Collingwood's letter to Walter Spencer-Stanhope, 10 July 1805, in Stirling, op. cit., i, pp. 60–61.

¹⁷ Add. MS. 52780, Collingwood to W. Spencer-Stanhope, 6 March 1806; this passage was quoted in Stirling, op. cit., i, p. 74. Nelson wrote to his wife from Leghorn in Oct. 1795: 'Collingwood is here. I see him for a day, a great comfort, a very old acquaintance. . . ' G. P. B. Neish, 'Nelson's Letters to his Wife and other Documents, 1785–1831', *Navy Records Society*, vol. c, 1958, p. 225; Collingwood wrote to Nelson on 13 April 1797: '... there are none in the fleet, few in the world that I meet with more pleasure than yourself . . . ', Add. MS. 34906, fol. 22.

FROM THE LIBRARY OF ERIC GEORGE MILLAR

This article had been written and was already in proof when the news of Dr. Millar's death on 13 January 1966 was received.

THE title of the present essay will be immediately familiar to bibliophiles as the form of words employed on the label to be found inside manuscripts belonging to the small but choice collection of Dr. E. G. Millar, sometime Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and the greatest expert on medieval illumination that this country has yet produced. Dr. Millar's library includes such famous books as the *Somme le Roy*, illuminated by the late thirteenth-century Parisian artist, Maître Honoré,¹ and the York Psalter of about 1250–60.² Another important manuscript formerly in his possession is the twelfth-century St. Trond Lectionary, now MS. 883 in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York.³ The British Museum has already had cause for gratitude to Dr. Millar for the presentation of sixteen items⁴ to the Department of Manuscripts and in 1955 it acquired from him a fine twelfth-century manuscript of the Homilies of St. Gregory.⁵ It has now been so fortunate as to obtain four more manuscripts from him, one by gift (through the Friends of the National Libraries), the others by purchase.

The gift from Dr. Millar is a chartulary in roll-form of the vicars choral of Exeter Cathedral, which has been numbered Additional MS. 52779 (Pl. xvi). Imperfect, it contains the whole of twenty-four deeds and the last lines of another and the original of one of the deeds, a grant from Richard Wallerand to the vicars c. 1234-53, is in fact in Dr. Millar's possession.⁶ The first dated charter on the roll is 1232, the last 1240, and the manuscript itself may be assigned to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. It is a vital witness for the period when the vicars, like the clergy in a similar position at other English secular cathedrals, were developing from their original state of subordination to the major clerics of the cathedral into one of being an independent organization. The final act in this process occurred in 1401 by a charter of incorporation from the king.⁷ The vicars choral at Exeter were twenty-four in number, like the canons to whom they were 'attituled', and their fullest description in the chartulary is the 'viginti quatuor vicariis antiquarum prebendarum'. They are first definitely heard of during the episcopate of Henry Marshall (1194-1206) who gave them security of tenure and the church of Woodbury in Devon, the revenues of which they were to share in addition to the stipend each received *nomine domini sui*, i.e. the canon on whom he was dependent.⁸ On the back of our chartulary are early fourteenth-century copies of two deeds of the beginning of the thirteenth century relating to Woodbury.

The chartulary is concerned with the acquisition of rents by the vicars. In every case save one these are given as charity. The exception is a grant by John Anger, for which the vicars paid fifteen shillings. On other occasions, when a return is mentioned, it is a spiritual one, specified by such a phrase as 'omnium orationum et beneficiorum suorum et in uita et in morte mea participationem'. There are nine direct benefactors to the vicars, the most distinguished being Roger Fitz-Henry, Mayor of Exeter, and Archdeacon Bartholomew of Exeter. The former gives twenty-four pence a year levied on two properties outside the east gate of the city, the latter gives a parcel of five rents, making £2. 6s. 8d. in all. The appearance of the archdeacon is interesting, because it seems that his office may have had a special connexion with the vicars.⁹ After the mayor's death, his donation was to be distributed on the anniversary of this event. A similar arrangement was to prevail with the rent given by Richard de Norton, 'chaplain', whilst a certain more personal note is struck by the grant from Master Michael de Buketon. It was made for the commemoration of his own soul and that of John, parson of Farwey, and part of it was to come from a house left him by John. Amongst the places in Exeter mentioned in the deeds are the modern High Street, Sidwell Street, St. Mary Arches Lane, St. David's Hill, and South Street.

Two of the manuscripts purchased from Dr. Millar are of the twelfth century. They are copies of St. Jerome's Commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, now Egerton MS 3776, and St. Augustine's treatise *De Consensu Euangelistarum*,

now Egerton MS. 3775. Of the Commentary on Jeremiah the Department of Manuscripts has only one other example, namely Royal MS. 3 B. XVI from the eleventh century, and of the *De Consensu* two others: Royal MSS. 3 B. XVII (twelfth century) and 5 D. X, fols. 1-29^b (late thirteenth century). It has no other example of Jerome on Ezekiel. The manuscript of Jerome (Pl. xvii) comes from the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, in the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century library catalogue of which in MS. 47 at Pembroke College, Cambridge, found and printed by M. R. James, it is no. xxxiii.¹⁰ On its last page (fol. 160^b) is a late twelfth-century addition 'et intercedente beato Ædmondo rege et martyre tuo. ab hostium nos defende propitiatus incursu', whilst on the spine and the front paste-down (fol. 1) is the Bury press-mark 'J·7·'. In the former case this is accompanied by the title of the book in Lombardic capitals, in the latter by the note (Pl. xviii a):

Liber sancti edmundi in quo continentur Jeronimi super Jeremiam Libri vj. in partem xx.¹¹ quos composuit. super ieremiam. Et super ezechielem libri vj. eiusdem. in partem xiiij. quos composuit. Scripsit enim beatus Jeronimus inter multa alia super Jeremiam libros xx. et super ezechielem libros xiiij. et super ysaia libros xvij.

At the end of the text of the manuscript (fol. 159, Pl. xviii c) is the further note:

Deficiunt hic libri .vij. beati jeronimi super ezechielem..	
Scripsit enim libros xiiij. super ezechielem.—	} in armario nostro sancti edmundi
Et super jeremiam. libros .xx. —————	
Et super ysaia libros xvij. —————	
Et de aliis ut patet in registro.	

Also on fol. 1 (Pl. xviii b), and on the back cover, is the signature 'Johannes Bury'. This appears to be of the first part of the fifteenth century. The two notes which we have transcribed have been thought to be by a writer who makes entries in other Bury manuscripts and whom James called 'the Librarian'. James sought to identify this person with John Boston, a monk of Bury who is said to have flourished about 1410, and to whom has been attributed the authorship of the comparative catalogue of monastic libraries known as the *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae*.¹¹ In fact it does not seem certain that the two notes are by the same hand. The first has the appearance of being written c. 1375, the second, whilst similar in general character, seems later, c. 1400. Readers will find further examples of Bury *ex libris* inscriptions in items 8a-c, from Royal MSS. 6 C. II, 7 C. V and 8 E. X, on Plate 17 of the New Palaeographical Society's First Series of Facsimiles.¹² None of these seems to be by the same hand or hands as the notes in Egerton MS. 3776, nor do these bear much resemblance to the script of certain notes in Royal MS. 8B. IV (fol. 1), which James considered by 'the Librarian' and typical in spirit of Boston. Other Museum manuscripts in which

James found 'the Librarian' active are Royal MSS. 10 B. XII (fol. 19^b) and 7 C. II (fols. 57^b, 166) and Cotton MSS. Titus A. viii (fol. 145) and Tiberius B. ii (fol. 85^b). All the entries concerned, except the second one in Royal MS. 7 C. II, comment on deficiencies in the manuscripts. The first entry in Royal MS. 7 C. II and the entries in Royal MS. 10 B. XII and Tiberius B. ii do seem to be by the same hand, which is probably that of the first note in the Jerome. They have little likeness to that of the notes in Royal MS. 8 B. IV. The *registrum* mentioned in the second note in the Jerome is probably the *Registrum Librorum Angliae*, a catalogue of patristic and a few other works in English libraries, which was compiled by the Franciscans in the mid-thirteenth century.¹³ The reference to the 'armarium' is valuable as it strengthens the evidence that a separate room as a library for the books at Bury was first constructed by Abbot Curteys (1429-45) and that before this they were still kept in a cupboard.¹⁴

Jerome's Commentary on Ezekiel was written in the years 410-15, that on Jeremiah in 415-20, both at Bethlehem, where the saint had settled in 386 and where he remained till his death thirty-four years later. Whilst the notes in Egerton MS. 3776 are correct in saying that the former work has fourteen books, they are mistaken about the latter, which never had more than six, its composition being interrupted by Jerome's death. The Egerton MS. lacks the prologue to the commentary on Jeremiah, which is present in the Royal MS. The former not only belonged to Bury St. Edmunds by the late twelfth century, it may be presumed to have been written there in the second quarter of the twelfth century. The script is a well-formed minuscule, in which ligatures of final 'n' and 't' are common, those of 'n' and 's' less frequent. A hand of c. 1200 has made several additions and corrections to the Commentary on Ezekiel. The Commentary on Jeremiah begins with a decorative initial 'U' (fol. 3; Pl. xvii), formed of strap-work and interlacing scrolls of red, blue, green, and light brown, mostly with white edging, on a ground of blue with small annulets of burnished gold. A red and white bird is introduced into the scroll-work in the centre. On fol. 90, the beginning of the second work in the manuscript, is an initial 'F' in red. The ordinary initials in the volume are in red or green. If we compare the script with that of the well-known Life of St. Edmund (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 736),¹⁵ written at Bury c. 1130-40 (possibly before 1135), we find a very close general resemblance indeed.

The Jerome is encased in a medieval binding of white skin over oak boards, with a flat spine. This has two projecting flaps at top and bottom, lined with contemporary woven material. Fastened to a staple at the bottom of the front cover are three links of a chain. There is now a white strap, with a sixteenth-century metal loop, which fits on to a pin in the middle of the back cover. Originally there were two straps, going from the front to the back, as is shown by the surviving sockets for them and their pins. The binding is of a type common

at Bury.¹⁶ The manuscript's modern history starts with its appearance in Messrs. Sotheby's rooms in 1910 as the property of Mr. George Wilson, of Redgrave Hall in Suffolk.¹⁷ Redgrave had belonged to Bury St. Edmunds before the Dissolution of the Monasteries, when it was acquired by Lord Keeper Bacon. At Sotheby's the Jerome was sold to Bernard Quaritch Ltd., with whom it remained till it was acquired by Dr. Millar in 1921.

From Quaritch Dr. Millar also purchased his manuscript of Augustine, Egerton MS. 3775 (Pl. xix). This had belonged to the Revd. Sir William Cope, Bart. (d. 1892), of Bramshill House in Hampshire.¹⁸ When the library from there was sold at Sotheby's in 1913,¹⁹ the book passed to Messrs. Maggs and from them to Lieut.-Col. W. E. Moss. At his sale on 2 March 1937²⁰ it was acquired by Quaritch and the same day came into Dr. Millar's possession. In Messrs. Sotheby's catalogue of the 1937 sale it was stated to be one of the three Bury manuscripts from Redgrave Hall, one of which we have just been discussing, sold by them in 1910.²¹ This statement is entirely without foundation, although Colonel Moss had in fact believed in a Bury provenance for the manuscript. After his acquisition of it Dr. Millar discovered in the top outer corners of three folios (1^b; 64, see Pl. xviii; and 126^b) the inscription 'S. xxx. pe. 7 ed. West.' in a thirteenth-century hand. This proved to be a hitherto unknown press-mark of Westminster Abbey, the last part standing for 'Petri et Edwardi Westmonasteriensis', which has since been discovered in four other manuscripts, namely Royal 5 B. VIII in the British Museum, E Musaco 249 in the Bodleian Library, Laing II. 515 in Edinburgh University Library, and O. IV. 6 in Hereford Cathedral Library.²² On fol. 1 of Egerton MS. 3775 is what appears to be another press- or shelf-mark: 4. 12. and on fol. 1^b the note 'per me Johannes Wodward' in a fifteenth- to sixteenth-century hand. On fol. 127^b are the notes, now almost entirely illegible:

Antonius Dunstanus monachus de Westm. (?)
 Septdecim annos natus fuit quando (?)
 Intrauit in religionem Sci. Benedicti
 Anno Regis Henrici octavi quarto'

and 'Ex dono dompni Wellys (?) monachi eiusdem loci precium iiii'. Anthony Dunstan is better known with the surname Kitchin, which he adopted on becoming Bishop of Llandaff in 1545. Before this he had been a monk of Westminster, Prior of Gloucester College, Oxford, and Abbot of Eynsham.

The *De Consensu Euangelistarum* was composed by St. Augustine in the year 400. The present copy of it is preceded by the passage from the *Retractiones*, which comments on it. The manuscript is written by apparently more than one scribe in a good English book-hand of the late twelfth century. Ruling in plummet appears. In a few cases short passages have been written in over erasures. There is a good example of dittography on fols. 70 and 70^b and many leaves have

been made up with patches before the writing was started. There are coloured initials in red, green, blue, and buff, some with white patterns formed by the plain vellum background. In default of other evidence we have no reason for thinking that the manuscript was produced other than in the scriptorium of Westminster Abbey. The Museum has only one other contemporary book from Westminster, namely Royal MS. 5 B. VIII. The script of this has no marked resemblance to that of Egerton MS. 3775. The latter has a medieval binding of white skin over oak boards, with a projecting flap at the top of the spine. There is a leather strap, originally stained pink, with a pair of circular metal plates with holes for engaging the pin, which is missing from the centre of the lower cover, and a metal end-piece. Inside each cover is an offset from a Hebrew manuscript, possibly of the thirteenth to fourteenth century.

It is always a particular joy to a collector to be able to own more than one illuminated manuscript from an atelier. This pleasure Dr. Millar has been able to have from the possession of the already mentioned York Psalter and a closely related Bible, which has now come to the Museum as Additional MS. 52778²³ (Pl. xx). The manuscript (240 mm. × 140 mm.) is a perfect example of the small-size 'students' Bible', which came into popularity in the thirteenth century and of which the Bible of William of Devon, Royal MS. 1 D. I, may be cited as another in the Museum. Dr. Millar's Bible belonged to John Ruskin and contains an erased inscription by him 'Laurence Hilliard from John Ruskin . . . April 7 1878'. The gift which this would have recorded never took place, as Ruskin changed his mind and gave Hilliard another manuscript. The Bible was acquired by Sir Sydney Cockerell on 9 April 1902 from Mrs. Severn, Ruskin's cousin and nurse, and from him it was bought by Messrs. Quaritch in 1957. From them Dr. Millar obtained it on 25 January that year. On fol. 1 it has a note 'Thomas Rant. Norwicensis hospitij Lincolniensis'. Rant, a scholar of Caius College, Cambridge, was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 22 October 1597.²⁴ The binding of the manuscript consists of wooden boards, covered with the remains of violet velvet, with two brass clasps.

The text of the Bible includes a number of uncommon features. Most of the prologues to the different books are collected together at the beginning and the books of Esdras have a most unusual arrangement. There is also an unusual beginning to Baruch. The script is a tidy, mid-thirteenth-century hand, mostly in brown ink. Some corrections occur in black ink over erasures. Several notes in plummet for the illuminator survive and the major decoration of the manuscript consists of fifty historiated and eighty decorated initials by two hands. The first and better executed 113 initials, of which thirty-four are historiated. The second executed seventeen initials, all but two of which are historiated. His work is very ordinary and not sufficiently distinguished for it to be assigned to any school. The work of the first artist is extremely close to the illumination in three

other manuscripts, namely Dr. Millar's York Psalter; the Psalter of Simon of Meopham, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1333), which belongs to Sion College, London;²⁵ and a fragmentary New Testament, in the possession of Professor F. Wormald.²⁶ The historiated initials in the Sion Psalter and Professor Wormald's New Testament are clearly by the same hand as the better initials in Add. MS. 52778, which is most likely also that responsible for the illumination of the York Psalter, although this is altogether grander and more accomplished, both in scope and execution. There need be no doubt that the two Psalters were written for use in the diocese of York, so that we seem entitled to regard all four manuscripts under discussion as products of a northern workshop, probably at York itself. A peculiarity of the Bible are several neatly executed birds in the margin.

The vast majority of English Early Gothic illumination that can be localized is associated with the southern or central regions of the country, so that our northern group is all the more interesting. Its style (we are naturally excluding from consideration the work of the second illuminator in the Bible) reveals itself as dependent on the main southern styles of book-illustration in England in the mid-thirteenth century. Compared with these it is much harder and sharper. The drawing is very firm and vigorous and the colouring strong. Characteristics of the figural work are a fondness for brown outlines, light brown shading on flesh, which contrasts with the marked whiteness of eyeballs, and deep indentations at the top of noses in profile. Hair is arranged in sweeping waves and curls. Draperies are smooth and fairly flat. The result of the treatment of the faces is to give them expressions of concentration or rather worried surprise. The facial style of the York manuscripts derives from that initiated in English illumination by that greatest of our illustrated Apocalypses: MS. R. 16. 2 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge,²⁷ probably executed about 1245-50, perhaps at the abbey of St. Albans. It is in this book particularly that we find the origins of the expressions and the nasal indentations of the York faces.

On the other hand, the York draperies do not resemble those typical of the Trinity Apocalypse and its chief followers, the Paris Apocalypse (MS. fr. 403 in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris)²⁸ and the Evesham Psalter (Add. MS. 44874 in the British Museum).²⁹ They are the most original feature in the York illumination, being not quite like anything else in English work at the time. Nearest to them are the draperies in the 'Anglo-French' style exemplified in the Bible of William of Devon, Royal MS. 1. D. I,³⁰ but these are much flatter than the York ones and without their plasticity. The more decorative elements of the York illumination seem to derive from the style of W. de Brailes, who apparently flourished at Oxford about 1230-60.³¹ In the Bible from Dr. Millar there is a greater proximity to Brailes than in the York Psalter and in any case the former is probably somewhat earlier than the latter. The period to which all the four

York manuscripts may be assigned is towards the beginning of the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

The northern, 'York school' of English thirteenth-century illumination may be truly said to be Dr. Millar's own discovery, arising from his acquisition of the York Psalter in 1945 and subsequent publication of it. It is no secret that the British Museum is envisaged by Dr. Millar as the ultimate destination of the Psalter and the proper time to discuss the 'York school' fully in these pages at least will be after the Psalter has passed to the nation. Knowing as we must the natural concomitant of that event we hope that it will indeed be long delayed.

D. H. TURNER

¹ E. G. Millar, *An Illuminated Manuscript of La Somme le Roy*, Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1953, and *The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré*, 1959.

² E. G. Millar, *A Thirteenth Century York Psalter*, Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1952.

³ E. G. Millar, *The St. Trond Lectionary*, Roxburghe Club, 1949.

⁴ Add. MSS. 42563, 42564, 42851, 43830 v, 43858, 43868, 43971, 44085 s, 45224 A and Y, 45880 A, 45907 F, 46273, 46274, 46473 L and Add. Ch. 70798.

⁵ Add. MS. 48984.

⁶ Dr. Millar also possesses another charter relating to the vicars choral, of which there is not a copy on the roll. It is a grant by Canon John of Exeter on 15 April 1266 to the brethren and sisters 'de Kalenda' in Exeter of a rent on property in Smith Street, Exeter. The almshouse for twelve poor men and twelve poor women, known as the 'Fratres Kalendarum', was dissolved and appropriated to the vicars choral by Bishop Grandison (1328-70). The vicars' college in the Kalendarhay was completed in 1388, see T. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 1744, p. 98, and K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, Manchester, 1949, p. 283.

⁷ Miss Edwards, op. cit., p. 290, gives the date as 1405. The patent, however, is dated 26 Feb. 1401 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry IV, vol. 1, 1903, p. 437).

⁸ Edwards, op. cit., p. 266, quoting Harley MS. 1027.

⁹ The Exeter historian John Vowell or Hooker (d. 1601) speaks of the Archdeacon of Exeter as having been the 'cheeffe hedd Ruler and governor' of the Vicars (John Vowell alias Hooker, *The Description of the Citie of Exeter*, translated and edited by W. J. Harte, J. W. Schopp, and H. Tapley-Soper, part ii, p. 239, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1919).

¹⁰ James, *On the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury*, Cambridge, 1895, p. 24. See also James, 'Bury St. Edmunds Manuscripts', *English Historical Review*, xli (1926), p. 256, no. 146 and N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, Royal Historical Society, 1964, p. 21.

¹¹ *On the Abbey of S. Edmund*, pp. 34-41.

¹² London, 1903-12.

¹³ R. A. B. Mynors, 'The Latin Classics known to Boston of Bury', *Fritz Saxl*, edited by D. J. Gordon, 1957, p. 200.

¹⁴ Cf. James, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁵ New Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, etc.*, 1st ser., 1903-12, pl. 113.

¹⁶ Cf. James, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁷ Sale-catalogue: 21 July 1901, lot 158.

¹⁸ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Third Report*, 1872, p. 242, item X. Other Manuscripts from Sir William Cope's collection now in the Museum are Add. 38665, 38666, 40854, and 40855.

¹⁹ The manuscript was omitted from the printed sale-catalogue of the Bramhill Parks Library (4 March 1913) and sold as lot 9A on the day.

²⁰ Sotheby's sale-catalogue: 2 March 1937, lot 53.

²¹ The other two manuscripts (lot 159) were two volumes of works of Augustine, which subsequently featured as nos. 25 and 26 of volume I of *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, by E. G. Millar, Oxford, 1927. No. 25 was lot 6 in the Chester Beatty sale of 7 June 1932. It passed to W. K. Richardson of Boston, Massachusetts (S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance MSS. in the United States and Canada*, ii, New York, 1937, p. 2300, no. 26), who bequeathed it to Harvard University in 1950.

²² Cf. Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

²³ The Bible is no. 103 in the Burlington Fine Arts Club catalogue: *Exhibition of Illuminated MSS.*, 1908, and no. 159 in catalogue of the Exhibition of Mediaeval Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1930.

²⁴ J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part i, vol. iii, Cambridge, 1924, p. 421.

²⁵ Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, *op. cit.*, no. 44.

²⁶ Sotheby's sale-catalogue: 3 April 1957, lot 91a (plate). The manuscript was one of two sold as the property of Mr. G. J. Little, the second (the Crowland Gradual) being now Egerton MS. 3759 in the British Museum.

²⁷ M. R. James, *The Trinity Apocalypse*, Roxburghe Club, 1909.

²⁸ L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en français au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1901.

²⁹ D. H. Turner, 'The Evesham Psalter', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxvii, 1964, pp. 23-41.

³⁰ E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris and Brussels, 1926, pl. 77.

³¹ S. C. Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailles*, Roxburghe Club, Cambridge, 1930; G. Pollard, 'William de Brailles', *The Bodleian Library Record*, v, Oxford, 1955, pp. 202-9.

THE COCKERELL PAPERS

SIR SYDNEY CARLYLE COCKERELL, friend of Ruskin and Morris, Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, printer and bibliophile, died on 1 May 1962, leaving an immense private archive, the bulk of which has recently been given to the Department of Manuscripts by Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, his literary executor. Mr. Blunt's supremely generous gift, one of the largest and most valuable of its kind ever made to the Museum, comprises Cockerell's personal diaries, 80 volumes in unbroken sequence from 1886 to his death (now numbered Additional MSS. 52623-702) and some 10,000 letters arranged alphabetically in 70 volumes (Additional MSS. 52703-5, 52707-73).¹ Additional MS. 52706 consists of 60 letters to Cockerell from Edmund Bishop, the liturgical scholar, kindly presented by Professor Francis Wormald, and incorporated with the main series of papers.

Cockerell's life has recently been the subject of an excellent biography by Mr. Blunt² based upon numerous interviews with his subject as well as a study of the present papers. Cockerell was born on 16 July 1867, the son of a moderately prosperous coal-merchant. As a boy he was a skilful naturalist and an assiduous collector and classifier of chalk fossils. His almost professional competence in this field earned him the respect of the distinguished palaeontologist Dr. Arthur Rowe, from whom a group of letters in the present collection³ provides early evidence of Cockerell's remarkable facility for striking up acquaintance with the eminent and quickly cementing it into friendship. The two selections of letters from his grander correspondents published during his lifetime⁴ reflect his relish for the company of important people (and earn a mild rebuke from his biographers⁵), but it would be unfair to say that they monopolized his interest. He collected friends of all sorts as energetically as he collected books, and many letters from less well-known persons thanking him in

near rapture for a tea party or a sight of his manuscripts show that he cared equally for both.

In 1882 Cockerell won a scholarship to St. Paul's. He left two years later at the age of 17½ to join the family business. The coal trade, however, gave him no satisfaction and the inflammatory quotations from Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera* and Morris's *Art and Socialism* carefully copied into his first diary betray loftier preoccupations. Philanthropy and earnest self-improvement were in the family: his father had helped Octavia Hill in her work and in 1887 Cockerell followed suit by taking charge of Red Cross Hall, her settlement in Southwark. Seventy of her brisk and businesslike letters are to be found in the present papers.⁶

It was not Cockerell's nature, however, to be content with merely reading his heroes' books. With characteristic directness he began to correspond with Ruskin, and after some two years of impatient wooing he was rewarded by the Master's leave to visit him at Brantwood, on Easter Eve 1887. His diary records the event in reverential capitals: 'Saw Him and talked to Him for an hour'; and years afterwards he wrote at the head of the page: 'First sight of a mountain.'⁷ Ruskin liked his young disciple; more invitations followed, acquaintance ripened into friendship and led, quite soon, to an experience which Cockerell always accounted one of the most important of his life. In June 1888, while he was on holiday in Normandy, Ruskin and Arthur Severn came by chance to his hotel in Abbeville. Cockerell and his companion, a young architect named Detmar Blow, were invited to join them, and for three weeks they toured the cathedrals of northern France together. For Cockerell it was a veritable epiphany, an almost mystical experience, and he was certainly fortunate to be on hand to receive what proved to be the Master's final revelation. Shortly after returning to England Ruskin fell into his last long melancholy, and although Cockerell saw him several times before his death in 1900, at his last visit to Brantwood, in 1899, the great man's recollection of him was quite gone.

Meanwhile Cockerell diligently pursued his second, and greater, idol. He first met William Morris in 1886 but they did not meet regularly until Cockerell was elected, in March 1890, to the Committee of 'Anti-Scrape', the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. The weekly committee meetings were generally followed by high tea at Gatti's, often hilariously prolonged until midnight, with Morris, Philip Webb, Emery Walker, and W. R. Lethaby. The four became his closest friends, and the heady excitement of those evenings in their company, with their discussions of art and literature and their tantalizing glimpses of the Life Beautiful, made the dreary routine of Cockerell and Company insupportable. In 1892 Cockerell sold his share of the business, in which he had bought a partnership three years earlier: an act of great courage, for with typical generosity he divided most of the proceeds of the sale among his five brothers and sisters, and thus found himself without capital, income, professional

qualifications, or prospects of employment. Characteristically, he spent his remaining savings on a seven-weeks' holiday in northern France.

It was Morris who came to his rescue, as Cockerell had perhaps hoped that he would, by inviting him to catalogue his library at Hammersmith for two guineas a week. For four memorable years he worked at Kelmscott, turning himself by degrees into Morris's private secretary and finally, in 1894, receiving an official appointment as secretary to the Kelmscott Press. Cockerell's papers will perhaps be chiefly prized for the voluminous correspondence arising from his association with Morris (whose executor he was), his family, and his circle: it includes 120 of Cockerell's own letters to Mrs. Morris,⁸ 150 to May Morris⁹ and an exchange of 90 letters with Jenny Morris,¹⁰ besides 450 letters to him from W. R. Lethaby,¹¹ 80 from J. W. Mackail,¹² Morris's biographer, 65 from F. S. Ellis,¹³ and 55 from Sir Philip Burne-Jones.¹⁴

After Morris's death in 1896 Cockerell undertook a variety of tasks, of which the most exotic was that of general factotum to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, the poet, traveller, and anti-imperialist, whom he had first met at Kelmscott in 1892. They became close friends and Cockerell was often a guest at Newbuildings, Blunt's house. During a serious illness in 1898 Blunt found Cockerell's help so useful in various personal matters that he engaged to employ him for half his time at £200 a year. His duties were miscellaneous and must often have been humdrum, as they included secretarial work, research for Blunt's books, and proof-reading; but he welcomed the introductions to society that the position gave him. His papers include one delightful by-product of this association. Returning home in the spring of 1900 from a visit to Sheykh Obeyd, Blunt's country house near Cairo, the two men called on the novelist Ouida, who was then living in near destitution at Lucca. She liked Cockerell and corresponded with him regularly until her death in 1908. Sixty of her splendid, sprawling letters are in the present collection.¹⁵

Cockerell found more conventional employment for a time through his friendship with Emery Walker, the process-engraver, who in 1900 invited him to become his business partner. In the same year Walker founded the Doves Press with T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, developing for its use a type lighter and more elegant than that of the Kelmscott Press (with which Walker had himself been closely, but not formally, associated). Cockerell later mediated in the notorious dispute between Walker and Cobden-Sanderson over the Doves Press types, which culminated in the latter's surreptitiously dropping them into the Thames from Hammersmith Bridge in 1916. The fascinating correspondence arising from the dispute was published by Cockerell,¹⁶ but the original letters, together with other unpublished letters of Cobden-Sanderson, are still among his papers.¹⁷ Cockerell could thus claim a close association with the affairs of two of the greatest of English private presses, and he had also some connexion with a

third, the Ashendene Press, which had been founded by C. H. St. John Hornby in 1894. It was Cockerell who persuaded Hornby to develop the famous 'Subiaco' type, which was prepared by the firm of Walker and Cockerell; and Hornby became one of his closest friends, as the 400 letters from him in his papers testify.¹⁸

Cockerell enjoyed his work with Walker but disliked the City atmosphere, and in 1904 he resigned his partnership. He proposed to keep himself by describing manuscripts and buying them on commission, activities in which he had already acquired great expertise and a sharp eye for a bargain. Ruskin and Morris had first aroused his interest in illuminated manuscripts, and an outlet for it was conveniently provided by the wealthy collector Henry Yates Thompson, who met Cockerell when he called to inspect the library at Kelmscott after Morris's death. The meeting was the beginning of a long, and for Yates Thompson, profitable association. Cockerell advised him about his purchases, helped M. R. James and others to write the four-volume catalogue of his collection (1898-1912), and produced monographs on two of his outstanding manuscripts, the Hours of Yolande of Flanders and the Hours of Isabelle of France.

Sixty letters from Yates Thompson in Cockerell's papers¹⁹ throw some light on their relationship, which ended unhappily. Cockerell developed an almost proprietary interest in Yates Thompson's collection, the excellence of which undoubtedly owed much to his advice. In 1917 Yates Thompson decided to sell it. Cockerell wrote in his diary (29 December 1917):

Took an autograph of Jean Dunois to Mr Yates Thomson, who horrified me by telling me in strict confidence that he had decided to put his MSS up to auction in batches. I pleaded hard for their preservation as a collection in the Fitzwilliam or elsewhere.²⁰

The laconic entry scarcely expresses Cockerell's indignation and disappointment. He had by then been Director of the Fitzwilliam for nearly ten years and had known Yates Thompson for as long again, and he would have been less than human if he had not hoped to get at least part of the collection for his museum. In a letter to Yates Thompson (24 January 1918)²¹ he listed the manuscripts obtained through his advice, reproached him with ingratitude (while denying that he had ever expected the collection to come to the Fitzwilliam), and appealed for time to raise money to buy some of the manuscripts. Yates Thompson replied with a short and not unfriendly letter promising him one manuscript for the Fitzwilliam; and with this Cockerell was obliged to be content. They remained on civil terms, but Cockerell refused to write Yates Thompson's obituary for *The Times*. Sixty-seven manuscripts—about two-thirds of the great collection—were disposed of in three sales between 1919 and 1921, and most of the rest passed at his death to his widow. In 1941, in accordance with her wishes, Mrs. Yates Thompson's executors gave the remainder of the collection (which

had been augmented by some purchases since the sales of 1919-21) to the British Museum where, with five of Yates Thomson's manuscripts previously acquired by gift or purchase, they now comprise the collection of fifty-one outstanding manuscripts which bears his name. Cockerell was no doubt disappointed at the final rejection of the Fitzwilliam's claims, but he cannot have been surprised: Mrs. Yates Thompson did not conceal her dislike of him.²²

Set beside the total of Cockerell's achievements at the Fitzwilliam, however, his failure to secure the Yates Thompson MSS. seems almost insignificant. He had hankered for museum work ever since his resignation from Cockerell and Company. In 1892 he applied for the curatorship of the Sheffield Museum, but he was mistaken in believing the post to be vacant. He applied for the curatorship of the Soane Museum but, not being an architect, he was ineligible for the appointment. His first attempt to obtain employment at the Fitzwilliam was in 1897, when he wrote to the Director, M. R. James, soliciting the post of Assistant Director. James's reply (1 October 1897) is distinctly ironical in view of Cockerell's subsequent work at the Museum:

I don't candidly think that there is enough work at the Fitzwilliam for two: I know that I often regarded myself as a luxury when I was Assistant Director. And that is why when I became Director I induced the Syndicate to discontinue the office.

At the same time, if I saw a prospect of getting hold of your services in some capacity at Cambridge I should jump at it.²³

The correspondence was the beginning of a life-long friendship with James: there are 120 letters from him, many of the greatest scholarly interest, in Cockerell's papers.

In 1908 James resigned the Directorship of the Fitzwilliam and after a campaign of energetic canvassing Cockerell was appointed by the Syndics to succeed him. His work for the Museum, over which he presided for thirty years, may be summarized in his own words: 'I found it a pigstye; I turned it into a palace.'²⁴ To achieve this metamorphosis he relentlessly pursued the rich, the great, and the famous, demanding—and getting—their money and possessions for his Cambridge treasure-house. His ability to get blood out of stones was legendary, and there were few men who did not tremble for the security of their collections, if they were worth consideration, when Cockerell called on them. During his Directorship he obtained for the Museum bequests and gifts of money totalling more than £250,000, besides art-treasures of a far greater value; and when he retired, in 1937, the Fitzwilliam was one of the finest and most attractive museums in the world.

Cockerell's work for the Fitzwilliam made him a national figure with a vast circle of friends and acquaintances, and he continued to make new ones almost to the day that he died. A tireless correspondent himself, he seemed to inspire

the same industry in others. Numerous letters from a whole gallery of notables are to be found in his papers: a representative handful would include Walter de la Mare (70 letters),²⁵ Charlotte Shaw (75 letters),²⁶ Sir Alec Guinness (65 letters),²⁷ John Masefield (50 letters),²⁸ Charles Ricketts (160 letters),²⁹ W. M. Ivins (75 letters),³⁰ Graily Hewitt (90 letters),³¹ Siegfried Sassoon (60 letters),³² A. C. Benson (120 letters),³³ and the first Lord Wavell (100 letters).³⁴ He enjoyed basking in the reflected glory of these eminent friends and made no secret of it, but he sometimes viewed his own situation with more detachment than was apparent to observers. He wrote to Viola Meynell on 7 April 1930:

However successful I may have been as a Museum official, I am in most other respects a quite insignificant person. Strip off the veneer of distinguished men and women from whose friendship I have gained an unfair lustre, and what remains?³⁵

What remains is revealed on almost every page of his diaries and in every volume of his letters: a life of extraordinary interest and tireless activity, to which his vast archive is a monument as impressive as the elegant Fitzwilliam itself.

M. A. F. BORRIE

¹ The diaries from 1932 onwards, Add. MSS. 52670-702, are reserved from public use until 1994. Letters of living persons are reserved during their lifetime.

² Wilfrid Blunt, *Cockerell*, 1964.

³ Add. MS. 52750, ff. 141-86.

⁴ *Friends of a Lifetime*, ed. Viola Meynell, 1940; *The Best of Friends*, ed. Viola Meynell, 1956. The letters of some persons represented in these volumes, notably Thomas Hardy, G. B. Shaw, and T. E. Lawrence, were disposed of by Cockerell in his own lifetime and are not in the present collection.

⁵ Blunt, p. 290.

⁶ Add. MS. 52722, ff. 16-97.

⁷ Add. MS. 52624.

⁸ Add. MS. 52738.

⁹ Add. MS. 52740.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 52739.

¹¹ Add. MSS. 52730-2.

¹² Add. MS. 52734, ff. 1-103.

¹³ Add. MS. 52715, ff. 6-90.

¹⁴ Add. MS. 52708, ff. 115-75.

¹⁵ Add. MS. 52744.

¹⁶ *Friends of a Lifetime*, pp. 223-43.

¹⁷ Add. MS. 52710, ff. 170-222.

¹⁸ Add. MSS. 52734, 52735.

¹⁹ Add. MS. 52755, ff. 152-244.

²⁰ Add. MS. 52654.

²¹ Printed in Blunt, pp. 145-7.

²² Blunt, p. 148.

²³ Add. MS. 52728, f. 4-4^b.

²⁴ Blunt, p. 135.

²⁵ Add. MS. 52712, ff. 31-112.

²⁶ Add. MS. 52752, ff. 212-97.

²⁷ Add. MS. 52717, ff. 31-146.

²⁸ Add. MS. 52735, ff. 36-128.

²⁹ Add. MS. 52746.

³⁰ Add. MS. 52726, ff. 160-293.

³¹ Add. MS. 52721, ff. 117-224.

³² Add. MS. 52752, ff. 29-98.

³³ Add. MS. 52705, ff. 1-180.

³⁴ Add. MS. 52759, *passim*.

³⁵ Blunt, p. 273.

THE Department of Manuscripts acquired in 1963 a long dispatch from Henri II of France to his ambassador in Rome, Philibert (II) Babou de la Bourdaisière,¹ Bishop of Angoulême (Add. MS. 51020C); the main portion is dated at St. Germain-en-Laye on 3 December 1558 and gives in some detail Henri II's reactions to the recent death of Mary, Queen of England, on 17 November. The dispatch was not sent until a postscript had been added, dated 10 December, and the whole signed by the king² and subscribed by Florimond Robertet, seigneur d'Alluye.³ The confidential contents were largely written in cipher. By the mid-sixteenth century European diplomats were using a large number of simple substitutional ciphers,⁴ and this cipher was not the only one that Babou used—another is found in a letter he wrote on 27 August 1558 to Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine,⁵ for instance. Nor was it that used by one of his predecessors as ambassador at Rome, Jean Paul de Selve, in a dispatch of 26 December 1556 also in the Museum (Egerton MS. 26, fols. 75–80b), although some symbols are common to both; but it does reappear in dispatches from Babou to Henri II. One of these has a contemporary key written over some sections in cipher,⁶ and with the help of this it is possible to identify most of the symbols used in Add. MS. 51020C. (When this manuscript was sold in Paris in 1877, it was accompanied by a decipherment;⁷ but the two, regrettably, have not remained together.)

The death of Mary, Queen of England, affected the French king in several ways, as this dispatch demonstrates. It strengthened his insistence, in the peace negotiations which were proceeding slowly towards the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, that the French should retain Calais (taken by them on 7 January 1558), because Philip of Spain was no longer bound by honour to press for its restitution to his wife Mary.⁸ Philip, however, was the source of a fresh and major cause of anxiety, for Henri II had information 'de tres bon lieu' that Philip had foreseen the death of Mary six months since and had already plans under way to marry her successor Elizabeth I. He hoped, by the offspring of this marriage, to establish a permanent union of England, Spain, and Flanders, an ambition previously thwarted because Mary had been childless.⁹

This was a disagreeable prospect for France, but there was a vital difference between Philip and Elizabeth ('estant lui catholique et elle et son roiaulme protestant'), on which the dispatch expanded at some length. Babou was reminded that 'tout le monde scait . . . de quelle opiniastrete elle a persevere en sa religion'; moreover 'la premiere chose qu'elle a faicte, mourant sa seur et elle entrant en Londres, a este de faire crier qu'elle vouloit persister en sa religion et que chacun creust ce qu'il vouldroit, ne voullant contraindre personne de prendre aultre foy ne creance que celle qu'il vouldroit tenir'. This sort of activity

—'Voila la creance de la nouvelle reine protestante', the king concluded—did not suggest that Elizabeth would turn Roman Catholic, as Philip requested; marriage with a Protestant would not be in harmony with Philip's manner of life hitherto, and it was difficult to believe that the Pope would grant the necessary dispensation. There were strong influences, therefore, against the proposal but, as its implications were so far-reaching, Babou was ordered to confirm the Pope, as much as possible, in opposition to it; 'vous advisant, Mons. d'Angoulême, que je vous ai faict tout ce discours, pour ce qu'il est necessaire pour le bien de mon service, et prevenir de bonne heure et preparer le Pape; de lui donner ceste impression avant que les espaignols viennent a le gaigner et lui faire entendre les choses aultrement'.

The final section of the dispatch of 3 December refers to various details, two of which can be noted in passing. Henri II was going to write to the Maréchal de Brissac, Charles de Cossé, who was Lieutenant-General of the French forces in Piedmont, to be favourable towards the Archbishop of Turin, who (as other correspondence shows¹⁰) was complaining of a tax imposed by Brissac on his archbishopric. Also the king's thanks were to be conveyed to Cardinal Carlo Carafa and his brother Giovanni, Duca di Paliano (two relations of the Pope who exercised a tyrannical authority over the city of Rome), for safeguarding the arrival, at the port of Civita Vecchia in the papal territories, of a large sum of money destined for the French forces at Montalcino in Tuscany.

After the fall of Siena in April 1555, some of the Sienese had established themselves at Montalcino, a small fortress on the route to Rome;¹¹ this had been allowed in the terms of the capitulation of Siena and Babou had in 1556 helped to fix the boundaries of this little republic.¹² Its existence was largely dependent on the presence of French troops and Babou's original instructions as ambassador to Rome, dated 13 April 1558, had ordered him to confer in Montalcino, if possible, with Fransisco d'Este, commander of the French forces there, and tell him that Henri II was sending money.¹³ The money mentioned retrospectively in Add. MS. 51020C seems to have arrived in Montalcino on 25 October,¹⁴ but a problem arose almost immediately about its use. This is the subject of the postscript, dated 10 December, in Add. MS. 51020C, which states that a dispatch had been received from d'Este confirming that foreign moneys in the papal territories had been the subject of a 'descry',¹⁵ literally a crying down or depreciation by proclamation, and other letters show that the use of foreign moneys had been effectively stopped.¹⁶ In this postscript Henri II asks Babou to remind Carafa how difficult it was, both for the soldiers and for the Tuscans, to subsist while such a measure continued. It had continued some little while by 10 December, for on 5 November Babou had received an express messenger from d'Este about the stoppage and he had written immediately to Charles de Guise that 'les capitaines et soldats sont en une peine et angustie extreme' because of it.¹⁷ The

soldiers, however, were not to remain in Montalcino much longer; they left after the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (April 1559) and Montalcino was occupied by the Duke of Florence.¹⁸

The dispatch of 3/10 December arrived in Rome on 4 January 1559, according to the endorsement it now bears, and Babou's reply is dated 7 January.¹⁹ On the main subject, Babou judged that a marriage of Elizabeth and Philip was unlikely and that, even if it were contemplated, the Pope would not grant 'la dispense'. (According to the dispatch Babou sent on the 25 December 1558, the Pope then thought that Elizabeth would marry one of her own countrymen.²⁰) News of Mary's death had reached Rome some time before and the manner of its coming had caused embarrassment to the French representative there. An 'Advis' from Flanders had arrived in Rome on 4 December 1558 stating that the French were asking the Pope to declare the succession of Elizabeth invalid because of her birth; in fact Babou had not received certain news of Mary's death until 12 December²¹ and he had protested vigorously to Carafa that the Flemish report was false. Carafa replied that it was a Spanish ruse to irritate Elizabeth against the French and the Pope.²² Babou also stated that he had conveyed the king's thanks about the money for Montalcino to Carafa, who had spoken in reply of his attachment to Henri II.

The sincerity of either of these remarks of Carafa was questionable (he was leaning increasingly towards the Spanish interest, according to observations of Babou dated 16 December 1558²³) but they illustrated the position of Rome as a centre for the conflict of French and Spanish interests. Pope Paul IV, once pro-French, had abandoned his political enterprises after the humiliating peace of September 1557 in order to concentrate his energies against Protestantism; since then Spanish influence over him had been increasing and Babou had arrived in Rome earlier in 1558 expressly to combat this trend. His letters record varying success—early in 1559 he mentions rebuffs for the Spanish ambassador Vargas,²⁴ but soon after the obsequies for Charles V on 4 March included tableaux which were manifestly directed against the French.²⁵ Emphasis on French opposition to the Protestants was one aspect of the attempt to increase French influence at Rome. The second set of instructions issued to Babou in 1558 told him to inform the Pope of Henri II's efforts to stamp out Protestantism in France²⁶—not that these were just beginning, for his whole reign had been characterized by a 'methodical fury of repression'²⁷ which had spelled violent death for many Protestants who would not renounce their faith.

In the letters Babou sent to Henri II during the early months of 1559,²⁸ Italian affairs and diplomatic struggles at Rome occupy much more space than the unlikely union of Philip of Spain and Elizabeth of England. The possibility of this union had provoked Henri II to lengthy consideration in December 1558, but it did not long continue a pressing concern. Before the treaty of

Cateau-Cambrésis was signed, early in April 1559, Philip had agreed to marry Elisabeth de Valois, daughter of Henri II, and with the signing of that peace the concerns of Henri II's dispatch to Rome, of 3 and 10 December 1558, largely reached their conclusion. J. L. M. GULLEY

¹ For whom there are imperfect accounts in *Dict. de biographie française*, iv, cols. 1033-4 and F. Vindry, *Les Ambassadeurs français au XVI^e siècle*, 1903, p. 39; also E. Henry and H. Lorient, 'Notice sur Philibert Babou de la Bourdaisière . . .', *Travaux de l'Acad. Impériale de Reims*, xxvii, 1857-8, pp. 225-36. There is one holograph letter of Babou in the Museum, Eg. MS. 22, fol. 42.

² Other signatures include Cotton MS. Caligula E. v, fols. 53b, 59b, Eg. MS. 5, fols. 4-14 *passim*; Cotton MS. Vespasian F. iii, fol. 56 is a holograph letter.

³ Since such letters were normally countersigned by a Secrétaire d'Etat, it might be expected that this countersignature is of Florimond Robertet, seigneur de Fresne, who was created Secrétaire in 1558 (Alluye not until 1560). But it is clearly the same as that of Bibl. Nat. Paris [henceforth B.N.] MS. fr. 15877, fol. 88, a letter of Alluye to Fresne, 1562, and of 3199, fol. 73, a letter of 1568, after Fresne's death. Alluye was working in 1559 under Du Thier, the Secrétaire whose province of affairs included Rome, and he succeeded to this province on Du Thier's death in 1560 (N. M. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the age of Catherine de Medici*, 1962, pp. 30, 104). There are counter-signatures of Alluye also in Harl. MS. 7016, fol. 3, Eg. MS. 1980, fol. 66, Add. MS. 24024, fol. 5; and of Fresne in Eg. MS. 5, fol. 2. Add. MS. 41131, fol. 1-2b is a holograph letter of Fresne.

⁴ G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 1955, pp. 247-50.

⁵ B.N. MS. fr. 20443, pp. 189, 189b.

⁶ B.N. MS. fr. 3138, fol. 35b (11 June 1558); cf. also 20443, pp. 205-9.

⁷ E. Charavay, *Inventaire des autographes et des documents historiques composant la collection de M. Benjamin Fillon, Séries I et II*; sale 16-17 Feb. 1877, lot 125.

⁸ Calais was a subject of dispute until March 1559 (N. M. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 92; A. de Ruble, *Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, 1889, pp. 18-26; correspondence of Elizabeth I and her ministers at Cateau-Cambrésis, Feb. 1559, Cotton MS. Galba C. I, fols. 10-26).

⁹ Philip's negotiations with Elizabeth are expanded in Tomás Gonzalez, 'Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey Don Felipe Segundo de España, por lo tocante á sus relaciones con la reina Isabel de Inglaterra . . .', *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, vii, 1832, pp. 251-68.

¹⁰ Babou to the Cardinal of Lorraine, 4 Nov. 1558 (*Archivio Stor. Italiano, Appendice*, viii, 1850, p. 446). A letter of Babou to Brissac, 7 Nov. 1558 (B.N. MS. fr. 20527, fol. 67), concerns a similar exaction.

¹¹ On the republic at Montalcino see A. de Ruble, op. cit., p. 60; *Cal. S.P. Foreign 1553-8*, pp. 169, 259, 374; G. Molini, 'Documenti riguardanti la repubblica senese ritirata in Montalcino (1556-1558)', *Archivio Stor. Italiano, Appendice*, viii, 1850, pp. 389-488.

¹² *Dict. de biogr. française*, iv, col. 1033.

¹³ Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5416, pp. 1385-92; B.N. MS. fr. 16038, pp. 1-6 (copies). Some correspondence of Babou and d'Este, Nov. 1558-Mar. 1559, is in B.N. MS. fr. n.a. 1201, fols. 64-82 *passim*.

¹⁴ According to a letter from Paul de Baillon to Henri II, 15 Nov. 1558 (*Archivio Stor. Italiano, Appendice*, viii, 1850, pp. 449-50, from B.N. MS. fr. 3151, fols. 52 *seqq.*).

¹⁵ Probably the letter from Francisco d'Este to Henri II, 15 Nov. 1558 (*Archivio . . .*, *ibid.*, pp. 456-62, from B.N. MS. fr. 3141, fols. 88-89, 47-49; see esp. p. 460).

¹⁶ *Archivio . . .*, *ibid.*, pp. 447, 451, 455.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

¹⁸ G. R. Elton (ed.), *New Cambridge Modern Hist.* ii, 1958, p. 273; *Cal. S.P. Foreign 1558-9*, pp. 433, 436, 456, 549.

¹⁹ B.N. MS. fr. 20443, pp. 205-9; original. G. Mattingly, op. cit., pp. 60, 303 comments on the time letters took to travel at this period.

²⁰ G. Ribier, *Lettres et mémoires d'estat*, ii, 1666, pp. 776-7; several manuscript copies (see n. 28 below) including B.N. MS. fr. 17826, fols. 79-83.

²¹ This is clear from his dispatch of 12 Dec. (G. Ribier, *ibid.*, p. 774).

²² William Brooke, Lord Cobham, appears to

have taken this rumour seriously and notified Elizabeth I of it in a letter from Bruxelles, 13 Dec. (*Cal. S.P. Foreign* 1558-9, pp. 30-31).

²³ G. Ribier, *ibid.*, p. 775; similar observations occur in the dispatch of 6 Dec. (copy in B.N. MS. fr. 16038, pp. 84-85).

²⁴ Dispatch of 2 Feb. 1559 (B.N. MS. fr. 17826, fols. 84b, 85; copy).

²⁵ Dispatch of 22 March 1559 (G. Ribier, *ibid.*, p. 792).

²⁶ These instructions are undated. Contemporary minutes of them in B.N. MS. fr. 17840, fols. 245-96; copies in 15870, fols. 28-32b and Cinq Cents Colbert MS. 102, fols. 131-7b. For an example of Babou's anti-Protestant sentiments, in another context, see MS. fr. 3122, fols. 44-46.

²⁷ Expression of F. C. Spooner, 'The Reforma-

tion in difficulties. France 1519-59', *New Cambridge Modern Hist.* ii (ed. G. R. Elton), 1958, p. 224.

²⁸ A series of fourteen letters from Babou to Henri II, 12 Dec. 1558-10 May 1559, survives in copies in B.N. MS. fr. 3102, fols. 35-63 (16th cent., missing fols. 52 and 53), Cinq Cents Colbert MS. 343, pp. 180-319 and Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5416, pp. 1488-1570 (both 17th cent.), and B.N. MS. fr. 16038, pp. 89-161 (18th cent.). Originals of 7 Jan., 4 March, and 10 May are B.N. MS. fr. 20443, pp. 205-9, 227, 235-41. Extracts from some letters are found in B.N. MS. fr. 17826, fols. 79-91b; 20443, pp. 215-20; 20646, fols. 153, 153b, and MS. Baluze 218, fols. 19b-22. A letter from Henri II to Babou, 13 April, is printed in G. Ribier, *ibid.*, pp. 798-9.

BRINKMANSHIP AT BLANDINGS

AN entertaining recent acquisition by the Department of Manuscripts has been the autograph notes and corrected typescript draft of Mr. P. G. Wodehouse's latest novel. Published in the United States, early in 1965, under the title *Brinkmanship at Blandings*, it appeared in this country in the late summer, shortly before Mr. Wodehouse's eighty-fourth birthday, as *Galahad at Blandings*—perhaps a more revealing title for Wodehouse fans. *Brinkmanship at Blandings*—for so the typescript is headed—was generously given to the Department by Mr. Wodehouse, through The Friends of the National Libraries. It has now been numbered Add. MSS. 52774-5.

The sheer hard work which lies behind Mr. Wodehouse's writing has often been commented on.¹ Over 150 pages of autograph notes and typed plot sequences (Add. MS. 52774), dated between 27 May 1963 and 19 November 1963, furnish an interesting record of the progress of this novel. They were added to daily for the first week. Thereafter ideas were pared and shaped without a gap of more than a few days. As early as 26 June a recognizable sequence appeared. It was built up from a series of questions phrased as if Mr. Wodehouse were talking to himself, adding, rejecting, and sifting. On 30 May, for example:

Have Ld E get married at end to woman who is tough but goldenhearted. Cd she be Whipple?

Or on 10 June, in quest for a man to be a 'souse':

Oh, dash it, it can't be Vosper. He got married to Gloria Salt at end of Pigs have Wings. Unless they quarreled [*sic*] again on their journey to London.

Each idea in turn is marked with comments 'good' 'cow' 'WORK ON THIS' 'TRY THIS'.

By the time the draft itself, a bulky typescript of 220 pages (Add. MS. 52775), was begun on 6 September 1963, a substantial part of the work had been done, as well as some sections of dialogue written. Therefore the corrections (in red biro) were comparatively few, and allowed the whole novel to be completed by 15 February 1964, in a total writing period of just under nine months. Most of the changes are in search of the right words and phrases to fit in with the polished Wodehouse style. One of the best of them is in Chapter Seven. Martin Bagshott is in pursuit of his estranged fiancée, the latest in the line of Lord Emsworth's secretaries. His secret approach to Blandings Castle is complicated because he absentmindedly pockets a watch, belonging to the butler Beach, in the 'Emsworth Arms'. He is 'pinched' by Constable Evans but makes his escape on a bicycle:

... some time before he reached Blandings Parva the thought crossed his mind that the sooner he got rid of the velocipede, the better.

'Velocipede' is emended to read 'Arab steed'.

JENNY LEWIS

¹ Cf. Richard Usborne, *Wodehouse at Work*, 1961, pp. 16-17, where the similar autograph notes and typescript draft of *Jeeves in the Offing* are discussed.

A CATALOGUE OF B. ZIEGENBALG'S TAMIL LIBRARY

THE Department of Manuscripts has among its collection a small manuscript (Sloane 3014, size 19×23 cm., fol. 23) entitled 'Verzeichnis der Malabari-schen Bücher'. There is a note in the Department's *Catalogue of the Sloane, Birch and Additional Manuscripts*, dated 1782, which describes the manuscript as '... Catalogus linguâ Germanicâ, à Missionariis Evangelicis in urbe Tranquebar, an. 1709¹) compositus, quo recensentur 112 librorum Malabaricorum, inscriptiones breviores eorumque contenta indicatur'. To this the *List of Oriental Manuscripts*, vol. 1, in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts adds 'see Bibliotheca Rostgardiana . . . vendenda Hafniae, Anno 1726 . . .'. The manuscript is written in German, in a thin ornate hand, and is quite obviously a catalogue of Tamil books, 'Malabari' being the name by which Tamil was generally known among the Portuguese and the other Europeans who reached India soon afterwards. Reading through the little manuscript and comparing its contents with letters and documents relating the stormy beginning of the Tranquebar mission, one sooner or later comes to the conclusion that its author is the German missionary and scholar Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) who, in

1708, wrote a short catalogue of his Tamil² library in Tranquebar and sent it, together with some other manuscripts, to Denmark the same year.³

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg was one of the first Europeans to study the Tamil language and his *Grammatica Damulica*, published in Halle in 1716, is probably the earliest work on Tamil printed in Europe. In 1706 he was sent to Tranquebar by the Danish King Frederik IV to convert the King's Indian subjects to the Lutheran faith and for the next ten years, until he died in 1719, he worked steadfastly towards this aim and towards an unravelling of the 'Malabari' religion—a task for which, in his own opinion, a knowledge of the language and a good store of vernacular books were of the utmost importance.

Though Ziegenbalg had none of the poetic gifts of Beschi, another pioneer in the field of Tamil studies, he was still a brilliant linguist. Soon after his arrival in India he invited a Tamil schoolmaster together with his little school into his house and, squatting on the ground amongst a crowd of local urchins, he learned to draw Tamil characters in the sand without understanding their meaning. With the help of a native interpreter who knew some Portuguese he soon progressed and only two years later he had read his way through 112 'very difficult books'.⁴ Beside his mission work, the organization of a charity school, and the time-consuming conflict with the town's Danish commandant Hassius, he found enough time to pursue his linguistic studies.

... From seven to eight I repeat all the Malabari words and phrases I have already written down. From eight to twelve I read some Malabari books I have not read before in the presence of an old poet and one of my Malabari scribes. The poet has to explain the stories to me and if a verse is particularly difficult and obscure he will explain this too. The scribe has to take down all the words and phrases I have not read before in any other book. In the beginning I had also an interpreter with me by the name of Alepla but this is no longer necessary. ... From three to five I again read Malabari books. At this time I always choose just one author and study him properly; after I have done so I take another author and start all over again. ... From seven to eight one of my Malabari scribes reads aloud to me because I find it very difficult to read by artificial light. On this occasion I always choose a book written in such a style as I would like to imitate in my speech and in my writing. Sometimes I made my scribe read one and the same book a hundred times until in the end there was no word and no phrase I did not know thoroughly. This method has helped me to gain a certain stability in this language. ...⁵

Ziegenbalg was obviously quite resourceful when it came to building up his vernacular library. In the beginning he made his scribes copy some of the palm-leaf manuscripts but later, when this proved too long and wearisome a method, he began buying them from Brahmin widows living in the neighbourhood of Tranquebar. Often the owners were a little reluctant to sell their sacred manuscripts to a Christian missionary who, in his own words, was only using 'their own books against them ... to prove the absurdity of their religion'⁶ but in most cases Ziegenbalg found ways to overcome this difficulty.

Most of the 112 books described in the catalogue are concerned with Hindu religion but a few deal with grammar, poetics, fortune-telling, ethics, extracts from the Śāstras, and there is one work on medicine. All Tamil names and words are spelled phonetically, i.e. the way a German-speaking person on hearing a particular word would write it down according to German rules of spelling. This type of transliteration does not always safeguard consistency; the name of the god Kṛṣṇa, for example, is spelt in three different ways, Kischnám, Kitschnam, and Kischten. Since Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts do not generally give the name of the author, Ziegenbalg seems to have relied, as far as this point was concerned, mostly on information he obtained by word of mouth from his 'old school-master', the native poet he kept permanently in his house, or learned 'Malabaris' with whom he was acquainted. Therefore we occasionally find a wrong author attributed to one particular work, a confusion between two works, especially in the case of commentaries, or the description of a work which, being of local fame only, does not seem to have found a permanent place in the history of Tamil literature.

The importance of this manuscript lies in the fact that it is far more than a mere book-list. In his naïve and rather endearing style the author rambles on about personal experiences and observations, everyday incidents in Tranquebar, local legends he had been told—in short about everything that crosses his mind whilst writing. In this way we are allowed interesting glimpses of 'Malabari' social life and popular Hinduism as they must have appeared to a foreign missionary at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

There is, for example, book no. 2 called Kárigei, a metrical compendium of the art of prosody. The description of this work runs as follows:

... [*Kārikai*] shows sixteen different types of verses, explaining how, according to the rules of art and grammar, one can modify verses in such a way that they suit different melodies just as happens in the case of our own songs. The author of this book, Ammúda Ságarrer [*Amirta-Cākaran*] lived some hundred and fifty years ago.

So far Ziegenbalg has limited himself to a discussion of the literary aspects but now he continues:

He was a hermit and he learned this art from a great prophet who, together with some thousand other prophets, is still living inside a mountain. This great man of the name of Agestier [*Agastya*] once drank the whole sea empty and discharged it again through his urine; this, the Malabaris think, is the reason why sea water tastes salty. The mountain where this prophet lives is called Bodiamamálei, it is a fifteen days journey from here. Kárigei was first written in verse by the author himself, then another poet wrote a commentary; therefore under every verse one can find its appropriate explanation. Nevertheless it is one of the most difficult books the Malabaris have and it can only be found in the possession of poets.

Book no. 7 describes the *Kural* or, as he calls it, the Diruwalluwer which is in fact the name of its author Tiru-Valluvar.

A book on morals in verse form, by its material not unlike the writings of Seneca. The Malabaris think very highly of it and it is indeed one of the most learned and edifying books found among them. High-class Malabaris often make it their handbook and whenever one enters into a discussion with them they are always ready to quote a few verses from it to prove the validity of their words. It is the habit of educated Malabaris to confirm and demonstrate everything with one or the other verse; to do so is considered a great art amongst them. Therefore such books are not just read but learnt by heart. The poet I have in my house knows this book by heart and many other difficult books too, and though he is blind, he can still recite them quite accurately. The author of this book was called Diruwalliwer, he was a noble poet and lived at the same place where the holy Apostle Thomas had lived and preached the Gospel. In the opinion of the poets this book is one and a half thousand years old. The verses are very short and thoughtful; quite often one single verse covers a considerable amount of material. Only advanced schools teach this book since it would be much too difficult for young people.

Book no. 25 called Abirāmiantādi (*Apirāmi-antāti*) is, according to Ziegenbalg, a collection of 'songs about a goddess called Abirāmi (*Apirāmi*) who is the protectress of Tirúkarawúr (*Tirukkāṭavūr*)' but at this point his mind, obviously used to thinking in chains of associations, begins to wander and he continues:

... a town where three temples have been built together with such regularity, it almost seems as if the builders had observed the rules guiding the construction of the Temple of Solomon. The first entrance is open to all Malabaris and it is full of idols. The second entrance can only be used by those who have purified themselves from sin; here the largest idols are housed. The third entrance is like the Holy of Holies; it holds only very small pictures. There the god without pictures is worshipped whom they call Barabara Wahtu [*Parāparavastu*],⁷ or Being of all Beings. I have visited this place myself and once I had a discussion there with more than a hundred Malabaris and learned Pantarams. On this occasion I also recited the twenty-six Malabari sermons I preach in our church 'Jerusalem'.

Describing book no. 74 called Mādananūl (*Mātunūl*), his Lutheran puritanism gets the better of him and he remarks disapprovingly:

... a very indecent book for whores. It paints in strong colours the unchaste spirit that rules amongst these heathenish Malabaris. They are attracted by no other sin as much as by the sin against the 6th Commandment. The reason for this lies partly in their own sinful flesh and blood, and partly in the strange stories told about their gods who themselves indulge frequently in such activities. Therefore this particular sin is not even considered a very grave one.

Book no. 78 refers to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or, as he calls it, the Barada Sastiram (*Pārata Sāstiram*),

... an elucidation of music as applied to singing, dancing and playing where everything is arranged to a definite rhythm. Young people study this book at school, especially those

maidens who sing and dance in the service of the temple gods. Amongst the Malabaris they alone know how to read and write the Malabari language, but usually one does not find women competent in this art except perhaps royal or noble personages. Still, I have started a Malabari school in my house which accomodates more girls than boys and I am quite confident the girls will be able to hold their own against the boys.

A devout Lutheran, brought up to abhor the Catholic taste for representations of saints and members of the Holy Family, he was often appalled and bewildered by the sheer magnitude of Hinduism, the intricate principles of the Śāstras and the multitude of gods and goddesses who, to the initiate, are only symbolic manifestations of one and the same principle but still absolute within the sphere of concrete reality. Educated before Newton laid the foundations for modern experimental science by splitting nature into her various aspects which could all now be studied in isolation, he struggled hard to find explanations which did not damage the essential wholeness of his imaginary universe. Describing book no. 12, obviously a commentary of the *Kanda-purāṇam*, he wearily concludes:

... hundreds of gods are mentioned in this book, all of them implicated in this war. Though it is one of their oldest books, even some of the Malabaris realise that one can not possibly believe everything that is written therein; still, most of them say that since it all happened in a previous world it might well be true. People were quite different in those days. They do not understand that for this very reason the author is even more at liberty to tell lies; since it all happened in a previous world, nobody can now go and make inquiries. Such arguments prove absolutely nothing and the whole story is in fact only a tale. But up to the present day the poor Malabaris have always allowed themselves to be cheated and deceived by their clever poets.

The further he penetrated the intricate network of Hindu mythology the more this weariness increased. Like many before and many after him he was, at times, overawed by the strange tolerance of this heathenish faith which instead of defending itself against alien ideas tried to accommodate them within its framework and by doing so remained unchanged and often victorious too. Book no. 104 called *Mudirei* (*Mūturai*) is according to his description:

... a moral book full of beautiful similes taken from nature. Like all these books it shows that even after the wretched Fall of Man these heathens had the Law written in their hearts. This fact manifests itself again and again in their literature and I can truly say that I have found a much higher level of morality in their books and their speeches than was common amongst the Greek and Roman heathens. Therefore, if one leads a pious and virtuous life amongst them, they are in full agreement with us Christians and they love those who have devoted themselves to virtue but if one tells them about Christ, the importance of baptism and other things necessary for the attainment of bliss, then they will not argue, but at the same time they will refuse to accept one's words, saying that a man who leads a good life will reach a good place after his death, but one who leads an evil life will find himself in an evil place of residence whether he was a heathen, a Turk, a Jew or a Christian. It is extremely difficult to contradict their faulty way of reasoning and show them the necessity of having faith in Christ. On the other hand, if one

tells them about the absurdities which surround their own gods and asks how they can possibly believe in them they just laugh, indicating by their behaviour that they themselves have but little faith in them. Often they will put such sentiments in words, mostly when there is a large crowd present to listen. One almost meets amongst these heathens a situation similar to the one the New Testament relates about Jesus, that whenever he preached to a large crowd he caused friction because there were always some who accepted the truth of his words and others who blasphemed him. In the same way whenever, in all modesty, one talks to these heathens about the truth of Christianity and the absurdities of their own gods, two groups will take shape: some will listen with reservations whereas others will accept everything with great humility and never grow tired of asking questions. But just as the Bible tells us that even amongst those who believed Jesus' words only a few agreed to be baptised, though this was the aim of his sermon, in the same way there are many Malabaris who have a high opinion of our Christian religion but only a few of them will agree to be baptised.

Apart from its literary and ethnological value, the discovery of this manuscript raises a rather interesting question, the question of the Ziegenbalg manuscripts in general. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg has been relatively unlucky with his written works. Sent out for the sole purpose of converting the heathen to Christianity, his interest in vernacular literature and Hinduism was often viewed with alarm by his more conventional colleagues. Angrily his teacher August Herman Francke replied after receiving the manuscript of the *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* that it was impossible to have a book of this nature published in Germany or elsewhere in Europe; the missionaries had not been sent out to 'spread this heathenish nonsense in Europe'⁸—a charge which, in a somewhat different manner, had once been levelled against Roberto de Nobili. In fact, the manuscript was not published until 1867. Even his Tamil-German, German-Tamil dictionary, a work not likely to offend the pious, did not find interested publishers. Like so many pioneers, Ziegenbalg had been far ahead of his own time. It took another century before Indology began to establish itself as a serious branch of academic studies. In the meantime a good number of his manuscripts, mainly those not directly connected with mission work, like his Bible translations, lay forgotten and were eventually lost. There is, for example, the often-mentioned dictionary of poetic words and phrases which, according to his letters, was sent to Denmark in 1708 as part of the 'Bibliotheca Malabarica'. Since the 'Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher', which travelled in the same parcel, has obviously been lying unrecognized since it was bought by Sir Hans Sloane in 1726, it is quite possible that the dictionary too is still awaiting discovery in some European library.

ALBERTINE GAUR

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¹ The catalogue is, in fact, wrong by one year. The date of composition is definitely 1708.

² See a letter written on the 22 Aug. 1708 reprinted in B. Ziegenbalg's *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, pt. ii, p. 6. See also D. Arno Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, pp. 86, 120.

³ B. Ziegenbalg, *An Account of the Malabarians* published in *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, p. 29: '... much more could be said here of the Books of this Nation, but I refer the Reader to my Bibliotheca Malabarica, sent to Europe some time since, and dedicated to the Reverend D. Lutkins, at Copenhagen; wherein I have drawn up a pretty long Catalogue of their Books or Compositions, and made some short Annotations concerning the Contents and Authors of them, and the Time wherein the Books were supposed to be writ. ...'

⁴ In the catalogue Ziegenbalg repeatedly refers to a book in this manner.

⁵ See a letter of 22 Aug. 1708 printed in Ziegenbalg's *Merkwürdige Nachrichten aus Ost-Indien*, p. 14.

⁶ See a letter of 16 Sept. 1706 printed in *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, pt. i, p. 30. Similar sentiments are expressed in the *Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher*, see book no. 105: '... since those heathens understand that I am using their books against them to prove the absurdity of their religion, they have become a little mean with their books and avoid giving them to me. Everybody keeps his books bundled up and well hidden so whenever I ask for books they are in a position to pretend they do not have any. Still, with money and a little tact one can get almost anything from them, however precious. ...'

⁷ See B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the Malabari Gods*.

⁸ See B. Ziegenbalg, *ibid.* p. 7.

AN EGYPTIAN MODEL COFFIN IN GLASS

ALTHOUGH glass was commonly employed in Egypt from at least the reign of Tuthmosis III (c. 1504–1450 B.C.) for small containers for ointment and other cosmetic preparations, the material was rarely used in the manufacture of objects of purely funerary purpose. In proof it is sufficient to point to the paucity of such things among the funerary equipment of Tutankhamun.¹ Conservatism alone can hardly be the explanation of the apparent reluctance of the ancient Egyptians to manufacture funerary objects in glass. The brittle nature of the medium and a certain intractability in its working before the invention of blown-glass techniques which is usually dated to the first century A.D., are doubtless the reasons for the limitations of its use.

The recent purchase by the Trustees of a model glass coffin adds a unique example to the very small number of funerary objects in glass.² Nothing is known of its history except that at one time it was in the possession of the late Horace Beck, a noted authority on ancient beads and their classification. The model is in the shape of a mummiform coffin, measuring from head to foot 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The height is 3 inches. (No. 66654, pl. XXI). At some time before its acquisition the coffin suffered damage and some loss from a sharp blow on the crown. Made of opaque turquoise blue glass decorated by a trailing technique with opaque white, opaque yellow, and a translucent dark blue glass, the coffin

has been formed round a solid core, the remains of which are visible adhering to the inner surface of the glass. This is the same technique as that used in the fabrication of hollow glass objects such as phials and small vases, until the introduction of blown glass.

In order to determine the nature of the colorants and opacifiers used in the manufacture of the glass, minute samples were taken for X-ray diffraction analysis, and the following results were obtained:

1. *Opaque yellow glass.* The colour and opacity are due to the presence of lead antimonate ($\text{Pb}_2\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_7$).

2. *Opaque white glass.* The colour and opacity are due to the presence of calcium antimonate ($\text{Ca}_2\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_7$).

3. *Opaque turquoise blue glass.* The colour is due to the presence of copper dissolved in the glass and the opacity is due to the presence of calcium antimonate. In addition, the X-ray diffraction pattern showed that some sodium calcium silicate was present in relatively large crystals. This indicates that incipient devitrification of the glass has taken place.

4. *Translucent dark blue glass.* The colour is mainly due to the presence of cobalt, but copper is also present and contributes to the colour.

The works of Turner and Rooksby³ and of Rooksby⁴ have shown that both calcium antimonate and lead antimonate were in use as opacifiers in glass from the period 1480 B.C. to the fourth century A.D. The presence of these opacifiers in the glass of the model coffin may, therefore, be taken as evidence that the coffin was certainly made before the fourth century A.D. and is consistent with a New Kingdom date which must be assigned to the object on stylistic grounds.

In its form and in the style of its decoration the model observes the standard conventions of painted mummiform wooden coffins of the XVIIIth Dynasty (c. 1570–1320 B.C.). The face is made as a separate piece of opaque yellow glass, a colour usually but not invariably employed in painted coffins of women, with details of the features picked out in translucent dark blue glass. Spots of a green material still adhering to the face, around the chin, proved on examination to be coloured beeswax. The face is attached by a layer of gypsum plaster. At a point where this plaster has broken away, a trace of yellow glass is visible fused into the turquoise blue glass of the coffin; it is possible, though it cannot be proved without destroying the plaster, that the yellow runs under the present face, and that the latter is a replacement. If this is so, the repair is ancient. Qualitative spectrographic and X-ray diffraction analysis of the opaque yellow and the translucent dark blue glass which are common to both the face and the coffin showed that the glass in both cases had a similar composition, thus suggesting that the face was probably contemporary with the model and was not, in fact, a later addition.

Details of the wig appear to have been originally added in paint or wax, rather than glass, and are now visible, chiefly because of the preferential weathering of the glass in these areas. Similar weathering occurs elsewhere on the model.

Over the breast, in translucent dark blue glass, is the figure of a vulture, wings outstretched, clasping the *snw*-sign in its claws. Below the bird is a vertical column formed by parallel lines of white glass in imitation of the external vertical bandage wound round mummies of the period and painted on their coffins. Five single bands of dark blue glass represent horizontal bandages. In the separate compartments so formed on the sides of the coffin are amulets and deities of significance in the funerary cult. On the left, beginning at the shoulder, is a right and left *udjat*-eye in yellow glass. There follow three standing figures in yellow, two of them in human form on either side of an ibis-headed Thoth, holding before him an emblem which on contemporary coffins appears as a standard surmounted by the sign for the sky. On the right side of the coffin Thoth appears in the same form accompanied by three human-headed deities.

At the time of the New Kingdom provision of model coffins in wood, stone, or faience, was a regular feature of Egyptian burials, as it had been in the Middle Kingdom.⁵ It was common for the coffin to hold a model figure, usually of wax, wood, or faience, giving the name and titles of the deceased. These inscribed with a form of the VIth Chapter of the *Book of the Dead* should be considered as *ushabti*-figures for the dead man which, as their number was increased, were placed in large wooden boxes. In some cases model coffins contained no more than a set of model agricultural tools, two bags, a yoke, and two hoes, with which the deceased's substitute might perform his duties. When the figures placed in the coffins were inscribed with a *hnp-di-nsw* formula, they may have served a different function, perhaps as model burials intended by some magical means to provide the dead man or woman with a reserve coffin and a substitute for the actual mummy, in which the *ba* of the deceased might find its resting place. From the careful way in which the core has been scraped from the glass model, leaving a hole approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter in the foot, it is clear that originally some object, presumably a small model figure, was introduced into the coffin, either through the aperture in the foot, or perhaps before the fitting of the present face.

The closest analogies to the model coffin are two glass *ushabti*-figures, both of which date from the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty. One is inscribed with the name of Heqreshu, a high official in the reign of Tuthmosis IV (c. 1425-1417 B.C.). It is one of three *ushabtis* of the same man, all of fine quality and prized material, found by Flinders Petrie in the course of his excavations of a mound at Abydos which, though free of actual burials, yielded a number of *ushabtis* and related objects, interred there by their owners that they might have the benefit of physical association with Abydos, the sacred city of Osiris.⁶

The other example is a *ushabti*-figure of Qenamun⁷ holder of high office under Amenophis II (c. 1450–1425 B.C.), the immediate predecessor of Tuthmosis IV. It is 15 inches high, solid cast, and one of the most remarkable pieces of ancient Egyptian glass sculpture. It has been assumed that the *ushabti* came from Qenamun's tomb at Thebes (No. 93). In view, however, of the provenance of the Heqreshu *ushabti*, of the distribution of other *ushabti*-figures of Qenamun,⁸ and similar examples,⁹ the assumption can by no means be taken for granted. The model coffin originally may have been buried in similar circumstances, rather than as part of the funerary equipment of a burial.

On the ground that two of the very rare examples of glass *ushabtis* can be dated to the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty, it is a reasonable conjecture to assign the model glass coffin to the same period. Compared with glass *ushabti*-figure of Qenamun, the coffin has little claim to consideration as an *objet d'art*; remarkable though the piece is as a technical achievement, the trailed figures of the deities in particular are maladroitly executed by the exacting standards of Egyptian workmanship and their identity certain only from parallel examples on contemporary painted coffins and stone sarcophagi. The model coffin may plausibly be considered as an early experiment in the adaption of glass for funerary objects, rejected by the Egyptians themselves because of the difficulty of decoration, and particularly of inscribing, such objects. If this is so, it explains to some extent why the flourishing glass industry of Egypt declined and virtually disappeared until its revival under foreign influence in the Ptolemaic Period.

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¹ That is to say, other than beads and inlay for jewellery incorporating amuletic designs of significance in the funerary cult which must have been specially made for the tomb. A notable exception to the absence of glass for funerary objects in the tomb is a head-rest of turquoise blue glass (D. B. Harden in *History of Technology*, Oxford, 1955, ii. 319; Penelope Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, Oxford, 1951, pl. 63b; Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (London, 1963), pl. xlii). Only a few small glass vessels were found (Lucas in Howard Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, London, 1923–33, ii. 169); they are more prolific in the equipment of Amenophis II (M. G. Daressy, 'Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois', *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1902) and of Tuthmosis IV (Carter, Newberry, and Maspero, 'The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV', *Theodore M. Davis' Excavations. Biban el Moluk*, London, 1904). Such vessels are, as so much of the objects buried in the tombs, objects of common daily use

and not funerary; much in fact of the excavated Egyptian glass vessels and fragments have come from town-sites. On the use of glass in ancient Egypt, see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. revised and enlarged by J. R. Harris (London, 1962), pp. 179 ff. and J. D. Cooney, 'Glass Sculpture in Ancient Egypt', *Journal of Glass Studies*, ii (1960), pp. 11–43.

² The acquisition of the piece was reported by Dr. A. E. A. Werner, Keeper of the Research Laboratory, in a paper read at the 3^e Congrès des Journées Internationales du Verre held at Damascus 1964. We are indebted to him and to Dr. J. Cooney, Curator of Egyptian and Classical Art, Cleveland Museum of Art, for their advice.

³ *Glastechnische Berichte*, viii (1959), pp. 17–28.

⁴ G. E. C. *Journal of Science and Technology*, xxix, no. 1 (1962), pp. 20–26.

⁵ In general see Louis Speleers *Les Figurines funéraires égyptiennes* (Brussels, 1923).

⁶ W. M. Flinders Petrie, 'The Royal Tombs of

the First Dynasty 1900 Part I, *Eighteenth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1900, pp. 32-33; D. Randall-Maciver and A. C. Mace, 'El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901', *Special Extra Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1902, p. 86 and pl. xxxix; P. E. Newberry, 'Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi', *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, no. 48329; J. Cooney, op. cit., pp. 12-13 and figs. 3-4.

⁷ N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-*

amun at Thebes (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, New York, 1930), i. 9, pl. lxix (2); J. Cooney, op. cit., p. 12, figs. 1-2.

⁸ Henri Wild, 'Contributions à l'iconographie et à la titulature de Qen-Amon', *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, lvi (Cairo, 1957), pp. 203-37.

⁹ Examples listed in Battiscombe Gunn, 'A Shawabti-figure of Puyamre from Saqqara', *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*, xxvi (1926), pp. 157-9.

A NOTE ON THE SHAH-JI-KI-DHERI CASKET INSCRIPTION

THIS inscription is on a casket which was discovered by D. B. Spooner many years ago in the excavation at the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri mounds at Peshawar.¹ It was edited first by D. B. Spooner and then by Sten Konow. Its readings and interpretation have been discussed by several scholars such as J. Marshall, N. G. Majumdar, H. K. Deb, and T. Burrow.² The latest attempt is that of B. N. Mukherjee, who has made great improvement in the reading and interpretation of the record.

According to Mukherjee, the casket was deposited at Kanishkapura, which he takes to be an old name of Peshawar. He points out that Kalhaṇa mentions in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that Kanishkapura was founded by Kanishka. But that Kanishkapura was evidently in Kashmir, not in the Punjab. If Kanishkapura was the old name of Purushapura, it looks strange that it occurs nowhere else. Everywhere the old name of Kanishka's capital occurs as Purushapura.

Mukherjee reads the fourth line of the record as follows: . . . *sa agisāla na(na)vakarmmia* (*Kanashkasa vihare Mahasenasa saṃgharama*). He translates it as follows—'sa, the superintendent of construction of the refectory in Kanishka's vihāra in Mahāsena's saṃghārāma'. He rightly points out that *navakarmika* was not the superintendent of only rebuilding or repairing. The word is used in several Kharoshthī inscriptions.³ Sten Konow has translated it variously as 'overseer', 'architect', and 'repairing architect'. It is evidently used in the same sense as *karmāntika* (Prakrit, *kammantia*) and means an overseer or superintendent.⁴ The name of the superintendent was usually mentioned in the inscriptions incised on caskets or copper plates deposited in stūpas or vihāras. In the present case also the same meaning of *navakarmika* appears to be intended.

The names of such supervisors usually occur in connexion with their official designation *navakarmika* or *karmāntika*. The same seems to have occurred in the present case. So I would take *agisāla* not in the sense of a refectory but as the personal name of the supervisor. Besides, why should a person be designated as

the supervisor of only a refectory and not of the vihāra or the stūpa? Agisāla is therefore the name of the supervisor of the vihāra as was held by Spooner, Marshall, and Konow. We need not, however, take it as the Prakrit version of a Greek proper name. The names of persons and families ending in *śāla* were not unknown in ancient India. We have the well-known instance of Gośāla (in the name Makkhali Gosāla), who was a well-known Śramaṇa in the age of the Buddha. Other names of the type occur in ancient inscriptions. I would draw attention to the name Gosāla and the family name Gosālaka, which occur in Lüders' List nos. 107, 853, and 1332. So the name Agisāla (Sanskrit, Agniśāla) is not unlikely. Agisāla was the superintendent of the vihāra of Kanishka in the Mahāsenā Saṅghārāma.

Before the name Agisāla there is a letter *sa*, which Konow took as a part of *dāsa* (meaning 'a servant' or 'a slave'), while Mukherjee understands it as a part of the name of the superintendent of the refectory. As we have seen, the name Agisāla occurs in the inscription. The letter *sa*, which is visible, may be a part of the epithet *Saṅghadāsa* ('a servant of the Saṅgha') which is noticed in some records.⁵

So I would translate the fourth line in Mukherjee's reading of this casket inscription as follows—(Saṅghadāsa) Agisāla is the superintendent in Kanishka's vihāra in Mahāsenā's saṅghārāma.

V. V. MIRASHI

¹ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1908-9, pp. 38 f.

² See the references in B. N. Mukherjee's article, *B.M.Q.* xxviii. 39 f.

³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 29, 150, and 158.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, xiv. 334 and *Epigraphia*

Indica, xxxiv. 239 f. *Karmāntika* occurs also in the Devni Mori Casket inscription, *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, xii. 175. The editors of the inscription have not read and interpreted the word correctly. See my article in *The Vishvesharananda Indological Journal* under (publication).

⁵ See, e.g. *C.I.I.*, vol. ii, part i, p. 178.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHAH-JI-KI-DHERI CASKET INSCRIPTION

WHILE commenting on our article on the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri Casket Inscription published in volume no. xxviii of this journal,¹ Professor V. V. Mirashi has remarked that Kanishkapura, referred to in the epigraph concerned, cannot be identified with the city mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa as having been founded by Kanishka. Mirashi thinks that the latter city 'was evidently in Kashmir'.

We have already demonstrated that Kanishkapura of the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri Casket Inscription must have been located in the region of modern Peshawar.² We have also adduced reasons for suggesting that Kanishkapura was named after Kanishka (I).³ He may have been identical with Kanishka of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.⁴ The latter text does not explicitly include the city founded by Kanishka

within the geographical limits of Kāśmīra.⁵ It may be argued that this city could have been situated anywhere within the limits of Kanishka's empire which included Kāśmīra. Hence we cannot altogether deny the possibility of the identity of Kanishkapura referred to in the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri inscription and the city of Kanishka mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

It must, however, be admitted that this line of reasoning is nothing better than a hypothesis. We ourselves have already indicated that. We have observed that 'it should . . . be noted that the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* apparently speaks of Kanishka's rule in Kāśmīra, and so may refer to a city founded by him only in that region'.⁶

We have read the fourth line of this inscription as ' . . . sa agisāla na(na)vakarmmīa (Ka*)nashkasa vihare Mahasenasa saṅgharame', and have translated it as ' . . . sa, the superintendent of construction of the refectory in Kanishka's vihāra in Mahāsena's saṅghārāma'.⁷ Mirashi thinks that the superintendent of the whole establishment and not of only a refectory should have been mentioned in the inscription concerned found in a stūpa. He considers the word *agisāla*, translated by us as 'refectory', as a personal name. He also restores the word preceding *agisāla* as *Saṅghadāsa*, and interprets it as an epithet of *Agisāla*, the superintendent of construction in Kanishka's vihāra in Mahāsena's saṅghārāma.

It is wrong to assume that the word *navakarmika*, occurring in an inscription found at a Buddhist site, always means the superintendent of construction of a whole establishment and not of a part of it. An Amaravati inscription refers to a *navakamika* of *vetika* or rail.⁸ This *navakamika* was evidently not in charge of the construction of the whole Buddhist establishment at Amaravati.⁹

One can only read the letter . . . sa of the word preceding *agisāla*. Hence any attempt to restore it as *Saṅghadāsa* is nothing better than making a conjecture. So it is difficult to support any interpretation based on such a restoration. So there is hardly any reason to change our translation of the fourth line of the inscription in question.

We are, however, very glad to note that Professor Mirashi accepts our other interpretations and reading of the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri Casket Inscription. We are also grateful to the editor of the *British Museum Quarterly* and to Mr. D. Barrett of the British Museum for giving us an opportunity to record our observations on Mirashi's comments on our article in question.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

¹ *B.M.Q.*, vol. xxviii, pp. 39 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, i. 167-9. ⁵ *Ibid.* i. 167.

⁶ *B.M.Q.*, vol. xxviii, p. 45, n. 21. See also M. A. Stein, *Kaṭhā's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol. i, p. 30, n. 168.

⁷ *B.M.Q.*, vol. xxviii, p. 45.

⁸ C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, 1956, p. 290,

no. 69. Burgess wrongly read the relevant word as *vetika*. (J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, vol. i, p. 53.) The first letter of the word is certainly *ve* (*ibid.*, pl. lvi, no. 6; see also C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 290, no. 69).

⁹ There are references in the Pali literature to *navakarmikas* of different parts or portions of Buddhist establishments.

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS

DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

Acquisitions, January-June 1965¹

- Monastic account-books of the Black Sisters and Grey Sisters of Ypres, 17th-19th cent. Add. MSS. 52541-6. *Presented, with Add. Ch. 75574, 75575, by Lady Power.*
- Letters of Frederick Delius, the composer, and Mrs. Delius, to Philip Heseltine ('Peter Warlock'); 1911-30. Add. MSS. 52547-9.
- Letters to Christabel, Dowager Lady Aberconway, supplementing Add. MSS. 52432-5; 1917-59. Add. MSS. 52550-6. *Presented by the Dowager Lady Aberconway in 1959 and previously reserved.*
- Correspondence and papers of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham, Viscount Cunningham of Hyndhope; 1898-1962. Add. MSS. 52557-84. *Presented by Lord Cunningham, with additions by Lady Cunningham.*
- Commonplace-book containing lines from Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*, late 16th-early 17th cent. Add. MS. 52585. *Purchased by means of a grant from the Pilgrim Trust.*
- Sir Arthur Wing Pinero, *His House in Order*; 1906. Autograph. Add. MS. 52586.
- Letters from Thomas Rickman, architect, to Edward Blore, architect; 1813-22. Add. MS. 52587.
- Ballet scores by Gerhard, Reizenstein, and Rubbra from the collection of Harold Rubin, intended for performance at the Arts Theatre; 1938-c. 1941. Autograph. Add. MSS. 52588-90.
- Manuscripts acquired from the Arts Council under the scheme for the National Manuscript Collection of Contemporary Poets, including MSS. of Peter Porter, Andrew Young, Kathleen Raine, and Elizabeth Jennings. Add. MSS. 52591-600.
- Autograph full score of 'O clap your hands' by Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M. Add. MS. 52601. *Presented by Messrs. Stainer and Bell Ltd.*
- Minute-book of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain, 1903-8. Add. MS. 52602. *Presented anonymously.*
- Autograph songs by Richard Simpson, 1860-75. Add. MSS. 52603-7. *Transferred from the Music Room.*
- Dutch book of chronograms, calligraphically written, 1567. From the Hilton Bequest. Add. MS. 52608. *Transferred from the Department of Printed Books.*
- Letters from Dame Edith Sitwell, D.B.E., to John Lehmann; 1943-53. Add. MSS. 52609-11.
- Letters from Dylan Thomas to Vernon Watkins, 1936-52. Add. MS. 52612.
- William Stukeley, *Of Caesaromagus Chelmsford*, a dissertation addressed to Charles Gray, M.P.; 1751. Autograph. Add. MS. 52613.

¹ The following list includes manuscripts incorporated into the Departmental collections between January and June 1965. The inclusion

of a manuscript in this list does not necessarily imply that it is available for study.

- Vocalise for voice and clarinet by Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M.; 1958. Autograph. Add. MS. 52614.
- Correspondence of Charles William Ward, afterwards secretary of the Dury Lane Theatre, with Jane Nash Linley, sister-in-law of R. B. Sheridan, during the period of their engagement; 1798-1800. Add. MSS. 52615, 52616.
- Manuscripts acquired for the National Manuscript Collection of Contemporary Poets, including MSS. of Roy Fuller and Philip Larkin. Add. MSS. 52617-19. *Presented by the Arts Council.*
- Autograph songs and motets by Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M. Add. MS. 52620. *Presented by Mrs. Ursula Vaughan Williams.*
- Account of the siege of Oporto, 1832-3, by Staff Sergeant Thomas Hill, of the Rocket Troop, R.H.A. Add. MS. 52621. *Presented by R. H. Cremer, Esq., Jr.*
- Copy of the 'Ox' minuet, by Haydn; early 19th cent. Add. MS. 52622. *Transferred from the Music Room.*
- Diaries and Correspondence of Sir Sydney Carlyle Cockerell (1867-1962), Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Add. MSS. 52623-773. *Presented by Wilfred Blunt, Esq., with the exception of Add. MS. 52706, which was presented by Prof. Francis Wormald, F.B.A.*
- P. G. Wodehouse, *Brinkmanship at Blandings*, 1963. Typewritten, with autograph additions. Add. MSS. 52774, 52775. *Presented by the author through the Friends of the National Libraries.*
- Papers of Gen. Sir Horace Lockwood Smith-Dorrien, relating to the First World War. Add. MSS. 52776, 52777. *Transferred from the Department of Printed Books.*
- Illuminated Bible in Latin, probably executed at York; c. 1256-60. Add. MS. 52778.
- Roll-chartulary of the twenty-four Vicars of Exeter Cathedral, c. 1232-40. Add. MS. 52779. *Presented by the late Dr. E. G. Millar, F.S.A., through the Friends of the National Libraries.*
- Letters of Vice-Adm. Lord Collingwood to Edward Collingwood, 1794-1806. Add. MS. 52780. *Bequeathed by Edward Gordon Collingwood (1859-1940) through Messrs. Waterhouse and Co.*
- Correspondence and papers of Dr. J. H. Bernard (1860-1927) Archbishop of Dublin and Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; 1910-26. Add. MSS. 52781-4. *Bequeathed by Mrs M. N. Bernard (d. 1940), widow of Dr. Bernard, and previously reserved.*
- Diaries and papers of Sir Stanley Vernon Goodall, Director of Naval Construction 1936-44; 1932-56. Add. MSS. 52785-97. *Presented by H. R. Farman, Esq., nephew of Sir Stanley Goodall, in accordance with the latter's wishes.*
- Letter-book of Sir Edward Dering as Lieutenant of Dover Castle; 1629-30. Formerly Phillipps MS. 14933. Add. MS. 52798.
- Vellum account roll of plate and jewels of Robert de Woodhouse, Keeper of the Wardrobe; 1326-7. Formerly Phillipps MS. 24017. Add. MS. 52799.
- Heraldic and genealogical commonplace-books of Sir Richard St. George, Clarenceux (d. 1635), and Sir Henry St. George, Garter (d. 1644). Formerly Phillipps MSS. 12370, 12382. Add. MSS. 52800, 52801.
- St. Augustine, 'De consensu evangelistarum', with Westminster Abbey press-mark; late 12th cent. Egerton MS. 3775.
- St. Jerome, 'Super Ieremiam et Ezechielem', from Bury St. Edmunds; 2nd quarter of 12th cent. Egerton MS. 3776.

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Selected Acquisitions, January-June 1965

I. BALINESE AND MALAY MANUSCRIPTS

Five letters of introduction from Mads Johannsen Lange to princes of Bali requesting permission for the botanist John Henshall to travel through their territory plant-collecting. The fifth letter is in Malay. A.D. 1852. (Or. 12971 (1-5).)

II. CHINESE MANUSCRIPT

Mo-k'o hui-hsi. Biographical anecdotes written in the Northern Sung. Ch. 1-5 (of 10). With seals of Ch'ien-lung. A.D. 1786. (Or. 12960.)

III. ETHIOPIAN MANUSCRIPT

Amulet with magical prayers, containing three miniatures. Copied in the 19th cent. (Or. 12959.)

IV. PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT

A manuscript containing two *maṣnavī* poems—the *Sa'adatnāmeḥ*, attributed to Nāṣir i Khusrau and the *Hidāyatnāmeḥ*, a mystical work by another poet named Nāṣir who may be Nāṣir of Bukhārā (d. 772/1370). Defective at the beginning and end. With five miniatures c. 1465 which is probably the date of transcription. (Or. 12969.)

V. TURKISH MANUSCRIPT

Mecmū'at ūl-ḥavādiṣ. A very detailed history of the Ottoman Empire from 1203/1788 to 1229/1813. The author, who does not give his name, must have been intimately connected with Court circles and states that he has derived the greater part of his

information from oral sources. Neskhī. Copied in 1229/1813. (Or. 12963.)

Ma'rifetnāme. An encyclopaedia, composed in 1170/1756-7 by İbrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī. This copy contains two very fine illuminated folios and many illuminated headings, together with coloured maps and diagrams. Fine Neskhī, within gold-ruled borders. Probably 18th cent. (Or. 12964.)

Tenkih ūl-tevārīkh. A general history compiled by Hezārfenn Ḥüsein who made extensive use of Greek and other Western sources. Nasta'liq. Copied in 1081/1670-1. (Or. 12965.)

Ḥamzanāmē. A copy of the legendary history of Amīr Ḥamzah, the uncle of the Prophet abbreviated from one of the longer Turkish versions, possibly that of Ḥamzevi, made c. 1400. Neskhī. Copied during the first half of the 16th cent. (Or. 12966.)

Muḳaddime-i ḳavānīn-i teşrīfāt. An outline of the regulations for court etiquette, compiled by 'Abdullāh Nā'ili Paşa, Master of Ceremonies at the Ottoman Court, who died in 1171/1757. Neskhī. Copied probably in the 18th cent. (Or. 12967.)

Kitāb-i Futūḥāt der beyān-i ba'zī salāṭīn-i Āl-i 'Osmān ve ḡazevāt-i İṣān. A history of the Ottoman Empire from 974/1566 to 982/1574 (i.e. covering the reign of Selim II for whom it appears to be a commemorative work, comparing his achievements with those of his forefathers). The author 'Münşī' was obviously a professional historiographer and stylist. Neskhī with all the vowels. Copied probably towards the end of the 16th cent. (Or. 12968.)

DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

Acquisitions, January-June 1965

I. AMERICAN SCHOOL

PERCY A. GRASSBY (b. 1882). *Xylography*.
Wood engravings. *Presented by the Artist*.

II. BRITISH SCHOOL, INCLUDING FOREIGN ARTISTS WORKING IN ENGLAND

ROBERT BEVAN (1865-1925).

Barns in Somerset. 1917. Black chalk with
water-colours, squared for enlargement.

Drawings for 'Crocks' c. 1911. Black chalk
with water-colours.

Kneeling Breton Girl. 1891. Black chalk.

Culme Valley, Devon. 1913. Black chalk
with water-colours.

Off Cumberland Market. c. 1914. Black
chalk with water-colours.

An Out-house, Devon (drawing for picture
of 1923). Black chalk with water-colours.

Presented by Mr. R. A. Bevan.

HESTER FROOD (b. 1882).

Roman Aqueduct, Segovia. Drypoint.

Peasants in the Market-place at Segovia.
Pen and brown wash.

Presented by the Artist.

THOMAS GIRTIN (1775-1802).

The Tuileries Bridge from the Quai d'Orsay.
Outline etching, tinted in water-colours
by the artist to guide the aquatinter, F. C.
Lewis.

A general view of Paris from Chaillot. Out-
line etching, tinted in water-colours by
the artist to guide the aquatinter, W.
Picket.

*The Water-works at Marly with St. Ger-
main-en-Laye in the distance*. Outline
etching, tinted in water-colours by the

artist to guide the aquatinter, J. B.
Harraden.

Purchased.

PATRICK HERON (b. 1920). *Black and white
abstract: Soft blacks: Grey and white*. Water-
colours. *Presented by the Contemporary
Art Society*.

LOUIS LAGUERRE (1663-1721). Sheet of
studies including *The Discomfiture of Midas*.
Pen and brown ink with brown wash.
Purchased.

BERNARD MEADOWS (b. 1915). *Two draw-
ings for Sculpture: Opus 54* (1962). Pencil
and wash. *Presented by the Contemporary
Art Society*.

WILLIAM YOUNG OTTELY (1771-1836).
Unidentified composition. Pen and ink.
Purchased.

JOHN VAN DER BANK (1694-1739). *Study
of two female figures seated on clouds*. Pen
and brown ink over preliminary black lead.
Purchased.

III. FRENCH SCHOOL

EUGÈNE DELACROIX (1798-1863). *Le Grand
Opéra. Théâtre Italien*. Lithographs. *Pur-
chased through the National Art-Collections
Fund*.

ANTOINE WATTEAU (1684-1721). *Design
for a Fan-Leaf*. Water- and body-colours,
heightened with white on grey paper.
Purchased.

IV. ITALIAN SCHOOL

ANONYMOUS: MIDDLE OF SIXTEENTH CEN-
TURY. *Three figures from a sacrificial proces-
sion*. Red chalk with pen and ink. *Pur-
chased*.

FOLLOWER OF PIETRO DA CORTONA. *Recto. Battle scene.* Pen and ink and brown wash. *Verso. Part of a nude figure.* Red chalk. *Purchased.*

ROMAN SCHOOL: *Circa 1570. Recto. Two studies for a composition of The Baptism of an Emperor.* Pen and ink with brown wash over black chalk. One of the compositions squared in red chalk. *Verso. Study for the same composition.* Black chalk. *Purchased.*

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI (1474-1515). *Recto. Two children embracing. Verso. Virgin and Child.* Pen and ink. *Purchased.*

FRANCESCO UBERTINI, IL BACHIACCA (1494-1557). *Sheet of studies for a group of the Infant Christ and the Infant Baptist.* *Purchased.*

FRANCESCO FRACANZANO (1612-57). *Caricature portraits of Benedetto di Pelid et Angelo Suo Figlio.* Pen and brown ink. *Purchased.*

DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS

Notable Acquisitions, January-June 1965

Silver tetradrachm of Theophilus, king of Greek Bactria (2nd cent. B.C.): the second known specimen, from the Qunduz hoard, is in Kabul Museum. *Reg. no. 1965, 4, 10. Purchased.*

Silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.) minted in Cyprus, probably at Soli. *Reg. no. 1965, 2, 1. Given by Norman Davis, Esq.*

Bronze coin minted at Sinope in the time of Aelius Caesar (A.D. 137). *Reg. no. 1965, 2, 3. Given by H. von Aulock, Esq.*

Group of bronze coins including a specimen minted at Gadara (?) with the inscription 'year 1 of Rome' (64 B.C.). *Reg. no. 1965, 2, 8. Given by Dr. Michael Grant, O.B.E., Vice-Chancellor to the University of Belfast.*

Merovingian gold tremissis of the Paris region (A.D. 640) found in Kent. *Reg. no. 1965, 1, 6. Purchased.*

Silver denier of Louis IV d'Outremer (A.D.

936-54), mint of Chinon. *Reg. no. 1965, 4, 11. Purchased.*

Petit royal d'or of Philip IV of France, dated A.D. 1290. *Reg. no. 1965, 1, 7. Purchased.*

Bronze medal of the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare. *Reg. no. 1965, 4, 12. Given by Dr. Jarmila Stepkova, Náprstek Museum, Prague, Czechoslovakia.*

Gold, silver, and bronze medals of the Singapore government. *Reg. no. 1965, 4, 13. Given by M. H. Revell, Esq., Office of the British Deputy High Commissioner, Singapore.*

Gold, silver, and bronze awards, bronze commemorative medal and thirty badges of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. *Reg. no. 1965, 4, 15. Given by Y. Odaka, Esq., Japanese Embassy, London.*

Specimen set of 1964 coins of Rhodesia. *Reg. no. 1965, 6, 5. Given by Reserve Bank of Rhodesia, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.*

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January-June 1965

1. Gaming-board of wood and ivory with drawer, for the games of *senet* and *tjau*. Formerly in the collection of the Revd. William Frankland Hood (66669, length 11 in., New Kingdom, c. 1200 B.C.).
2. Terracotta bowl inscribed in hieratic with list of names (66670, height 6 in., New Kingdom, c. 1200 B.C.).
3. An archer's leather wrist-guard from a Nubian X-Group cemetery at Buhen (66671, height 2 in., 4th-6th cent. A.D.). *Presented by the Egypt Exploration Society.*
4. Model altar of bronze inscribed on the base with a prayer to Isis for Nesptah son of Pedihor (66672, length 3½ in., Saite-Ptolemaic Period, after 600 B.C.).

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January-June 1965

- Fragment of large jar of red clay with decoration in relief. From Tuscania. Etruscan, about 600 B.C. W. 10.2 cm. (4 in.). 1964, 12-29, 1. *Given by Mrs. M. Segall.*
- Lid of a stone bowl. Early Minoan, about 2200 B.C. Said to have been found near Phaistos, Crete. Diam. 5.8 cm. (2¼ in.). 1964, 12-30, 1. *Given by Mr. A. D. Smith.*
- Glass flask. Roman, about second century A.D. From S. Turkey. Ht. 17.9 cm. (7 in.). 1964, 12-31, 1. *Given by Mr. A. D. Haley.*
- Bronze attachment from a vessel. In the form of a female bust wearing a diadem and necklace and surmounted by a lotus bud. Probably made in a Greek city of south Italy (Taras?) between 500 and 475 B.C. Ht. 6.2 cm. (2⅞ in.). 1965, 2-17, 1.
- Two-handled clay jar, sharply waisted, ornamented with bands of painted decoration and with 'thorns' projecting at intervals over the middle of the body. Etruscan, 7th cent. B.C. (?). Ht. 18 cm. (7⅛ in.). 1965, 2-22, 1.
- Fragment from a large clay plate depicting in black-figure technique, with purple and white details, a man on horseback. East Greek, about 600 B.C. From Naukratis. Greatest dimensions 9.4 x 7.4 cm. (3⅞ x 2⅞ in.). The fragment joins another from Naukratis already in the collection (*Reg. no.* 88, 6-1, 551b). 1965, 4-28, 1.
- Fragment of a marble relief with a figure of Dionysus or Apollo. Late Hellenistic, 1st cent. B.C. 1965, 4-29, 1.
- Clay lamp, the discus decorated with a horse in relief. Perhaps made in Egypt. Roman, first half of 1st cent. A.D. L. 9.6 cm. (3⅞ in.). 1965, 5-3, 1. *Given by Mr. G. C. W. Bennett.*
- Clay lamp, the nozzle decorated with a palmette. Made in Egypt. Hellenistic, 1st cent. B.C. L. 10.4 cm. (4⅛ in.). 1965, 5-3, 2. *Given by Mr. G. C. W. Bennett.*
- Clay sherd from a coarse-ware amphora with painted inscription: DATICITRO. L. 18.3 cm. (7⅓ in.). 1965, 5-6, 1. *Given anonymously.*
- Clay sherd from a coarse-ware amphora, stamped: MPV. W. 9.3 cm. (3⅝ in.). 1965, 5-6, 2. *Given anonymously.*
- Clay sherd of red-gloss ware stamped with maker's mark. L. 2.9 cm. (1⅓ in.). 1965, 5-6, 3. *Given anonymously.*

DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January-June 1965

PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES

A collection of six hundred stone implements from the C. T. Trechmann collection. 1965, 2-9. *Transferred from the British Museum (Natural History).*

Three Belgo-Roman grave groups from Owslebury, Hampshire. 1st cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D. From a cemetery excavated by Mr. J. Collis. 1965, 2-10. *Purchased.*

A type series of pottery sherds from Czechoslovakia. 1965, 4-6. *Given by the National Museum, Prague, through Professor Neustupný.*

Romano-British pottery from kilns at Stibington in the Nene Valley. 1965, 4-7. *Purchased (by contribution to the Water Newton Excavation Committee).*

A large collection of stratified flint tools from Palaeolithic sites in Kharga Oasis. 1965, 4-8. *Given by London University Institute of Archaeology.*

A Roman mosaic pavement with bust of Christ from a villa of 4th cent. A.D. at Hinton St. Mary, Dorset. 1965, 4-9. *Purchased.*

A Roman pot found at Beachy Head containing a hoard of coins which were declared Treasure Trove. Also fragments of a second pot. 1965, 6-5. *Given by R. H. Williams, Esq.*

Decorated Irish ring money, penannular in shape with gold foil round a lead core. From near Garvagh House, Co. Londonderry. 1965, 6-6, 1. *Given by Miss I. M. Lyon.*

A Middle Bronze Age looped and socketed spearhead found at Garston, Lancashire. 1965, 6-7, 1. *Given by S. J. Gearing, Esq.*

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. A.D. 400-c. 1100

A gold reliquary cross and chain. Decorated in *cloisonné* enamel with the Virgin and busts of St. Basil and St. Gregory. Byzantine, probably 10th cent. 1965, 6-4, 1. *Purchased.*

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. A.D. 1100-c. 1500

A bronze-gilt circular medallion with suspension loop. Decorated in *champlevé* enamel with intertwined foliage, flowers, and addorsed birds. Spanish, c. 1160. 1965, 6-3, 1. *Purchased.*

A bronze-gilt dove, with suspension loop on the back, (mounted on a 14th cent. Limoges enamelled base). Probably French, 13th cent. 1965, 6-4, 2. *Purchased.*

The sub-structure of a 13th-cent. kiln in which the circular pavement from the King's Chapel, Clarendon Palace, was fired. 1964, 12-6, 1. *Given by Major S. V. Christie-Miller.*

A silver spoon with fig-shaped bowl and tapering hexagonal stem ending in an acorn finial. English, 13th or 14th cent. 1965, 2-7, 1. *Purchased.*

Thirteen sherds from the kiln site at Bentley, Hampshire. 13th-14th cent. 1965, 2-8, 1-13. *Given by Mrs. E. T. Graham.*

A wax candle-stock, painted and gilt. English, 14th cent. 1965, 4-3, 1. *Purchased.*

A type series of sherds from the kiln site at Holme on Spalding Moor, Yorkshire. 15th cent. 1965, 6-2. *Given by the Museum, Kingston-upon-Hull.*

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 1500-c. 1900

A coral pendant, carved in relief on both sides; (1) The Annunciation, (2) Jesus returning

with his parents to Nazareth after the Dispute in the Temple. Italian, 16th cent., with silver-gilt mount, perhaps English, c. 1560. 1965, 6-1, 1. *Purchased.*

A hexagonal tile with a nude female standing figure. Probably French, early 16th cent. 1965, 4-1, 1. *Given by Mrs. E. T. Graham.*

A tortoiseshell watch-case with a coat of arms inlaid with gold and silver. English, late 17th cent. 1965, 4-4, 1. *Purchased.*

A glass covered goblet, engraved with the monogram, coat of arms, and motto of Queen Anne, as used between 1707 and 1714. Made in Silesia, early 18th cent. 1965, 4-5, 1. *Purchased.*

A pressed horn oval box and cover; the lid is decorated with the Judgement of Paris. Made by John Obrisset c. 1720.

1965, 2-3, 1. *Purchased.*

A porcelain cup (without handle) and saucer. Made at Bow, c. 1750. 1965, 2-2, 1. *Purchased.*

A Furstenburg porcelain figure of Faith; enamelled mark on base; Z (for the painter Johann Zeschinger, working at Furstenburg 1753-6). 1965, 2-1, 1. *Given by H. E. Backer.*

A red-ware coffee-pot, with a pseudo-Chinese stamped mark. Probably made in Staffordshire c. 1760. 1965, 2-5, 1. *Purchased.*

A Bristol pottery plaque, painted with standing figure of a soldier with the Regimental Colour of the Bristol Volunteer Infantry. Made at Temple Pottery, Bristol, c. 1805. 1965, 2-4, 1. *Purchased.*

A heavy gold finger-ring with intaglio gem engraved with a portrait of George IV, dated 1821. 1965, 4-2, 1. *Given by Dr. Joan Evans, Hon. V-P.S.A.*

A gold lady's watch inscribed POITEVIN, FABT, Genève. Swiss, c. 1870. 1965, 2-6, 1. *Given by Miss Th. de Lasplée.*

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January-June 1965

CHINA

Bronze bell (*pien chung*). Ht. 21¼ in. 500-450 B.C. 1965, 6-12, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Porcelain bowl decorated with flowers in underglaze blue. Diam. 8½ in. 14th cent. 1965, 4-13, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Lacquer box with mother-of-pearl inlay. Wan-li period (1573-1619). 5½ × 5½ × 3¼ in. 1965, 2-24, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

'Scholars in a Garden'. Painting in light colours on paper by Yeh Hsin (fl. c. 1660-80). Add. 343. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

JAPAN

Carved wood standing figure of Kichishōten. Ht. 43⅞ in. Heian period. 1965, 4-15, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Bronze ceremonial spearhead found at Suku, Fukuoka, 2nd cent. A.D., and two bronze mirrors, late 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. *Given by Professor S. Umehara.* 1965, 2-23, 1-3.

Four woodcut prints by Mitsunobu, Kiyoshige, Koryūsai, and Okumura Toshinobu. 1965 6-12, 03-06. *Purchased.*

Two woodcut prints by Hiroshige from a Tōtō Meisho series. *Given by Lt.-Col. J. G. Birch.*

INDIA

Red sandstone railing pillar carved with the figure of a boy playing a pipe. From Mathura. Ht. 20 in. Kushan period: about A.D. 100. 1965, 2-26, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Sandstone figure of the Mother Goddess

Vaishnavi. Ht. 15 in. Cedi period: about A.D. 1000 1965, 2-25, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Bronze figure of Avalokitesvara. Ht. $10\frac{3}{16}$ in. Pala period: 10th-11th cent. A.D. 1965, 2-25, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Bronze group of Vishnu and his consorts. Ht. $5\frac{7}{16}$ in. South India: Kerala: 10th cent. A.D. 1965, 6-13, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Steel thrusting dagger (katar). L. $19\frac{1}{4}$ in. Vijayanagar: 16th cent. 1965, 4-12, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

'Lady at a spinning wheel'. Basohli style: possibly Mandi: about 1730. 1965, 6-12, 02. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

NEPAL

Gilt bronze Avalokitesvara. Ht. $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. 10th-11th cent. A.D. 1965, 6-14, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Pair of painted wooden bookcovers depicting avatars of Vishnu. L. 22 in. 13th cent 1965, 6, 14-2. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

ISLAMIC

Lustre-painted pottery cup, decorated with a bird. Diam. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Mesopotamia: 9th cent. 1965, 4, 14-1. *Purchased.*

'The Battle between Naufal and the tribe of Layla'. Miniature from the *Khamisa* of Nizami. Turkey: c. 1550-60. 1965, 6-12, 01. *Purchased.*

Dagger (Qama) with silver sheath decorated in niello and dated A.H. 1313 (A.D. 1895). Turkey: Caucasus region. 1965, 6-15, 1. *Given by S. J. Gearing, B.Sc.*



A LADY CENTAUR

I very much regret that by an oversight the article published in *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. xxx, 1965, pp. 36-39, contains no mention of the fact that the bone relief was kindly presented to the Museum by Mr. David Letham of Edinburgh.

D. E. STRONG





VERBA
IEREMIE
FILII BEL
CHIE DE SA
CERDOTIBUS

qui fuerunt in anathoth in terra
beniamin. qđ factum ē. uerbum dñi
ad eum in dieb; ioseph filii amon re-
gis iuda. inter eodecimo anno reg-
ni eius. Et factum ē. in dieb; iachin
filii ioseph regis iuda. usq; ad transla-
tionem ierlm in mense quinto. Cle-
ri prophete. ut isaias. osee. iohel. fue-
runt ante captiuitatē decem tribu-
um isrl. siue duarum tribuum
iude & beniamin. Alii p captiuita-
tem ut daniel. aggeus & zacha-
rias. Ieremias uero & ezechiel im-
minente captiuitate uaticiniū
ceperunt. Sed alter eorū inter-
ta iuda. alter in babilone. Ieremi-
as cum eet adhuc puer ppheta-
cepit anno tercio decimo ioseph filii
amon regis iude. pphetauitq; in
tempore eius annis decem & nouis.
& postea sub iachin filio eius

annis quadraginta & uno. preter
illud tempus quando ductus ē. in
egyptum. Itaq; pphetauit in aph-
ris. ut hoc ipso uolumine contine-
tur. Prouerbis ieremie septuagin-
ta posuerunt uerbum dei. qđ fac-
tum ē ad ieremiā. Hoc uidelicet sen-
su. qđ uerba ieremie uerbu sit dei.
Fuit autem de genere sacerdotū.
qui habitabant contra septentrio-
nem ierlm in circulo militario. & ui-
culo anathoth. Simulq; admirabilis
clementia dñi. qđ iam captiuitate
uicina. & babilone exercitu uallan-
te ierlm nichilominus poplū ad
penitentiam puocat. malens salua-
re conuersos. quā pđere delinqua-
tes. Pro transmigratione qđ omnes
ali uoce consona transfulerunt. sep-
tuaginta posuerunt captiuitatem.
Post exordium autē uaticinationis
ieremie. tricesimo quinto pphete
eius anno. ezechiel in babilone in
qui cum eo capti fuerant exorsus
ē. pphetauit. Et factum ē. uerbu
dñi ad me dicens. Prūquā re-
formarem in utero nouice. & anteq-
quam de uulua scissamur. Non qđ
ante conceptionem sic herosif fuit

J. A.

Est in edmo in quo continent
 septem libri. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.
 De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.
 De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.
 De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.
 De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.

a. Egerton MS. 3776, f. 1

De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.

b. Egerton MS. 3776, f. 1

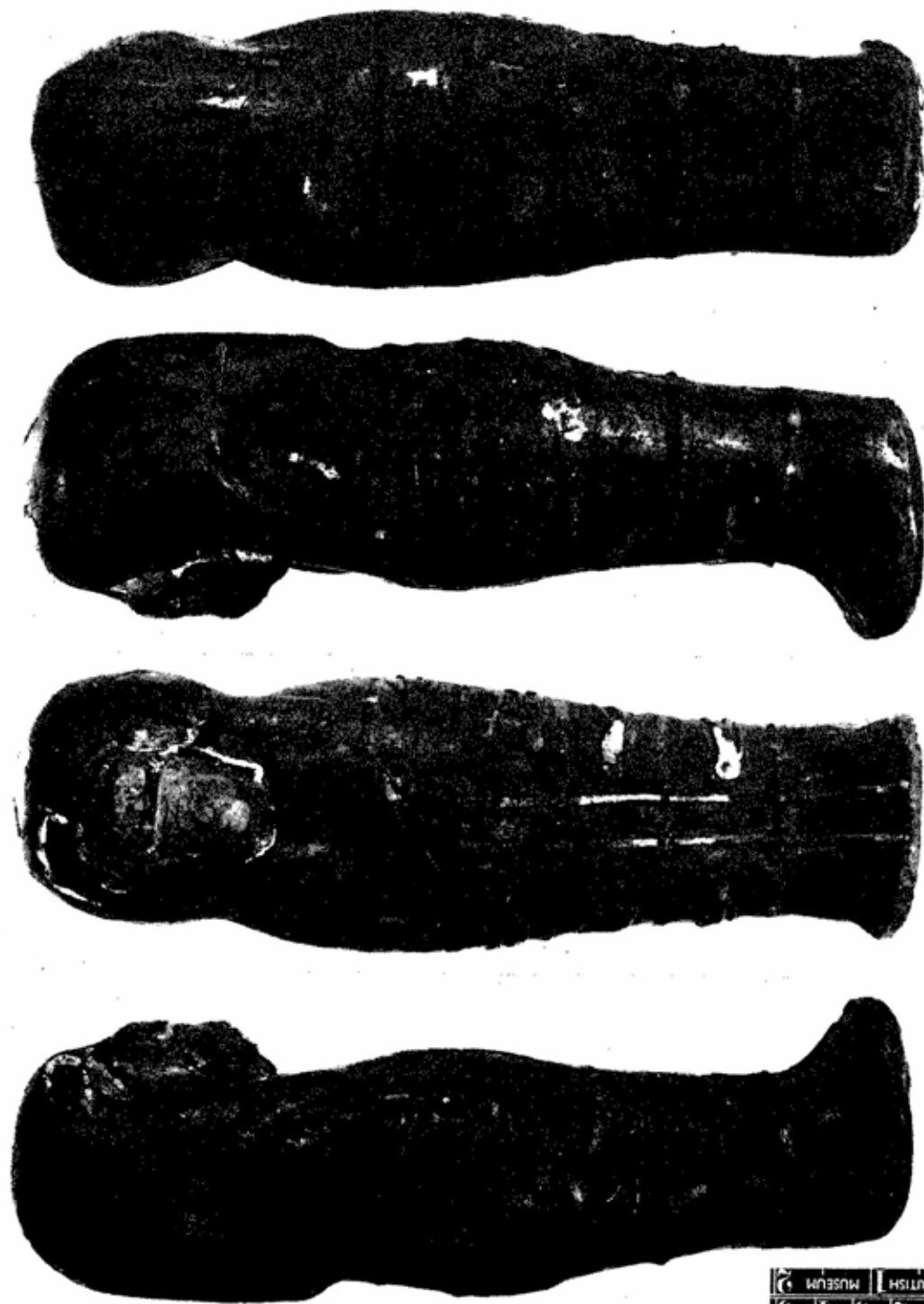
c. Egerton MS. 3776 f. 159

De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.
 De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.
 De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.
 De sup. exchequer lib. i. Si. p. 22. q. 2. p. 2. p. 2.

cessum seculum. **E**x cetera usq; ad illud ubi ait. Neminem dixitis iurionem: donec filius hominis amari sit et surgat. **H**ec uisio dñi in monte coram tribus discipulis petro iacob et iohanne. u. etiam de quibus testimoniū patet uocat phariseis et a tribus euangelistis eodem ordine commemoratur. et eadem omnia sententia. **S**ed cetera scdm ea genera locutionum diuersa. sine ulla sententia diuersitate que multas locis sup̄ demonstrauimus. uideri allegari possunt. Quod autē marcus post sex dies factū dicit sicut matheus. iohannes autē post octiduum. non inueniendi sunt si quis mouet. s. ratione reddita instruendi. **D**ies enim quando enuntiamus dicimus post sex dies. aliquid illi annuerant. cū in quod loquimur et cū quā ipsa futura ē. quā p̄muntiam. uel pollicemur. sed medius post quos uenerunt plenius atq; integre illud futurū ē. hoc fecit matheus et marcus. **E**xcepto eo die q̄ hoc loquebatur ih̄s. et illo quo exhibuit memoriam in monte uisione medius dies inuenietur dixerunt post sex dies. quod ille

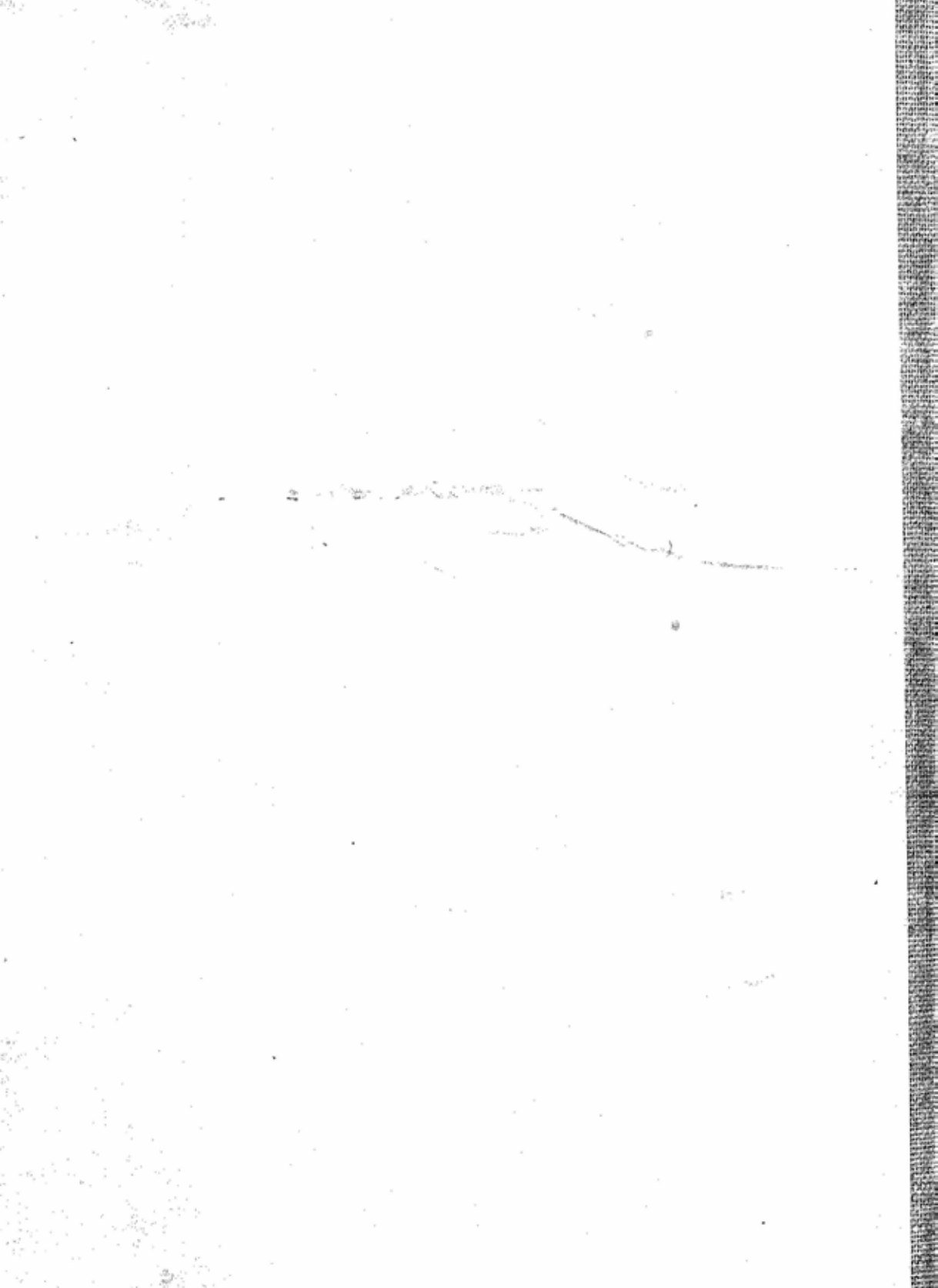
annuerat finaliter. id ē. p̄mo aut utimo dixerat. post octidies colom di modo q̄ pars p̄toto commemorat. **I**te qd lucas ait de moysē et helia. et factū ē. dum discederent ab illo ait petrus ad ih̄m. p̄ceptū bonū ē. nos hic. et cetera. non debet parari contrarium ei quod matheus mandata coniungunt. petrus hō fuggeruisse. quasi ad huc moysēs et helias cum dño loquerentur. **N**on enim expresserunt qd dicit. sed tacuerunt. post qd iste addidit illis discederatis. hoc petrus de tribus tabernaculis facientis dño suggererit. **A**ddidit etiam lucas mattheis illis in nube factam ēē uocē de nube. qd illi nō dixerunt ē. nec contra dixerunt. **L**apl. lxxvi.

Sequitur matheus. **E**t interrogauerunt eū discipuli dicentes. Quid sibi debent dicunt qd helia oparetur p̄mū uenire. **A**t ille respondens ait. **H**elias quidē uenit. et cetera. **D**ico autem uobis. qd helias iam uenit. et non agnouerunt eū. **S**ed fecerunt iniquitatem. uoluerunt. **S**ic et filius hominis passurus ē. ab eis.



CM 1 2 3 4 5
INT. BRITISH
MUSEUM

XXI. AN EGYPTIAN MODEL COFFIN IN GLASS



"A book that is shut is but a block"

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