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VOLUME XXIV: 1961



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FUDŌ

Japanese: late 11th century

# PLATES

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## AN UNRECORDED SONG BY VERDI

SINCE Verdi died in January 1901 an enormous number of articles and books have been written on his life and works, culminating in Abbiati's exhaustive four-volume work *Giuseppe Verdi* (Ricordi, 1960). It would therefore seem unlikely that any composition, however uncommon, could have been overlooked or remain unrecorded. Yet such has proved to be the case with a song entitled 'L'Abandonnée' of which an apparently unique copy of a French edition was added to the collection of printed music a little time ago.

The full significance of this song was not recognized immediately at the time of acquisition. As there is no thematic catalogue or any comprehensive bibliography of Verdi's music, the most that can be established in the first instance for any separate piece by such a prolific composer is that no work of a particular title is in the collections already. A second check, which is a lengthy business, may reveal that a song with an unfamiliar title is a contemporary arrangement of an aria from one of the operas or even from an item in one of the groups of solo songs.

But when after an exhaustive search 'L'Abandonnée' could not be identified with any of these or with any other piece by Verdi in the collections, it was clear that it was something of exceptional interest. Wider inquiries and further research have now revealed its true identity.<sup>1</sup>

Even Verdi's recollection of this composition appears to have been faint. There exists a list of his works compiled by Isidoro Cambiasi not later than 1853<sup>2</sup> in which 'L'Abandonnée' does not occur, but it may well be the song alluded to in a note added later to the list by Verdi himself: 'Credo siavi un' altra Romanza Stampata dagli Escudier e ristampata (credo) da Lucca, ma non ricordo il titolo.'

He appears to have been right about the Escudier edition, for on 7 January 1849 there appeared in their publication *La musique, gazette de la France musicale* the following announcement: 'Étrennes de 1849. A partir du 18 de ce mois nos abonnés recevront en cadeau: Musique de chant: 1° La Bergère, cavatine inédite de Donizetti. 2° L'Abandonnée, mélodie inédite de G. Verdi.' Five more songs are listed.

Since no copy of this album is now known, it cannot be certainly established that it ever appeared. It seems very probable, however, that it did, for an edition of Verdi's song was published in the same year by Schott of Mainz. Escudier would scarcely have sanctioned this edition unless they had issued their own. Schott printed 700 copies with the original French words, and 700 with Italian and German translations; they possess an archive copy of each issue. It is extraordinary that the song has remained quite unknown to Verdi scholars.



The firm of Escudier was sold up in February 1882. Some of their rights in Verdi were bought by Heugel, who issued an edition of twenty-five copies of 'L'Abandonnée' on 3 May of that year.<sup>3</sup> It is the only recorded copy of this edition that has been acquired for the Museum.

The song consists of a conjunct double sheet of engraved music (Pl. I) of which the opening measures 52.0 × 34.5 cm. and the plate mark 45.0 × 28.2 cm. The recto of folio 1 and the verso of folio 2 are both blank. The title at the head of the verso of folio 1 reads: *L'Abandonnée. Andante-étude pour soprano. Paroles de M. L. E. Musique de G. Verdi. Composé pour M<sup>me</sup>. G. Strepponi.* At the foot of this page are the publisher's address and plate number: *Paris, Au Ménestrel 2<sup>bis</sup> Rue Vivienne. H.5507. Heugel & fils, Éditeurs.*

The authorship of the words cannot be established with absolute certainty, but it is at least possible that the initials 'M. L. E.' stand for Monsieur Léon Escudier, one of the two brothers who controlled the firm that published the original edition. The dedication to 'M<sup>me</sup> G. Strepponi' is of great biographical interest. Giuseppina Strepponi (1815-97) was a famous soprano singer who sang in a number of roles in operas by Rossini and Donizetti, and in the first production of Verdi's opera *Nabucco* (1842) she sang the part of Abigaille. It is not known exactly when she became Verdi's mistress, but she lived with him from as early as 1850 onwards, until she became his second wife in 1859.

The date of composition of 'L'Abandonnée' can be placed with some certainty late in 1847 or early in 1848, the period when Strepponi is known to have been singing at private concerts in Paris. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the Schott edition of 'L'Abandonnée' bears on the front cover a picture of a young woman (apparently in prayer), though it does not contain the dedication to Strepponi.

The vocal line of the music is, as the subtitle 'andante-étude' suggests, more brilliant than is usual in Verdi's songs. As far as is known he wrote no other piece of this character.

A. HYATT KING

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgements are due to M. Vladimir Fédorov, librarian of the Paris Conservatoire, for searching periodicals in his library, and to Mr. Frank Walker for various information kindly supplied from his expert knowledge of Verdi's life and music.

<sup>2</sup> Facsimile in *Nel primo centenario di Giuseppe Verdi Numero unico illustrato*, Milan, 1913. The last opera given is *La Traviata*.

<sup>3</sup> The date has been kindly supplied by M. François Heugel.

## THE RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS COLLECTION

A NOTE in a recent number of the *British Museum Quarterly* (vol. xxiii, no. 1, p. 6) on the acquisition of the autograph full score of Vaughan Williams's symphony no. 4 (Add. MS. 50140) ended, on an optimistic note, with the hope that this manuscript together with that of the *Concerto Accademico* (Egerton MS. 3251), the only other musical autograph of Vaughan Williams in the permanent collections of the Department of Manuscripts, might form the nucleus of a collection of music manuscripts of this composer. This wish has now been fulfilled, much sooner and on a more magnificent scale than we had dared to hope, by the extremely generous gift from Mrs. Ursula Vaughan Williams, the composer's widow, of a large number of autograph scores and sketches of her husband's published works. The collection (now numbered Add. MSS. 50361-482) comprises manuscripts of more than eighty different works covering practically the whole range of Vaughan Williams's compositions.

A complete list of the collection is printed as an appendix to this article but it may be of interest to consider the highlights in more detail. All the nine symphonies are represented by some manuscripts, whether sketches, pianoforte scores, rough full scores, or complete full scores as for *A Sea* symphony, the *Pastoral* symphony, and symphony no. 9. The material for *A Sea* symphony is particularly rich, covering the whole genesis of the work, which took seven years to write,<sup>1</sup> from the early sketches, vocal sketches which bear the title *Symphony of the Sea* (see Pl. II a) and vocal proofs, to the manuscript full score. The latter contains a prudent note, dated 24 November 1960, by the composer's widow: 'As this score has been used by many conductors no marks should be taken to be the composer's own without reference to his copy of the printed score.' This caution may, perhaps, be applicable to other scores, for instance that of the pianoforte concerto, which have been used in actual performances. Vaughan Williams's own copy of the printed full score of *A Sea* symphony is included in the present collection; it contains his own markings and may be regarded as the authoritative version of this work. The manuscript full score shows his concern with practical musicianship. He indicates on the first page an exact effect required: 'Note a roll on the cymbals to be made with two soft timpani sticks.' Similarly, inside the cover is a helpful note to conductors of smaller orchestras suggesting alternative parts for missing instruments. This same concern with practicalities is evident in the full score of the *Pastoral* symphony where the composer notes at the *quasi cadenza* for trumpet in the second movement:

It is important that this passage should be played on a true E $\flat$  Trumpet (preferably a cavalry trumpet) so that only *natural* notes may be played and that the B $\flat$  (7<sup>th</sup> partial) and D

(9<sup>th</sup> partial) should have their true intonation. This can, of course, be also achieved by playing the passage on an F. trumpet with the 1<sup>st</sup> piston depressed—If neither of these courses is possible the passage must of course be played on a B♭ or C trumpet and the pistons used in the ordinary way—but this must only be done in case of necessity.

Similarly at the vocalise in the fourth movement an extra clarinet part is cued in with the note 'to be played when there's no vocal soloist'.

His attention to detail does not seem to have slackened: the first page of the full score of his last symphony, no. 9 (see Pl. II *b*), bears a stern note: 'The Flugel horn if not available should be played on a 3rd Trumpet except where it is cued in the horn or 1<sup>st</sup> Trumpet—it must never be played on a cornet.'<sup>2</sup> A longer note to the same effect on the fly-leaf ends with the warning: 'The conductor must make sure that the player uses a real Flügel horn mouth piece.' As well as rough and final full scores the manuscript material for this symphony includes notebooks of sketches of all the movements jotted down in short score, an intriguing exchange of questions and somewhat illegible answers between Mr. Roy Douglas and the composer, and Mr. Douglas's pianoforte arrangement. Vaughan Williams's use of pianoforte score as a stage in the composition of his works is as extensive as that of Sir Arnold Bax (see *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. xxiii, no. 2, p. 43). The present collection contains pianoforte arrangements in the composer's handwriting or corrected by him of *A London* symphony and symphonies nos. 4 to 6, as well as pianoforte sketches of the *Sinfonia Antartica*, symphony no. 8, and numerous other works, many of them hastily written down in music manuscript notebooks of the type normally favoured by students commencing a course in harmony.

Perhaps the three massive volumes of full score of the opera *The Poisoned Kiss* most vividly illustrate Vaughan Williams's method of work once the sketches and first drafts had been completed. They are a fantastic patchwork of cut-up strips of printed vocal score, and typescript or duplicated libretto, pasted on a ground of music manuscript paper, which the composer has filled in with orchestral parts, and numerous annotations. He took great care in entering details of instrumentation, cues, and cuts and, in the apparent confusion, the meaning is generally clear. Since Vaughan Williams's use of cut-up printed score as a time-saver recalls Elgar's practice, as in the sketches for *The Apostles* and *The Kingdom* also preserved in this department, it may also be noted that first aid to manuscripts, was, it seems, partly the work of their respective wives. The present writer has a nostalgic memory of a score of Elgar's *Falstaff* held together (before it was bound) by pink liniment and stamp edging; fashion has changed, however, and Vaughan Williams's manuscripts are less colourfully though more tenaciously stuck with 'Sellotape'. Mrs. Vaughan Williams writes: 'Where there is more than one thickness of 'Sellotape' or where it is *very* crooked, it is the composer's work! Where the scores are sewn up it was me!'

The collection is important as a source for Vaughan Williams's work for the theatre, cinema, and radio. Apart from full scores of operas in the current repertoire, such as *Sir John in Love* and *Riders to the Sea*, it contains less-accessible material including the incidental music to performances of *Pilgrim's Progress* by the B.B.C. and at Reigate Priory, unpublished incidental music to B.B.C. productions of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *Richard II*, and film music, much of which was published only in the form of suites and arrangements. Vaughan Williams's habit of arranging his own music in different form recalls that of Bach and Handel. The film music for *Scott of the Antarctic*, later used for the *Sinfonia Antartica*, and the cantata *In Windsor Forest* arranged from *Sir John in Love* are well-known instances, but the present collection contains many other examples; his arrangement made for the congregation to sing at the Coronation ceremony in 1953 of the words 'All people that on earth do dwell' and the familiar tune 'The Old Hundredth' with which they have been associated since Knox's Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1561, has a splendid introductory flourish, played with magnificent effect in Westminster Abbey by the Kneller Hall Trumpeters,<sup>1</sup> which is actually the theme of an earlier, similarly titled but completely different work, his setting of *The Hundredth Psalm* published by Stainer & Bell in 1929; the *New Commonwealth*, a unison, two- or four-part song, uses the theme of the prelude to the film music for the *49th Parallel*; the orchestral *Prelude on an Old Carol Tune* is an arrangement of a carol collected by him which he had also used in the music to *The Mayor of Casterbridge*; *Epithalamium* is a cantata based on the masque *The Bridal Day*; *Sun, Moon, Stars and Man* is a song-cycle using themes from the cantata *Sons of Light*. These last four works are settings of words by, or selected by, the composer's wife and it is pleasant to think that we have some good examples of their collaboration.

The record of this generous gift must not pass without a note that a number of the manuscripts were made available to Mrs. Vaughan Williams for presentation, through the courteous co-operation of a number of publishers, and others, who returned to her manuscripts which had been in their possession. Our gratitude is due to Messrs. Boosey & Hawkes Ltd., J. Curwen & Sons Ltd., Novello & Co. Ltd., Stainer & Bell, Ltd., and the British Broadcasting Company and, in particular, to the Oxford University Press, Vaughan Williams's main publisher for the last thirty years of his life, who contributed scores of more than thirty works. The collection as a whole forms the largest group of autographs of a major composer in the Department of Manuscripts.

P. J. WILLETT

<sup>1</sup> Information from Mrs. Vaughan Williams.

<sup>2</sup> The readings of some of the words in this note are doubtful.

# APPENDIX

## LIST OF THE RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS COLLECTION

*Please note:* 1. The dates given are those of publication or first performance unless otherwise stated. 2. A number of the scores are incomplete.

### GENERAL PLAN

	Add. MSS.		Add. MSS.
Symphonies.	50361-84	Operas, ballets, masques.	50406-21
Concertos, &c.	50385-92	Film and incidental music.	50422-33
Smaller instrumental works.	50393-405	Other vocal works.	50434-82

<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>MS. Number</i>
SYMPHONIES		
A Sea Symphony, 1910.	Early sketches.	50361
	Vocal sketches.	50362-3
	Printed proofs of vocal score.	50364
	Full score.	50365
	Printed full score with the composer's corrections (four parts).	50366
A London Symphony, 1914.	Sketches.	50367
	Pianoforte scores.	50368
Pastoral Symphony, score dated 'June 28th 1921'.	Full score and a few sketches.	50369
Symphony no 4 in F minor, 1935.	Two-pianoforte score.	50370
Symphony no 5 in D major, 1943.	Early sketches. }	50371
	Two-pianoforte scores. }	
	Full score. Partly autograph.	
Symphony no. 6 in E minor, composed 1944-7.	Two-pianoforte score and sketches.	50372
Sinfonia Antartica, composed 1951-2. (See also 'Scott of the Antarctic', 50431.)		50373-4
Symphony no. 8 in D minor, 1956. (See also 50390.)	Sketches.	50375
Symphony no. 9 in E minor, 1958.	Sketches.	50376
	Rough full score, incomplete.	50377
	Sketches. First movement.	50378
	Sketches. Second movement.	50379
	Sketches. Third movement.	50380
	Sketches. Fourth movement.	50381
	Pianoforte score and Roy Douglas's queries.	50382
	Early full score.	50383
	Final full score.	50384

<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>MS. Number</i>
CONCERTOS OR WORKS FOR SOLO INSTRUMENT AND ORCHESTRA		
Pianoforte Concerto, 1933.	Full score.	50385
Suite for Viola, 1934.	Full score (three parts).	50386
Oboe Concerto, 1944.	Early sketches in notebook.	50387
	Full score.	50388
Romance for Harmonica, 1952.	Full score.	50389
Tuba Concerto, 1954.	Sketches, in notebook also containing a few sketches of Symphony no. 8.	50390
	Two full scores.	50391-2
SMALLER INSTRUMENTAL WORKS		
Prelude and Fugue in C minor, 1930.	Full score.	50393
The Running Set, 1936.	Two-pianoforte score. } Full score. } Parts. }	50394-6
Two Hymn Tune Preludes, 1936.	Full score.	50397
Household Music, 1942.	Full score.	50398
	Parts.	50399
Suite for Pipes, 1947.	Full scores.	50400
Prelude on an Old Carol Tune, 1953. (Also used in the music to 'The Mayor of Casterbridge': see 50433.)	Full score.	50401
Preludes on 3 Welsh Hymn Tunes, 1955.	Full score and printed copy.	50402
Two Organ Preludes, 1956.	Organ score.	50403
Variations for Brass Band, 1957.	Full score and sketches (in notebook).	50404-5
OPERAS, BALLETS, AND MASQUES		
Hugh the Drover, composed 1911-14.	Fragments and discards. Mostly in full score.	50406
On Christmas Night, 1926.	Full score.	50407
	Full score.	50408
Sir John in Love, 1929. (See also 'In Windsor Forest' 50450.)	Prologue and interludes. Full scores.	50409
	Full score. Acts I-IV.	50410 A-D
Job, 1930-1.	A few pages of score for two pianofortes.	50411
The Poisoned Kiss, 1936.	Sketches. Including one notebook and some sketches in full score.	50412

<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>MS. Number</i>
The Poisoned Kiss, 1936 ( <i>cont.</i> ).	Overture. Full score.	50413
	Introduction and Scene. Full score.	50414
	Full score, Acts I-III.	50415 A-C
Riders to the Sea, 1937.	Rough full score.	50416
	Full score.	50417
Pilgrim's Progress, composed 1948-9. (See also 'Seven Songs from Pilgrim's Pro- gress' in 50481.)	Two early versions (incidental music). Full scores.	50418-19
The Bridal Day, 1953. (See also 'Epithalamium', 50479.)	Full score (opera).	50420
	Full score.	50421
FILM MUSIC AND INCIDENTAL MUSIC		
49th Parallel, composed 1940-1. (See also 'The New Commonwealth' in 50480.)	Miscellaneous pianoforte scores includ- ing nine notebooks.	50422
Coastal Command, composed 1942.	Full scores including the Prelude.	50423
	Full score (incomplete) and sketches (in four notebooks).	50424
	Suite. Full score.	50425
	Suite (photostats of a copy). Full score.	50426
The People's Land, com- posed 1943.	Pianoforte sketches (in three note- books).	50427
	Full score.	50428
The Story of a Flemish Farm, composed 1943.	Rough full scores.	50429
Scott of the Antarctic, com- posed 1948-9. (See also 'Sin- fonia Antarctica', 50375.)	Full score and 'control' condensed score	50430
	A few sketches, a few leaves of piano- forte and full scores.	50431
Richard II.	Incidental music. Full score.	50432
Mayor of Casterbridge. (See also 'Prelude on an Old Carol Tune', 50401.)	Incidental music. Full score.	50433
OTHER VOCAL WORKS		
Willow Wood, full score marked 'Finished April 12th 1903' and 'Revised April 1908'.	Pianoforte score.	50434
	Full score.	50435
Sound Sleep, score dated 7 Oct. 1903.	Full score.	50436
Silent Noon, score dated 14 Nov. 1905.	Full score and parts.	50437

<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>MS. Number</i>
Songs of Travel, Nos. 1-3, score dated 10, 19, and 23 Nov. 1905. (See also 'The Vagabond' and 'I have trod' in 50480.)	Full score.	50438
Toward the Unknown Region, 1905.	Full score.	50439
Five Mystical Songs, 1911.	Vocal score and a few leaves of full score.	50440
Fantasia on Christmas Carols, 1912.	Full score.	50441
O clap your hands, 1920.	Full score.	50442
Mass in G, composed c. 1922.	Organ part, sketches.	50443
Sancta Civitas, 1926.	Vocal score.	50444
	Full score with English words.	50445
	Voice parts with Latin words.	50446
Benedicite, composed 1929.	Full score.	50447
Two of Three Choral Hymns (Christmas hymn, Whitsun hymn) composed 1929.	Vocal scores.	50448
The Hundredth Psalm, composed 1929.	Full score.	50449
In Windsor Forest, 1931. (See also 'Sir John in Love', 50409-10.)	Full score.	50450
Magnificat, 1932.	Two full scores.	50451 A, B
Te Deum and Benedictus, 1934.	Vocal score (in notebook).	50452
Dona nobis pacem, 1936.	Vocal score.	50453
	Full score.	50454
Five Tudor Portraits, 1936.	Sketches including a rejected item 'Margery Wentworth'.	50455
	Vocal score.	50456
	Full score (two parts).	50457 A, B
Nothing is here for tears, 1936.	Vocal score and full score (two notebooks).	50458 A, B
Festival Te Deum, composed 1937.	Full score.	50459
Flourish for a Coronation, 1937.	Full score and two leaves of sketch.	50460
All hail the power, 1938.	Full score.	50461
Arrangement of the tune 'Miles Lane' by W. Shrubsole.		



<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>MS. Number</i>
Six Choral Songs, 1940.	Vocal score of nos. 4-6.	50462
	Full score.	50463
England my England, 1941.	Two full scores (for orchestra and military band) and a vocal score.	50464
Airmen's Hymn, 1942.	Full score and vocal score.	50465
Song of Thanksgiving, 1945.	Full score.	50466
The Voice out of the Whirlwind, 1947.	Full score.	50467
Folksongs of the Four Seasons, 1949.	Full score.	50468
Fantasia on the Old 104th, 1950.	Full score.	50469
The Sons of Light, 1950. (See also 'Sun, Moon, Stars and Man', 50478.)	Vocal score and sketches (including two notebooks).	50470
	Full score.	50471
	Full score.	50472
An Oxford Elegy, 1952.	Voice parts and vocal scores.	50473
	Full score (incomplete).	50474
	Full score.	50475
The Old Hundredth, 1953.	Vocal score and full score.	50476
Hodie, 1954.	Full score.	50477
Sun, Moon, Stars and Man, 1954. (Arranged from 'The Sons of Light', 50470-2.)	Full score.	50478
Epithalamium, 1957. (Arranged from 'Bridal Day', 50421.)	Vocal and full scores (in nine notebooks).	50479
Miscellaneous small vocal works:		50480
How can the tree, 1896-1934.	Full score.	
Orpheus with his lute, 1903.	Full score.	
O vos omnes (Is it nothing to you?), 1922.	Vocal score.	
Motion and Stillness, 1925.	Vocal score.	
The Jolly Carter, 1925.	Full score.	
Copy of the setting by E. J. Moeran (?).		
Six English Folksongs, 1935.	Vocal score.	
Two Old German Songs, 1937.	Vocal score.	

<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>MS. Number</i>
The New Commonwealth, 1943. (See also 50422.)	Full score.	50480
Hymn for St. Margaret, c. 1950?	Vocal score.	
The Vagabond, 1952. Arranged for male voices. (See also 50438.)	Vocal score.	
In the Spring, 1952. A setting of words by W. Barnes. (Presented by the Shaftesbury Museum from the Barnes Society Collection.)	Vocal score.	
God Bless the Master, 1956.	Vocal score.	
Unaccompanied carols, various dates (?).	Vocal score.	
I have trod, n.d., annotated 'No ix' of 'Songs of Travel'. Fragment. (See also 50438.)	Vocal score.	
The Willow Whistle, n.d.	Voice and pipe.	
Miscellaneous vocal works:		50481
Three Shakespeare Songs, 1951.	Vocal score.	
Seven Songs from 'The Pilgrim's Progress', 1952. (See also 50418-20.)	Vocal score.	
Nine Housman Songs, 1954. Six songs only here.	Voice and violin.	
Blake Songs, 1958.	Voice and oboe.	
Three Vocalises for soprano, composed for Margaret Ritchie in 1958 and published in 1960.	Voice and clarinet.	
Sketch book. (Tuba Concerto, Violin Sonata, 'Hodie', 'Pilgrim's Progress', &c.).		50482 A
Sketch book. (Pianoforte Concerto, Job, &c.).		50482 B

## THE ARNOLD-FORSTER PAPERS

**T**HROUGH the generosity of Commander H. C. Arnold-Forster, C.M.G., R.N. (ret'd.), the Museum has received the gift of eighty-three volumes (all save two already bound on arrival at the Museum) of the papers of his father, the Right Honourable Hugh Oakeley Arnold-Forster,<sup>1</sup> the Unionist statesman and Secretary of State for War in Mr. Balfour's administration.<sup>2</sup>

Born in 1855, H. O. Arnold (as he then was, for he did not add his foster-father's name to his own till he had come of age) was left an orphan at the age of three by the death of his father, William Delafield Arnold, soldier and Indian administrator, fourth son of Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby, and younger brother of Matthew Arnold<sup>3</sup> the poet. He, his elder brother, and his sisters were brought up by their father's eldest sister, Jane Martha, and her husband, William Edward Forster, M.P., the Liberal educationalist and Chief Secretary for Ireland in Gladstone's second administration.

After leaving University College, Oxford, Arnold-Forster was called to the Bar in 1879, but shortly before his marriage in 1885 he gave up his practice to enter the publishing firm of Cassell & Company. A Liberal till about this time, he resigned as Liberal candidate for Devonport over Gladstone's Egyptian policy, but even apart from disagreeing with the Liberals on this issue, his experiences as private secretary to his foster-father in Ireland from 1880 to 1882 would certainly have induced him to take the Unionist side in the Home Rule controversy of 1886. In the general election of that year he fought Darlington as a Unionist, as well as a by-election at Dewsbury in 1888, but it was not until the general election of 1892 that he entered Parliament as Liberal Unionist M.P. for West Belfast.

His main interest, though by no means his only one, had always lain in naval and military affairs, and as he had taken pains to acquire a practical knowledge both of the Royal Navy and British Army and of most foreign armies and navies as well, it was not really surprising, though it seems to have surprised Arnold-Forster, that in November 1900 he was offered the post of Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty under Lord Selborne in Lord Salisbury's administration, a post which he accepted. He received the offer by telegraph through Lord Kitchener, at Viljoen's Drift on the border of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, two or three miles out of Vereenigen, while serving as Chairman of the South African Land Settlement Commission; a copy of the report of this commission included with the present papers<sup>4</sup> has been placed amongst miscellanea at the end, together with three bound volumes of offprints of contributions of his to *The Nineteenth Century* and other magazines, as well as other pamphlets by him.<sup>5</sup>

He remained at the Admiralty for nearly three years, till he succeeded St. John

Brodrick as Secretary of State for War in October 1903, and the first twenty-five volumes of his papers relate to the Admiralty period of his ministerial career. They comprise twenty-three volumes of manuscript, typescript, and printed material,<sup>6</sup> including much original correspondence, arranged by him in alphabetical order of subjects, followed by an index volume<sup>7</sup> and a printed report on naval training, with manuscript notes,<sup>8</sup> which fits in with this first section of the papers.

The other fifty-four volumes (excluding the miscellanea noted above) relate almost entirely to his tenure of office as Secretary of State for War, a post which he held till he was succeeded by Haldane in December 1905 on the resignation of Mr. Balfour's Government, and are arranged in two series. First are twenty-six volumes of War Office papers,<sup>9</sup> similar in character to the Admiralty papers in the preceding series, arranged and numbered by Arnold-Forster, but only indexed as far as their ninth volume, with a similar volume not so numbered by him,<sup>10</sup> and eight printed volumes also relating to the Army or the War Office;<sup>11</sup> the other series consists of nineteen volumes of diaries covering the period from October 1903 to December 1905, with a few later items added at the end of the last volume.<sup>12</sup> The last two volumes of the diaries were received in an unbound state. The importance of these diaries for the political history of the period is perhaps best illustrated by quoting Arnold-Forster's note at the beginning of the first volume. 'The Diary was dictated in nearly every case on the day following the events described. In some cases it was written down on the same day and copied subsequently. When absent from home, the Diary was written on the spot and forwarded by post to be copied. It is therefore an absolutely contemporary record.'<sup>13</sup>

Shortly before taking office as Secretary of State, Arnold-Forster had had the misfortune to damage his heart while out riding an unruly mount, and he was never entirely fit again; he died in 1909 at the early age of fifty-three. It is impossible to assess precisely what this country lost by his premature death at such a critical period of its history, but his exceptional appreciation of the importance of scientific research and development, his pioneering of modern 'combined operations', and his foreseeing the importance of the use of light coastal forces in the Narrow Seas are by no means the only examples of his prescience to be found in these papers. Besides ill health, he had other obstacles to overcome at the War Office. He was already expressing concern about the weakness and instability of the Government well before its actual surrender of office—without facing the electorate—in December 1905, and he had some trenchant comments to make on the reluctance of colleagues in the Cabinet and on the Army Council, with some exceptions, notably Mr. Balfour, to back him over necessary but unpopular reforms.

His great achievements have tended to be obscured by those of his successor

in office, but although Haldane did not adopt all the reforms initiated by his predecessor, and differences soon emerged, notably over Haldane's formation of a Territorial Force in preference to Arnold-Forster's very different plans for reorganizing the Militia, yet it is difficult to see how Haldane would have been able to make the progress he did if Arnold-Forster had not already done so much for the Army and its administration.

J. P. HUDSON

<sup>1</sup> The papers have been allotted the Additional Manuscript numbers 50275-357.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold-Forster's wife Mary published a biography of him in 1910, a year after his death; it is entitled *The Right Honourable Hugh Oakeley Arnold-Forster, A Memoir by his Wife*.

<sup>3</sup> The whereabouts of the papers of Matthew Arnold is unknown to Commander Arnold-Forster.

<sup>4</sup> Now Add. MS. 50354.

<sup>5</sup> Now Add. MSS. 50355-7.

<sup>6</sup> Now Add. MSS. 50275-97.

<sup>7</sup> Now Add. MS. 50298.

<sup>8</sup> Now Add. MS. 50299.

<sup>9</sup> Now Add. MSS. 50300-25.

<sup>10</sup> Now Add. MS. 50326.

<sup>11</sup> Now Add. MSS. 50327-34.

<sup>12</sup> Now Add. MSS. 50335-53.

<sup>13</sup> Add. MS. 50335, f. 1.

## THE GEORGE BERNARD SHAW PAPERS

WHEN George Bernard Shaw died in 1950, he bequeathed to the British Museum all the papers in his possession in which he did not own copyright (with the exception only of his business papers, which, with his diaries, he bequeathed to the British Library of Political Science) and also made the Museum one of his three residuary legatees, together with the National Gallery of Ireland and the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. In agreement with the other two legatees, the Museum has, ten years later, been able to purchase all Shaw's remaining manuscripts (i.e. those in his possession at his death in which he owned copyright), which he directed were to be sold for the benefit of the estate. These two groups of papers, together with those which Shaw gave the Museum before his death (viz. *St. Joan* (Add. 45923); letters from Ellen Terry (Add. 43800-2, 46172 G) and his letters to his wife (Add. 46505-7), as well as the T. E. Lawrence Papers; also 'Why She Would Not' (Add. 48201) presented in 1950 by the Public Trustee as Shaw's executor), now form the most extensive literary archive ever to have found its way into the Museum's possession.<sup>1</sup>

Even if we do not take Shaw's reputed description of himself as 'philosopher, novelist, sociologist, critic, statesman, dramatist and theologian' too literally,

it still contains sufficient truth to give some idea of the scope of his papers: a leading Fabian (he was a member of its Executive Committee from 1885 to 1911, author of some fourteen Fabian Tracts and editor of more than a dozen others), vigorous humanitarian and for seven years vestryman and councillor of St. Pancras, as well as playwright, novelist, journalist, and art, drama and music critic, his papers cover an immensely wide field and stretch in time across the gulf which separates late-nineteenth-century Victorian radicalism from the welfare democracy of the mid-twentieth century.

Before discussing these papers in detail, it may be as well to mention briefly what they do not include. Despite the generosity of his bequest to the Museum, Shaw clearly had no sense of what archivists call 'the sanctity of the archive', but rather distributed his manuscripts as gifts to friends or institutions for whom they might seem fitting. For instance, he gave the manuscript of *John Bull's Other Island* (now in America) to his friend, Sir Sydney Cockerell, the manuscripts of his early novels to the National Library of Ireland, and his letters from Henry James to Harvard University.

Still less complete is his correspondence, partly through loss by gifts, partly through destruction. Henry James's letters, as we have seen, were sent to America, Mrs. Patrick Campbell's returned to her and G. K. Chesterton's given to the latter's widow. Moreover, by bequeathing his business papers to the London School of Economics, some important correspondences of literary and biographical interest, like those with his translators Augustin Hamon or Siegfried Trebitsch, have inevitably been separated from the main body of material in the Museum. Although Shaw declared it his rule 'never to keep anything but necessary business memoranda' he found he made exceptions, not only over Ellen Terry's (letters to have burnt which 'would have been like burning a medieval psalter or a XV Century French Book of Hours') but also Mrs. Patrick Campbell's,<sup>2</sup> and although he thought he had destroyed all Mrs. Jenny Patterson's letters to him, a long but incomplete series still remains. But if he never adhered too closely to his rule, the gaps in his correspondence can most probably be explained by the fact that he destroyed a large part of his correspondence as he went along. Certainly before his marriage, when he seems to have kept his letters with great care in neatly tied and annotated bundles, there is evidence that he destroyed a certain amount;<sup>3</sup> afterwards, particularly from 1908 when he began to employ a full-time secretary, his correspondence was probably sorted out more carefully and filed alphabetically in cabinets, usually under subject headings, although some particularly treasured correspondences—one thinks especially of the letters of, say, Gilbert Murray—always seem to have been kept together as a whole.

The majority of the papers acquired by the British Museum are now in the Department of Manuscripts (Add. 50508-743). Various prints and cartoons,

including proofs of John Farleigh's illustrations to Shaw's books and some landscape photographs by Frederick Evans, have been transferred to the Department of Prints and Drawings, and any purely printed material (including privately printed rehearsal copies of Shaw's plays, theatre programmes and miscellaneous books and pamphlets owned by Shaw) has been transferred to the Department of Printed Books. The only exceptions are newspaper cuttings of letters, articles and lectures by Shaw, which are being bound together with the original manuscripts, Shaw's Fabian Tracts, some pamphlets relating to phonetics, and bibliographies of Shaw's writings (now MS. Departmental Pamphlets nos. 1341-3).

#### NON-COPYRIGHT MATERIAL .

The papers are arranged in two series. The first series (Add. 50508-92), containing the papers bequeathed by Shaw to the Museum, consists principally of Shaw's correspondence, including some drafts and copies of letters by Shaw, which it was impossible to separate from the letters to which they relate. In many ways this correspondence is the most interesting part of the collection, because it is the least known and helps to throw new light on Shaw, in particular on his humanity and kindness to all who sought help from him. The volumes of special correspondence include letters from Socialist and Fabian friends like William Morris and his daughter May Morris, the Webbs (in 1885 Sydney was enthusiastically trying to make Shaw spend two hours one evening a week learning German with him in order to read Marx together: 'having experimented on you, I shall, if successful, apply the method to myself and polish off Dutch & Italian', he wrote to Shaw), Hubert Bland, Sydney Olivier, Graham Wallas and H. G. Wells; friends in the theatre like Forbes Robertson, the Irvings, Granville Barker, and Lady Gregory; fellow playwrights, scholars and critics—Arthur Pinero, William Archer, Gilbert Murray, Max Beerbohm; poets—George Russell ('A. E.'), Yeats, Robert Bridges and many others; not to mention the equally famous names which appear more fleetingly in the general correspondence.

There is an interesting series of letters from Mrs. Kate Perugini, Charles Dickens's daughter, revealing that it was Shaw's influence alone which persuaded her to give her father's letters to the British Museum (now Add. 43689), when she would have destroyed them; since, instead of showing the world that Dickens loved his wife, she herself thought they proved exactly the reverse.

Outstanding, because absolutely frank both in praise and criticism, are the letters of Gilbert Murray, William Archer and Dame Laurentia McLachlan, Abbess of Stanbrook Abbey; William Morris and the latter being the only two in whose presence Sir Sydney Cockerell told Shaw he had ever seen 'his genius



rebuked, . . . the first by his mental stature, the second by her gay rectitude and both by their saintliness'. Murray and Archer both criticized Shaw for much the same thing, 'the damnable vice', in Gilbert Murray's words, 'of preferring rhetoric to truth', for both believed firmly, in Archer's words, 'in the wisdom of the essence of your thought: there are hundreds of pages in your prefaces that I read in a passion of assent and admiration' and yet Archer doubted if there was anyone who had produced so little practical effect on his generation. It says much for the respect in which Shaw held their opinions that he guarded their letters so carefully.

The general correspondence, which extends from 1857 to 1950, falls roughly into three periods: the early years in which the young Shaw, newly arrived from Ireland, gradually acquired fame and reputation in London (this section includes some letters of his parents and grandparents); the middle years of confident success; and the last years of slackened tension when the main impetus of his career was spent. If the middle years (especially 1914-18, relating to the war and Irish affairs) are politically speaking the most important, the early years, with their letters from publishers and Shaw's newly acquired Socialist and literary friends, are perhaps the most seductive. But even the last period has a particular interest, for, when most of Shaw's old friends had died, his correspondents were still as numerous, if less personal, and they show how wide was the admiration and affection felt for Shaw throughout the world.

Also in the series are two volumes of memoranda and treatises relating to phonetics (50569-70) and eleven volumes of photographs: the latter consisting mainly of Shaw, his family and friends and places connected with him, including a collection to illustrate *Sixteen Self Sketches*, photographs of actors and productions of Shaw's plays (50582-92).

#### COPYRIGHT MATERIAL

The second series (50593-743), containing Shaw's literary and other writings in which he owned copyright, is more miscellaneous. First and foremost are his plays (50593-649), arranged together in chronological order, starting with the unpublished and incomplete Passion Play of 1878 and ending, seventy years later, with torn shorthand and typescript fragments of the *Farfetched Fables* of 1948. The earlier plays were written in shorthand in sets of small octavo notebooks (*Widowers' Houses* and parts of *Getting Married*, *The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnet*, *Press Cuttings* and *Misalliance*) or, more commonly, in longhand (all the principal plays from *The Philanderer* to *The Doctor's Dilemma*, excepting only *The Admirable Bashville*, *Man and Superman* and *John Bull's Other Island*). Later plays are written in shorthand or typed on Shaw's favourite green paper (*Annajanska*, originally 'The Wild Grand Duchess'; *Back to Methuselah*; a fragment of *St. Joan*; *Too True to be Good*; *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles*;



*The Millionairess*; *Buoyant Billions* (pl. III); and *Farfetched Fables*). There is also a notebook containing a small unpublished play of 1889-90, 'The Cassone'; a typescript copy of Shaw's dramatized version of a play by Mrs. Ethel Voynich, called 'The Gadfly'; a longhand draft of 'The Inauguration Speech', written for Cyril Maude's opening of the Playhouse in 1907, and a scenario for G. K. Chesterton, written in October 1909. Included with the plays are film scenarios of *Major Barbara*, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, *Androcles and the Lion*, *Pygmalion* (in autograph longhand), and *St. Joan*; some printed editions of plays, containing corrections or stage directions by Shaw; notebooks and loose-leaf sheets of his pencilled rehearsal notes and an interesting notebook containing details of productions of his plays.

As Max Beerbohm wrote, after seeing one of Shaw's corrected typescripts, 'It was delightful to see in the making the wonderful swiftness & slickness & bracingness of your style. The first script was so *you* but the amended script so much *more you*.' This is true of all his manuscripts, although, in the case of his plays, it was often their titles which suffered most from change, the texts surprisingly little, and we find that *You Never Can Tell* was originally entitled, with typical Shavian alliteration, 'The Terrestrial Twins'; *The Millionairess* 'His Tragic Clients'; and *Buoyant Billions*, first, 'O Bee Beeze Beez' and, later, 'The World Betterer's Courtship'.

After his plays follow his poems, novels and short stories (Add. 50650-8). Even Shaw never actually arrogated to himself the title of poet, but the word is used very loosely to describe a miscellaneous collection of rhymes, epigrams, and aphorisms, which seemed to flow as easily from his pen as the poem (in a notebook, Add. 50721), inspired by a 'Violet Beverley' (later thought to be 'Mabel Crofton') in the Reading Room of the Museum in 1882,

... a place where men must be deaf & dumb  
But where, alas! they must not be blind?  
I came to write, & I stayed to look  
I dared not offend, yet could not refrain  
And so, whilst you sat there deep in your book,  
I studied your face again and again. . . .

The manuscripts of most of Shaw's novels are now in the National Library of Ireland: nevertheless there remain in the present collection the original manuscript in shorthand of *Cashel Byron's Profession* and a shorthand draft of *An Unsocial Socialist*, as well as typescripts of *Immaturity* and *An Unfinished Novel*, an autograph preface to the American 1905 edition of *The Irrational Knot*, an autograph, typescript and printed collection of *Short Stories* and the original shorthand draft of *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God*; the last two being published together, in 1934, in the Standard Edition of Shaw's collected works.

A third group contains Shaw's critical writings and memoranda (Add. 50659-85). Among the literary writings are the additional chapter and preface for the 1913 edition of *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, as well as pages of Shaw's Fabian lectures, discarded from *The Quintessence*, and the Methuselah preface; musical articles (manuscript, typescript and printed), collected by Mrs. Shaw, apparently for a volume in the Collected Edition; a similar collection of articles for a book 'Religion and Religions', which reached galley proofs but was never published; and other miscellaneous essays.

The political writings in this group include a sixty-six-page manuscript on 'Technical Socialism' (described by Shaw as 'a book which was never finished'), his paper on 'The Political Situation', delivered as a Fabian lecture in 1895, 'The Simple Truth about Socialism', his War and Peace Conference writings, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism* (the text in shorthand and a synopsis in longhand), *Everybody's Political What's What?*, the preface and first chapter of a book to be called 'The Rationalisation of Russia', and miscellaneous essays relating to socialism, Ireland, &c. There are five volumes of writings and memoranda relating to the Fabian Society (Add. 50679-83), and finally two volumes of miscellaneous writings and memoranda relating to subjects in which Shaw was particularly interested, such as the Dramatists' Club, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, the Society of Authors, phonetics, or vivisection (Add. 50684, 50685).

Shaw's prefaces to works by others, including an autograph notebook of his preface to Brieux's *Three Plays* published in 1911, form Add. 50686-7.

'I also am a journalist, proud of it', Shaw wrote in *The Sanity of Art*, and the ten volumes of his newspaper articles (Add. 50688-97) contain as much that is vital and stimulating as his plays, although they too have for the most part already been published and contain little new material. The first two volumes are particularly interesting as they contain cuttings of his early anonymous or pseudonymous reviews in *The Hornet*, *The Dramatic Review*, *The World* and *The Pall Mall Gazette* (1876-89), arranged and mounted by Shaw himself. The remainder contain both manuscripts and printed articles arranged together in chronological order.

They are followed by a similar series of lecture notes (Add. 50698-705), which, together with printed lecture bills and newspaper reports of his lectures, present a formidable picture of Shaw's lecturing career from 1884 to 1935. His notes consist mainly of sets of small cards containing a skeleton framework of headings and main points to be made, but there are sufficient full-length manuscripts, written in longhand, to belie his exclamation to Austin Harrison: 'Lord bless you, I never write out a lecture. I just do a syllabus to advertise the course and think no more about it.' Admittedly these are all early manuscripts, such as his paper on *Troilus and Cressida* to the New Shakespeare Society in

1884 or those on Art and on Fiction to the Bedford Debating Society in 1885 and 1887, and it is interesting to see how quickly he gave up writing his lectures out in full. Even in this early period (1884-8) he was delivering lectures on socialism on summary sets of cards which he evidently used again and again—his lecture on Socialism and Radicalism to the Hammersmith Radical Club, for instance, he repeated some nine times between November 1885 and June 1887—and it was doubtless in this way that he overcame his early nervousness of speaking in public. However brief the notes, they fortunately suffice to prove Shaw wrong in predicting he would be left 'after a lifetime of lecturing with little record of my utterances except those registered in the minds of my audiences'.

Among Shaw's autobiographical writings and memoranda (Add. 50706-18) is a shorthand and corrected typescript draft for *Sixteen Self Sketches* with some galley proofs of this and of *Shaw Gives Himself Away*; other miscellaneous articles containing autobiographical material about Shaw; and an early autobiographical notebook (Add. 50710), which seems to have been unused by Shaw's biographers and contains fascinating material for the history of his early life. It begins: 'At midnight of Wednesday Oct 24th 1877, when destroying a few old purses with their contents, I found by tickets &c (which I burnt) the following facts and dates', and there follow details of the cost of a suit and bookbinding, his weight from 1872 to 1884, season tickets in Dublin, &c. The following pages contain details about his employers, Charles Uniacke Townshend & Co. in Dublin and their staff, brief notes of what he did from 1876 to 1885, 'the first year in which I kept a slight journal. It will supercede this in future' (these shorthand journals are now in the London School of Economics), and short sketches of business partnerships and friends in Dublin. From his notes we learn that in 1880 he 'used the B. Museum reading room a good deal for the 1st time', becoming a vegetarian and reading there daily from January to June of the following year; he then caught smallpox and only resumed both his vegetarianism and his daily visits to the Museum in October, the month in which he 'Answered various advertisements &c—No success' (Pl. IV).

The memoranda which follow this notebook are entirely miscellaneous: notes relating to the Shaw family, phrenological charts and membership cards belonging to Shaw; a card index of 'headaches', publications, and travels; daily lists of correspondence to be answered and agendas, presented to him by his secretaries (mainly 1929-40); copies of his wills and notes relating to them; and finally four address books: all material which in various ways could be of great use to future biographers of Shaw.

Notebooks, which belong to none of the above groups, are arranged together (Add. 50719-43) and include a block of 'juvenile drawings' by Shaw, a re-

minder that, according to Frank Harris, Shaw had wanted to be an artist and had attended the Royal Dublin Society's School of Art from at least 1870 to 1872 (see his notebook, Add. 50710), 'only to be convinced that he was no draughtsman'.<sup>4</sup> The most interesting of all these notebooks is undoubtedly one, dating from 1877 (Add. 50721), which contains fragments of music, sketches, poems, shorthand exercises, plans of all his early novels, many early articles, including one written in 1878 called 'Contemporary Art viewed from behind the Age' which is heavily overwritten 'All this is the most virulent trash that sarcastic ignorance can produce—1882'; and a page of interesting information listing Shaw's attempts to have his early novels and articles published. Others contain notes relating to his period as vestryman and councillor of St. Pancras, early articles, drafts of letters, lecture notes and rehearsal notes. Finally Add. 50743 is a made-up volume of miscellaneous autograph jottings and memoranda by Shaw.

When Shaw gave his letters from Ellen Terry to the Museum in 1934, he wrote that his 'debt to that great institution' was inestimable and gave it a right to any thing of his that was of sufficient public interest to be worthy of its acceptance.<sup>5</sup> In his extremely generous bequest to the British Museum he has not only repaid his debt but made the Museum as indebted to him as he was to the Museum, for rarely has it been rewarded with a collection of papers impregnated with such vigour and independence of thought. Shaw was never dull, and if he sometimes shocked or offended it was perhaps his greatest merit, for, as he wrote in his preface to *St. Joan*, we must 'bear in mind that unless there is a large liberty to shock conventional people and a well-informed sense of the value of originality, individuality and eccentricity, the result will be apparent stagnation covering a repression of evolutionary forces which will eventually explode with extravagant and probably destructive violence', words which will always be as true as when they were written.

ALISON M. BROWN

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted in the preparation of this article to the help of my colleague, Miss M. L. Hoyle, and my husband and former colleague, T. J. Brown, who have been jointly responsible for arranging the Shaw Papers. I should also like to acknowledge the advice and help which Dan H. Laurence, Shaw's authorized bibliographer, has so generously and unsparingly given us. Our thanks are due to the Society of

Authors for permission to publish and reproduce passages from Shaw's writings.

<sup>2</sup> *Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: their Correspondence* (1952), p. 311 (letter dated 11 Aug. 1937).

<sup>3</sup> See entries in his notebook, Add. 50710, f. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Bernard Shaw* (1931), p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *B.M.Q.* ix (1934-5), p. 82.

## CHARLES DICKENS AS PLAYWRIGHT

IN 1933 the Lord Chamberlain transferred to the British Museum the copies of plays submitted to his predecessors for licensing between 1824 and 1851, a collection which now forms Additional MSS. 42865-43038.<sup>1</sup> Most of these plays are in manuscript, but few are in the authors' own hands; they are mostly fair copies written out by clerks. Some authors, however, submitted either drafts or fair copies that they had written out themselves, or else they made substantial alterations to the plays in their own hands after they had been copied. Thus the collection includes autograph manuscripts of many of the leading playwrights of the period, such as J. R. Planché, Edward Fitzball, J. B. Buckstone, and G. D. Pitt. None of these writers achieved a fame that long outlived him, and of more general interest are the plays by writers whose reputation rests on work in other fields. Among these are autograph copies of two plays by Mary Russell Mitford, *Rienzi* (Add. MS. 42892, ff. 165-252) and *Charles I* (Add. MS. 42873, ff. 402-99), while it has recently been found that two of the three plays by Charles Dickens in the collection show alterations and additions in the author's own hand.

When his three plays were performed in 1836-7, Dickens's career as a novelist was just beginning. *Sketches by Boz* was published on his twenty-fourth birthday in February 1836, and its success enabled him to get married at the beginning of April. Meanwhile he had started to write *The Pickwick Papers*; the first monthly instalment appeared in March 1836, but it was not completed until November 1837. Late in 1835 he had agreed to collaborate with the young musician John Hullah in an operetta on a theme which Dickens called 'a simple rural story';<sup>2</sup> the result was *The Village Coquettes*, which he seems to have finished in August or September 1836, and which was produced on 6 December at the St. James's Theatre. This theatre had been opened the previous year by John Braham, the tenor singer; both he and his principal actor, J. P. Harley, were known to Dickens personally, and it was for them that he wrote the two farces, *The Strange Gentleman* and *Is she his Wife? or, Something Singular*. The former was probably written in the spring or summer of 1836 and was produced on 29 September; the latter was produced on 6 March 1837. A further farce, *The Lamplighter*, was written and rehearsed, but was withdrawn before production.

Copies of the three pieces performed were duly submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's Office for licensing, and are now preserved in the Department of Manuscripts. They are of interest partly because they contain minor variations from the printed texts of the plays, partly because the corrections and additions in Dickens's own hand throw some light on the process of composition. In *The Village Coquettes* (Add. MS. 42938, ff. 346-447) we see that the duet 'In rich

and lofty station shine' was written as an afterthought which Dickens himself added to the fair copy of the play (f. 391b, reproduced as Pl. V) to replace a short passage of dialogue. In Act 2, Scene 4, he also replaced a speech of Lucy's by a short song beginning 'He despises, he shuns me', but this was omitted from the printed version and probably also from the operetta as produced, for it is not included in the list of songs on the printed playbills. These are the only autograph alterations; other unidentified hands have made alterations in both pen and pencil, of which some are followed in the printed text, others not. These and other variations from the printed text are of little significance.

Unlike *The Village Coquettes*, which was written as an operetta, *The Strange Gentleman* and *Is she his Wife?* were probably constructed as ordinary plays. Until 1843, however, the production of straightforward plays in London was allowed only at the two 'patent theatres', Covent Garden and Drury Lane; other theatres could give only musical and variety shows, the 'illegitimate drama'. In practice this restriction was evaded by the loose definition of the burletta, a permitted form of entertainment, which came to consist of an ordinary play in which a few songs were introduced. In 1824 the Duke of Montrose, as Lord Chamberlain, wrote to the Examiner of Plays that 'Five or six songs in a Piece of one Act for example, where the songs make a natural part of the Piece, (& not forced into an acting piece, to qualify it as a Burletta) may be perhaps considered so far a Burletta, as not to be refused by the Chamberlain',<sup>3</sup> but in the next ten years less stringent definitions were applied. A number of the burlettas in the Lord Chamberlain's manuscripts have the songs filled in in the author's own hand in spaces left blank for the purpose by the copyist—clear evidence that the songs were conceived quite separately from the rest of the play<sup>4</sup>—while Dickens considered the songs so irrelevant to the action of his two farces that they are omitted altogether from the printed versions. The Lord Chamberlain's manuscripts, however, preserve the plays as performed and thus include the songs. In *Is she his Wife?* (Add. MS. 42940, ff. 625-48) these are no more than a duet at the beginning and a song (with all but the first two of its eight verses struck out) in the middle of the second act.

In *Is she his Wife?* it is only in the inclusion of the songs that the manuscript differs significantly from the published text, and there are no alterations in Dickens's own hand. The manuscript of *The Strange Gentleman* is of greater interest. Of the three plays it is the only one that has any literary merit; it is an amusing stage version of the story of *The Great Winglebury Duel* in *Sketches by Boz* with renamed characters and a more complicated plot. The basic situation—that of an unwilling duellist—is reminiscent of an episode in *The Pickwick Papers*, though the pusillanimous conduct of the central figure contrasts with the heroism which Mr. Winkle displayed in similar circumstances. In *The Strange Gentleman* there are other echoes of the early numbers of *The Pickwick*



*Papers* which do not occur in the short story; the meal that the strange gentleman ordered—broiled fowl and mushrooms—is the same as Mr. Pickwick offered Mr. Jingle on their first night in Rochester, the scene where Tom Sparks collects the boots to be cleaned parallels our first introduction to Sam Weller, similarly engaged at the White Hart Inn in the Borough, while the name of the play's hero, Walker Trott (he is Alexander Trott in the short story), recalls the scene at Bury St. Edmunds when Sam Weller introduces himself to Job Trotter under the name of Walker.<sup>5</sup> This internal evidence confirms that Dickens was working on the play and the novel simultaneously.

The basic text of the Lord Chamberlain's manuscript of *The Strange Gentleman* (Add. MS. 42939, ff. 571–644) is a fair copy written by a clerk on one side only of pages numbered 1–78 (plus title-page and list of cast) which were apparently sewn together at the top to form a book.<sup>6</sup> The alterations on the manuscript fall into three main groups. First is the addition of the songs needed to turn the play into a burletta; these, with in one case a short introductory speech, are written on the appropriate blank pages of the manuscript in a hand which is neither the original copyist's nor Dickens's own (ff. 572*b*, 593*b*, 606*b*, 607*b*, 622*b*). Second are some small alterations made by Dickens himself in a careful hand, using a finely pointed pen and dark ink; among them is the substitution of 'wery' and 'wacant' for 'very' and 'vacant' in Tom Sparks's speech at the beginning of Act 2. Third are the many alterations made by Dickens himself in a freer hand, using a broader pen and pale ink. These include the double underlining of stage directions and writing over letters to make the text more legible, and also considerable textual changes. In the first scene Dickens has replaced three pages of text with new dialogue written on the blank pages (ff. 587*b*, 589*b*); unfortunately two of the cancelled sheets have been cut out, leaving only stubs, but it seems likely that originally much more was made of Tom Sparks's mistaking the strange gentleman for the ubiquitous Captain Swing, the name under which the rick-burners operated. Again, at the end of Act 1 and in the middle of the final scene, considerable portions of the text have been cancelled (pp. 45, 46, and 68–71 of the original numeration have been removed altogether) and new dialogue written in on the backs of the preceding sheets (ff. 616*b*, 637*b*). Other lesser alterations in the same style and ink occur throughout the text, and in a few cases preliminary pencil notes are visible; thus the stage direction 'throwing off his coat, and sparring up to him' has been altered by Dickens to 'raises his cane', following the pencilled note, partly rubbed out, 'Q. There may be a little hazard in Johnson stripping which may easily be avoided by a word or two' (ff. 599*b*, 600).

Dickens came to have no high opinion of his plays. Even in 1843 he wrote of *The Village Coquettes* and *The Strange Gentleman*, 'both these things were done without the least consideration or regard to reputation. I wouldn't repeat them for a thousand pounds apiece, and devoutly wish them to be forgotten'.<sup>7</sup>

But Dickens's reputation is now more secure and it certainly will not suffer from the discovery of these interesting relics of some of his earliest compositions.

P. D. A. HARVEY

<sup>1</sup> See *B.M.Q.* vii (1933), pp. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to J. P. Hullah, 6 Nov. 1835, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. W. Dexter (3 vols., 1938), i, pp. 48-49.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MS. 42865, f. 437; on the history of the burletta see A. Nicoll, *History of English Drama 1660-1900* (6 vols., 1952-9), iv, pp. 137-41, where, however, the present letter is wrongly attributed to the Examiner of Plays, George Colman, and is dated 24 February, instead of 24 March, 1824.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. J. B. Buckstone's *The Fallen Spirit or Leon of Marana* (produced as *The Doom of Morana or the Spirit of Good and Evil*), Add. MS. 42939, ff. 645-77.

<sup>5</sup> The names that he gave his characters were of great significance to Dickens; see J. Lindsay,

*Charles Dickens, a Biographical and Critical Study* (1950), pp. 125-6.

<sup>6</sup> There are also sewing-holes down one side of the pages; probably the manuscript was resewn and bound with other plays when in the Lord Chamberlain's Office. That the holes at the top of the pages are those of the original sewing is shown by the widths of margin and by the fact that all notes and additions on the blank facing pages are written upside down.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to R. H. Horne, 13 Nov. 1843, *Letters of Charles Dickens*, i, p. 548.

The permission of H. C. Dickens, Esq., O.B.E., to quote unpublished passages from the manuscripts of Dickens's plays and to reproduce Pl. V is gratefully acknowledged.

## AN ILLUSTRATED SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT

IN the middle of last year the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts had the singular good fortune to purchase an illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra*, an important metaphysical work of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhists. Approximately forty *Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtras* were composed in India and Nepal over the period of a millennium from 400 to 1400 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, or between 100 B.C. and A.D. 900. The language in which these texts were written was traditionally Sanskrit. Roughly speaking four phases of composition can be distinguished: (1) The elaboration of a *basic text* (c. 100 B.C. to A.D. 100). (2) The expansion of that text (c. A.D. 100 to 300). (3) The re-statement of the doctrines in short *Sūtras* and in *versified summaries* (c. 300-500). (4) The period of *Tantric* influence and of the composition of *Commentaries* (c. 500-1200).

The manuscript newly acquired by the Department of Oriental Printed Books is one of the oldest *Prajñā-pāramitā* text, the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā* or the *Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Lines*. As is usual with this type of literature, the *Sūtras*, although in prose, are named after the number of ślokas which they contain, a śloka being thirty-two syllables. These 8,000 ślokas are further arranged in thirty-two chapters. The whole text may have taken centuries to reach its present form and is likely to have originated in southern India, in the



modern Andhra territory. Its main topic is the doctrine of Emptiness in all its many ramifications.

The complete manuscript of the newly acquired Prajñā-pāramitā text must have consisted of 326 folios, of which are lacking folios nos. 30, 104-5, and 325-6. The absence of the last two folios represents no inconsiderable loss, for on the last folio one might have perhaps been fortunate enough to find a colophon, which would have given the precise date when the manuscript was written and the name of the scribe who wrote it. The last extant folio, no. 324, peters out about three-quarters of the way through the final chapter, the decipherable text ending with the words *Buddha-darśanena dharma-śravaṇena saṅgho* (ed. *Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 529). Of the 321 extant folios no fewer than 61 contain miniatures of considerable artistic merit. As good illuminations are virtually unknown in Nepalese manuscripts after the thirteenth century, the style of the miniatures forms a valuable *terminus ad quem*. A comparison of these miniatures with those of other similar manuscripts whose dates are known, indicates that the manuscript may be dated to the eleventh century. It is highly probable that the missing folio, no. 30, also contained a miniature, for throughout the manuscript the illuminated palm leaves occur in pairs, and folio no. 29 is actually illustrated, while the previous folio is plain.

All the folios, which measure 38 by 6 cm., are of palm leaf on which the text of the Sūtra has been written in majuscules of the 'Ancient Northern or Nepali' style about 6 mm. in height. Each folio up to no. 53 is numbered both in letters and figures, but after this folio only the latter are retained. All the folios are enclosed in plain wooden boards 39 cm. in width and 6 cm. in height. The dabs of sandal-paste, vermillion, and the like on these wooden covers attest the high reverence in which this book was held in Nepal.

The original manuscript shows obvious signs of being edited and restored by a comparatively modern hand. Frequently, and particularly at the beginning and end of the manuscript, where the folios are not in good condition, modern numerals have been added. Similarly in the case of those few folios where the condition is particularly poor, the 'editor' has copied out the text on to thin sheets of paper and pasted them on to the palm leaf in an effort to preserve the original text. Of particular interest in this respect are the four sheets which have been added on at the end of the manuscript proper in an attempt to restore the text to the end of the thirty-second and final chapter. Unfortunately, however, the condition of the final sheet is so poor that only fragments can be deciphered.

In conclusion, the outstanding value of this accession lies in the artistic merit of its miniatures, which may be favourably compared with those of the famous Cambridge manuscript (Add. 1643) which has eighty-five miniatures. Only eighteen manuscripts of this type and of approximately this period are known to exist in collections in this country, the earliest of which is already in the

Library of the British Museum. This is a finely written and well-preserved copy of the same Prajñā-pāramitā text with six fine miniatures (Or. 6902) with a colophon which says that it was written in the fifteenth year of Gopāla-deva, i.e. probably the Gopāla-deva II of the Pāla dynasty. This manuscript may thus be assigned with reasonable certainty to the middle half of the tenth century.

The accession number of the newly acquired Prajñā-pāramitā manuscript is Or. 12461.

C. A. LEWIS

## A DRAWING BY PORDENONE

AMONG the great Venetian painters of the sixteenth century Pordenone (1483?-1539) is the one whose works are the most difficult to see. He is scantily represented in public galleries by about half a dozen altarpieces, a few panels with half-length saints from a Venetian ceiling—the National Gallery has two of them—and an occasional portrait. Small easel paintings by him are almost unknown. It was as a painter of frescoes that he excelled, and these, as well as the majority of his panel paintings, are hidden away in minor, sometimes even obscure, towns in North Italy, for the most part in his native Friuli.

A high casualty-rate among frescoes is to be expected, but Pordenone has been particularly unlucky. In Venice, for example, not only have all his frescoes perished, except for fragments in the church of S. Rocco and in the cloister of S. Stefano, but so also have his paintings in the Libreria and in the Sale dello Scrutinio and del Maggior Consiglio of the Ducal Palace. But at least these important official commissions serve as a reminder of the fact that the Senate, when wearied of Titian's procrastination, chose Pordenone as the best substitute. Unfortunately for him, this triumph was short-lived: within four years of obtaining official recognition in Venice he died, not without talk of poison, in Ferrara, where he had gone to design tapestries for the Duke.

By all accounts he was a formidable personality, and his art too is formidable: in its growth from rustic Quattrocento beginnings to an almost Baroque illusionism that attracted Rubens; in its pioneering fusion of Venetian colour with a Central Italian sense of form acquired by study of Raphael and Michelangelo; in its impact on such varied and prominent artists as Giulio Romano, the court painter at Mantua, Perino del Vaga painting the heroes of the House of Doria at Genoa, and Parmigianino, whose early fresco of S. Isidore with his rearing horse, in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Parma, reveals study of Pordenone's grandiose *trompe l'œil* effects. As for the School of Cremona, its orientation for over half a century was determined by Pordenone's frescoes in the cathedral there, works which rank with the most sumptuous of his career.

One of these frescoes, painted near the west door in 1522, represents the Lamentation over the Dead Christ; compared with the four others, all turbulent and alarming, it seems almost serene in mood, so satisfying is the harmonious relation of the niche to the semicircular group of mourners.

A composition study for this masterpiece, equally a masterpiece, was recently acquired by the Department of Prints and Drawings.<sup>1</sup> The figures are drawn in a yellowish-red chalk, while the lines of the architecture, scarcely visible in a reproduction, and lines ruled to establish the perspective, also difficult to see, are, like the squaring, drawn with the stylus. A number of differences from the fresco are to be noted: in the latter the upward-gazing Magdalen stands out even more prominently, the artist having decided to omit the woman in profile next to her; he has also substituted a second turbanned man for another female profile. The Madonna's hands are joined in prayer instead of spread wide. Of the two positions for St. John's right leg he has rejected the one which gave him too straddling a gait. Far more important is the change in the position of Christ: Pordenone, following his realistic bent, first visualized Him as though He had been thrown down on the floor by one of the brutal lanzknechts in the near-by *Crucifixion*, but the final version shows Him in a hieratic pose, reverently laid out in an attitude similar to that in which He had died.

On the back of the sheet is a pen drawing of Christ in the same position as on the recto but in the reverse direction. A stooping figure, slightly indicated in pen, holds His extended left arm, shown in two positions, each of them higher than the corresponding (right) arm in the chalk study. On holding the drawing to the light one can see that the chalk figure corresponds, except for this arm, with the pen sketch. The large study on the verso, in red chalk, for the figure destined to become St. John (with two positions for the right leg) seems to have been done from the life. From the fact that this man holds the nails and rope one might suppose that Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea was in the artist's mind.

The handling of the red chalk, wonderfully sensitive and free from any trace of coy elegance or bravura, and the exquisite atmospheric haze which envelops the forms remind one of Correggio's drawings in this medium.

PHILIP POUNCEY

1958-2-8-1. Red chalk and stylus. 36.8 × 27.8 cm. Provenance, J. Richardson, senior (Lugt Fund. 2184). Purchased out of the Malcolm Exchange Fund.

# AN EXHIBITION OF FORGERIES AND DECEPTIVE COPIES

HELD IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS  
FROM 9 FEBRUARY 1961

THE present exhibition is designed to illustrate some aspects of forgery and deception in the fields of natural history, antiquity, coins and medals, the fine arts, literature, music, and postage stamps. Broadly speaking, the reasons for deceiving the unwary in this fashion would appear to be as follows:

1. Monetary gain.
2. A desire, either malicious or humorous, to 'take in' the expert.
3. An attempt, through the manufacture of spurious antiquities, to add lustre to the history of a country, district, or religion.
4. An attempt, by a disappointed artist or writer, who has failed to win recognition by normal means, to bring before the public his work under the guise of its being by some well-known and already established master, or by some personality completely fictitious, but sufficiently colourful to draw attention to his products.

To these categories of deliberate falsification must be added one comprising those copies of works of art and antiquities which started life without any intention to deceive, but which in the course of time have become accepted as originals.

There is a considerable literature dealing with forgeries; and at least three exhibitions have already been held to demonstrate the subject, the first in London, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1924, the second at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in 1952, and the third in Paris, organized by the Comité des Salons Artistiques de la Police, at the Grand Palais in 1955. This is the first time that any such show has been mounted at the British Museum, and the material has been mainly assembled from its various Departments, supplemented by objects borrowed from outside sources, both public and private. It was a well-known Museum official who once said that 'every Director has a Flora bust waiting for him at the end of the corridor', referring, of course, to the famous wax bust acquired in 1909, for £8,000, by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, as by Leonardo, and now acknowledged to be the work of the Victorian sculptor, Richard Cockle Lucas. (A section in the present exhibition is dedicated to Lucas and Flora.) Inevitably in a great institution, which has been built up over a long span of years, objects of this nature have found their way into the collections; but these have, from time to time, been detected and duly segregated, thanks to the increasingly high standards of specialized scholarship and improvements in scientific apparatus. Forgeries have also been acquired deliberately by the

Museum for the purposes of study in their own right. And in the present exhibition, therefore, wherever appropriate or possible, false and genuine specimens are shown side by side for comparison.

It has not been found possible to illustrate fully all types of forgery, especially those which fall outside the specific interests of the Museum. One omission, in particular, will be noted, fake 'antique' furniture; but this subject was very fully dealt with recently in a lecture delivered at the Victoria and Albert Museum by Mr. H. D. Molesworth. Only a few paintings, too, are shown; but at least these include one 'genuine' Van Meegeren—the only one existing in England—belonging to the Courtauld Institute. Nevertheless it is hoped that—granting these limitations—the visitor will find in the main sections of the show enough for his study and entertainment. As a former distinguished member of the staff said, when given a preview of some of the exhibits: 'what fun it is when someone takes an enormous amount of trouble to be really naughty'.

EDWARD CROFT-MURRAY

## ROMAN COIN ACQUISITIONS

THE gold medallion of Maxentius (Pl. IX, 1), the acquisition of which was made possible by generous assistance from the National Art-Collections Fund, is probably the most spectacular addition ever made to the Roman series. Roman gold medallions are, as a class, extremely rare and no gold medallion of Maxentius had ever previously been heard of, though there was a gold medallion of his son, Romulus, in the Paris Cabinet prior to the theft in 1830. This medallion of Maxentius formed part of a group which came on the market in early 1959 and comprised eighteen aurei and seven gold medallions, five of Maxentius and two of his father, Maximian Hercules.<sup>1</sup> All of these medallions belong to the confused period which began with the disruption of the Third Tetrarchy and the declaration by Maxentius of himself as an Augustus together with his father Maximian, who in October 306 resumed active rule. Though late Roman gold medallions were struck as multiples of the gold unit, in this case the aureus, it is unlikely that they were ever used in commercial transactions.

The medallion now acquired is, by weight, a four-aureus piece and, as well as being completely new, is, like all the other medallions in the group from which it came, unique, in respect both of the obverse portrait of Maxentius and of the precise reverse representation. In a period in which portraits in the round which can be attributed with certainty to imperial personages are rare and, in the case of Maxentius, are completely lacking, the portrait clearly identified by its inscription here on the medallion is of enhanced value. There are, of

course, other coin portraits of Maxentius on his aurei, on the rare silver and the bronze folles, but none on the scale which the medallion makes possible. Although the portrait has been executed in relatively low relief, great care has been devoted to the delineation of the profile, of the eye, of the close-cut beard and the hair, particularly the arrangement of the locks on the forehead. Here we see from the side what is presumably the same portrait which, shown full face on some rare aurei, is, with its 'crew-cut' hair style, so startlingly modern. The profile portrait here, however, does not convey the same impression; it has, instead, a certain grave magnificence and the large flan and superb condition of the medallion show to unique advantage the portrait art of the early fourth century.

On the reverse, Mars is seen advancing to the right, his cloak blowing out behind him; he is armed with spear and shield and carries a trophy over his left shoulder. Apart from the unusual care with which the figure has been drawn, the Mars here differs little from the Mars on a number of Roman coins. The reverse inscription, *principi imperii romani*, which accompanies the figure of Mars, is, however, unique. The Maxentian coinage has a considerable amount of reference to the old legends of Rome—to Castor and Pollux and to the wolf and the twins, Romulus and Remus. Mars as the progenitor of Romulus and Remus could be described as the princeps of the Roman empire. It is, however, more likely that the Mars figure, described as *princeps* by the reverse legend is to be identified with Maxentius himself. In the early stages of the movement engineered by Maxentius he issued in Rome a coinage which recognized his father Maximian as Senior Augustus, Galerius as Augustus in the East, and Constantine and Maximinus as Caesars. Maxentius himself shared in this coinage with the unusual title *Princeps Invictus*, which is re-echoed on the reverse of the present medallion. The issue from the mint of Rome, of which this medallion forms part appears to date from 308 after the expulsion of Maximian by Maxentius. The empire was now divided into three portions: the East controlled by Galerius and Maximinus, the West under Constantine and Maximian, and Italy and North Africa ruled by Maxentius. By virtue of the fact that he held Rome, the ancient capital of the empire Maxentius could claim, as could none of the others, that he was *princeps imperii romani*.

This splendid medallion tends somewhat to overshadow other recent acquisitions, but a number of these, particularly in the field of the gold coinage of the late Roman empire, are of considerable interest and importance. The solidus of Constantius II (Pl. IX, 2) is a unique and hitherto unpublished coin struck at the mint of Aquileia.<sup>2</sup> The reverse shows two seated female figures, together supporting a shield. The two figures are differentiated by small details of dress and design; the figure seated r. wearing a helmet is Roma; the figure seated l., wearing a turreted head-dress and resting her foot on a small prow is



Constantinopolis. This not uncommon type is accompanied by its usual inscription *Gloria reipublicae*, but the shield held by the two figures is inscribed *vot/xxxv/mult/xxxx* recording, uniquely for this mint, the imperial *vota* celebrated in A.D. 357. This coin provides evidence for the continued activity of the mint of Aquileia up to this date. Previously, coins inscribed *vot/xxx/mult/xxxx* referring to the *vota* celebrated in A.D. 352 were the latest evidence for the mint under Constantius.

Some notable additions have been made to the gold coins of Julian the Apostate. An exceptionally fine solidus (Pl. IX, 3) with reverse, *Gloria reipublicae*, Roma and Constantinopolis seated, together holding a wreath enclosing a star, was struck at the mint of Antioch in the name of Julian as Caesar in the later years (A.D. 354–60) of the reign of Constantius II.<sup>3</sup> The mints in the eastern portion of the empire, which came under the direct control of Constantius, appear to have struck only sparingly for Julian, though coinage for Constantius in the western mints controlled by Julian was comparable to that for Julian. The collection had no example of the solidus of Julian from the mint of Antioch and only two or three specimens have been recorded. The solidus of Julian from the mint of Sirmium (Pl. IX, 4) with reverse *Virtus exercitus romani*, soldier dragging captive, dates from the period between the assumption of the title of Augustus by Julian in the spring of 360 and the death of Constantius II in November 361—probably more precisely to the latter months of this period when Julian was in residence at Naissus. This particular solidus is also a unique example of the use of *D(ominus) N(oster)* in the emperor's titulature at this mint and also at this time; for it was only on the issues of A.D. 363 that the title DN became a regular feature. The third solidus of Julian (Pl. IX, 5), with reverse similar to the previous coin but reading *Virtus exercitus romanorum*, was struck at Constantinople in Julian's sole reign, probably in later 362.

All gold solidi of the emperor Jovian, who succeeded Julian but reigned for only a few months from June 363 to February 364, are extremely rare. Pl. IX, 6 shows a solidus with reverse *Securitas reipublicae*, emperor holding banner inscribed with Christogram and a captive seated at his feet. The coin was issued by the mint at Thessalonica, previously not represented in the collection by a gold coin of this emperor.

The solidus of Valens (Pl. IX, 7) is one of the rather rare series of gold coins struck by emperors on the occasions on which they held office as consul.<sup>4</sup> On these issues the emperor is shown draped in imperial mantle to left and holding *mappa* and sceptre, the insignia of the consul. The consulship in question here is not quite certain, for the office was held by Valens, together with his brother Valentinian I, in A.D. 368, 370, and 373. This particular coin was struck at Nicomedia where the mint signature at this period shows the mint letters separated by small representations of a bound captive.<sup>5</sup> The smaller gold coin<sup>6</sup> of Valentinian

II (Pl. IX, 8) is a semis or half piece issued at the mint of Trier between A.D. 388 and 392. The reverse, *Victoria augustorum*, Victory writing a votive inscription on a wreath held by Cupid is the now conventional reverse for the subdivisions of the solidus, but the semis for Valentinian II from Trier is new and unique.

Another unique and unpublished coin recently acquired is the gold solidus of Honorius<sup>7</sup> struck at the mint of Arelate in Gaul (Pl. IX, 9). The details of design date the piece to about A.D. 420. The coin provides completely new evidence for the activity of Arelate as an imperial mint at such a late date. Apart from gold struck by usurpers in Gaul such as Magnus Maximus, Constantine III, and Jovinus, no gold had been struck at Arelate since the reign of Valentinian I (A.D. 364-75).

The almost medallion character of some bronze sestertii is typified by a particularly handsome piece of Gordian III (Pl. IX, 10). Both the obverse and reverse types are rendered with particular care and the special nature of this particular issue is emphasized by the remarkably full form of obverse title here used. The titulature of third-century emperors usually contains the epithets *Pius Felix*, represented only by their initial letters, but on the present coin they are here set out in full. The special nature of this issue is confirmed by another specimen of this sestertius<sup>8</sup> from the same pair of dies, but struck on a broad medallion flan which leaves a wide rim around the coin.

R. A. G. CARSON

<sup>1</sup> For a preliminary publication of the group see *Illustrated London News*, 1959, pp. 650-51.

<sup>2</sup> Hess-Leu Sale, Lucerne, 7 April 1960, lot 404.

<sup>3</sup> For the chronology of Julian's coinage see J. P. C. Kent, 'An introduction to the coinage of Julian the Apostate' in *Numismatic Chronicle*,

1959, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *B.M.Q.* xxi. 45.

<sup>5</sup> *Roman Imperial Coinage*, ix. 254, no. 16 (b) m.m. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Christie Sale, 16 June 1959, lot 26.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, lot 28.

<sup>8</sup> Münzhandlung Basel, 28 June 1934, lot 1945.

## MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FROM THE NASH COLLECTION

IN addition to the two pieces of Egyptian sculptured relief recently presented to the Museum by the National Art-Collections Fund,<sup>1</sup> the Department of Egyptian Antiquities has also acquired from the estate of the late Rev. G. D. Nash a number of miscellaneous small objects which include some rare, unusual, and interesting examples from well-known categories.

Two stone weights, belonging to the small class of marked and named weights, are illustrated on Pl. Xe. The earlier of the two (65836, Pl. Xe i) dates from the time of Sahure, the second of the Fifth Dynasty kings, who reigned around



2480 B.C. His cartouche on the upper surface of the weight is followed by the phrase 'beloved of the gods' incised in hieroglyphs characteristic of the period. Below, damaged but certain, is the numeral '35', placed between two vertical strokes. The object is square in shape, measuring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height and  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches in width and depth. It is made of steatite. Its present weight is a little under 105 grammes. The stone has suffered some damage and at one point in its history has been subjected to heat. The original weight was probably about 120 gm. Since the *deben* in the Old Kingdom had a weight between 13 and 14 gm., the Sahure weight must be marked in some fraction of the *deben*, probably a quarter.

The second of the weights illustrated (65837, Pl. X*e* ii) is of a black slate-like stone. The top is slightly rounded. The edges are chipped. The object is  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch in height,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width, and  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches in depth. It is inscribed with a vertical column of hieroglyphs on the upper surface reading, 'The good God Nymare—may he live eternally—gold units 6.' The figure '6' is repeated on the front of the weight. Nymare Ammenemes III of the Twelfth Dynasty commenced his reign about 1850 B.C. The present weight of the stone is 79.3 gm., giving as the unit of weight 13.2 gm. to the *deben*. This agrees with other marked gold weights of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

The thin wooden plaque (65842), illustrated on Pl. X*c*, is an interesting and not common type of amulet which has become more familiar from the excavations at the workmen's village at Deir el-Medineh, Thebes.<sup>2</sup> The plaque dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty, about 1250 B.C. It measures 2 inches in height and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in width. The top is shaped in imitation of a round-topped stela. On one side the god Shed is shown as a young prince, dressed in the full kilt, with uraeus, fillet with two long streamers and side lock of youth, standing on two crocodiles which lie side by side facing in opposite directions. In his right hand the young god holds a gazelle and three snakes. His left hand firmly grasps a lion by the tail, its head turned back to snarl at its captor. On the other side is a representation of a falcon with flagellum wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, perched on a rectangular base guarded by three serpents. Other examples identify the falcon with the god Hauron.

Shed, literally 'The Deliverer', had by the New Kingdom begun to merge with the concept of the young Horus. He is called elsewhere 'the lord of the Deserts' and his role was the pursuit and capture of the desert life, particularly gazelles, lions, snakes, and scorpions. He is sometimes shown hunting in a chariot; the representation of him here anticipates the iconography of the later cippi of Horus. The plaque is pierced at the top for suspension and was undoubtedly originally worn by its owner as protection against the hazards of the desert, in particular scorpion and snake bites, which are known to have been among the reasons listed for the absence of workmen from their iobs.

If the cylinder seal illustrated on Pl. X *d* comes from Egypt, where Nash is known to have purchased the greater part of his collection, it represents a valuable addition to the meagre but important evidence from Egypt of the contact between Egypt and the widespread Mesopotamian culture of the Jemdet Nasr Period, approximately 3500–3000 B.C. The seal is of black steatite  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches high,  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch in diameter, and pierced with a narrow perforation. It is decorated with motifs familiar from the repertoire of the Jemdet Nasr seals arranged in vertical columns; four fish, four lozenges or so-called eye ovals, and a star design of a circle with four lines radiating from it enclosed by cross-hatching and two 'ladders'.

Only two seals, either imported from Mesopotamia or close Egyptian copies of Mesopotamian prototypes, have been found in Egypt in their archaeological context. Both are from Upper Egyptian cemeteries and can be dated from associated finds to the Late Gerzean Period, approximately 3300–3100 B.C. One of them, from Negada,<sup>3</sup> shows the ovals; on the other, from Naga ed Deir,<sup>4</sup> the fish and cross-hatching. Fish and ovals are associated on a third seal purchased at Luxor in 1901.<sup>5</sup> These three seals are all smaller than the Museum's example which compares in size with another Jemdet Nasr type of cylinder seal with figures of crouching lions, tails above their heads, purchased in Egypt in 1897.<sup>6</sup>

The chief interest of the two faience *ushabti*-figures, illustrated on Pl. X *a*, *b*, is in the blank space left for the later insertion of the name of the owner in the opening formula. The figure on the left (65801), Pl. X *a*, is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. It is of a deep-blue colour and is inscribed with the standard text in five horizontal lines and one vertical column down the back. It belongs to a familiar Eighteenth Dynasty type, about 1400 B.C. The figure on the right, *b*, (65804) is 4 inches in height and is a *reis* or foreman type with inscription down the skirt, dating probably to the Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasty, about 1200 B.C. The presence of a blank space for the later insertion of names on objects of funerary equipment is usually explained on the assumption that such pieces came from a stock of ready-made objects kept by the manufacturers. It is not clear how in the case of figures of glazed composition the name might be added after the application of the glaze.

The Department has also acquired a plaque of green opaque glass (65844), height 2 inches, width  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches, one of three identical pieces formally in the Nash collection, which formed part of a foundation-deposit of a Ptolemaic temple. The plaque is inscribed in black ink on one side with the name of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–205 B.C.) and a dedication to 'Hathor who is in heaven'. On the other side the same text is repeated in Greek, the goddess appearing as Aphrodite Urania. A fourth plaque, identical in size and material and bearing the same bilingual text, was recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum,

New York.<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that the temple of Aphrodite Urania from which the plaques came is the one at Kusae, in Middle Egypt, mentioned by Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* x. 27.<sup>8</sup>

A. F. SHORE

<sup>1</sup> *B.M.Q.* xxiii (1960), pp. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> See B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire XX*, iii (Cairo, 1952), pp. 138-70.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Scharff, 'Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens', *MÄS*, v, no. 133. See also Helene J. Kantor, 'Further Evidence for Early Mesopotamian Relations in Egypt', in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, xi (1952), pp. 239-50.

<sup>4</sup> Kantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7.

<sup>5</sup> Scharff, *op. cit.*, no. 135.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 136.

<sup>7</sup> William C. Hayes, 'A Foundation Plaque of Ptolemy IV', in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxxiv (1948), pp. 114-15.

<sup>8</sup> P. M. Fraser, 'A Temple of Hathor at Kusae', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xlii (1956), pp. 97-98.

## A GROUP OF INSCRIBED EGYPTIAN TOOLS

AMONG recent additions to the collection of Egyptian Antiquities is a group of seven full-size tools made of copper and bronze, formerly in a private collection. Six of these tools are inscribed with royal names and epithets and one of them bears a number. The funerary equipment of royal and private persons regularly included tools which could be used by the dead in the after-life. Similarly, the foundation-deposits of important buildings frequently contained tools which were inscribed with the names of the kings in whose reigns the buildings were erected. The tools from these two sources, being intended for symbolic and magical purposes and not for actual use, are generally of small size or made of very thin metal which would not bear any strain in use. Many examples, both inscribed and uninscribed, are preserved in the collection of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities.

Full-size metal tools inscribed with royal names are, however, rare. The Museum already possessed three examples: a fine bronze axe-head (36772) bearing the name of Kamose, a king of the Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1560 B.C.), another bronze axe-head (37447) engraved with a ritual scene and text and the name of Amenophis II of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1450-1425 B.C.), and a complete axe with its original leather thongs (36770), the blade of which is inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III, also of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1504-1450 B.C.). Published examples in museums and collections elsewhere are few in number.<sup>1</sup>

Of the tools now acquired by the Museum the earliest in date are two chisels and one adze-head inscribed with the name of Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, who reigned in about 2490 B.C. (Pl. XII, 1-3). The inscription

in each case consists of the name Userkaf in a cartouche, preceded by the title 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt'. A laboratory test on the smaller chisel has established that the material is almost pure copper (see below). It may perhaps reasonably be assumed that the other pieces, similarly inscribed, are also made of almost pure copper. The larger of the two chisels (66209) is 23.6 cm. long, 4.2 cm. wide at the widest point, and approximately 0.6 cm. thick; the tip splays out to a thickness of 1.1 cm. At the top there is a flange which might have been produced by hammering in use, although it is unlikely that the tool ever was used; no sign of use can be seen on the tip. Most of the surface is covered with a thick mineral deposit, except where it has been removed to reveal the inscription. The smaller chisel (66208) is of the same pattern, except that it lacks the flange at the striking end. The blade is 19.8 cm. long, 3.1 cm. wide at the widest point, and 0.55 cm.—0.7 cm. thick. Most of the surface has been cleaned of its mineral deposits which were apparently never as thick as on 66209. The chisel was submitted for test in the Research Laboratory of the Museum and the following details from the report are of general interest.<sup>2</sup>

Spectrographic analysis indicated that the metal was substantially pure copper containing a trace of silver but no gold, arsenic, lead, zinc or tin. The trace of silver was less than is commonly found in modern electrolytic copper. Native copper of such extreme purity has been reported. . . .

It is apparent that the chisel has been cast, for a dendritic structure is visible on the surface of the metal which has been mineralised but from which the mineral has been removed.

[The patina] . . . has the expected nature and distribution. In areas from which mineral has been removed a new green deposit of atacamite has formed from the originally inner layers of mineral. . . .

[The inscription] . . . has been punched in the metal using a tracer. The inscription contains mineral, both atacamite and cuprite, and its interior metallic surface has been roughened by corrosive attack.

The fact that this chisel is made of very pure native copper is in agreement with what is known of Egyptian tools of this period. There is no evidence that the Ancient Egyptians added tin to copper to produce bronze until the Middle Kingdom (after 2000 B.C.) and bronze was not generally used until the New Kingdom (after 1567 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> Casting in open moulds was the regular method used for making simple, flat, metal objects, the cast object being subsequently hammered to its desired final shape.<sup>4</sup> The form of these two chisels is similar to that of others found in good Old Kingdom contexts.<sup>5</sup>

Necked adzes occur from the time of the early Old Kingdom and the third tool inscribed with the name of Userkaf (66207), with its widely splayed blade, exhibits a form commonly found in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.<sup>6</sup> The blade is 20.9 cm. long, 8.7 cm. wide at the cutting end, and in thickness tapers from 1.1 cm. at the head to 0.5 cm. half-way along the blade,

and then evenly to the cutting edge. Most of the thick mineral deposit that covered the blade has been removed. The cutting edge, although now uneven through corrosion, shows clear signs of having been ground to a keen edge; it bears no signs of use.



From an historical point of view the most important of the tools is that numbered '4' on Pl. XII (66205). It is a flat blade with a solid tang, like a large spear-blade, except that it has a rounded end and not a point. No laboratory test has been made to establish the material, but it should be copper rather than bronze. The double-edged, symmetric knives which Petrie describes as being 'almost peculiar to Egypt',<sup>7</sup> provide the category to which it seems properly to belong; but it does not possess a good cutting edge and it may not be a knife. Tools made for ritual and funerary purposes, however, frequently lack efficient edges. The length of the blade with tang is 27.9 cm., the width of the blade at its widest point is 6.1 cm., the thickness of the blade in the centre is 0.4 cm., and the thickness of the tang 0.7 cm. A considerable mineral deposit covers one side of the blade and part of the other side. Where the deposit has been removed an inscription has been revealed which reads 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Netjerykarē'. This king is known otherwise only from the great list in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos,<sup>8</sup> where his name, written as on this blade, occurs between those of two other little-known royalties, Merenrē Antyemsaf and Menkarē Nitocris, who are generally placed at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, following the order of the Abydos List and of that given by the late Egyptian historian Manetho.<sup>9</sup> The existence of a name in a late king-list is no guarantee of the actual existence of a king so named in history. Similarly, the position of a king in history cannot necessarily be established from the position of his name in a king-list. The importance of the inscription on the blade 66205 is that it confirms the existence of the king named Netjerykarē and that it provides some evidence to support the date of the king, derived from the position of his name in the Abydos List. This evidence is provided by the form of the *ntr*-sign, here written ꜥ, which is an archaic form of ꜥ that persists in use occasionally until the end of the Old Kingdom; it is not a monumental form, but one used on small objects like cylinder-seals.<sup>10</sup> The use of this form, therefore, is not inconsistent with the late Sixth Dynasty date (about 2180 B.C.) provided for Netjerykarē by the Abydos List (carved about 1310 B.C.).

The fifth tool differs from the rest in that it is not inscribed with a royal name. It is an axe-blade of the rounded type with lugs that occurs from the Old Kingdom and persists for ritual purposes until the New Kingdom.<sup>11</sup> The period of its greatest use seems to have been from the First Intermediate Period to the end of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>12</sup> During the Middle Kingdom many examples occur with fretted designs.<sup>13</sup> The pattern was sometimes modified by the addition of hooked lugs and holes to enable the blade to be fastened more securely to



its haft, but it is by no means clear whether these variations in design have any certain chronological significance. The simple form, exhibited by the example now acquired (662 10), is found recurring throughout the period during which the general shape was used. The problem of dating it is, consequently, not easy, but it is probably to be assigned to the Middle Kingdom (about 2000 B.C.) when the form was most common. The material is in all likelihood copper, but no laboratory test has been carried out to establish this fact. The surfaces are pitted and mostly covered with a thick mineral deposit. One lug is broken slightly, the break appearing to be of ancient date. The cutting edge is turned in a number of places, suggesting that the blade was used in antiquity. Its length is 11.3 cm., its width across the blade, 10.2 cm., its thickness at the haft-edge, 0.6 cm. and in the centre of the blade, 1.1 cm. On one side the blade is inscribed with the number  $\text{III} \overset{\circ}{\underset{\text{||||}}{\text{||}}}$ , the significance of which is not clear. Petrie suggests that the number 43 found on an axe of the Second Dynasty was the series-number of the axe in the tomb,<sup>14</sup> but the fact that tools with numbers have only rarely been found in tombs does not support this suggestion. The analysis of the number is difficult because the method of numeration does not conform with any of the particular Egyptian systems. The three long strokes may represent three large units and  $\overset{\circ}{\underset{\text{||||}}{\text{||}}}$  twenty-five small units, the large unit being one hundred times greater than the small unit. Some similarity might then be found to the method of indicating measures in the *hekat*-series of the corn-measure.<sup>15</sup> There can, however, be no reference to this series in the number on the axe-blade. Another possibility is that the number may indicate the weight of the axe, although there is no warrant for claiming that metal axes were ever used as weights in Ancient Egypt. The actual weight of this blade is 535 gm., the original weight having been, no doubt, somewhat greater. The standard Egyptian weight was the *deben* which, during the New Kingdom, weighed about 91 gm.<sup>16</sup> For the Old and Middle Kingdoms its weight has not been established. A unit of 91 gm. is not easily related to the number 325 and the actual weight of 535 gm. It is, therefore, more probable that  $\text{III} \overset{\circ}{\underset{\text{||||}}{\text{||}}}$  is a simple number and not an indication of a measure. An axe-blade of New Kingdom date (about 1250 B.C.) in the collection of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities (37643) is inscribed  $\text{X} \overset{\circ}{\underset{\text{||||}}{\text{||}}}$ , which may be transliterated *tnw 7* and translated 'number 7' although the word 'number' is more regularly written with the bird  $\text{X}$ .

In recent years attempts have been made to show that the Hyksos, who controlled Egypt during the so-called Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties, were not an invading race, but a small dominant group of Asiatics resident in the Delta who succeeded in taking over the government of the country in a period of anarchy. The evidence suggests that at least some of the Hyksos kings controlled the whole of Egypt and even extended their rule as far as Kerma in the

Sudan.<sup>17</sup> Of the Hyksos kings, ‘Aawoserre’ Apophis was perhaps the strongest; he certainly reigned for the longest period, the Turin King-list possibly giving him a reign of at least forty years (about 1610–1570 B.C.).<sup>18</sup> In his thirty-third year the scribe Ahmose transcribed the mathematical texts now preserved in the British Museum on the Rhind Papyrus (10058). A monumental lintel inscribed with the name of this king was found many years ago at Gebelein, south of Luxor in Upper Egypt,<sup>19</sup> and it has been concluded that he must have erected a building, possibly a temple or small shrine, at this site.<sup>20</sup> One of the tools now acquired by the Museum (66206, illustrated as ‘6’ on Pl. XIII), further confirms that Apophis did exercise some control in this region.<sup>21</sup> It is an adze-blade inscribed, in a vertical column, , ‘The good god, ‘Aa-woserrē, beloved of Sobk, Lord of Sumenu’. Sumenu was an important centre of the worship of the crocodile-god Sobk in Upper Egypt and, while the precise location of the town remains in doubt, there is general agreement that it is in the region of Gebelein, possibly at Rizeiqât, about nine miles downstream from Gebelein.<sup>22</sup> No king of Egypt would describe himself as beloved of a god of a particular place unless he had some control over that place. An epigraphic point of some interest in this inscription is that the element *wšr* in the king’s name is written with a sign composed of the head and shoulders of the Seth-animal on a pair of legs. The god Seth was worshipped above all other Egyptian gods by the Hyksos kings and this form of the *wšr*-sign (usually made , which represents the head of a dog or jackal on a pole) was often used by them when the element *wšr* formed part of one of their personal names.<sup>23</sup> No doubt this association of their particular god with the idea of power (*wšr*) endowed these names with special magical force.

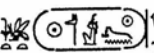
The adze-blade is 19.6 cm. long, 5.8 cm. wide at the cutting edge, and 0.7 cm. thick at the thickest point, which occurs approximately 3.5 cm. along the blade from the cutting edge. From this thickest point the blade tapers gradually to the neck where it is 0.3 cm. thick, and abruptly to the cutting edge. This form of design places the centre of gravity of the blade close to the cutting edge, thereby undoubtedly making it a most efficient tool. The surface is covered with a thick mineral deposit except where it has been removed to reveal the inscription. Damage to the cutting edge renders it impossible to determine whether the tool was ever used in antiquity. No laboratory test has been made to find whether it is made of copper or bronze. The form of the tool is unparalleled among published examples, having a diminutive, almost vestigial head which, because of corrosion, is now even smaller than it was originally. The blade proper is finely shaped with a pronounced flaring of the sides towards the cutting edge. This flaring seems to be characteristic of the later examples in the series of necked adzes assembled by Petrie.<sup>24</sup>

The axe-blade, shown as '7' on Pl. XIII, is numbered 66211. It is of the type described as 'plain blade axe with lugs' by Petrie and, from its form, it belongs to the last stages in the series which began in the Twelfth Dynasty and continued until the Late Period. Up to the Twenty-second Dynasty the metal used was copper or bronze; thereafter iron was used.<sup>25</sup> The form, however, exhibits one feature that is not normally found, the bow-shaped line of the haft-edge with the lugs, which is usually straight. This edge has also a pronounced flange on the side bearing the inscription, and a vestigial flange on the other side. The cutting edge is relatively sharp for an ancient tool, and for several centimetres it has been turned by a blow. Laboratory examination revealed that this blow was probably struck before the tool developed its patina. The length of the blade is 13.4 cm., its width, 8.7 cm. at the cutting edge, and 13.6 cm. across the haft-edge, its thickness, 1.5 cm. in the centre of the blade and 2.6 cm. across the middle of the haft-edge. Its weight is 1,080 gr. The surface has been cleaned in the inscribed area. The report of the Research Laboratory of the British Museum shows that the tool is made of bronze:

A minute sample drilled out of the back of the axe was analysed spectrographically and found to consist of copper and tin with traces of silver, lead, arsenic and iron, but no gold or zinc was detected. The colour of the alloy and other microscopic evidence suggest that the quantity of tin present is about 4% and the metal must therefore be regarded as bronze of low tin-content. The object appears to have been cast and some of the flanges hammered up.

A considerable thickness of mineralised patina has been cleaned from the object and much of the present green appearance consists of atacamite which has developed from inner layers of mineral as a result of this treatment. Observations under ultra-violet radiation did not reveal modern additions to the patina. A taper-section has been polished at the end of the back of the blade, near to the site of the sample taken for analysis. Examination at a magnification of 20X has revealed that the mineral distribution is reminiscent of the dendritic structure in the metal itself, and that mineralisation appears to have penetrated the metal in the expected manner and intra-crystalline corrosion is present in planes near the original surface. The amount of tin-containing mineral observed is very small—a condition which is in agreement with the low tin-content of the alloy.

The thickness and nature of the mineral deposit is compatible with slow corrosion over a long period.

On one face of the blade there is a crudely incised inscription that reads , 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimarē-Setepenrē, beloved of Horus, Lord of Tanis'. The name Usimarē-Setepenrē was the prenomen of Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1304-1237 B.C.) and of two kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty, Shoshenk III (823-772 B.C.) and Pemay (772-767 B.C.). An axe-blade similar in shape and inscription to this newly acquired piece was published some years ago by Grdseloff,<sup>26</sup> who identified



the prenomen as that of Ramesses II, basing his argument chiefly on the shape of the tool, comparing it with the forms given by Petrie. The published series does not, however, contain sufficient examples to allow the placing of a new variant form with any certainty. The British Museum example and that published by Grdseloff both have the pronounced bowed haft-edge which is shown by no example in the published series. The objection to dating the piece to the reign of Ramesses II is that the place-name *D'nt*, 'Tanis' (the later name of the most important ancient town in the North-East Delta), does not otherwise occur before the Twenty-first Dynasty, never appearing in the many texts left by Ramesses II at that place.<sup>27</sup> Montet had already pointed out that Grdseloff was thus probably in error in assigning the name on the axe to Ramesses II.<sup>28</sup> He further shows that on the monuments of Ramesses II found at Tanis, the name of Horus occurs only once, and then on an usurped obelisk. Montet would, therefore, prefer to assign the axe published by Grdseloff to the reign of one of the two possible kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Of these two kings, he prefers Shoshenk III whose tomb he discovered at Tanis in 1940. For the same reasons the British Museum axe should probably be assigned to the same reign.

T. G. H. JAMES

<sup>1</sup> In the Petrie collection at University College, London, the large and comprehensive series of tools and weapons contains an axe-blade of Amenophis III (Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. iv, 120), an axe-blade of Sesostri I (ibid., pl. v, 137), an adze-blade of Snofru (ibid., pl. xvii, 76), a broad chisel (?) of Amosis (ibid., pl. xxii, 68), a knife of Tuthmosis III (ibid., pl. xxix, 235), and a spear-blade of Ramesses II (ibid., pl. xl, 169).

<sup>2</sup> The tests on two of the tools in the group were made by Mr. R. M. Organ, Chief Experimental Officer of the Laboratory.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 3rd ed., pp. 252 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 245 ff.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Petrie, *Abydos*, ii, pl. xxii, 1, 2 (Sixth Dynasty).

<sup>6</sup> See Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. xvii, 77-81; Petrie, *Abydos*, ii, pl. xxii, 7, 8; Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. lxi (model tools).

<sup>7</sup> Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 26 and pls. xxx, xxxi.

<sup>8</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, i pl. 43, no. 40. The possibility that the name also occurs in a graffito at Shatt er-Rigal is not confirmed by the widely differing facsimiles published by Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. xv, no. 430, and Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in*

*Thebes*, pl. 35. For other views, see Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte*, i, 180.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 3rd ed., p. 206; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, i, p. 130. No help is given by the Turin Canon where a break occurs before the name of Nitocris, cf. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. ii, col. iv.

<sup>10</sup> For Fifth Dynasty examples on cylinder-seals, see Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. ix; Hall, *Catalogue of Scarabs*, i, p. 262 (B.M. 22953).

<sup>11</sup> For good Sixth Dynasty examples, see Petrie, *Abydos*, ii, pl. xxii, 3, 4; for a blade inscribed with the name of Amenophis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. iv, no. 120.

<sup>12</sup> For this type among model tools of the First Intermediate Period, cf. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, i, pl. xxxviii; id., *Mostagedda*, pl. lxi. For good Middle Kingdom examples, see Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, i, pp. 282, 283, 288, 289.

<sup>13</sup> Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. iv; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, ii, p. 213 with note [6].

<sup>14</sup> Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 7, on axe 108 of pl. iii.

<sup>15</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed., p. 200.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>17</sup> See, in particular, Säve-Söderbergh, 'The

Hyksos rule in Egypt', in *J.E.A.* xxxvii. 53 ff.; and for a qualification of this view, id., in *Kush*, iv. 59-61. For some timely comments on the distribution of kings in the Hyksos Period, see Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 159.

<sup>18</sup> Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. iii, col. x, 17. The placing of this Apophis in the Fifteenth Dynasty is still a matter of speculation; the occurrence of his name as the adversary of the native Egyptian king Kamose of the Seventeenth Dynasty on the recently discovered stela at Karnak, has reopened the whole question of the order of the Hyksos kings and the relation between the Hyksos and the Egyptian 'kings' at Thebes, see Säve-Söderbergh, *Kush*, iv. 61.

<sup>19</sup> Daressy, *Recueil de Travaux*, xiv. 26; now in Cairo, no. 29238.

<sup>20</sup> Maspero, *Guide au Musée du Caire* (1915), p. 156 (no. 516); Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 3rd ed., pp. 293-4.

<sup>21</sup> An inscribed block bearing the name of Khyan, another of the 'Great' Hyksos rulers, has also been found at Gebelein, providing additional evidence for Hyksos penetration into Upper Egypt, cf. Daressy, *Recueil de Travaux*, xvi. 42; Drioton and Vandier, loc. cit.; Säve-Söderbergh, *J.E.A.* xxxvii. 63. For a cautionary note on the over-interpretation of the evidence, see Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 168 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, v. 16-

17; for the most recent discussion, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, ii. 20-21, 274-5.

<sup>23</sup> So for Merwoserre<sup>c</sup> Yakuber, Sewoserrenre<sup>c</sup> Khyan and 'Aawoserre<sup>c</sup> Apophis, cf. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois*, ii. 135-6, 139-42, 146.

<sup>24</sup> See Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. xvii, particularly nos. 83 (Twelfth Dynasty), 85 (? Eighteenth Dynasty), 91 (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty). An example, dated by inscription to the reign of Amosis, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and therefore almost contemporary with B.M. 66206, is markedly different in form, being closer to those of the Sixth-Twelfth Dynasties, cf. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xlv. 121 (now in the collection of Mr. Gustav Mustaki in London).

<sup>25</sup> For the series with dated examples, see Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 8 and pls. iv, v.

<sup>26</sup> *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xlvii. 204 ff. The axe published here is very like the B.M. piece, but it is impossible to tell from the poor photograph whether it is the same. Grdseloff describes it as having 'peu de traces d'oxydation à sa surface', while the B.M. axe has a considerable mineral deposit, much already having been removed.

<sup>27</sup> Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, ii. 199\* ff; Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, i. 193.

<sup>28</sup> *Kêmi*, x. 81-82.

## A REPRESENTATION OF THE ZEUS OF OLYMPIA?<sup>1</sup>

TOWARDS the end of 1925 a large group of terracottas and lamps was given to the Greek and Roman Department by Mr. G. D. Hornblower. All were said to be from Egypt, and this is probably correct, as most of the pieces were made there, and Mr. Hornblower appears to have collected mainly in that country. Among the collection is a discus fragment of a pottery lamp (Pl. XI a) with a design in relief of Zeus seated to front on a high-backed throne with arm-rests.<sup>2</sup> The god is naked to the waist; his himation is draped across his lower limbs, one end is carried over his left shoulder and the other falls beside his left leg, apparently covering the throne's arm-rest on that side (one leg of the throne can be seen between the drapery and Zeus's leg). He wears a fillet round his head and sandals on his feet.

A tall sceptre is held in his left hand, its top being cut off by the edge of the discus field. In his extended right hand he supports a female figure, a Victory, standing to front, very small, and wearing a long girt chiton with overfall. Her hands are slightly spread out; there appears to be no trace of wings.

The discus is surrounded by a double groove, and the shoulder is decorated with a band of impressed ovules. This band is interrupted at each side by a raised rectangular panel. The clay is a deep orange colour, with plenty of mica, and is covered with a somewhat worn red glaze. That the lamp was probably made in a plaster mould is shown by the presence of one or two small raised blobs corresponding to air-holes in the plaster. It is unlikely that it was produced in Egypt, from where it perhaps came; Italy is a possibility, but the fabric does not look Italian, and Greece or Asia Minor are more probable. The fragment is broken from a lamp, which, despite the raised shoulder panels, should be placed in Broneer Type XXV, and was probably made in the second half of the first century A.D.

The discus scene agrees in its simplified way with the appearance of Pheidias's ivory and gold Zeus of Olympia,<sup>3</sup> and may well have been taken from it, if not at first hand, then perhaps from another ancient figure copied from the original. The known or reputed representations of this masterpiece are very few in number. The clearest examples appear on coins struck by Hadrian in the middle of the first half of the second century. The best of these, on a coin in Florence, shows Zeus from the side, facing left, and others depict the statue both from the right side and from the front.<sup>4</sup> The details are naturally simplified in so small a reproduction but quite a good idea of what the sculpture must have looked like can be obtained. Apart from coins and gems showing the head,<sup>5</sup> little else has come down to us; a Roman wall painting from Eleusis was obviously influenced by this work.<sup>6</sup>

In our lamp fragment the figure is even more simplified than on the coins mentioned above, clay being perhaps not quite so amenable to detailed work as bronze, and also the lamp maker was no great artist. The throne is only sketched in, there is no footstool (but there is no room on the discus for this feature) and the Victory is deprived of her wings and the fillet held in her hands.<sup>7</sup> But the pose of the figure, the attributes, the clothing, the facial characteristics, and details of hair and beard—in so far as they can be made out—and perhaps the lack of a thunderbolt,<sup>8</sup> all point to the figure being identified with the Zeus of Olympia.

The similarity of pose between our Zeus and a representation of Serapis on Corinth Lamp 704 (Pl. XI)<sup>9</sup> is at first glance striking, and it might be argued against the identification of the figure on the B.M. fragment that lamp makers would occasionally use the same basic type to depict totally different scenes,<sup>10</sup> and that the Zeus and the Serapis on these two lamps are only variants of such

a basic type. But the figure on the Corinth lamp is another case where an ancient statue has been copied: the Serapis thereon wears a chiton as well as a himation, and his hair and beard are rather longer than the Zeus's; this particular representation<sup>11</sup> probably reflects the statue of Serapis which has been ascribed by some authorities to Bryaxis the Younger.<sup>12</sup>

D. M. BAILEY

<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Mr. D. E. L. Haynes and Dr. D. E. Strong for advice and for pointing out obscurities in my original text.

<sup>2</sup> Registered no. 1925.11-20.35.

<sup>3</sup> See G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (Yale, 1950), pp. 220 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, iii. 1 (Cambridge, 1940), pl. lxix.

<sup>5</sup> Richter, op. cit., figs. 606 and 613.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., fig. 612.

<sup>7</sup> The pose of the Victory is very like that on the Florence coin; the main difference being the lack of wings. As can be seen from the photograph very little room was available on the discus for the wings to be indicated. It may be noted, for what it is worth, that Pausanias, in his description of the Zeus of Olympia (cf. H. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, p. 85) does not mention the Victory's wings. Her pose is also similar to that of a small figure held by a seated representation of Venus Felix on the reverse of a coin of Julia Mamaea (*J.H.S.* lxxvii, pl. iii, 1). Whether this is a Victory or not is doubtful. Other similar

coins show Venus Felix holding an undoubted Victory or, more often, a wingless figure like ours, but usually undraped, and presumably male, perhaps Cupid. This is all by the way, of course, and is only mentioned because of the similarity of attitude of two figures (on the lamp and on the coin) held in the hands of two seated deities. I would like to thank Mr. R. A. G. Carson for help and information on these coins.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, op. cit., pp. 964 ff. discusses this lack of a thunderbolt.

<sup>9</sup> Reproduced by kind permission of Professor O. Broneer.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Bellerophon on *B.M.C. Lamps*, no. 657, and an Amazon on L. Lerat, *Catalogue ... Besançon, Les Lampes Antiques* (Paris, 1954), no. 119. Also Corinth Lamps Nos. 584 and 592 (O. Broneer, *Corinth*, iv. 11, p. 100), showing Artemis and Hermes respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Compare also *B.M.C. Lamps* (London, 1914), no. 859.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), pp. 83-84.

## A TERRACOTTA HARE

THE Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities has recently been presented by Mr. T. C. Skeat, of the Department of Manuscripts, with a terracotta figure of a squatting hare.<sup>1</sup> It was bought some years ago in an antique-shop in Athens; otherwise nothing is known of its history.

The figure is 10.8 cm. long. It is hollow-moulded, and, apart from damage to both forelegs and the left hind-leg, is in good condition. The clay is cream-coloured, and fairly fine in texture, with a finer slip; no mica is visible. Beneath the hind-quarters is a vent-hole of irregular outline, about 4 mm. in diameter. The animal is decorated with a reddish glaze, applied in the form of dots on the nose, dashes on the body, and solid blocks of colour on eyes, ears, legs, spine, and tail.

This charming creature is evidently a provincial version of certain Corinthian plastic vases,<sup>2</sup> although the position and shape of the vent-hole make it most unlikely that our hare was intended, as they were, for a scent-bottle. Other provincial imitations of Corinthian hare-vases are known, all probably Rhodian; but all are scent-bottles, and none are quite like ours.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the character of the clay, the colour of the glaze, and the method of its application all suggest that this example is of Rhodian manufacture.<sup>4</sup>

It can scarcely be far in date from the Corinthian pieces from which it is manifestly derived. The Rhodian(?) hare-vases imitating Corinthian prototypes, to which reference has been made above, are dated in the first half of the sixth century, and our hare is probably their contemporary.<sup>5</sup> The fact that hollow-moulded figurines which are not vases are rare in the early sixth century would suggest for it a date towards the middle of that century. R. A. HIGGINS

<sup>1</sup> 1961. 2-13. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M. Cat. Terracottas*, ii (1959), nos. 1674-

5.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Maximova, *Les Vases plastiques* (1927), pl. 13, no. 55 (from Rhodes); *CVA*, Copenhagen, pl. 81, no. 9 (no provenance); *B.M. Cat. Terracottas*, ii (1959), no. 1647 (believed to be

Rhodian).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 10, Appendix 1.

<sup>5</sup> The date of *B.M. Cat.* no. 1647 is surely higher than is suggested in that publication, and I take this opportunity to make a correction. On the evidence of *Clara Rhodos*, iii. 35, it should be about 575-550 B.C.

## FUDŌ

SINCE the introduction of Shingon Buddhism, from China by Kōbō Daishi in the ninth century, Fudō has enjoyed a persistent cult in Japan. Shingon means True Word, but the doctrine of this sect is esoteric, only revealed in symbols, and through the use of magic spells. Kōbō Daishi founded the great monastic centre on Kōyasan, where he died in 816 and was buried. The cult centred round the Dainichi Nyorai, the Great Illuminator, the transcendent Buddha, outside time, of whom Fudō was a particular aspect, the enemy of the powers of evil. This springs from the Indian concept of the separate manifestations of the great primordial god, in this case Śiva, whose ferocious aspect, Acala, is the prototype of Fudō. His two eyes are shown turned, one upwards and the other down, so as to survey the whole universe; while two tusk-like fangs in the corners of his mouth are turned in the same directions. Fudō came to be regarded in the Heian period (784-1185) as the most important of the Guardian Gods of Buddhism, figured as King of Wrath, enthroned on a rock, which typified his immovable stance, holding sword and noose with

which demons are overcome and restrained, and surrounded by flames. His cult is carried on in a dark temple-hall, the Fudōdō, in which during the liturgy a fire is kept burning in front of the image or picture of Fudō. Many sculptures and paintings of Fudō are preserved in Kōyasan, of which the most famous are the lacquered wood carving in the Kongōbuji traditionally attributed to Unkei (fl. 1176-1223) and the 'Red' Fudō of Myōōin. Both this and the 'Blue' Fudō of the Shōren-in, Kyoto, are ascribed to the tenth century, and both are extremely powerful and evocative esoteric religious paintings, depicting the god seated on his rock with two boy attendants and flaming background. The 'Yellow' Fudō of Onjōji, although attributed to the ninth century, is on a smaller scale and less impressive.

Most of the early sculptures of Fudō show the god seated.<sup>1</sup> But in the Bujōji, Kyoto, is a standing figure of Fudō flanked by two boy attendants and backed by a high flame halo, which is known to have been dedicated in 1154 (illustrated in *Kyoto Bijutsu Taikan*, vol. vii, 1934, pl. 118, and in Heian Art Exhibition, Kyoto National Museum, 1957, no 259). This figure is covered with lacquer and painted and wears jewellery; it is strictly frontal, weighty and imposing, although not more than 5 feet 2 inches in height overall. Another Kyoto temple, the Shōgoin, owns a standing figure of Fudō which is also assigned to the late Fujiwara period (*Japanese Temples and Treasures*, 1915, vol. iii, pl. 339); a third with the same attribution belonged to the famous painter Yokoyama Taikan and was lent by him to the officially sponsored Japanese Exhibition in Berlin in 1939 (no. 8 in the catalogue).

It may be fairly claimed that the sculpture<sup>2</sup> now acquired for the British Museum is superior to any of these three. As with them, the stance is frontal, but there is a swing to the drapery and vitality in the stance which immediately mitigate the rigidity seen in the other sculptures cited. Two early Kamakura figures may also be mentioned, one dated 1211 (*Zōzō Meiki*, pl. 56); the other exhibited at the Nara Museum in 1958 in a 60th Anniversary Commemorative Exhibition (Catalogue, no. 17) as Kamakura; in both there is less plastic feeling in the drapery and less vitality in the stance. These considerations might not by themselves warrant the assignment of our Fudō to a pre-Kamakura date; but that it is carved from a single block of wood is a more cogent reason for regarding it as Heian. Even the Taikan figure is made of many blocks. The original gilt anklets, and bracelets and one armlet are preserved but the iron blade of the sword is probably a replacement.

The figure was covered with lacquer and the drapery painted with textile designs. The greater part of the lacquer has disappeared, revealing the actual carving of the wood, but a little of the painted patterns survives in the folds of the skirt on the left thigh (Fig. A). It is still possible to distinguish clearly here a double-T pattern in gold (Fig. B). This pattern when carefully examined is



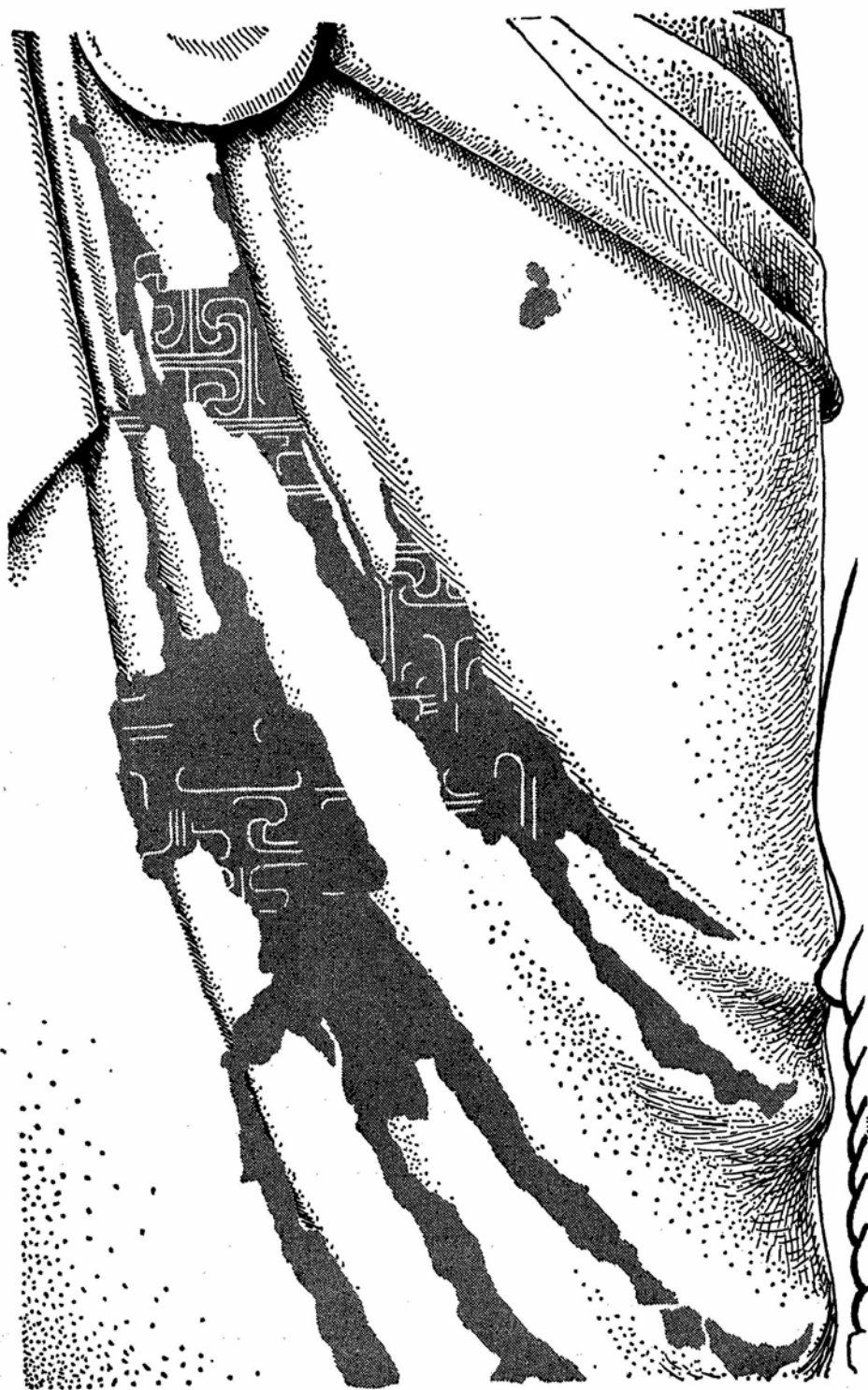


FIG. A

seen to be more complex than it appears at first glance. Consequently there is a significant connexion with the drapery depicted in the famous painting in the Chōhōji, Kyoto,<sup>3</sup> representing the Buddha risen from his coffin, a unique

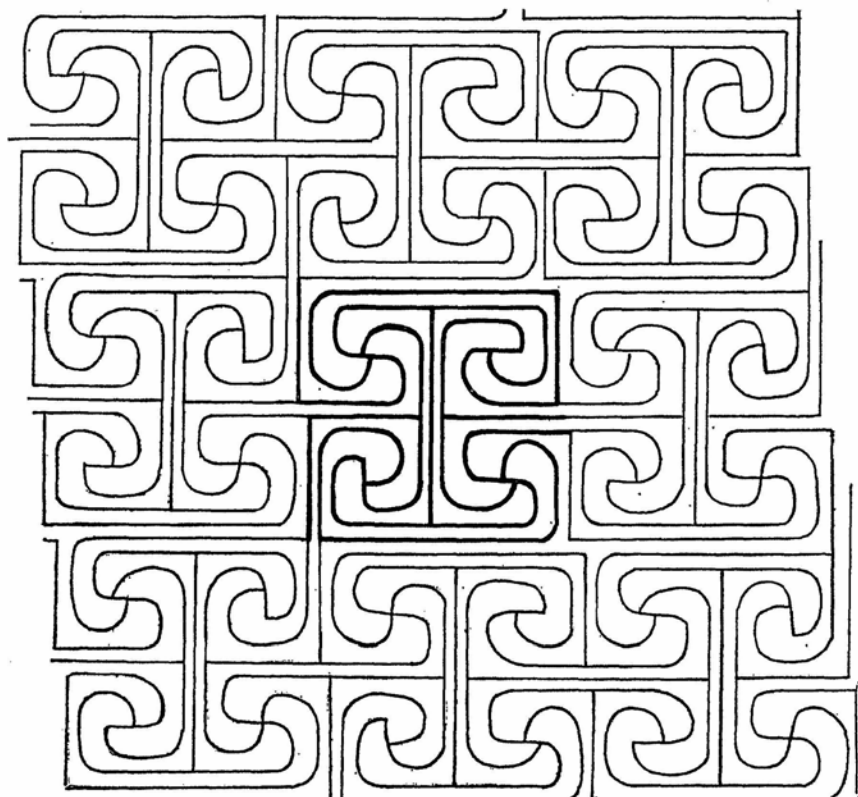


FIG. B

subject of great beauty. This drapery is a monastic robe placed on the offering table in left centre of the picture. The lining is white with a gold check pattern; the outside shows the same double-T pattern in rose-red on a pink ground. The painting is undoubtedly Heian and is generally dated late eleventh century,<sup>4</sup> and this is the period proposed for the Fudō now added to the Museum collection. As it has hitherto included no figure of Heian date and is far too weak in its display of Japanese sculpture of all periods, this acquisition is of special value. Although no more than half life-size the Fudō has considerable power and dignity. The base, which is of the usual rock form, is of comparatively recent date; and the flame halo has been specially made in Japan as a



replacement of this feature, so important both iconographically and aesthetically.

BASIL GRAY

<sup>1</sup> *Fine Art of the Heian Period from the special exhibition given in commemoration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Kyoto National Museum*, 1958, pl. 98.

<sup>2</sup> 1961-20-2-1. Height (without base): 38 inches (frontispiece).

<sup>3</sup> See the detail of the Buddha's robe thrown over the side of the coffin reproduced in colour in a monograph on this painting published in 1957 by Bijutsu shuppan-sha, Tokyo (pl. 6): also in black and white on pl. xviii of *Bijutsu Kenkyū*,

no. cxxxiv, 1944.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Buhot, *Histoire des Arts du Japon*, i, 1949, p. 180; R. Paine and A. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, 1955, p. 50.

Y. Yashiro, *2000 Years of Japanese Art*, pl. 60. Exhibition of National Treasures of Japan, 1960, no. 7.

Dr. Terukazu Akiyama reports, in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, no. clxviii, 1952, that X-ray examination of this painting shows that this area, unlike some other parts of it, is original (pp. 135-7).

## CHINESE PORCELAIN OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

### II. WITH COPPER-RED DECORATION OR CELADON GLAZE

MENTION was made in the previous article<sup>1</sup> on the blue-and-white wares, of the large-scale export trade in Chinese porcelain in the fourteenth century and its wide diffusion. This is at least as true of the other types discussed in the present article. While celadon had been exported to the Middle East from a much earlier date, and seems particularly suited, by its solid structure, to stand the long voyage and transshipments to the ports in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, it has been a surprise to find archaeological evidence of the export to East Africa of the porcelain with underglaze copper-red decoration, which seems to have been relatively uncommon in China and is not included at all in the two big collections of Ardebil and Top-Kapu Sarayi. It may be that the two bottles, portions of which were recovered at Gedi<sup>2</sup> on the Kenya coast and in Zanzibar, antedate anything in those two large collections, which also do not include any blue-and-white piece of this style. For these bottles are of the sparsely decorated type which is generally placed in the first half of the fourteenth century, contemporaneous with the blue-and-white pouring bowl discussed in the previous article. There is at present no example of this type in the Museum collection, but it was represented in the 1955 Loan Exhibition by a bottle lent by Mr. R. F. A. Riesco.<sup>3</sup>

There are, however, now three examples of porcelain decorated in underglaze red drawing in the Department, which can be attributed unhesitatingly to the fourteenth century. One of these is a recent acquisition (1959-7-15-1), Pl. XIV, and hitherto unpublished. It is a shallow dish with nearly flat rim, decorated with

a key fret, which surrounds a scroll of lotus flowers separated by a triple ring from a *ling-chih* centre design. It thus follows the same general scheme of decoration as the three examples of this shape already published,<sup>4</sup> but the flowers are lotus instead of the peonies or chrysanthemums which decorate these; and there are five flowers in the scroll instead of six. All four dishes are decorated on the reverse side with a series of stylized petal-panels surrounding the bare foot inside the foot-rim. As usual this has burnt an orange-red. The copper has developed a uniform deep rose-red, with no trace of the brackish brown often found at this time, when difficulty was experienced in its use. But, on the other hand, the glaze is pitted in several places with the small craters caused by burst bubbles, and is covered all over with cracks, caused by the faster shrinkage of the unusually thick glaze than the body.<sup>5</sup> These cracks have been stained, no doubt during long burial. Moreover, the copper has tended to diffuse the areas near the lines of the design, a fault not infrequent in the copper-red wares and seen in an extreme form in the largest and most important piece in the Museum collection. This is a great jar with lobed sides<sup>8</sup> from the Eumorfopoulos collection, also a rare type, of which only two other specimens are known, one in Japan<sup>6</sup> and the other in China.<sup>7</sup>

In Hobson's catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos collection this is dated 'about 1500':<sup>9</sup> Mr. R. S. Jenyns dated it late fourteenth or early fifteenth century in 1953.<sup>10</sup> Those in Chinese and Japanese ownership are both now ascribed to the Yüan dynasty, and therefore not later than 1368. But Mr. John Pope has put forward a tentative case for regarding all this kind of underglaze red porcelain as products of the first reign of the Ming dynasty, that of Hung Wu (1368-98). He points out<sup>11</sup> that we have no other types to ascribe to this long gap in the sequence of Ching Tê-chên porcelain and that the underglaze red pieces and their parallels in underglaze blue, which closely resemble nearly all the shapes, but are even rarer in this colouring, have the same physical characteristics as the mid-fourteenth-century group. But the stage in the development of the decoration of these types seems to lie between this group and the early-fifteenth-century wares which stand on either side of this gap. What is problematical is the extent of the progress during this time. If you believe that the upheaval caused by the change of dynasty in 1368 would have been likely to upset the work at the pottery kilns, then you will place these types before that date, as do Mr. John Addis, the staff of the Peking Palace Museum, and the Japanese. If, on the other hand, you hold with Mr. John Pope that political events of this sort can have no immediate effect on stylistic progress, then you disregard the 1368 date and plot the changes regularly through the 'gap'.

What does become more and more clear is the revolutionary character of the Yüan period in matters of taste; and it is on this account that one feels justified in concentrating into the century of their rule all these changes which accompany

the early history of the painted porcelain of Ching Tê-chên. A further point is that the saucer-dish here published and the cup-stand type, which is also represented in the Department by an example presented by the heirs of the Rev. J. F. Bloxam in 1928,<sup>12</sup> are both related to silver and gold prototypes made under the Yüan, and in particular to those included in the find of 1955, referred to in the first article, of a deposit of about 1333. Although there are no cup-stands with lotus-form centre in this find, there is in the Department a silver cup-stand of just this shape received with the Oscar Raphael bequest.<sup>13</sup> The centre inside the lotus is occupied by a fungus, while the area between this centre and the rim is decorated with four floral motifs on a punched ground. It is curious that no cups are known in either silver or porcelain which could be used with these cup-stands, unless it be the kind of cup of engraved silver or gold which is usually attributed to the T'ang dynasty.<sup>14</sup> There are no ceramic counterparts to these, and the stem-cups in *ch'ing-pai* and underglaze blue wares have too narrow stems to fit these stands. The connexion with metal is a point in favour of a Yüan date, for the Mongols had a strong taste in silver and gold.

Much more has been published on fourteenth-century blue-and-white than on celadon of the period, as is natural: for there is generally more interest in the beginnings of a ware than in its late middle age. Still, of recent years several attempts have been made to isolate a group of Yüan celadons from their Sung predecessors and Ming successors. In this task, relationship to the blue-and-white wares is clearly of value, as has been recognized.<sup>15</sup> Two examples in the Museum collection are here published, it is believed for the first time—though neither is a recent acquisition—with the hope of forwarding this study.

The first is a small dish which clearly parallels the underglaze red dish here reproduced. A sea-green glaze covers an incised lotus design in the centre, and a key-fret on the rim; the reverse is plain with no foot-rim but a circle bare of glaze where the body has burnt an orange-brown on exposure in the kiln. The diameter is  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches and it forms part of the Franks collection (no. 134+). Here and there are specks of brown in the glaze due to excess of iron (Pl. XV *b*).

The second is a deep bowl<sup>16</sup> (Pl. XV *a*) presented by Mrs. Kenneth Kay in 1936 from the collection of her late husband, who lived for many years in Madras. It is not known if he acquired this bowl in India, but it is of a type much exported to the Middle East and it is not improbable.

On the rim are moulded blossoms, four large and eight smaller, placed in pairs between them; carved in the curve, two phoenixes and clouds; and in the centre a peony. The phoenixes have long bifurcated tails. The reverse is undecorated.<sup>17</sup> The shape and decoration resemble dishes in the Sarayi<sup>18</sup> but, unlike these, the whole surface is glazed, though Mr. Ayres has remarked that no distinction in dating attaches to this alternative technique.<sup>19</sup> On the base are drilled

two marks which are reproduced below: they are clearly the work of two different hands, and both are intended for Arabic words. That on the left could be read as *mulk* 'property'; the reading of that on the right is uncertain. Marks of a similar nature and technique occur on certain dishes in the Ardebil and Sarayi collections and are thought by some to be ownership marks.<sup>20</sup> Though the decoration on the dish is not directly connected with that on the underglaze blue or red, the division of the decoration into three distinct designs on the flattened rim, the curved side and the centre, and the choice of motifs do suggest a connexion.



BASIL GRAY

<sup>1</sup> *B.M.Q.* xxiii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Basil Gray, 'Art under the Mongol Dynasties of China and Persia', *Oriental Art*, i (1955), pp. 163 f., fig. 5.

<sup>3</sup> John Ayers, 'Some Characteristic Wares of the Yüan Dynasty', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1954-5, vol. xxix, pl. 41, fig. 26. This bottle has been presented to the Museum by Mr. Riesco, since this article was written. His gift will be the subject of a special notice in a later issue of *B.M.Q.*

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Addis, 'A Group of Underglaze Red', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1957-9, vol. xxxi, p. 17 and pl. 2, c, e, and f.

<sup>5</sup> This phenomenon was observed in one or two other pieces by Mr. Addis (op. cit., p. 26).

<sup>6</sup> *Sekai toji zenshu*, xi (1955), pl. 6; F. Koyama, *Chinese Ceramics, One hundred selected masterpieces from collections in Japan, England, France and America*, Tokyo, 1960, pl. 21.

<sup>7</sup> J. M. Addis, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> 1936-10-12-37. Ht. 19 inches. The lip has been ground down.

<sup>9</sup> The George Eumorfopoulos collection: *Catalogue of the Chinese, Korean and Persian Porcelain and Pottery*, by R. L. Hobson, vol. iv, 1927: D. 49-pl. x. Previously Hobson had given it a

Chêng-tê date (1506-21): *The Art of the Chinese Potter*, 1923, pl. 124.

<sup>10</sup> R. S. Jenyns, *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, 1953, p. 49, pl. 18.

<sup>11</sup> J. A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, 1956, pp. 78-79.

<sup>12</sup> *B.M.Q.* iii. 35, pl. xvii b (D. 7.6 inches) (1928-7-18-2) again with a Chêng-tê attribution.

<sup>13</sup> 1945-10-17-195. London Exhibition, 1935/6, no. 772. Diameter: 5 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches.

<sup>14</sup> Several are reproduced in the Catalogue by Bo Gyllensvärd of Chinese Gold and Silver in the Carl Kempe collection, Stockholm, 1953, nos. 102, 103, 109, 113.

<sup>15</sup> J. Ayers in *Oriental Ceramic Society Transactions*, vol. xxix, 1954-5 (1957), p. 72; J. A. Pope, op. cit., p. 156 citing E. Zimmermann, *Altchinesische Porzellane im Alten Serai*, 1930, Taf. 10 and 12.

<sup>16</sup> 1936-12-19-9. Diameter 13.7 inches. This gift was noticed by R. L. Hobson in *B.M.Q.* xi (1937), pp. 114-15, but the bowl was not mentioned.

<sup>17</sup> On the base is a ring of exposed biscuit, burnt red in the firing.

<sup>18</sup> Zimmermann, op. cit., Taf. 20 and 19.

<sup>19</sup> Ayers, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> Pope, op. cit., p. 58.

## TWO PERSIAN BRONZE BUCKETS

A BRONZE or brass vessel popular in medieval Persia has been variously described as a bucket, cauldron, and kettle.<sup>1</sup> There are two main types. The one has a globular body usually supported on a narrow foot-ring and a curved carrying handle attached to the rim. The other has a round body slightly tapering towards the mouth, a curved handle but no foot-ring. Both types are represented in the Museum's collections.<sup>2</sup> But it is with two examples of the first type recently acquired by the Museum that this article is concerned.

The first of these (Pl. XVI) is 8 inches high.<sup>3</sup> The slightly flaring foot-rim is cast separately. The handle is attached to lugs which project upwards from the flat rim, and is provided with square projections above the attachment rings: its length is divided into segments, three of which are decorated with traced designs of floral scrolls. The finial which was originally attached to the middle point of the handle is missing.

When acquired the outside surface of the vessel was encrusted with a thick green patina. This was removed by the Museum's Research Laboratory and the remarkable traced decoration and copper inlay were fully revealed. The process of restoration is described in a note appended below. The decoration is disposed in three registers. The upper register is framed above and below by narrow bands of copper inlay and contains a frieze of Arabic in *naskhi*, also inlaid with copper. This inscription consists of benedictory phrases and reads: *al-izz al-igbāl w'al-daulah w'al-sa'ādah w'al-salāmah w'al-karāmah w'al-baqā dā [sic]*. It is set on a traced design of a continuous curling scroll with split and half palmettes.

In the middle register twelve roundels are interlaced with the framing bands above and below. Between these roundels are tight arabesque scrolls. Each of the roundels is devoted to one of the twelve zodiacal signs. Reading from right to left, these are: Aquarius; Pisces; Aries; Taurus; a human-headed bird where Gemini would normally be represented;<sup>4</sup> Cancer; a griffin where one would expect the lion; Virgo (represented by twin leafy shoots); Libra; Scorpio; Sagittarius; Capricorn (here rendered as a combination of caprid and hare).

The lower register consists of a narrow band of 'Kufic', containing benedictory phrases, against a scrolling ground and interrupted at twelve points by a circle, each of which contains a small circular depression towards the top, probably originally intended for an inlay of copper.

There are also copper inlays on the lip of the vessel used to frame two panels of guilloche and four circles. Two concentric circles of copper inlay are described on the outside base.

The second bucket (Pl. XVII) is 8 inches high and of a dark bronze. Its bulbous body is slightly more elongated than the usual form of the group: and is sup-

ported on a foot-ring with scalloped edges. The curved handle is attached to wedge-shaped lugs that project from the vessel's rim. The decoration has been executed with tracing and punch tools. That of the exterior surface of the body consists of ten vertical panels the sides of which are formed by a pair of plain bands each in the form of an inverted T, the cross-member acting as the base. Between each pair of cross-members is a circular punch-mark surrounded by a circle. Five of the panels contain geometric interlacings; plain diagonal crossings in which the straight lines and angles are sometimes relieved by 'bends', or interlacings of lines and circles, some of which are ogival in form. Two panels are fitted with unusual motifs: in the one a quatrefoil between two crosses each comprising four arms of unequal length and disposed around a circle; and in the other a spiral whorl with, above and below, a leaf-shaped figure piercing the arc of a circle. Another panel is decorated with what are clearly intended to be Kufic characters, probably a combination of the letters *lam* and *re*, the tail of the latter curling up and round to end in a split leaf. The decoration of the two remaining panels comprises in the one a pair of birds placed one above the other and in the second a single bird with above and below a curious pincer-like figure combined with the leaf figure which has already been noted in connexion with one of the panels mentioned above. The rendering of these birds is curiously stylized, the various members being disjointed.

The outlines of the ornament in the panel are rendered with a continuous line and are also given contour lines consisting of a series of tiny punched circles. The ground is stippled or hachured; and an added effect of articulation is obtained by the use of circular punch-marks of varying diameter which also occur on the handle.

Apart from the two buckets described above, some twelve others belonging to the group are known to the writer. These are:

1. Bronze bucket with silver and copper inlay; according to its inscription made at Herat in 1163. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers and their Works*, Geneva, 1959, pp. 61-62).
2. Bronze bucket with silver and copper inlay, Hermitage Museum (Mayer, op. cit., p. 71, pl. x).
3. Bronze bucket with copper inlay, Hermitage Museum (*Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 1306A).
4. Brass bucket with copper inlay, British Museum (D. Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork in the British Museum*, pp. x, xxii, and pl. 10).
5. Bronze bucket with inlay, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Ettinghausen, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xxiv, 1943, p. 205, fig. 9).
6. Bronze bucket with inlay (?), Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (A. U. Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, New York, 1945, pl. 64).
7. Bronze bucket, formerly Harari collection (*Survey*, pl. 1292B).
8. Bronze bucket, Stora collection (*Survey*, pl. 1292A).
9. Bronze bucket, Stora collection (*Survey*, pl. 1291B).



10. Bronze bucket, A. Curtis collection (G. Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1927 (2nd ed.), vol. ii, p. 33, fig. 230).
11. Bronze bucket, Benaki Museum, Athens (unpublished).
12. Bronze bucket, Heeramaneeck Galleries (*Persian Art before and after the Mongol Conquest, Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the University of Michigan Museum of Art, April 9-May 17, 1959*, no. 23 reproduced on p. 53).

Features common to all are the globular body and curved carrying handle attached to the rim by vertical lugs. With the exception of (5) and (8), all are provided with foot-rings of similar form. In the case of seven, (3), (4), (6), (7), (8), (10), (12), the decoration of the body is organized in three registers, all of similar proportions: the upper and lower registers consist invariably of bands of *naskhi* and *kufi* respectively, each placed against a scrolling ground. There is some variation in the content of the middle register, which, however, in every case is arranged in a number of compartments. The first British Museum bucket is almost identical to the inlaid bucket in the Walters Art Gallery (6), in which the middle register also contains the twelve zodiacal signs set in roundels.

The so-called Bobrinskoy bucket (1) is not only one of the great masterpieces of medieval Persian art but is also evidence of the importance of Herat as a centre of metalwork production in the second half of the twelfth century. The absence of documentation for other centres of metalwork in Persia at this period is some justification for attributing the group to Herat. The homogeneity of the group also suggests a fairly limited time range: and the style of none possesses features which gained currency with the establishment of the Il Khanids in Persia. It is doubtful indeed whether the artistic life of Herat could have long survived the catastrophic impact of the city's capture by the Mongols in 1222.

The second of the two buckets recently acquired by the Museum poses several problems. The shape of its body and its carrying handle conform to the corresponding features of the other vessels in the group. The scalloped foot-ring and the style and technique of the surface decoration set it apart from these. But while the handling and presentation of the ornament in its ensemble diverges considerably, analysis shows that it is compounded of decorative motifs, each of which can be paralleled in the decorative repertory of Persia in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The geometric interlacings both in content and technique are reminiscent of tooled leather bindings of which, however, examples from Persia of this date have not survived; but panels of illumination containing interlacings of this type occur in a manuscript of the Koran copied at Hamadan in 1164 and now preserved in the University Museum, Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup> In the same Koran, every five verses are marked by a little wedge-shaped figure curiously similar to those which occur in two of the panels of the bucket;<sup>6</sup> and the spiral whorl, a variant of the rosette, is used by illuminators to indicate verse divisions. The stylized bird ornament is a typical motif of the Seljuq period; it is one of the

distinguishing marks of the lustre wares produced at Kashan in the second half of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> In metalwork it is used as a finial on a type of incense burner.<sup>8</sup>

There is, however, a striking similarity between our bucket and the inlaid bucket in the Hermitage Museum (2) above; for the surface decoration of the latter, too, is arranged in vertical panels. These panels alternate and are of two kinds. One is divided into two fields by framing bands of Kufic which cross in the centre: each field contains a horseman. The other panel consists of a roundel of diagonal interlacings, edged by lancet leaves with, above, paired birds drinking from a bowl and, below, paired birds addorsed. The panels are divided by vertical shafts, the bases of which are grasped by pincer-like leaves attached to a stem garlanded round the underside of the vessel's body. This could surely be the prototype of the pincer-like figure in the Museum's bucket.

Geometric interlacings combined with bands of Kufic and the leaf ornament occur on a large brass bowl in the Kervorkian Foundation, New York, published by Dr. Ettinghausen and attributed by him to eastern Persia and by implication to the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> The technique of its decoration consists both of the continuous traced line and of the stippled line executed with the punch tool. Dr. Ettinghausen has also published with a similar attribution a brass bowl in his own possession executed in the same technique and the decoration of which includes flying birds like those in the Museum's bucket.<sup>10</sup> Decorative schemes consisting of seemingly disparate motifs are characteristic of a type of pottery produced at Nishapur in Khurasan during the tenth century.<sup>11</sup> Finally, a report by Dr. Werner, Keeper of the Department of the Research Laboratory in the British Museum, does not preclude the vessel being of medieval date.<sup>12</sup> There are, therefore, good grounds for an attribution to eastern Persia in the second half of the twelfth century; and two distinguished authorities who have examined the vessel have concurred in this view. It should, however, be borne in mind that artistic motifs have manifested remarkable powers of survival in the Near East. Dr. Schuyler Cammann has drawn attention to such survivals in a group of household implements, jewellery, and horse trappings collected by him in the bazaars of Afghanistan as recently as 1953.<sup>13</sup> The appearance of the bronze inclines against a date later than the eighteenth century; and if indeed it is as late as that, it is an eloquent witness to the remarkable tenacity of the Seljuq artistic tradition in that part of the world.

R. H. PINDER-WILSON

<sup>1</sup> R. Ettinghausen, "The Bobrinski "Kettle", *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xxiv (1943), 193-208.

<sup>2</sup> The one example of the first type is listed further on in this article. The two examples of the second type are both unpublished:

Reg. No. 1953.2.17.1. A bronze bucket with traced designs and Reg. No. 1948.5.8.3, a miniature brass bucket with remains of silver and gold inlay which is of Syrian or Mesopotamian work of the early fourteenth century.



<sup>3</sup> 1958.10.13.1.

<sup>4</sup> Gemini is represented in the same way on the Walters Art Gallery bucket; and as paired birds with human heads flanking the mask of the Dragon Head in a bronze bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A. Grohmann, 'Die Bronzeschale M. 388-1911 im Victoria and Albert Museum', *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1959, p. 129, Abb. 5.

<sup>5</sup> R. Ettinghausen, 'A Signed and dated Seljuq Qur'an', *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv (1935), 92-102, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> R. Ettinghausen, 'Evidence for the identification of Kashan pottery', *Ars Islamica*, iii (1936), 44-45, figs. 2 a, b, j, 5, 7, 15, 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 1299 A, B, D.

<sup>9</sup> R. Ettinghausen, 'The "Wade Cup" in the Cleveland Museum of Art, its Origin and Decorations', *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 327-66, fig. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 15-17.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. A. E. Werner writes: '(1) The body is made of bronze with a low tin content. The foot is of a similar alloy and has been cast on to the body, which was made with a hole in the base. The handle was cast separately and is made of copper. (2) The mineral deposits present on the cauldron suggest that the object has lain underground for a considerable period of time, and examination of a crack suggests a reasonable antiquity. On the other hand there is very little evidence of wear on the handle. Although the object may well be of mediaeval date, the technical evidence obtained in this examination would equally well be compatible with an age of about 100 years' (report dated 14 April 1959).

<sup>13</sup> Schuyler Cammann, 'Ancient Symbols in Modern Afghanistan', *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 5-34.

## TECHNICAL NOTE ON PERSIAN ENGRAVED BRONZE CAULDRON

THIS cauldron was received in the condition shown in Pl. XVIII a. Its surface was obscured by a rough green patina of no aesthetic merit and a large patch of unsuitable curvature, which had been cut out of another vessel, had been inserted with soft solder. The foot had been originally attached by three patches of soft solder.

The purpose in treating this object was twofold: firstly, to improve its appearance and to reveal detail obscured by layers of corrosion products, and, secondly, to increase its chemical stability.

The unsightly patch and the ill-fitted foot were first removed and then the standard procedure for dissolving the incrustation was carried out.<sup>1</sup> This involved immersion of the cauldron in successive baths of alkaline Rochelle salt until the reagent no longer became coloured, a process which took about sixteen hours. After a brief rinse the cauldron was then repeatedly immersed in dilute sulphuric acid for a few minutes at a time and the decomposed mineral brushed off. This process was continued until further quantities could not be removed. As a result of this cleaning it became evident that the inscription in the upper register of the bronze was inlaid in copper. Unfortunately the reagent also produced patches of adherent copper, unassociated with the inscription, which were indicative of the presence of a corrosive mineral in the surface of the metal. Since one of the objects of treating the cauldron was to increase its chemical stability, it became necessary to remove this unwanted layer of copper in order to facilitate removal of the mineral beneath. This operation was carried out without risk to the bronze of the cauldron by local application of strong ammonia solution where the layer was thin and by anodic oxidation in the more difficult areas, the oxidation being carried out carefully with an electrolyte of dilute sulphuric acid supported in a pledget of cotton wool. When all the foreign copper had been removed by these means the vessel was cathodically reduced in alkali<sup>2</sup> for several days in order to decompose corrosive minerals, both those which were now exposed on the cleaned surface and those within pores in the cast metal. This cleaning phase of the treatment was concluded by washing briefly in distilled water.

Attention was next directed to replacing the patch by a sheer of electrolytic copper. A mass of white plasticine was formed within the cauldron to give a surface having the correct curvature and from this

a negative was made in plaster. A thick sheer of copper was electrodeposited on to this negative former and, after removal, washing, and trimming, was soft-soldered into the cauldron, a non-corrosive flux being employed.

At this stage the surface of the new patch was too smooth to blend satisfactorily with that of the corroded and porous bronze. In order to simulate natural pitting as nearly as possible a paste of cuprous chloride and bauxite grit was applied to the new copper, the adjacent areas of the cauldron being protected by a thick layer of paraffin wax. The cauldron was then exposed in a moist atmosphere for a few days and when the copper was well pitted the corrosive material was removed.

Cleaning was completed by washing intensively for two months, using the standard method,<sup>3</sup> until tests showed that the concentration of chloride was less than one part per million of chloride in a specimen of the final rinse water which had been evaporated to a quarter of its bulk.

After drying thoroughly, the surface of the metal, oxidized during the washing process, was cleaned to a satisfactory colour and the red copper inlay exposed by the use of a soft glass-bristle brush. The copper patch was coloured to match the bronze with dry colour and metal powder in a shellac base. The foot, which had been cleaned separately by an identical series of operations, was affixed to the base by means of an epoxy resin adhesive. Finally, the complete cauldron was lacquered with a thin film of synthetic resin which did not modify its appearance.

The true nature of the object can now be seen, and it is confidently believed that it will remain indefinitely stable under museum conditions.

The authors are pleased to acknowledge the considerable assistance of Messrs. B. A. Nimmo and P. Smith in carrying out the above work.

R. M. ORGAN  
D. E. BISSETT

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Plenderleith, *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> R. M. Organ, *Mus. J.* 55 (1955), 112-19.

## A BEADWORK GAMING BOARD FROM NORTH-WEST INDIA

THE beadwork gaming 'board' (1959. As. 12. 1) illustrated on Pl. XIX *a* was acquired by the Department of Ethnography as part of a small collection presented by Mrs. M. C. Kenward, which had formerly been in the possession of the Commonwealth and Colonial Church Society. A label attached to the board says 'Bead board used in game. J. B.' and no other information accompanied the specimen.

The gaming board is 16 inches long across the arms and is cruciform, the arms being of equal length. Each arm consists of twenty-four squares in three rows, alternately translucent red with a white central spot and translucent green with an orange central spot; these squares are separated by lines of white beadwork, which also border the four arms. In the centre of the board, in a square white space bordered by a line of translucent green beads, is a crosslet cross of translucent red beads with orange spots at the nodes. The beads are standard glass seed beads of the type made for trade with non-European peoples, and are stitched together with cotton thread to form a flexible fabric, the design being the same on both sides.

The game for which this board is designed is a race game, of Indian origin, of which the European Ludo is a derivative. These race games on cruciform boards appear to be of some antiquity since H. J. R. Murray<sup>1</sup> and E. Falkener<sup>2</sup> describe how palaces of the Mughal dynasty at Fatehpur-Sikri, Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi had large boards marked out in their courtyards for these games, with living persons used as pieces; the emperor Akbar (1585-1605) is reputed to have been particularly fond of the game. The board in the courtyard at Delhi was destroyed after the Indian Mutiny, but the others apparently still survive.

The Indian game is most commonly known as pachisi. The board is nowadays usually embroidered or painted on a piece of cloth<sup>3</sup> which addicted players might carry rolled up in their turbans. The board consists of four arms of  $3 \times 8$  cells arranged to form a cross with a central enclosure called 'the square' (*char-koni*). On each arm certain cells are cross cut and called 'fort' or 'castle' (*chik*) and men on those cells are usually safe from capture. As a rule, four persons play, forming two sides, the partners sitting opposite each other at the ends of the arms. Each player has the same number of men (usually four), coloured, red and black opposing yellow and green. The moves are regulated by the throws of six or seven cowries, the value depending on the number of cowries that fall 'mouth upwards'; in the older games two or three four-sided oblong dice were used. Murray lists eighteen varieties of the game, all varying as to the paths of the moves, the position of the cross-cut cells, and rights of entry and scoring. Some of the varieties occur in Ceylon, south-east Asia, and among the Arabs of Palestine and Somaliland. The game was introduced into Europe in about 1896 under the name of Ludo, and has spread thence to Lagos, Nigeria.

It is not certain whether this gaming board was used for pachisi or for one of its varieties. None of the cells are cross cut, although it would be quite possible to memorize the position of the cross-cut cells, which would be red squares on this board: the central cells at the extreme ends, and the fourth cells down from the ends on the sides, making three cross-cut cells to each arm.

Something can be gathered from the beads and the technology of their stringing together. Trade beads of this kind were made in Venice, Bohemia, the Rhineland, and even England for use in trade with non-European peoples, and have a world-wide distribution. Seed beads as small as this (diameter 2 millimetres), which include translucent colours, are unlikely to be earlier than the latter part of the eighteenth century. The technique of stringing the beads has been described by W. C. Orchard<sup>4</sup> as a netted weave between two parallel strings, which is one of the basic methods of making a bead fabric, and has a wide distribution. It proved possible to establish that this technique occurs in India; Falkener<sup>5</sup> illustrated a beadwork pachisi board from Delhi in what is obviously the same technique. Furthermore, the Wellcome collection (1954. W. As. 7, unregistered, Wellcome No. 45657) includes a beadwork strip of similar workmanship, which

is also illustrated on Pl. XIXb. Mr. D. Barrett<sup>6</sup> has identified this as a *torana*, a beadwork strip hung on the lintels of mud huts and found in Kathiawar and western Rajasthan. This *torana* includes beads of the same colours and similar to the beads of the gaming board, although the general colour scheme is orange, green, and white rather than red, green, and white. This enables us provisionally to attribute the gaming board under discussion to the north-west quarter of India, to the region bounded by Delhi on the north-east and Kathiawar on the south-west. One cannot do more than guess at its date, which may be the latter part of the nineteenth century.

MARGRET A. CAREY

<sup>1</sup> H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Board Games other than Chess*, chap. vi, sect. 4, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> E. Falkener, *Games Ancient and Oriental*, chap. xxvii, pp. 257-64, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1892.

<sup>3</sup> E. Falkener, op. cit., fig. opposite p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> W. C. Orchard, *Beads and Beadwork of the American Indian*, pp. 126-7, fig. 125, New York, Heye Foundation, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> Falkener, op. cit., plate opposite p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Barrett has been unable to suggest any inferences that might be drawn from the crosslet cross in the central square. There is an Ethiopian portable wooden altar in the Wellcome collection given to the British Museum (W. 243233) which is ornamented with crosslet crosses. An Ethiopian origin for the gaming board is not to be ruled out, if pachisi occurs in Somaliland, but there is no other evidence for considering this possibility.

## A COLOSSAL MASK FROM THE BAGA OF GUINEA

AMONG the art-producing tribes of Negro Africa the Baga of the coastal area of what was till recently French Guinea must be accounted one of the most important and at the same time most obscure. Though fine examples of their wood sculpture—probably dating in the main from the first two decades of this century—have found an honoured place in the principal picture books on African art published since 1915,<sup>1</sup> the amount of useful documentation about the tribe, its institutions and its art has remained exiguous. Only within the last few years have they been subjected to any intensive anthropological fieldwork<sup>2</sup> and this has shown the traditional culture to be in an advanced stage of decay. The greater part of the tribe appears to have been islamized by the beginning of this century, and though paganism still lingers in a few villages, the profound and confident religious faith which is of the essence of African traditional sculpture seems to have failed.

From the point of view of art at least the Baga can be divided into two groups, a northern and a southern, practising distinct though related styles; the less-known southern group are intermixed with the Susu and this may have some

bearing on the differentiation of their carving style. In this note we are concerned only with the northern group.

The best northern Baga sculptures are unsurpassed in Africa for their grandeur and sheer size, yet are by no means deficient in the vitality which marks African carvings of more normal dimensions; the creative imagination of the artists has been equal to the ambitious scale of their commissions. This applies especially to their most famous works, the great masks called *nimba*,<sup>3</sup> which are sometimes said to represent the 'goddess of fertility'. Their other principal art forms are the long *banda* mask,<sup>4</sup> combining crocodile, antelope, and human features and worn horizontally on the dancer's head; male and female standing figures, probably representing ancestors;<sup>5</sup> carvings called *anok* or *elek*, in the form of a bird or (more probably) human head mounted in a round pedestal and used as a centre piece in certain dances of the Simo secret society;<sup>6</sup> hardwood carvings of the same form as the *nimba* masks, but reduced to the normal compass of African wood sculpture, and said to be used as dance head-dresses when mounted on a cap;<sup>7</sup> brightly coloured birds carved in light wood and similarly worn as dance head-dresses;<sup>8</sup> and tall drums supported on four human figures.<sup>9</sup>

Before the Second World War the British Museum possessed only one Baga sculpture, a fine example of *anok* presented by T. J. Alldridge in 1889<sup>10</sup> (possibly the first Baga work to be brought to Europe). Post-war acquisitions (in addition to a magnificent drum and two less important figures from the southern Baga)<sup>11</sup> comprise a good standing female figure obtained by exchange from the Musée de l'Homme, Paris;<sup>12</sup> an example, perhaps the finest known, of the *nimba*-form busts<sup>7</sup> (presented by Mrs. Webster Plass and formerly in the Musée de l'Homme); and finally the large *nimba* mask, purchased in 1957, which is the principal subject of this note (Pl. XX).

Until the nineteen-fifties *nimba* masks had been regarded as extremely rare, fine examples being known, for instance, in the Musée de l'Homme<sup>13</sup> and the private collections of M. Georges Salles<sup>14</sup> and M. Pablo Picasso,<sup>15</sup> but the rising international demand for Negro sculpture (and certain other commodities) has brought into being a generation of African dealers who, in scouring French West Africa for carvings of any quality from the best to the worst, brought to light much interesting material, especially from the Dogon and Bambara tribes of the western Sudan, though pieces so collected are seldom documented. At the same time *nimba* masks, previously thought almost if not quite extinct in Guinea, began to appear in Europe in some profusion, most of them execrable modern copies, wholly lacking in the sculptural mastery needed to impart artistic life to such vast forms; of these a few may possibly have been used in recent ceremonial before being diverted to export. But in addition some four or five examples appeared which were unmistakably genuine, old and of high quality, and it seems likely that the supply is now indeed exhausted. The British

Museum was fortunate to have the opportunity of acquiring from an unimpeachable source what is perhaps the finest of them, and one which is certainly of the same order of merit as the best examples previously known.

The mask (registration no. 1957. Af. 7. 1) is a large female bust carved from a single block of hard wood and standing on four legs which are concealed below the dress. Its total height including these legs is  $48\frac{1}{4}$  inches; the head is  $22\frac{3}{4}$  inches long from back to front and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide at the widest point, excluding the ears. The head itself is solid, the bust hollow to contain the head and shoulders of the dancer, who is provided with two rectangular eye holes between the breasts. The considerable weight of the mask (80 lb.) would be supported on his head (a pad of cloth or grass doubtless intervening), while the 'legs' could be used to steady it and control its movements.

The raphia-fibre dress exhibited with the mask was obtained through the same channels, but may not have been made for this particular example; in use it would form only the top layer of the complete costume, which would reach to the ground so that no part of the dancer's body could be seen. So clothed, and especially when in motion, the *nimba* dancer, standing 8 feet high, is an exceptionally impressive figure.<sup>16</sup>

The enormous cantilevered head is boldly conceived as a projection of the natural human head and (with others of this type) is probably the extreme example in African sculpture of this kind of artistic hypertrophy; African artists often seem to follow intuitively (though not rigidly) the same laws of growth and form which govern abnormal growths and deformities in nature, and the result, as here, is often an intensely powerful translation into sculptural terms of the idea of increase,<sup>17</sup> which so dominates African religious philosophy.<sup>18</sup>

Of all known styles of African sculpture, the one which most nearly approaches the northern Baga form is that of the well-known *nomoli*, soapstone figures of Sierra Leone,<sup>19</sup> and this fact may prove to be of some importance in the incipient study of the art history of the Guinea Coast. For the origin of these small stone figures is still a subject of speculation. They are found over a large part of Sierra Leone and also in the neighbouring country of Guinea, and fall into two main stylistic groups with overlapping distributions: the 'Kissi' type, still in use and known as *pomdo*,<sup>20</sup> which may be thought to show greater affinity with the woodcarvings of the Bambara of Segu<sup>21</sup> than with those of the Baga; and the *nomoli*, centred in what is now Mendeland, but not recognized by the Mende as their ancestors' work. The existence in the British Museum of an old wooden figure<sup>22</sup> of a kneeling woman from Sierra Leone in a closely similar style to the *nomoli* suggests that these were still being made not more than about 200 years ago; and at this period the Baga, who had invaded the area about the sixteenth century, were no doubt still present in important numbers.<sup>23</sup> Moreover the Temne, one of the principal tribes in Sierra Leone today are considered to be closely related



to the Baga, as also are the Sherbro or Bullom, in whose area many *nomoli* have been found.<sup>24</sup> In these circumstances, the hypothesis may be reasonably put forward of some genetic relation between *nimba* and *nomoli*.

WILLIAM FAGG

<sup>1</sup> For example, M. de Zayas, *African Negro Art*, New York, 1916, pl. i-iii; P. Guillaume, *Sculptures nègres*, Paris, 1917, pl. ix; P. Guillaume and T. Munro, *La Sculpture nègre primitive*, Paris, 1929, pl. xxxv; H. Clouzot and A. Level, *Sculptures africaines et océaniques*, Paris, [1926], pl. xxxix; A. Portier and F. Poncetton, *Les arts sauvages - Afrique*, Paris, [1930], pl. i; J. J. Sweeney, *African Negro Art*, New York, 1935, no. 40; C. Kjersmeier, *Centres de style de la sculpture nègre africaine*, vol. i, Paris, 1935, pls. xxvii-xxx; A. Basler, *L'art chez les peuples primitifs*, Paris, 1929, pl. xxxvi; M. Griaule, *Arts de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1947, fig. 11; K. M. Trowell, *Classical African Sculpture*, London, 1954, pl. xxxa; E. von Sydow, *Afrikanische Plastik*, Berlin, 1954, pl. iia; E. Elisofon and W. B. Fagg, *The Sculpture of Africa*, London, 1958, figs. 68, 69; Margaret Plass, *African Tribal Sculpture*, Philadelphia, 1956, nos. 5-A, 5-C; *eadem*, *The African Image*, Toledo, Ohio, 1959, nos. 27-30.

<sup>2</sup> Especially by Mme Denise Paulme-Schaeffner of the Musée de l'Homme.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated in most of the references quoted in note 1; e.g. Elisofon and Fagg, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Trowell, op. cit., pl. xxxia; D. Paulme, *Les Sculptures de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1956, pl. iv (and cf. fig. 9); von Sydow, op. cit., pl. iib; Kjersmeier, op. cit., vol. i, pl. xxix.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., P. Wingert, *African Negro Sculpture*, New York, 1951, pl. ix; Kjersmeier, op. cit., vol. i, pl. xxvi; von Sydow, op. cit., pl. i; W. Schmalenbach, *African Art*, Basel, 1954, fig. 63; H. Himmelheber, *Negerkunst und Negerkünstler*, Braunschweig, 1960, fig. 110.

<sup>6</sup> See especially W. B. Fagg, 'Two wood-carvings from the Baga of French Guinea', *Man*, 1947, article 113, and D. Paulme-Schaeffner, 'Elef, a Ritual Sculpture of the Baga of French Guinea', *Man*, 1959, article 28; also Griaule, op. cit., fig. 80; Trowell, op. cit., pl. xxxib; Himmelheber, op. cit., fig. iii; von Sydow, op. cit., pl. iib; Plass, *African Tribal Sculpture*, no. 5-c.

<sup>7</sup> See W. B. Fagg, *The Webster Plass Collection of African Art*, British Museum, 1953, pl. vii, or Trowell, op. cit., pl. xxxb.

<sup>8</sup> See Kjersmeier, op. cit., vol. i, pl. xxx.

<sup>9</sup> See Kjersmeier, op. cit., vol. i, pl. xxvii, or Griaule, op. cit., fig. 105.

<sup>10</sup> Registration no. 89. 12-1. 1. See the first reference in note 6.

<sup>11</sup> See W. B. Fagg, 'A Drum Probably from the Ivory Coast', *B.M.Q.*, vol. xv. 112, 113, and pl. xlvb, as corrected by idem, 'Further Note on a West African Drum', *B.M.Q.* xxi. 107.

<sup>12</sup> Registration no. 1942. Af. 1. 1.

<sup>13</sup> The two best-known examples are illustrated in several of the books listed in note 1, e.g. Griaule, op. cit., fig. 11, and Clouzot and Level, op. cit., pl. xxxix.

<sup>14</sup> See Portier and Poncetton, op. cit., pl. i, or Sweeney, op. cit., no. 40.

<sup>15</sup> See Kjersmeier, op. cit., vol. i, pl. xxviii.

<sup>16</sup> For a photograph of such a dancer—wearing, however, the less impressive southern Baga form of the mask—see M. Huet and K. Fodeba, *Les hommes de la danse*, Lausanne, 1954, fig. xx.

<sup>17</sup> For a fuller discussion of this interpretation of African sculpture see Elisofon and Fagg, op. cit., pp. 24, 25.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, the exposition by P. Tempels in his *Bantu Philosophy* (translated from the Flemish), Paris, [1953?]; it appears to be broadly applicable also in the non-Bantu area of Negro Africa. This and other interpretations are discussed by Janheinz Jahn in his *Muntu*, London, 1961.

<sup>19</sup> On *nomoli* see especially T. A. Joyce, 'Steatite Figures from West Africa in the British Museum', *Man*, 1905, article 57, and 'Steatite Figures from Sierra Leone', *Man*, 1909, article 40. Good examples are illustrated with these articles and in P. Radin and J. J. Sweeney, *African Folktales and Sculpture*, New York, 1952, figs. 158-60; von Sydow, op. cit., pl. via; Elisofon and Fagg, op. cit., figs. 72, 73.

<sup>20</sup> These have rarely been illustrated as a distinct type, but examples which have been found within Sierra Leone are among those illustrated in Joyce's second article (*Man*, 1909, article 40, pl. E, figs. 4 and 7, and, less characteristically, figs. 2 and 5).

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Trowell, op. cit., pl. ia; L. Under-

wood, *Figures in Wood of West Africa*, 1947, pl. i; Elisofon and Fagg, op. cit., figs. 29, 31; Wingert, op. cit., pl. i; Radin and Sweeney, op. cit., pl. xlvii; von Sydow, op. cit., pl. cvii.

<sup>22</sup> Registration no. 1925. 11-25. 1.

<sup>23</sup> See A. P. Kup, 'A Note on Tribal Distribution in Sierra Leone', *Man*, 1960, article 156.

<sup>24</sup> A third style and art form, that of the Afro-Portuguese ivories made to Portuguese commissions in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century by African craftsmen, shows a notable similarity, especially in the prognathous aspect of the human head, to both *nomoli* and *nimba*. The British Museum collection of these ivories, probably the largest in the world, was published in W. B. Fagg and W. and B. Forman, *Afro-Portuguese Ivories*, London, 1959 (in which an unfortunate misprint has obscured the meaning of a crucial sentence: viz., on p. 20, line 4, after the words 'Afro-Portuguese figures' should be added the

words 'and in the well-known soapstone figures'). Since this account (in which three areas on the West African coast—Sierra Leone, the Slave Coast, and the Loango Coast—were suggested as possible places of origin for these ivories) was published, my attention has been drawn (by Mr. C. H. Fyfe, Dr. A. P. Kup, and Senhor A. Teixeira da Mota) to the occurrence in Portuguese writings of the period, notably Valentim Fernandes, *Description de la côte occidentale d'Afrique* (Bissao edition, 1951, pp. 97, 105), and Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* . . . (Bissao edition, 1956, p. 85), of passages showing that the Sherbro had a high reputation for just such ivory work. There is thus some convergence of both stylistic and linguistic evidence in favour of supposing these ivories to belong to the same tradition as the *nimba* and the *nomoli*, and perhaps, indeed, to be its earliest surviving manifestation.





# L'ABANDONNÉE.

OPÉRA EN DEUX ACTES.

PAROLIER DE M. L. E.

MUSIQUE DE G. VERDI.

ÉDITÉ PAR M. S. SIREY.

CHANT.

Bons jours que lever en ai e Vous ne pouvez re-venir Prin-

PIANO.

Je vous en-ferme la si- Vous les-quant sou-venir Mes yeux sont malades de

lar, mes Ex-moi-ty sup- per-son Il fait tout est sa-cher - ne Pour mon

voir sans l'en-de, mais Mon Dieu pro-fer-mons ton

Paris, 11 Mars 1851 2<sup>e</sup> Édition.

H. 1007

METZGER & Co, Éditeurs.

*Allegro*

at - le - ti - je n'ap-les-pou- At-ti-bon-ame-ti-act - le - ti

*Andante*

la - j'ai le - re - voir di- Vous tout est sa-cher de lar - mes

Il ma-voir sou - je - per-son Il fait tout est sa-cher - ne Pour mon

vous sans l'en-de, mais l'en-de, main l'en-de sans l'en-de Pour mon tout est sa-cher - ne

*Allegro*

Je - A-min l'en-de sans l'en-de Pour mon tout est sa-cher - ne

H. 1007

Symphony no. 9, first page of the autograph full score. Reproduced by permission of the Oxford University Press owners of the copyright.

Handwritten musical score for Symphony no. 9, first page. The score is written on multiple staves with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The title "Symphony no. 9" is written at the top left.

a

Symphony no. 9, first page of the autograph full score. Reproduced by permission of the Oxford University Press owners of the copyright.

Handwritten musical score for Symphony no. 9, first page. The score is written on multiple staves with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The title "Symphony no. 9" is written at the top left.

b

# II. R. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS

- a. A Sea Symphony. Autograph sketch of the opening of the first, movement.
- b. Symphony no. 9, first page of the autograph full score. Reproduced by permission of the Oxford University Press owners of the copyright.

I am starting an additional scene for Buoyant Billions, and changing its title to

# A WORLD BETTERER'S COURTSHIP

for short, WBC  
A COMEDY OF MANNERS

~~Handwritten notes in shorthand, including names like Buoyant, Priest, Native, Panama, and Bill, with various symbols and numbers.~~

Had acquaintance  
 of George Fisher  
 Jan. - a fine book at  
 Leyton this year.  
 Met Babington Peatly  
 side after some years  
 before I began to read  
 of Chubb (Jimm) came to London &  
 entered the church this year.

Became a vegetarian, and remained so until June.  
 (Went three nights a week to Richard Dade, that I might accustom myself to French & he to  
 Read daily in the B. Museum, during the same period.  
 English. Continued this till, my illness. He lived at 140, Strand Road, while I  
 May. Began a third novel on the 19th. In the last days of  
 was at (Leyton) moved to 29, High St. Kentish Town).  
 this month, I got small pox, and was confined to my room at  
 Leyton St for 3 weeks. Went then to Leyton (well on in June),  
 resumed meat eating, and remained there until October, working at  
 'Love among the Vetches', and at shorthand.  
 August - I returned from Ireland. In a letter from J. M. Ellis, which I destroyed in  
 the 18th of 1886, an allusion was made to some project of mine for consulting to France. This is alluded to by the 18th.  
 September, the played Orlene at Huddersfield with the Earl Rose  
 Opera Co., on the 22nd. (I resumed correspondence about this time with M. H., who  
 had just returned from a years illness, & declared for death  
 public family.)  
 October. I returned from Leyton on the 2nd, and resumed reading  
 & writing at the B. Museum, and vegetarianism. Joined the  
 Dialectical Society. Tried to obtain employment in the Natl.  
 Telephone Co. - Answered various advertisements &c. no success.

Continued to spend my Saturday  
 evenings with Barton which I was  
 well and in London.

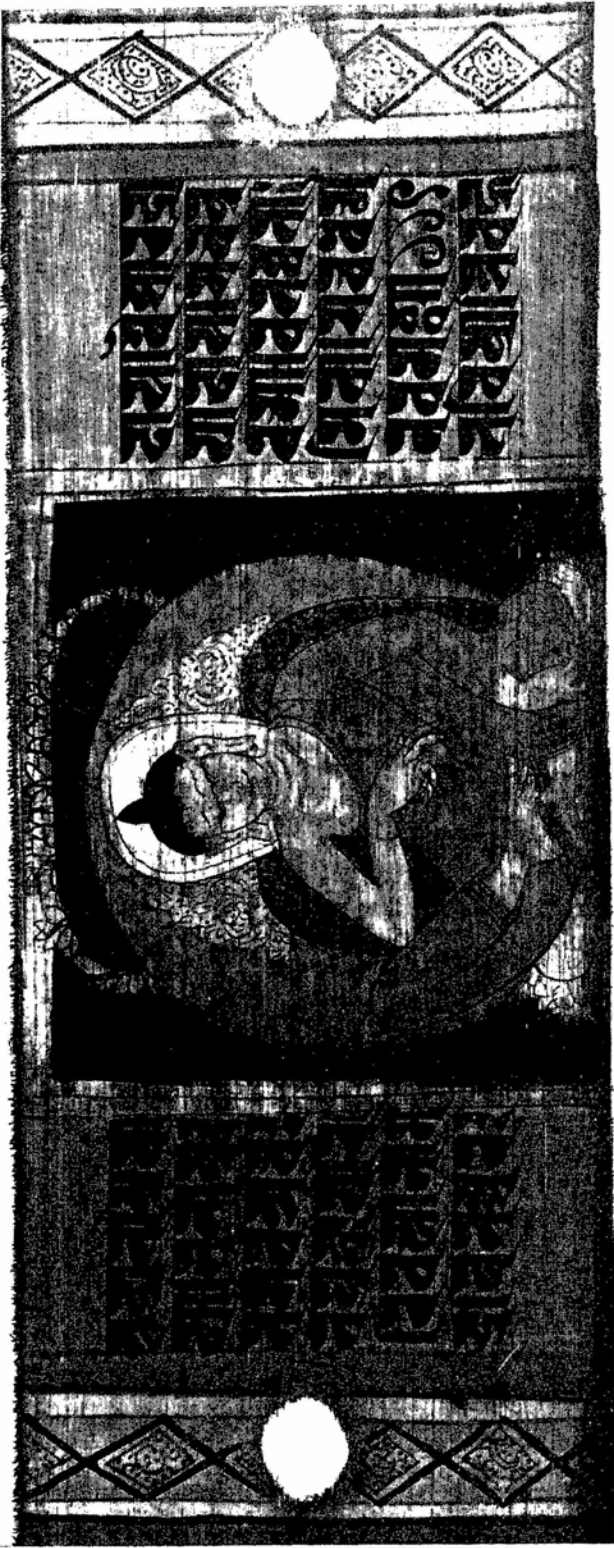
Quett - Spine, Linton and Lucy.

Spine - In rich and lofty station shines  
Before his jealous eyes:  
In golden splendour Lady mine!  
This peasant youth despises

Lucy (aside / as the Spine regards / her attentively) /  
Oh! It would be revenge indeed  
With scorn his glance to meet.  
I, I, his humble pleading heed!  
I'd spin him from my feet.

Spine { With love and rage her bosom's torn,  
And rash the choice will be.  
Oh! Long shall I have cause to mourn,  
My home, my home, for thee!  
From hence she quickly must be gone,  
Her home, her home, she'll flee.

Lucy { With love and rage my bosom's torn,  
And rash the choice will be.  
Oh! Long shall I have cause to mourn,  
My home, my home, for thee!





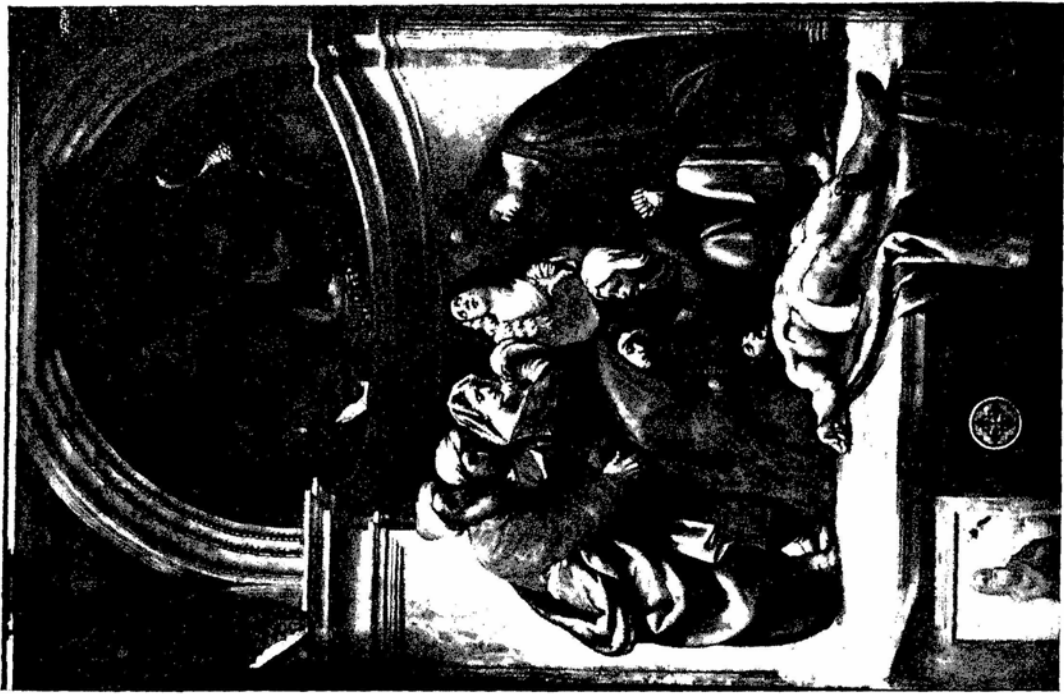


VII. A DRAWING BY PORDENONE. STUDY FOR THE *LAMENTATION*  
IN CREMONA CATHEDRAL





VIII. a. STUDY FOR FIGURES IN THE LAMENTATION  
IN CREMONA CATHEDRAL



b. LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. FRESCO  
BY PORDENONE (CREMONA CATHEDRAL)



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10





a

b

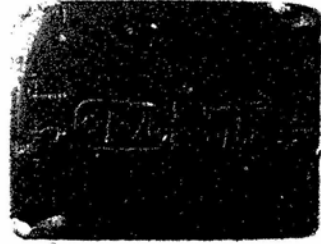
- X a and b. TWO USHABTI FIGURES WITHOUT NAME  
 c. EGYPTIAN AMULET WITH REPRESENTATION OF SHED  
 d. CYLINDER SEAL AND IMPRESSION  
 e. i. OLD KINGDOM WEIGHT FROM EGYPT  
 ii. MIDDLE KINGDOM GOLD WEIGHT



c



d



e

ii



A TERRACOTTA HARE

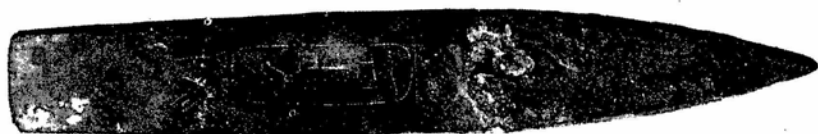


*a*



*b*

XI. *a.* B.M. 1925. 11-20. 35 (Photo—British Museum).  
*b.* CORINTH LAMP 704.



XII. EGYPTIAN TOOLS OF COPPER AND BRONZE

4

2

3

1



5

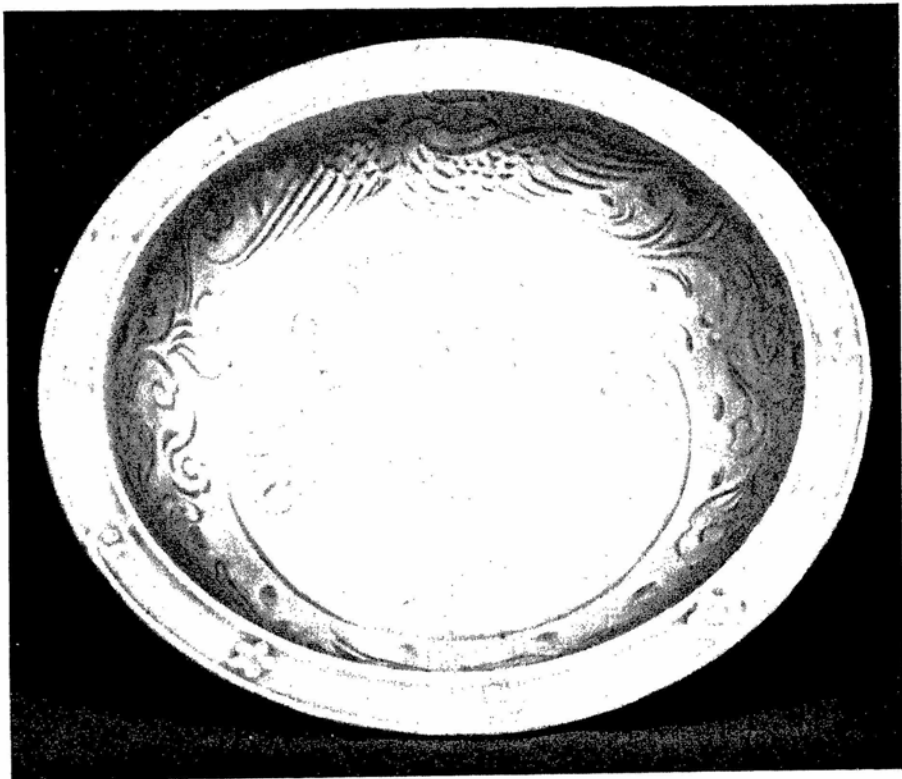
6

7

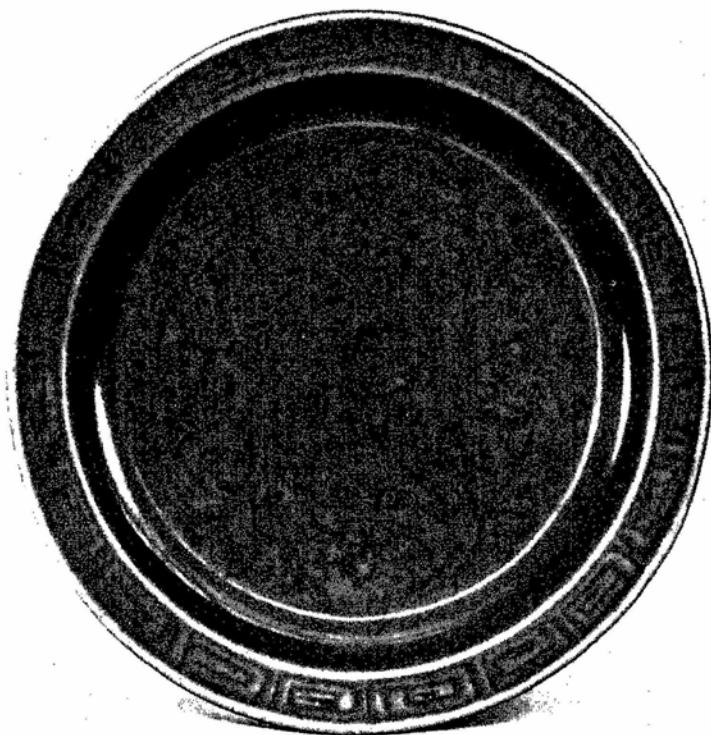


XIV. DISH DECORATED IN UNDERGLAZE RED (diameter 7.7 inches)





*a*



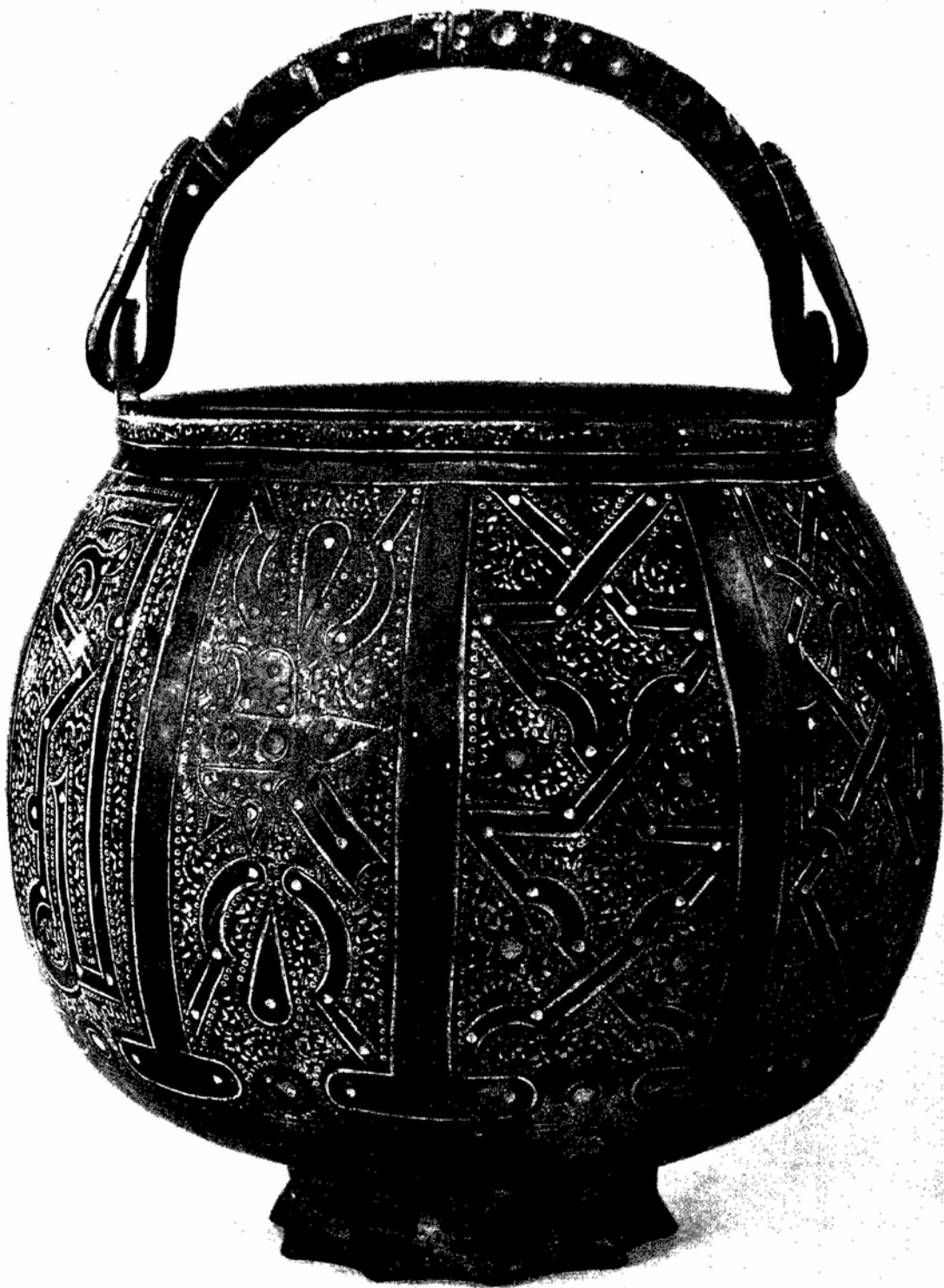
*b*

XV. *a.* CELADON BOWL (diameter 13.7 inches).  
*b.* CELADON GLAZED DISH (diameter 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches).





XVI. BRONZE BUCKET WITH COPPER INLAY. Persian, late 12th century A.D. (height 8 inches).



XVII. BRONZE BUCKET WITH TRACED DECORATION (height 8 inches).



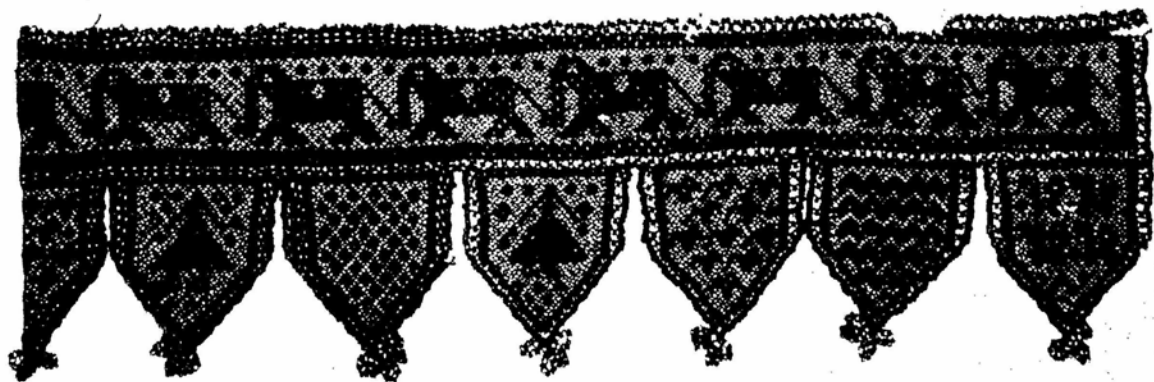
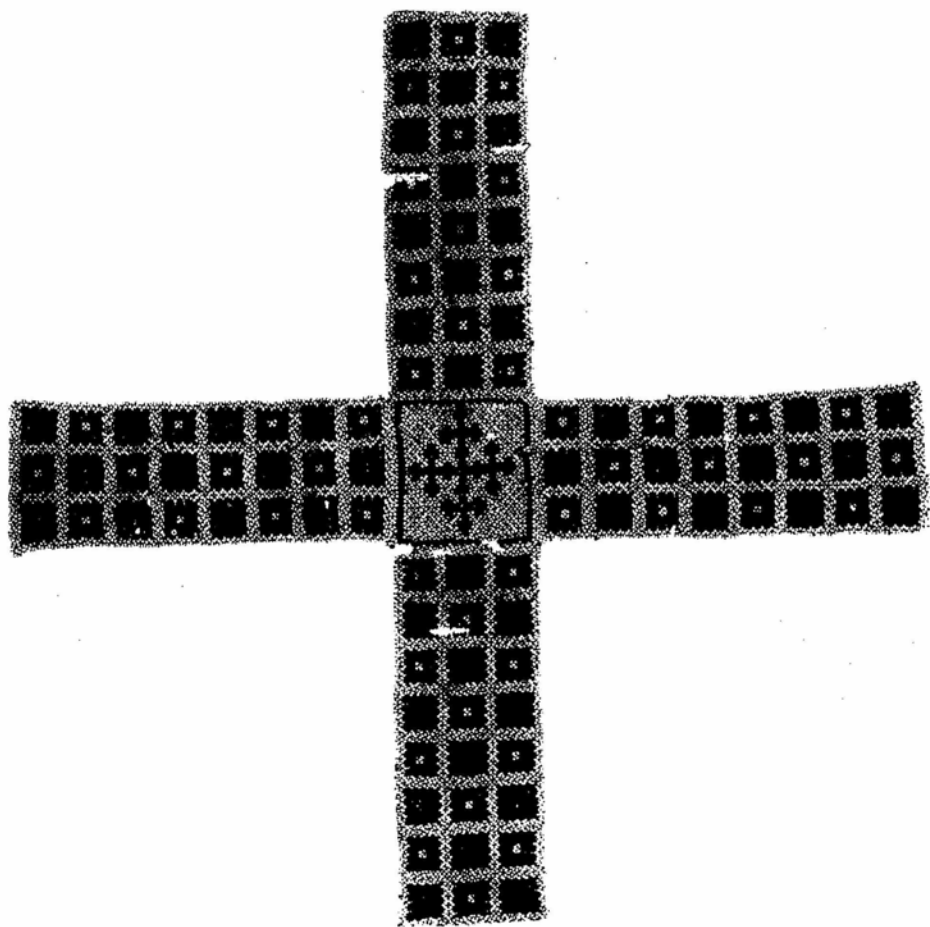
*a*



*b*

XVIII. *a*. BRONZE BUCKET WITH COPPER INLAY

*b*. BRONZE BUCKET WITH COPPER INLAY. Before restoration.



XIX. *a.* A BEADWORK GAMING BOARD FROM NORTH-WEST INDIA  
*b.* A BEADWORK *TORANA* IN SIMILAR TECHNIQUE



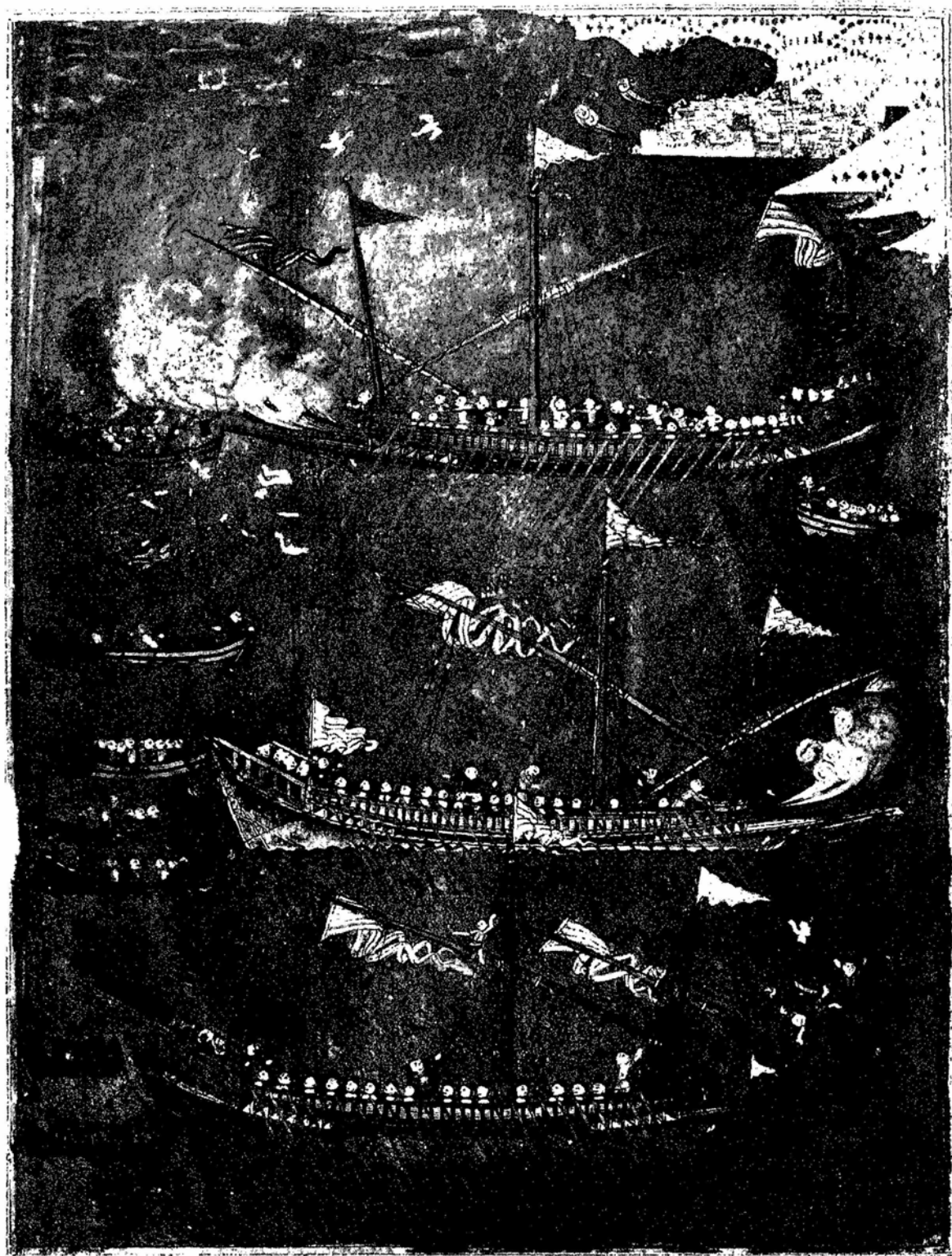
XX. A COLOSSAL MASK FROM THE BAGA OF GUINEA

BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY  
VOLUME XXIV. NUMBER 3-4. DECEMBER 1961









KEN'AN PASHA EXPEDITION AGAINST THE COSSACKS

THE BRITISH MUSEUM  
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The cover illustration is a detail of the Guthlac Roll, a vellum roll illustrating the life of St. Guthlac who became an anchorite on the island of Crowland in the Lincolnshire marshes in A.D. 699

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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## TWO CHARTULARIES FROM THE WEST RIDING

WHEN the sixteenth-century chartulary of Monk Bretton Priory, that was bought for the Department of Manuscripts at Sotheby's in April 1961,<sup>1</sup> was produced by a Yorkshire landowner in a local tithe dispute in 1575, three attestations of its authenticity were produced with it. The texts of these depositions were discovered some years ago by Canon J. S. Purvis amongst the diocesan records at York,<sup>2</sup> and they throw unusual light not only upon the history of the chartulary itself, but also upon some unfamiliar facets of Benedictine monasticism, immediately before and after the Reformation, in the part of Yorkshire, near Barnsley, where it was written.

The makers of the depositions, which were taken in September 1574, were a former monk of the priory and two nephews of its last prior, William Browne. The monk, Robert Scoleye, aged sixty-eight, who had entered the priory more than half a century before, and had remained there for eighteen or twenty years until ejected at its dissolution in November 1539, had in the meantime re-established himself as the Vicar of Brodsworth near Doncaster; of the prior's two nephews, both now also sexagenarians, the elder, John Foxe, who had lived at the priory for some sixteen years before its dissolution, acting for a time as his uncle's chamberlain, described himself as a husbandman, still of Monk Bretton; his brother William, who had been a frequent visitor to the priory, often spending two or three nights there, was a nearby miller.

The testimony of these three witnesses was that, during the time when William Browne was prior, that is to say between 1523 and 1539, each of them had seen the chartulary being made or (since none of them used the actual word 'chartulary') the registration and writing out 'into parchment bookewyse' of all the priory's charters and other evidences for fear, as Scoleye put it, 'lest any casualtie should happen unto thoriginalles by fyer'.<sup>3</sup> The chartulary itself shows that some 600 documents fell to be arranged and transcribed for this purpose and, again according to Scoleye, four of the priory's monks<sup>4</sup> were entrusted with the task. To these four, whom he named as William White, Richard Tickhill, Thomas Wilkinson, and Richard Hinchcliffe, parcels of evidences were delivered by the prior, as they were required for copying; conferences took place, at which the evidences were examined and discussed; after each document had been transcribed, a careful collation of the transcript with the original was made. When the register was complete (it now stands as a quarto volume of 343 leaves) it was bound up by a fifth monk, William Lounde



'who could and did binde many the bookes of the monasterie', using for the plate that held the leather clasp a piece of a mazer, bought as silver gilt and diverted to this other use after the discovery that the silver was only copper. The register that the witnesses had seen being made in this way was, they asserted, that which was now produced in evidence some forty years later.

From the chartulary as it has come to the Museum, the binding made by Lounde has unfortunately disappeared, and has been replaced by an early nineteenth-century one. Moreover, the hands of only two scribes are discernible—identified by John Foxe as Wilkinson and White—so that unless a third was responsible for the decoration of the initials of some entries with grotesque portraits of benefactors (Pl. XXI (*b*)-(*e*)) and other ornamentation,<sup>5</sup> the functions of Hinchcliffe and Tickhill must be assumed to have been mainly editorial. The date of the latest deed copied into the chartulary (f. 74<sup>b</sup>) shows it to have been completed not earlier than 6 July 1529, and this incidentally leaves open the question whether it was written before or after two chartularies from Waltham Abbey, in Essex, with which it competes for description as the latest English monastic chartulary still in existence.<sup>6</sup>

The story told by the three depositions does not, however, end completely at this point. When Monk Bretton Priory was dissolved, so the witnesses claimed, the prior (who is shown from other sources to have received a pension of £40)<sup>7</sup> took away the chartulary with him, and kept it until his death some twenty or more years later. It then passed to another monk, Richard Hinchcliffe, who has already been mentioned as one of its compilers, and only after the latter's death at the house of Mr. Francis Wortley, the local landowner who now produced it, and apparently claimed ownership of it, did it finally come into secular hands. During the time that the prior still had it, however, one especially interesting addition to it was made. This is a list (see Pl. XXI (*a*)), dated 1558, of 148 books, mainly on religious subjects, but including some on physic and grammar, which are described as being situated in his house at Worsborough—a village three miles away from Monk Bretton—or in the room there of Thomas Wilkinson and Hinchcliffe, where clearly a small community of some kind was still being maintained.<sup>8</sup>

Monk Bretton Priory was originally a Cluniac house,<sup>9</sup> founded between 1153 and 1155 from the Cluniac priory at Pontefract, which was in its turn a late eleventh-century foundation from La Charité-sur-Loire. From the same sale at Sotheby's at which the Museum purchased the Monk Bretton chartulary, it was fortunate also to secure the much earlier chartulary of Pontefract Priory itself, as the gift of an anonymous donor, through the Friends of the National Libraries.<sup>10</sup> Although this contains nothing of comparable rarity to the Monk Bretton library list, and the circumstances of its compilation, about the middle of the thirteenth century, are like those of most of the older medieval chartularies

unknown, other considerations suggest that it will prove an even more important general quarry of evidence to historians. Apart from the greater richness and variety of the charters copied into it, many of them of twelfth-century date, it has the peculiar distinction and value of a book that continued in use as a working register right down to the time that the priory was dissolved in 1539, being constantly added to and annotated as occasion demanded, but never revised and rewritten (Pl. XXII). As none of the additions, which are of an extremely miscellaneous nature and occupy about a quarter of the chartulary's total of 96 leaves, was included in the edition of it that was published sixty years ago, much new information probably also remains to be discovered in it.<sup>11</sup>

What happened to the Pontefract chartulary immediately after the priory's dissolution is uncertain, but a scribbled note of a receipt in a blank space on one of the leaves suggests that in the reign of Queen Mary it was, like most monastic chartularies at that time, in the possession of some landowner or his agent.<sup>12</sup> Not until 1627 did it emerge from this obscurity, when it was given by Thomas Levet of High Melton, near Doncaster, to Roger Dodsworth the celebrated Yorkshire antiquary, and compiler with Sir William Dugdale of the no less celebrated *Monasticon Anglicanum*.<sup>13</sup> With Dodsworth it remained for nearly twenty-five years until, anxious to secure funds for the printing of the first two volumes of the *Monasticon*, which were ready for the press in August 1651,<sup>14</sup> and finding that the booksellers 'were not willing to adventure thereon' and that it was necessary 'to hire severall summes of money to defray the cost and expence therof',<sup>15</sup> he pawned it with other chartularies to Sir Thomas Widdrington.<sup>16</sup> From Widdrington it passed subsequently, like the Monk Bretton chartulary, into the hands of the Wentworth family of Woolley Hall, and it was by Commander M. E. Wentworth, the present representative of this family, that both books were put up for sale more than 300 years later. Dodsworth did not live to see the appearance of the *Monasticon*, but volume i was in the press when he died in August 1654.

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<sup>1</sup> Sotheby's sale-cat., 11 Apr. 1961, lot 143; now Add. MS. 50755. Calendared by J. W. Walker, *Abstract of the chartularies . . . of Monk Bretton*, Yorkshire Arch. Soc., Record ser., lxvi (1924), 1-183, with part of an earlier, thirteenth-century, chartulary, now Lansdowne MS. 405. G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*, 1958, no. 675.

<sup>2</sup> The depositions are printed by Canon Purvis, from York Diocesan Registry Cause Papers R. VII. G. 1757, in 'New light on the chartularies of Monkbretton Priory', *Yorkshire Arch. J.* xxxvii (1948), 67-71.

<sup>3</sup> The difficulties of finding and using original deeds, and the desirability of instructing the members of a religious house in its rights, are more commonly cited as reasons for the making of chartularies; see especially the notable preface to Egerton MS. 3098 (Shaftesbury Abbey inventory of deeds, c. 1500) that is printed in *B.M.Q.* viii (1933-4), 18-22. The fragility of the original deeds, due to age, and the possibility of their destruction from damp, are also occasionally referred to, cf. Harley MS. 6670 (Coldstream Priory; Davis, op. cit., no. 535) and Nat. Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 34. 1. 2 (Cambuskenneth

Abbey; Davis, no. 1126). Information on this subject derives almost entirely from the prefaces to the chartularies themselves; no parallels to the present depositions are known from elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> At its dissolution the priory had fourteen monks, including the prior, see *L. & P. Henry VIII*, vol. xiv (1), no. 195.

<sup>5</sup> There are also some marginal plummet sketches at the foot of f. 158.

<sup>6</sup> Harley MS. 3739 and Add. MS. 37665; Davis, op. cit., nos. 992, 993. These were written in the time of R. Fuller, abbot 1526-40.

<sup>7</sup> *L. & P. Henry VIII*, vol. xiv (1), no. 195.

<sup>8</sup> The book list is printed by Joseph Hunter, *English Monastic Libraries*, 1831, and by Walker, op. cit., pp. 5-9; it is also discussed by C. E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century' in *The English Library before 1700*, ed. F. Wormald and C. E. Wright, 1958, pp. 160-1. None of the books listed is known to survive.

<sup>9</sup> It became a Benedictine house about 1279, cf. T. M. Fallow, *Victoria Hist. Yorkshire*, iii. 91-94.

<sup>10</sup> Sotheby's sale-cat., 11 Apr. 1961, lot 142; now Add. MS. 50754. Davis, op. cit., no. 782.

<sup>11</sup> R. Holmes, *Chartulary of . . . Pontefract*, 2 vols., Yorkshire Arch. Soc., Record ser., vols. xxv, xxx, 1899 for 1898, 1902 for 1901.

<sup>12</sup> The note of receipt (f. 25<sup>b</sup>), for a sum of money, is from John Hall of Carleton (? Carlton near Royston, W.R., co. York) to James Turner 'marster', and is dated 10 July, 10 (*sic*) Philip and Mary. That it may be a form, draft, or copy, is suggested not only by the fictitious regnal year but by the corrections made in the text.

<sup>13</sup> Dodsworth records the gift in Bodleian MS. Dodsworth 159, f. 8<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Letter of Dugdale to William Vernon, 2 Aug. 1651; printed from Harley MS. 1967, ff. 92-93 by W. Hamper, *Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 1827, pp. 263-4.

<sup>15</sup> Dugdale's autobiography (Bodleian MS. Wood F. 30, ff. 1-7), ed. Hamper, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

<sup>16</sup> In Dugdale's diary for 1667 (Hamper, op. cit., p. 125) six chartularies are named ('as I thinke') namely those of: Castle Acre (afterwards acquired by Randle Holme II; now Harley MS. 2110); Binham (afterwards given by Widdrington's son-in-law, Sir John Legard, 1st Bart., of Ganton, to the Cotton library; now Cotton MS. Claudius D. xiii); Waltham (not now identifiable with any of the surviving Waltham Abbey chartularies, for which see Davis, op. cit., nos. 989-96); Warter (now Bodleian MS. Fairfax 9); Byland (now Egerton MS. 2823); and Pontefract. From a similar but undated note by Dugdale, attached to the front of his location list of chartularies, compiled c. 1649, in Bodleian MS. Dugdale 48, ff. 54-64, he has subsequently deleted the names of Warter and Byland, and has added that of Meaux in pencil. Since the Warter chartulary was bequeathed to the Bodleian by Thomas, Lord Fairfax (d. 1671) with Dodsworth's other manuscripts, if pawned it had presumably been later redeemed. The history of the Byland chartulary between 1647, when it belonged to John Rushworth, the historian, and 1698, when Tanner states that it was in the possession of Thomas Belasyse, Earl Fauconberg, is uncertain, but there is no evidence that it ever belonged to Dodsworth. On the other hand, the Daventry chartulary (Claudius D. xii) that was presented to the Cotton library with that of Binham by Sir John Legard, had also previously belonged to Rushworth and like the Binham chartulary may well have come to Legard through Dodsworth and Widdrington; possibly Dugdale had confused the two. In view of the date when the chartularies were pawned, it seems fairly certain that the Castle Acre volume belonged to Sir Simonds D'Ewes—who had it in 1644—before it belonged to Dodsworth, and not after, as stated by H. H. E. Craster, *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, iii (1925-6), 71 (cf. Davis, op. cit., no. 215). The Meaux chartulary intended by Dugdale cannot be identified with any surviving registers of the house, which are listed by Davis, op. cit., nos. 653-60.

## MUSIC FROM THE CIRCLE OF ANTHONY WOOD AT OXFORD

A SET of five manuscript music part-books (Add. MSS. 17792-6), dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, has been in the collections of the Department of Manuscripts since 1849 when it was purchased for the British Museum at a sale at Puttick and Simpson's on 25 June (lot 519). The volumes include madrigals, motets, fancies, and other items, both vocal and instrumental, for from two to eight parts, and are an important comparative source for many of their contents, although one volume, at least, of the original set is missing; the editors of *Jacobean Consort Music*, 1955 (volume ix of the series 'Musica Britannica'), consulted them, amongst other manuscripts, for sixteen of the pieces they published.

Hitherto little has been known of the provenance of the volumes. The original brown leather bindings (recently restored) bear gold-tooled ornaments consisting of a centre piece containing conventional flower and leaf motifs, thistles at the corners, the name of the part-book 'TENOR', 'CANTUS', and so on, and the initials 'I M', presumably those of the owner.<sup>1</sup> They are written in one hand with the exception of one or, in the Tenor book (Add. 17794), two fancies, which have been added at the end of the books or on blank folios by a slightly later writer who has also entered a number of annotations and corrections (see Pl. XXIIIa) throughout. Both music and text in the earlier hand are skilfully written although there are a few spoiled pages and deleted passages. Those who have endeavoured to copy out music will know that considerable practice is needed to acquire a consistent musical calligraphy; the regularity of the notation in these books shows that they were not the work of a novice. For the accompanying texts this writer uses both secretary and italic hands, usually keeping to one style for the whole of one item, but sometimes writing the beginning of the text and words such as 'Alleluia', in italic and the rest in secretary style. The writer of the later additions appears to be an amateur: his musical insertions, which consist of four parts only of a six-part fancy by Deering (see Pl. XXIII b) and the tenor part of a fancy by Lupo omitted by the original copyist and inserted by this later writer on the previously blank folios 24<sup>b</sup>-25 of Add. 17794, are written in a clumsy hand with a strange backward tilt. The annotations by the same writer in a tiny, ill-formed, and sometimes barely legible hand suggest that the professional appearance of the earlier copyist's work is deceptive. They include numerous corrections to the music and indications of faulty passages which show that the later owner of Add. 17792-6 must have had a frustrating task if he was endeavouring, as seems likely, to use his set of books for performances of the music.<sup>2</sup> We can sympathize with the man who wrote 'so far's right, for the 3 remayning notes

should be a prick semibreif' (Add. 17793, f. 17). We are indebted to him not only for corrections to the music but also for the attribution of some of the items to their composers. Sometimes he has merely transferred the name of the composer from one of the other part-books, but the attributions of two four-part fancies to Jenkins, two four-part fancies and a five-part 'In Nomine' to Simon Ives, and five six-part fancies to William White rest solely on the annotator's testimony since the original copyist left the works anonymous. It is, however, just possible that the missing information was contained in the lost part-book.

My own interest in Add. 17792-6 was first aroused several years ago when I noticed that the annotator's hand was that of the writer of Add. 30488-90, a copy of twenty-one<sup>3</sup> three-part fancies for two treble viols and a bass by John Jenkins. A number of manuscript copies of these fancies are extant but this set is of particular interest since they bear the dates when the fancies were copied, ranging from 'Dec 18 1661' (Add. 30490, f. 12) to 'Jan 27 1665/6' (ibid. f. 20<sup>b</sup>). It has been suggested<sup>4</sup> that these dates are the autograph of Jenkins himself, but they appear, in fact, to be in the same hand as the annotations in Add. 17792-6.

Two fortuitous discoveries in the Bodleian Library have enabled me to identify both the writers in Add. 17792-6. When glancing at a manuscript copy of Christopher Simpson's 'The Seasons' (Bodl. MS. Mus. Sch. c. 58) I was again struck by the backward tilt of the handwriting. Photostats confirmed my first impression that it was the work of the same man as Add. 30488-90 and the annotations to Add. 17792-6. Now the Bodleian set belonged formerly to Edward Lowe, who succeeded Dr. John Wilson as Professor of Music at Oxford in 1662, and a note on the fly-leaf in Lowe's handwriting reads: 'The Gift of his Honoured Freind Mr Mathew Hutton Fellowe of Brazen Nose Colledge in Oxford 27 January 1673/4'. Dr. Matthew Hutton (1638-1711), the antiquary, is chiefly known to historians for his collections of epitaphs, extracts from diocesan registers and similar material, now in the Harleian collection in the British Museum (Harley MSS. 5329, 5348, 6950-85, 7519, and others), which are said by Hearne to have been bought by the 1st Earl of Oxford for £150.<sup>5</sup> Hutton became Rector of Aynhoe in Northamptonshire in 1677 but before that he had been a well-known figure in musical circles in Oxford. We have the testimony of his friend, Anthony Wood, that he was 'an excellent violist' and a regular performer at the weekly music meetings in the house of William Ellis at Oxford. Hutton was a frequent companion of Wood on other occasions; together they visited antiquities such as those near Borstall, Buckinghamshire, in 1668, or passed the time drinking with friends. Wood's jottings of his expenses include numerous notes such as 'spent upon Mr. Hutton at the Fleur-de-Liz, 1s' (10 March 1659) and 'for a pint of wine for Mr. Hutton, 1s' (16 Dec. 1660).<sup>6</sup>

Hutton's manuscripts in the Harleian collection are for the most part written



in Latin, but a letter addressed by him to Dr. John Covel, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, dated 7 October 1699 (Add. MS. 22910, ff. 494-7<sup>b</sup>) affords a useful specimen of his handwriting for comparative purposes (see Pl. XXIII c). There can be no doubt that this is the hand of the writer of Add. MSS. 30488-90, Bodl. MS. Mus. Sch. c. 58 and the additions and corrections to Add. MSS. 17792-6. Hutton's interest in music can be seen from this very letter: 'In my returne home I calld upon Mr Ford at Buckingham, & have given him a song of Charissimi's to prick out for you.'<sup>7</sup> There seems to be another example of Hutton's music copying in Bodl. MSS. Mus. Sch. d. 241-4, a collection of three- and four-part airs and dances by Rogers, Jenkins, Baltzar and Bowman. Part of this set was copied by Edward Lowe and there are two further, unidentified, hands in the volumes.

The 'Mr Marsh' referred to in one of Hutton's corrections to Add. 17792-6 may now be identified as Narcissus March (1638-1713), later Archbishop of Armagh and founder of Marsh's Library in Dublin. Anthony Wood says of him: 'Narcissus Marsh, M.A. and fellow of Exeter Coll., would come somtimes among them [i.e. to the Ellis music meetings], but seldome play'd, because he had a weekly meeting in his chamber in the said Coll. where masters of musick would come, and some of the company before mention'd. When he became Principal of S. Alban's-hall, he translated the meeting thither, and there it continued when that meeting in Mr. Ellis's house was given over, and so it continued till he went to Ireland and became Mr. of Trin. Coll. at Dublin. . . .'<sup>8</sup>

To return to Add. 17792-6, the earlier hand in these volumes is the same as that of Bodl. MSS. Mus. Sch. d. 245-7, three of a collection of ten books presented to the Oxford Music School in 1673 by William Isles, possibly a relative of Dr. Thomas Isles, Canon of Christ Church (d. 1649). A note on the fly-leaves of the volumes reads 'Mr William Isles sent thes ten Books to Dr Fell Deane of ch: ch: for ye vse of the publicke musick scoole in Oxford wherof 5 of them are of one sort, & ye other 5 of another, they are markt with 10 first figures at topp of this page that soe it may bee discovered which is wantinge.' These three volumes are, in fact, marked with the numbers 8, 9, 10, on the fly-leaves and are all in similar brown leather bindings, with blind- and gold-tooled lines and central ornament of flowers. A further note by Isles reads 'There is 6 bookes in partes of one sorte of Binding and 4: more of several sortes: in all 10: bookes.' One further volume from Isles's gift can be identified by his prudent marking. It is Bodl. MS. Mus. Sch. f. 575 (no. 7 of his collection) containing pieces by Jenkins, Ives, William Lawes, Orlando Gibbons and others, mostly in tablature. The binding and handwriting are different from d. 245-7 and it must, therefore, be one of the '4: more of several sortes'. Three hands occur in d. 245-7. The main hand which occupies by far the greater part of the volumes is the same as that of the earlier writer in Add. 17792-6 and transcribes mainly instrumental

music for viols, partly in tablature, by Ives, Thomas Tomkins, Oker, Jenkins, Ferabosco and other composers represented in Add. 17792-6. The other two hands which occupy only a small section of the volumes are unknown to me; neither appears to be the work of Isles himself. The necessary clue to the identity of the main writer is, however, to be found on the back fly-leaf of d. 245 where there is the note 'John Merro his booke' in the same handwriting as the main part of the volumes. His initials (I for J as was common contemporary practice) agree with those to be found on the bindings of Add. 17792-6. No further information on John Merro has yet come to light. As we have seen he was, technically speaking, a skilful copyist of music though not a very accurate one, and a prose fragment in his writing at the back of d. 245 shows that he had some interest in theology. He refers to a book printed in 1633 which can be identified as Samuel Hoard's *God's love to Mankind*, an attack on the extreme doctrine of predestination, and says that in this book 'the comfortless dangerous and desperat doctrine of absolute reprobation is most plainelie and soundlie confutid'. It is possible that he was connected with the West of England for the two sets of manuscripts so far identified as in his handwriting both contain music by the little-known composer John Oker or Okeover who held posts at Gloucester or Wells Cathedrals (or possibly both).<sup>9</sup> Thomas Isles, who may have been related to the owner of one of the manuscript sets, was a Prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral,<sup>10</sup> and the only other contemporary reference I have so far come across to the rare name of 'Merro' relates to Gloucester.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Puttick and Simpson sale-catalogue interpreted these initials as 'probably John Milton, father of the Poet'.

<sup>2</sup> The annotator has frequently noted the total number of semibreves at the end of the fancies (the equivalent at that time of noting the total number of bars in modern barred music) accompanied by remarks such as 'a very little faulty' (Add. 17795, f. 88). In the first of Deering's five-part fancies he finds a total of 146 semibreves in Add. 17794-6; in the Cantus book (f. 77) where the total is only 144 he has to note 'here wants 2 semibreifs' and in the Altus book (f. 79), having found 147, 'heres a  $\diamond$  too much'. Matters are even worse in one anonymous fancy where the Bass book (f. 68) has the note 'Tenor wants 1  $\diamond$  2 Treble wants 8': the C antus book (f. 68) has a corresponding note in pencil 'here wants 8  $\diamond$ '. This note is also of interest in showing the tenacity of seventeenth-century graphite markings. Occasionally the annotator is able to correct the erring passages from other sources, thus on f. 93 of Add. 17793 he

inserts two breves and cites as his authority 'Mr Marshes bookes' in a note at the foot of the page. In Add. 17792, ff. 89<sup>b</sup>-90, he inserts two missing passages of music, and on f. 102 the note 'here wants 2 semibreifs' is crossed out presumably because he has himself added the missing passage (amounting, however, to only 6 crotchets) underneath. In the Quintus book (Add. 17795, f. 90) he offers an amendment to the music with the note 'quere whether the last line be not thus'. The back fly-leaf (f. 181) of Add. 17794 bears two musical amendments which have in fact been incorporated in the text on the relevant pages, the first in the form of a slip of paper pasted over the original on f. 8. Many other examples could be given.

<sup>3</sup> Actually only twenty, including a pavan, since one is copied twice.

<sup>4</sup> A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, iii, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, ed. Doble, 1889, iii, 280. The entry for 16 December

1711 reads 'He [Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Christ Church] said that my Ld. Treasurer Harley gave an hundred and fifty Pounds for Dr. Hutten's Collections & MSS. which he said was a dear Bargain, the Collections being but poor; but I believe they are far otherwise, & y<sup>t</sup> they are very valuable, they being look'd upon as such when he was living'.

<sup>6</sup> *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. A. Clark, i, 271, 274, 349; ii, 134.

<sup>7</sup> A letter from Thomas Ford to Covell of 29 January 1699/1700 also preserved in Add. 22910, ff. 498-9<sup>b</sup>, mentions this song: 'Dr. Hutton, my worthy Friend, who waited on you at Cambridge last summer, gave me a Copy of the inclosed Song, some time since, to prick it for you; which I immediately did, but could not, til now, meet with a fit opportunity to convey it safe to Yor Hands: He told me you did not desire the Bass or Chorus, wch I have therefore omitted. Indeed I should be asham'd to have so long depriv'd you of the Pleasure of so excellent a Composition, wherein the bright Genius of Carissime appears inimitably natural; were not this Delay in some measure recompensed, by giving me an opportunity to inform you of a late Discovery of very Fair Medals

at about 30 miles distance from me, wch may Possibly afford some small entertainmt. to so great a Lover of them, tho' they add nothing to the large Knowledge you have of things of this Nature.' Unfortunately Ford's copy of Carissimi's song is not included in the volume. One further letter, dated 5 March 1699/1700, among the series treating mainly of antiquities from Ford to Covell in this manuscript, has a reference to music (f. 502<sup>b</sup>): 'I wil send the Song intire as soon as I meet with an opportunity, 'tis too large a Packett for the Post in al its Parts. . . .' Perhaps Covell had written to ask for the Bass and Chorus previously omitted from the Carissimi song.

<sup>8</sup> *The Life and Times . . .*, i, 274-5.

<sup>9</sup> W. K. Ford, 'The Life and Works of John Okeover (or Oker)' in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 1957-8, 71-80.

<sup>10</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1854, i, 448.

<sup>11</sup> Will of Elizabeth Merroe of Gloucester, 1645, cf. W. P. W. Phillimore and L. L. Duncan, *A calendar of wills proved in the consistory court of the Bishop of Gloucester, 1541-1650* [The Index Library, 1895], 189.

## DRAWINGS OF PORTS IN THE LEVANT, c. 1600

FOUR pen-and-ink drawings of ports in the eastern Mediterranean have recently been presented to the Museum by the Hon. Sir Steven Runciman and now form Additional MS. 50506 in the Department of Manuscripts. They are all bird's-eye views, looking in from the sea, and by their general appearance they seem to date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Two have titles, 'Salonic' and 'Tripoli di Soria' (Pl. XXIV); another plainly shows Alexandria, while the donor has convincingly identified the fourth as Canea in Crete. They are all about the same size (9½-10 in. high and 14½-15½ in. wide) and may have been meant to form a single series; they can, however, be considered as two pairs of drawings. The two that lack titles also differ from the others in being drawn in a darker ink and on paper with a watermark, and in having a double instead of a single frame-line; they also show small differences in style, notably in the more skilful drawing of the sea and shore and in greater reliance on vertical lines in the shading on walls. In addition they are drawn as though from a greater height than the other two, so that the horizon is nearer the top of the picture. Probably the two pairs of drawings were made at different



times; the similarity of style makes it unlikely that they are the work of different artists.

Nothing has been found to show who made the drawings or for what purpose. Their general style suggests a Florentine origin,<sup>1</sup> and this is borne out by the watermark in the paper of the two without titles.<sup>2</sup> The fine precision of the drawings may mean that they were intended as drafts for engravings, but although they recall the views in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1573-1618) nothing resembling them appears in the various collections of views and plans of cities that were published in this period.

As topographical evidence the drawings must be used with caution, for in many features they are plainly incorrect. The old walled town of Alexandria adjoined the harbours instead of lying some distance away as in the drawing;<sup>3</sup> contemporary plans of Canea<sup>4</sup> show that the city wall extended along the reef which formed the harbour instead of separating the harbour from the town; while the castle with four round towers on the drawing bears little resemblance to the crusaders' castle at Tripoli. But, bearing in mind that they must have been drawn at several removes from the sketches made on the spot, the views are not without topographical value. That of Alexandria shows an early stage in the growth of the so-called Turkish town on the isthmus connecting Pharos Island with the mainland,<sup>5</sup> while all except the view of Salonica illustrate the types of vessel—round ships, galleys, and smaller craft—that were to be seen in the Mediterranean at this period.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted in this connexion for the advice of Mr. P. M. R. Pouncey and Mr. J. A. G. Gere of the Department of Prints and Drawings.

<sup>2</sup> An eagle in a circle, similar to C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907), i, no. 207; this design of watermark is particularly associated with Tuscany—*ibid.* i. 29.

<sup>3</sup> G. Jondet, *Atlas Historique de la Ville et des Ports d'Alexandrie* (Mémoires présentés à la Société Sultanieh de Géographie, ii, 1921), reproduces a selection of early views and plans of Alexandria.

<sup>4</sup> Such as those of 1612 and c. 1630 in the King's Topographical Collection, cxiii. 104.7\* and iv. 103, no. 18 (press-mark: 118 e. 18), and those reproduced by G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell'Isola di Creta* (R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1905-32), i, figs. 245-51.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. M. Forster, *Alexandria: a History and a Guide* (1938), pp. 73-76.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. F. C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (The Johns Hopkins Historical Publications, 1934), pp. 1-53.

## KEN'ĀN PASHA'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE COSSACKS

TOWARDS the middle of the sixteenth century, the Cossacks<sup>1</sup> of Zaporozhe founded a strong fortress which they called Zaporozh'ska Sič on an island in the Dnieper. This became a rallying-point for all the disaffected elements from the neighbouring lands and even from as far away as Scotland. By the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century their number had

increased considerably and in their boats<sup>2</sup> they began to raid the towns of the Ottoman Empire along the shores of the Black Sea. In time they became such a danger that their attacks more than once caused panic in Istanbul, and many a Turkish admiral led an expedition eastward to crush the pirates in their own waters.

One of these was Ken'ân Pasha whose exploits were celebrated by Tûlû'î İbrâhîm Efendi of Qalqandelen in a poem called *Pasha-nâme* of which the only known copy is to be found in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> According to Babinger<sup>4</sup> there were two persons called Ken'ân Pasha at the beginning of the seventeenth century—Şarı and Qoja Ken'ân Pasha.<sup>5</sup> Owing to the similarity of their careers (they were, for example, both governors of Ofen) they have been frequently confused by Turkish biographers so that it is by no means certain with which of the two the hero of the *Pasha-nâme* is to be identified. Unfortunately the poem gives us no clue to this and, as we have seen, the chronology fits both persons of this name equally well.

The account of the expedition in the *Pasha-nâme* (Sloane 3584, ff. 71<sup>b</sup>–79<sup>a</sup>) opens in the year 1038/1628–9 when the Grand Admiral (*Qapudan-pasha*) Hasan<sup>6</sup> was in the Mediterranean with the main body of the Ottoman fleet. The sultan (Murad IV) had detached twenty galleys from it for service in patrolling the Black Sea. As soon as the Cossacks heard that the fleet was occupied elsewhere, they started to attack Turkish merchant shipping and settlements along the Black Sea coast before the arrival of the twenty galleys could alter the situation for them. The Cossacks were in eighty boats (*shayqas*). Many Muslims were ruthlessly slaughtered or taken as slaves. Two Turkish vessels survived the holocaust and brought news of the disaster to the Bosphorus whereupon the sultan directed an imperial mandate to Ken'ân Pasha, stressing the confidence he had in him as an admiral, and ordering him to deal with the menace which was by now dangerously close to the capital. Ken'ân Pasha made preparations and cruised off the coast, keeping himself informed of the movements of the Cossacks by means of spies. One day he encountered some damaged ships which were the survivors of the Ottoman fleet. Fifteen of the twenty galleys had been attacked by eighty *shayqas* while lying for the night in Süzebolu<sup>7</sup> (Sizeboli) harbour. Two of the galleys of this force had been boarded and overpowered by the Cossacks. Of the thirteen left, two more were already out of commission for reasons which are not stated. As soon as the sultan heard this he sent a message to Ken'ân Pasha commanding him to take instant action against the pirates who were in the vicinity of Ahyolu<sup>8</sup> and Misivri.<sup>9</sup> His squadron consisted of fourteen galleys which were to be manned by eight Janissaries and six local levies each. The galleys were apparently a reserve force levied from the beys of the Aegean Islands; the galley flying the admiral's flag belonged to the Bey of Naxos whose son, 'Alî, was captain. The expedition was

scheduled to sail on the first day of Muḥarram 1039/1629-30 but was delayed by gales for fifteen days. At length, after several unsuccessful attempts, the squadron set sail, and on the evening of the following day anchored off İğneada. They stayed there overnight and next morning set off at full speed for Sizeboli. In the roadstead there was an island<sup>10</sup> upon which stood a large church, strongly built, which was used occasionally as a shelter by the Turks for the night. When the galleys approached, the Pasha saw *shayqas* on the beach and caught the Cossacks in the act of stowing their loot in the church. Their *hetmans* were on the mainland. As soon as the pirates saw the galleys, they barricaded themselves in the church. They held out for a week against the Turkish landing parties who lost so many men in frontal assaults that Ken'ān ordered the destruction of the building by gunfire. In the meantime two galleys were to be selected to search for the rest of the Cossacks. No sooner had the Turkish admiral given the order for this than two wounded Janissaries came in a dinghy. They reported that the Cossacks with eight *shayqas* had sacked Misivri and taken two ships loaded with wheat. Ken'ān Pasha at once ordered the trumpet (*nefir*) to be blown to summon his scattered crews to make ready to put to sea. They were under way in a record time and surprised the enemy on the land, still engaged with the plundering of Misivri. The soldiers on the galleys first opened fire with their small-arms and then closed with the enemy. A sharp hand-to-hand fight ensued in which the Cossacks were worsted. They fled to the beach and gained their *shayqas* but, owing to poor visibility, it was not possible for the pursuing galleys to catch up with them that night. In the morning the lookout at the masthead of the flagship caught sight of the fleeing pirates. The other galleys had been forced to slow down by damage and the casualties inflicted on the crews at Sizeboli. They could not keep up with the flagship; indeed the Pasha had completely lost touch with six galleys of his squadron. He decided to abandon the pursuit and returned to Misivri where he heard first-hand accounts of the sufferings of the inhabitants during the raid almost as soon as he had anchored. He was so moved by what he heard that he set off at once in his flagship with three of his galleys which he found in the harbour there. At last he made contact with the enemy near Varna. The Cossacks were dismayed to see four galleys approaching when they had expected three. The flagship, once more in the lead, opened fire. Under a hail of roundshot from the guns of the Ottoman galleys, the *shayqas* began to disintegrate. Their only resort lay in boarding because they were so low in the water that they were extremely vulnerable to small-arms fire from the galleys towering above them. Eight of the *shayqas* concentrated their attack on the flagship which they recognized by its flag. The crew of the flagship were able to repel all boarders with showers of arrows and the attacks of the Cossacks gradually became weaker. They were by now a demoralized horde since their *hetmans* had perished at Sizeboli. Two of the *shayqas* were captured

and two more later struck to the other galleys. The remaining four *shayqas* resisted until the evening in a battered condition and enjoyed a brief respite from the bombardment because they were so close that the cannons could not be depressed to hull them as they lay alongside. Since they had suffered terrible losses, the two surviving *shayqas* retired from the battle, but soon returned to the assault. Eventually the three galleys caught up with the flagship.

At this point the narrative of Tūlū'ī breaks off. It contains much hyperbole, bombast, and repetition but supplies certain details which are lacking in the prose account given by Na'imā,<sup>11</sup>

Cossack brigands appeared in the Black Sea and when the sultan heard that they had inflicted damage on the coastal towns of Kili, Isma'il, Midye, Balchıq, Varna, and Süzebolu,<sup>12</sup> as the Grand Admiral Hasan Pasha was in the Mediterranean, another squadron was ordered to the Black Sea. One of the viziers, Ken'an Pasha was appointed as commander. Fourteen galleys, after being equipped and manned by the pensioners (*oturag*) and veteran troops (*qurchu*) and other branches of the army who were in Istanbul, and by the reserve seamen in the Arsenal, were dispatched to the Black Sea. They arrived at Poyraz Bay,<sup>13</sup> and towards the end of the month of Şafar on a Sunday, they left Poyraz Bay with a favourable S.W. wind. They reached the island of Monastir and dropped anchor. The Cossacks were in about three hundred *shayqas*, each containing fifty rebellious Cossacks. They loaded their booty and prisoners on board and withdrew towards Sarı Qamshı.<sup>14</sup> Now eight of their *shayqas* lay in a harbour near that place (i.e. Monastir). When both fleets encountered one another, small-arms fire was opened on both sides. In the evening those accursed ones fled and disappeared in the darkness of the night. In fear they hid at the foot of an unfrequented cliff. At daybreak, Ken'an Pasha, searching for them with his galleys, stood out to sea. Finding their way out of the harbour, the rascals came out and made off. When the lookouts saw the accursed ones from the mastheads of the galleys, the Turkish ships pursued them and caught up with them. They sank one *shayqa* with gunfire. Under their bombardment and small-arms fire, the Infidels in seven *shayqas* asked for quarter. They [the Turks] captured their boats and bound and fettered them. Ken'an Pasha with this haul returned and arrived at Istanbul with three hundred prisoners and many [decapitated] heads. On the 20th day of the above-mentioned month, they reached Istanbul and celebrated their victory.

The illustration of the galleys in action,<sup>15</sup> see frontispiece, contains an astonishing amount of detail for a painting on such a small scale. It is painted with a certain amount of artistic licence but in general it is accurate enough. The three galleys are shown off a town (Varna?) engaging *shayqas*, one of which is sinking with all hands. The galleys have pale-green masts with red yards and oars; the stern posts of the centre galley are gilded, although the silver of the sea has become oxydized with damp and the passage of time, and has spread to the stern of the other galley. The ripples caused by the motion of the oars are clearly indicated. Each galley possesses a gold star (or eye?) under the rambades, and each has a different coloured awning aft. The galleys in the illustration have twenty-four oars on each side, making a total of forty-eight



oars, but the artist may have missed out one oar for twenty-five is a more usual number. Unfortunately I have not been able to identify the pennants flown by the galleys in *Türk bayrağı ve ayyıldız*,<sup>16</sup> although similar striped pennants are shown in a black-and-white illustration reproduced by Uzunçarşılı.<sup>17</sup> The flags are pink and white, greenish or mauve and white but the colour has obviously deteriorated through long exposure to damp. The troops shown in the galleys are *Azebs* with red caps and pale-blue blouses, and *Sipāhīs* with white turbans wound round red caps.<sup>18</sup> The Turkish rowers wear flat black or brown caps like the Cossacks whose vessels are striped horizontally black and white. The top-most *shayqa* is flying a jack with a gold Maltese cross, now wellnigh obliterated.

In his *Tuhfet ül-kibār fi esfār il-bihār*<sup>19</sup> Kātib Chelebi gives some information about galleys and the tactics they employed in the Black Sea. The length of a galley from stem to stern was approximately 165 feet with a beam of 22 feet. There were 25 oars, each worked by 4-5 rowers who were, as always, either criminals or prisoners of war. There were thus 192 rowers or more in every galley in addition to a hundred marines, each carrying a musket or sword or lance or a pair of pistols. The captain (*re'īs*, later *qapudan*) undertook the navigation, and the two subordinate officers (*odabashı*) commanded the twenty artificers (*ālātçı*) who worked the lateen foresail. There were also two steersmen, one chief sailmaker, two watchkeepers (*gömi*) who ranked below the sailmaker, two carpenters, two overseers for the rowers, and two caulkers, making a complement of thirty-five to work the ship.

Kātib Chelebi mentions that the *shayqas* which come from the coastal town of Özi mostly follow the coastline. If they are fifteen miles or more out at sea, the galleys can safely move in to attack the *shayqas*. With a favourable wind, a galley is a match for a hundred *shayqas*. It is inadvisable and indeed dangerous for a galley to attack *shayqas* close inshore, owing to the risk of running aground. It should, therefore, leave them alone in shallow water and keep a sharp lookout until the *shayqas* come out into the open sea where the conditions for an attack are more favourable for the galley. If, however, the *shayqas* remain close inshore and do not come out into the open sea, the galley must find some means of attacking them from the land (with a landing-party). He goes on to say that, if the *shayqas* are very close inshore, the galley should attempt to force them out into deeper water where it can attack them at a disadvantage. There is no likelihood of desertion out at sea, and the very sight of the galley strikes the enemy with dread; thus morale is improved in every respect and there is also no fear of running aground.

Further information about the manning and armament of the Turkish galley is provided by Arthur Thomas in his continuation of the history by the Greek historian Chalcocondylas,<sup>20</sup> writing at a time not long before this expedition took place. He mentions that in each galley there were 150 rowers whom he calls

Chiurezzi (*kürekçi*), paid at the rate of 3 aspers<sup>21</sup> a day. Most of the rowers were Christians chained to the benches—Jews were never employed. If there were not enough rowers available, the authorities in Rumelia and Anatolia were called upon to supply a quota from their districts to make up the deficiency. Men pressed in this way could buy back their freedom for an annual payment of 25 aspers, and as time went on, this exemption tax became very lucrative to those who collected it. To provide the fighting force for the galleys Azapes (*Azebs*)<sup>22</sup> were raised or else Janissary pensioners who were reinforced with serving Janissaries and other regular troops called Giurgi (*qurchu*) Scapoli (*sipāhī*) and olofri (*ulūfeli*) to make up the total force to the amount of 100–20 combatants. Part of these were armed with matchlocks and bows and part with javelins and lances. The captain was paid 500–1,200 aspers daily, officers and seamen between 12 and 30 aspers, and the troops 5 to 6 aspers, according to the length of the voyage. On embarkation, an advance payment of 900 aspers each was made to the officers and crew. Each galley was provided with two gunners. In the bows there was a culverin with four sacres and similar light guns. There were 50 rounds for the culverin, 100 for the others and charges of powder allocated for each gun. The provisions carried consisted of biscuits, salt fish, and dried meat.

The chief defects of the galley were the low freeboard which made its use impracticable in heavy weather and its inability to mount heavy guns. As time went on it gradually became obsolete and was superseded by the sailing ship which was far more seaworthy and sturdier to withstand hard knocks. The number of galleys in the Ottoman navy began to decline from the reign of Ahmed III (1703–30) on, and in the time of Abdülhamid I (1773–80) no more were being built. After this date the only galley in service was that used by the Grand Admiral in peacetime.

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<sup>1</sup> These are called Qazaq in Turkish. The term is used indiscriminately for Russians, Ukrainians, and Cossacks in the true sense of the word. See Omeljan Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis* (1646) in *Oriens*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1953), pp. 268–98.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaika*, in Turkish *shayqa*. These boats were armed with three guns and measured 66 × 12 ft. See İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1948), p. 458.

<sup>3</sup> See Rieu, *Catalogue*, pp. 191–2. This contains several illustrations of which few only are reasonably well preserved. Damp and rough handling have damaged the others and rendered many lines of the poem illegible.

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 854–5.

<sup>5</sup> The subsequent career of Ken'an Pasha is given in a few words in the *Definet ül-vüzerā* of Mehmed Hâfid Efendi (ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul, 1952, p. 36) who states that he was transferred (as governor) from Buda to Silistria and made *Qapudan pasha* in 1066/1665–6. While commanding the fleet in the Dardanelles, he was routed with heavy loss by the Venetians and went to Kavalla. After this, according to the editor, he was imprisoned but later released and first made *Muhâfiz* of the Dardanelles and then he became *Vâli* of Buda once more in 1067/1665–7. Although the author does not specify which Ken'an Pasha he means, there is no doubt that he is referring to

Şarı Ken'an Pasha because Qoja Ken'an Pasha died in 1062/1651-2.

Babinger (EI, pp. 854-5) gives rather more detail than İ. Parmaksızoglu. He mentions that between his disgrace and his appointment as *Muḥāfiẓ* (Garrison commander) he held the office of *Qā'im-maḡām* for a month.

<sup>6</sup> Chataljali Hasan Pasha. See *Sefinet ül-vüzerā*, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> The modern Sozopol in Bulgaria.

<sup>8</sup> The ancient Anchialos, now Pomorye.

<sup>9</sup> The ancient Mesembria, now called Nesebăr in Bulgaria.

<sup>10</sup> Judging by its name, Monastir Island is obviously the same place as the island with a church mentioned by Tulu'i. It has unfortunately not been possible to identify it with any certainty, although two islands are shown in the Admiralty chart of Sizeboli Bay—Sveti Petra (Agios Petros) and Sveti Ivan (Megalo Nisi). The saints' names suggest that churches or monasteries existed on them at one time.

<sup>11</sup> 1147/1734-5 ed. i, p. 489; 1280/1863-4 ed. iii, p. 42.

<sup>12</sup> Kili (Kiliya) and İsmā'il (Izmail) are in the Moldavian S.S.R. on the estuary of the Danube; Balchik in Bulgaria. Only Midye (Salmydessos) now remains in Turkish territory.

<sup>13</sup> On the Bosphorus.

<sup>14</sup> i.e. Zaporozh'ska Sič.

<sup>15</sup> The general term for galley was *chekdiri*, of which the smaller type was called *qadırgha* and the largest *maḡna*.

<sup>16</sup> By F. Kurtoğlu (Ankara, 1938). In the well-known painting of the Battle of Lepanto in the

National Maritime Museum, the ensigns of the Turkish galleys show clearly the golden crescents on a dark blue ground. In one respect our painter is completely accurate—Turkish galleys flew a swallow-tailed pennant.

<sup>17</sup> Uzunçarşılı, op. cit., plate 42.

<sup>18</sup> In the illustrations which accompany the notes by 'P.M.' in Add. 23880 (*A breife relation of the Turckes, their Kings, Emperours or grand-signeurs* etc., dated 1618) both kinds of soldier are represented: the '*Azeb*' (30a) carries a match-lock, powder-horn, and scimitar while the *Sipāhī* (27a) is dressed in a similar fashion to those on the galley but wears a blue-grey cloak and carries no weapons but a dagger.

<sup>19</sup> Istanbul, 1141/1728-9, p. 69.

<sup>20</sup> L'histoire de la decadence de l'empire grec et etablissement de celui des Turcs avec la continuation de la mesme Histoire depuis la ruine du Peloponese jusques à present & des Considerations sur celle . . . par Artus Thomas Sieur d'Embry Parisien. (Paris, 1620, pp. 131-2).

<sup>21</sup> Turkish *aqcha*—a silver coin adapted from the Byzantines, worth at this time one-fiftieth of a penny.

<sup>22</sup> Originally *Levendis* provided the fighting force. These were at one time privateers of Greek, Slav, and Albanian stock but since they lived on plunder, they were unreliable and were replaced by irregular troops called '*Azebs*' who were, however, no sea-faring men. To confuse matters, the term '*Azeb*' was also applied to the employees of the Arsenal. By the sixteenth century, the fighting was entrusted to regular soldiers-companies of Janissaries or feudal *Sipāhīs*.

## TANGUT FRAGMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

IN the corridor running between mountain and desert from north-west China to Siberia and Central Asia, desiccation has been the fate of many a culture, and at the same time has preserved intact whole libraries of books otherwise unknown to the world. The example of Tunhuang is well known, with its sequence of six centuries of religious manuscripts, together with secular documents and the unique Diamond sutra, the earliest dated blockprinted text.<sup>1</sup> It is thought that the Tunhuang hoard was the hiding-place of several monasteries which hoped to survive the onslaught of the Tanguts in the eleventh century. Although these Tanguts had a special chapter in the official history of the Sung dynasty (compiled by Chinese under the direction of Mongols), little was known

directly of their language, writing, or culture until the beginning of this century, when a cache of documents, probably hidden from the marauding Mongols in the early years of the thirteenth century, was discovered by the Russian explorer Kozlov.

In a completely arid part of the Mongolian desert stood the city of Khara-khoto, known to Marco Polo, but forgotten for centuries till in 1908, Colonel Petr Kuz'mich Kozlov, heading an expedition of the Russian Geographical Society, marched towards the four-square fortress walls.

As we approached the city, the potsherds became more frequent, the city rose higher on the sand-cliffs, and finally we came up on to the terrace and Khara-khoto lay before us in all its beauty.

A small construction with a wide cupola-shaped roof lies near the south-west corner of the fortress wall, similar to the Moslem prayer-mosque. A few minutes further, and we entered the dead city through the western gate. . . . Here we came into an open square whose side was one and a third versts, covered with high and low, wide and narrow ruins of buildings, rising above the miscellaneous debris, which included potsherds. Here and there stood stupas; not less clearly could be made out the foundations of temples, constructed of heavy sunbaked brick. We felt a lively curiosity to know how our labours in the excavation of the ruins that surrounded us would be rewarded. Our camp was pitched in the middle of the fortress, near the ruins of a large two-storey building, which had had a temple on its southern side. Less than an hour after our arrival the activity commenced, digging, measuring, drawing and sighting from the top of the ruins.<sup>2</sup>

A large Buddhist stupa, known in Mongol as a suburgan, was excavated, and besides Buddhist statuary and works of art, several hundred printed and manuscript books were retrieved. Samples were immediately dispatched to St. Petersburg by the Mongol postal service, and the rest followed later. Now these unique treasures of a lost culture are preserved in Leningrad in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia and the Ermitazh.

The indefatigable Aurel Stein, already famous for his explorations in this region, arrived in Khara-khoto in 1914, and laboriously collected a few hundred fragments of printed documents and manuscripts, which were shared between the sponsors of the expedition, the Government of India and the British Museum. Some drawings and illustrated pages of printed books are in Delhi, while the textual material was sent to London.<sup>3</sup>

The name Tangut has been applied to various Tibetan and other peoples of Central Asia, but the traveller Marco Polo used the term of the people living in the then newly created province of Kansu, who had been conquered by the Mongols as a prelude to their full conquest of the Chinese continent. For over 200 years, during the Sung period, the Tanguts, or Hsi-hsia, had been one of several independent states in north China.

As part of their assertion of national independence, probably about the year



The Tibetan, the Chinese and the Mi are sons of one mother, Living in far-flung regions,  
their languages have diverged. High up on the western plateau, the Tibetan has his own script,  
Down in the far eastern lowlands, the Chinese script is used. Each loves his native tongue and  
honours his national writing. Like a star from the east came the great teacher Iri, Bringing  
the written word to lighten our dawn. . . .<sup>4</sup>

[illegible]

There are several versions of this story in the official Chinese histories, and it seems there is every reason to believe that a single man did invent this new form of writing. As a test of his originality, we can compare it with four contemporary scripts of the area: Chinese, Tibetan, Liao, and Uighur.

In general, Chinese equates phonetic and basic meaning with a corrupted pictograph combined with a category symbol. Tibetan, linguistically the closest relation to Tangut, used an Indian alphabet to represent an archaic pronunciation. Uighur had a Semitic 'alphabet' to represent the consonants of a Turkish language, while Liao, a member of the Tungus group, adapted elements of Chinese characters to make phonetic polysyllables.

From the formal point of view, the whole system of Tangut can be reduced to a few basic strokes, which are written in the same order and direction as Chinese. With what appear to be arbitrary modifications, they form elements of composite characters. The table of typical elements illustrates the almost mathematical power of combination. Very few of these are used as independent characters, but some can suggest meaning in the same way as the Chinese 'radical'.

The native etymological dictionary known as Wen-hai pao-yün gives analyses of full characters, but it is not yet known if this represents the intention of the deviser of the script, or is a later 'horn-book' etymological system. The decipherment of Tangut is not yet complete, the only person to have attained fluency in reading native literature being the great Russian scholar Professor N. A. Nevsky (1892-1938). His notes for a dictionary have now been photo printed, and the Museum's collection, fragmentary though it is, contains representative documents for the many texts and sources quoted.

The Hsi-hsia collection was partly described and illustrated in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, pp. 440 seqq., which also covers the illustrated material now in Delhi. Buddhist works have been reproduced, and the interlinear transcription in Tibetan script which was a feature of Buddhist sutras translated from Tibetan texts. Three more types of Tangut literature are reproduced here: Translation from Chinese, Sino-Tangut calendars (Pl. XXVI (b)), and the native law code. Since in a Buddhist country Buddhist canonical texts make over 90 per cent. of publishing output, translations from Chinese are precious. Moreover, they introduce a different vocabulary, so that many more characters can be deciphered. The proper names and place-names give a clue to the pronunciation of characters whose meaning may be known from other sources. The work reproduced here is one of two pages in the Museum belonging to the Chinese Book of War, Sun-tzu. It is not likely that this was a private publication, so we may place it after the founding of the Tangut Academy, and assume that the blocks were cut in the State Printery. This edition is with three commentaries, the first by Wei Ts'ao, i.e. Ts'ao Ts'ao, prince of Wei. The usual Chinese edition has eleven commentaries. The blockcutting is of a distinctive style, which though coarser and more 'popular' than the better-printed Buddhist works, seems to have been appropriate to the secular content of the book. Though blockprints are cut from a manuscript model, the work can often be recognized from the style of

blockcutting, so that in the case of the native homophonic dictionary, T'ung-yin, even small fragments can be immediately recognized, and with the help of Sir Gerard Clauson's manuscript index, now in the School of Oriental and African Studies, be related to the whole work. Unfortunately the edition of 1132 in Leningrad has not been published in facsimile, and it is necessary to rely on a manuscript copy lithographed in China. The Museum's dictionary fragments, though few, are some check on the accuracy of this copy.<sup>5</sup>

The Tangut law code (revised edition) of the period 1149-71 consists of twenty books. The Museum has a fragment, K.K. II. 0227. n, which is the bottom corner of a printed book, evidently from a code of this sort. The page reproduced (Pl. XXVI (a)) contains place-names such as Sha-chou and Ying-chou, which were provinces of the Tangut state.

There was a Chinese community in Khara-khoto, probably of the merchant class, as the Tanguts were pastoralists by origin. Chinese documents from Khara-khoto were examined by Henri Maspero (d. Buchenwald 1945), and are illustrated in his posthumous work, *Les Documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie centrale*. No. 474 of his catalogue is part of the account-book of a Chinese money-lender of the first years of the thirteenth century. Further evidence of Chinese influence is the rare Sino-Tangut 'calendar', K.K. II. 0279. nnn, which gives numerals and cyclical signs in Chinese, the columns being headed by the months in Tangut. Another fragment has the same months, sixth to twelfth, with the numerals in the columns in cursive Tangut. An interesting feature is the use of 'one' to represent 'eleventh', while the character for 'twelfth' has its analogue in the Chinese 'layue'. Even more revealing is the manner in which the Chinese cyclical signs are written. The stroke order is evidently different from the Chinese standard, and the clumsy Chinese contrasts unfavourably with the delicate cursive Tangut.

Blockprinting had been common in this area of Central Asia for at least three centuries, but none the less Tangut printing is crucial in the history of book publishing.<sup>6</sup> First, it represents an independent tradition, not confined by the Chinese or Liao prohibitions against private printing. Secondly, the texts are undoubtedly genuine, and can be dated to within a comparatively short period. The Tangut editions of Hangchow in the Yüan must be considered separately. Our Buddhist texts must be local editions, if only because of the large number of 'type-faces', page sizes, and methods of printing. Recent work in Japan on printed pages shows that some blocks were made up of separate squares for each character, instead of one double page being carved in relief on a single wood-block. This is known as movable-type printing, and is similar to processes used in Europe some 300 years later. Some editions were printed from clay surfaces, and perhaps some of the Museum's fragments will be proved to be from the earliest clay-type books extant.<sup>7</sup>

Page size, average character size, and book format are extremely diverse, ranging from a booklet of  $9 \times 6$  cm. through the 'butterfly' make-up common in the Sung period, to the magnificent folding-books with a printed surface of  $22 \times 16$  cm.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps more significant than the books are the book-covers, which have survived in a rather mutilated form, separated from their books, but still preserving the blue silk and stiffened with sheets of paper, often inscribed and priceless documents in themselves.

Though Tangut is a dead language and the Tanguts probably dispersed centuries ago in Mongol, Chinese, and Eastern Tibetan communities, there are many fields of learning where gaps can be supplied only by recourse to this short-lived culture. Archaeology of the area has hardly begun, and the extreme desiccation gives hope that more than one library will be found, and that even the State Historical Archives may have escaped the Mongols' torch.

E. D. GRINSTEAD

<sup>1</sup> Lionel Giles, *Six centuries at Tunhuang*, London, 1944.

<sup>2</sup> P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvuy gorod Khara-khoto*, Petrograd, 1923, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> N. A. Nevsky, *Tangutskaya filologiya*, 2 vol., Moskva, 1960.

<sup>5</sup> N. A. Nevsky, 'Concerning Tangut dictionaries', article in English in *Kano kyōju kanreki kinen Shinagaku ronsō*, Kyōto, 1927.

<sup>6</sup> T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward*. Revised by L. C. Goodrich. New York, 1955.

<sup>7</sup> Ishihama Juntarō Festschrift, which also contains Nishida Tatsuo's work on Hsi-hsia numerals, now available in English.

<sup>8</sup> A magnificent manuscript in gold lettering on blue paper is in the Musée Guimet, Paris.

## AN ILLUMINATED ARMENIAN MENOLOGIUM (A.D. 1652)

THE latest addition to the Museum's collection of Armenian manuscripts, Or. 12550, is a richly illuminated menologium or collection of lives of saints and martyrs venerated in the Armenian Orthodox Church designed for reading on the days of their commemoration. The Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts already possesses three of these (F. C. Conybeare's *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1913, nos. 66-68, dated A.D. 1488, 1701, and 1810 respectively), but their decorations are few and crude. The present menologium has four full-page miniatures, one quarter-page miniature, three *xorank'* or ornate and geometrical headpieces, and 113 marginal representations of saints, patriarchs, prophets,

and biblical scenes. There are numerous ornamented capitals (mainly ornithomorphs) and other marginal decorations in colour throughout.

The colophon on fol. 616<sup>b</sup> shows that the manuscript was copied in Constantinople by the scribe Xaçatur *erēç* ('presbyter') during the catholicosate of P'illippos I of Albak (1633–55) and the sultanate of Muhammad IV (1648–87). The Armenian date is spoiled, the *ա թ* (= 1,000) being followed by shadows of two letters illegible to the naked eye. The ultra-violet lamp shows the final letter to have been *ա* (= 1). Since, according to the dates of the catholicos and sultan named, the manuscript must have been written between A.D. 1648 and 1655, the only possible Armenian date if the final letter is correct is *աՃա թՃա*, i.e. 1101 of the Armenian era or Oct. 1651–Oct. 1652. The little one can see of the middle letter even under the lamp does not seem to belong to *ա Ճ*, but rather *ա յ* = 80, which is impossible, 1081 Arm being the equivalent of A.D. 1631/2. Many letters and lines throughout the manuscript have become erased through use, but in the part of the colophon where the date is found the text is otherwise clear. It is possible, therefore, that the last two letters of the date were deliberately erased as incorrect, and were not replaced.

One cannot for certain identify this Xaçatur *erēç*. The description by Y. Tašean (*Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, pp. 921–2) of the script of a breviary (MS. no. 451) written by a Xaçatur *erēç* in A.D. 1664—'large and thick, but regular, *bolorgir*'—could apply also to the script of the present manuscript; the breviary was, however, copied at Arabkir. One has more reason to suppose that our scribe is identical with the Xaçatur *erēç* who copied MS. no. 605 in the Chester Beatty collection, also a seventeenth-century illuminated menologium on vellum (S. Der Nersessian, *The Chester Beatty Library: a Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts*, Dublin, 1958, vol. i, pp. 162–6; vol. ii, pls. 59, 60). The iconography leads Professor Der Nersessian to suppose that this manuscript may have been written 'in Constantinople or in some other centre such as the Crimea where Byzantine models could be seen'. If our scribe wrote it, this opinion would be confirmed. A confrontation of the beginnings of Areg 23rd in the two manuscripts (Der Nersessian, pl. 59, left column, Brit. Mus. Or. 12550, fol. 297<sup>a</sup>) reveals great similarity in the scripts. There are differences: the script of our manuscript is slightly less regular, the loop in *ա* and *ե* is greater, a thinner pen was used, abbreviated forms differ. I feel, however, that there are no differences (they are all of the slightest) that could not be attributed to normal variations in one man's hand at different periods. Is it, moreover, a coincidence that in both manuscripts immediately preceding Areg 23rd there are short prayers for the respective sponsors of the manuscripts?

The artist, who has signed himself in the lower margin of fol. 575<sup>a</sup> as 'the most insignificant of drudges Yovsēp' *erēç*' in red ink (the same as that used in



the portrait of St. Marcina on the same page), appears to be otherwise unknown. It is clear that he cannot count as one of the masters of Armenian painting or compare favourably with his near-contemporaries who illuminated the menologia nos. 603 (A.D. 1683), 605 (seventeenth century), and 606 (seventeenth century) in the Chester Beatty collection (see S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pls. 57-61). He is fairly competent, but his composition lacks grace and his colouring is crude. The figures of the saints, &c., in the margins are very stereotyped, although the following show some individuality: Solomon and Anna beneath a tree full of birds (53<sup>a</sup>), Mercurius the Scythian on horseback (182<sup>b</sup>), King Abgar (244<sup>b</sup>), Sergius the General and his son on horseback (298<sup>a</sup>), Elijah in his chariot, his mantle descending upon Elisha (474<sup>a</sup>), Theodore, Armenian monk of Sebaste, wearing the head-dress of an Armenian priest (542<sup>b</sup>), Thomas à Becket (562<sup>a</sup>). The ornate initial Ճ Y (fol. 7<sup>a</sup>) in the form of two green dragons, showing Jonah emerging from the jaws of the lower one and St. Theodore slaying the upper, is an imaginative example of lettering. This, however, like two of the full-page miniatures and many of the saints' faces throughout the manuscript, has been smudged by a zealous Muslim, whose interpretation of the famous *ḥadīth* on the *muṣawwirūn* may not, one hopes, automatically qualify him for the delights promised at Sura lvi, 15-39.

#### DESCRIPTION

*Contents:* Menologium, redaction of Grigor Cerenç of Xlat' (1350-1426), its contents almost identical with those of British Museum MS. Or. 6555, no. 66 in Conybeare's *Catalogue*. 2 fols. paper blank, unnumbered; 2 fols. vellum, blank apart from scribbles (the second bears the name նահապետ հաճի *Nahapet haçi* in *bolorgir*), unnumbered; fols. 1<sup>a</sup>-5<sup>b</sup>, calendar of saints and church feasts; 6<sup>a</sup>, blank; 6<sup>b</sup>, full-page miniature; 7<sup>a</sup>-257<sup>a</sup>, lections for Nawasard 1 to K'ałoç 28; 7<sup>a</sup>, *xoran* (head-piece) marking Naw. 1; 131<sup>b</sup>, quarter-page miniature; 132<sup>a</sup>, small head-piece marking Sahmi 23, All Saints' Day; 257<sup>b</sup>, full-page miniature; 258<sup>a</sup>-401<sup>b</sup>, lections for K'ałoç 29 to Areg 16; 258<sup>a</sup>, *xoran* marking Epiphany/Christmas; 402<sup>b</sup>, full-page miniature; 403<sup>a</sup>-615<sup>b</sup>, lections for Easter and Areg 17 to Aweleac 5 (story of Yovasap' and Baralam); 403<sup>a</sup>, *xoran* marking Easter; 616<sup>a</sup>-616<sup>b</sup> first col., hymn beginning Փառք անսկիզբն և անզուգական... երրորդու թե[ա]ն յաւիտենից: Դմեն: Սէր սիրուն սերտեալ սիրով սիրեն առեալ հոյ... 616<sup>b</sup>, colophon; 1 fol. vellum, blank, unnumbered; 2 fols. paper, blank, unnumbered.

*Size:* 35.5 × 24.5 cm. (external, 36 × 25.5 × 15 cm.); text 28 × 18 cm., two coll., 28 × 8.5 cm. *Binding:* stout calf on boards, probably eighteenth century (see final colophon), blind-tooled; two metal clasps on front, traces of leather thongs on back. *Material:* vellum; the folios have been trimmed, removing parts

of the illuminations at top and sides; some folios repaired. *Script*: large, thick black, fairly regular *bolorgir*; some red initials; see below; *Xorank'*. *Scribe*: Xaçatur *erēc*. *Artist*: Yovsēp' *erēc*. *Place*: Constantinople, Church of the Holy Mother of God. *Sponsor*: Zak'ariay Łalifay.

### Colophons

297<sup>a</sup>, col. 1. Որ ողորմի ստացողի գրոցս, զաքարիային և ծնողացն գրիգորին և բատիկին. և կողակցին եղիսաբեթին. և որդւոյն յովանէսին և քրւերն նաղուին: Կ[ա]ր[դա].

May he have mercy on the acquirer of this manuscript Zak'ariay, and his parents Grigor and Batik, and his wife Elisabet', and his son Yovanēs, and his sister Nazlu. Read on.

fol. 375, lower margin: Ով խոհեմ կառավար ժամատեղաց. զղազարուս սկսիր և զ. Դ. օրեայ արարչութենն այ. յիւրաքանչիւր աւուր կարդայ. և զմեղուցեալ խաչատուր գծողս յիշեալ.

O prudent director of the place of prayer, begin this (passage on) Lazarus and read (each section) of God's six-day Creation on its respective day; and remember me, the sinful scribe Xaçatur.

fol. 377<sup>b</sup>, lower margin: Ով եղբայր ճարտարամիտ յարարչութին ի ծաղկազարդին կիրակին սկսիր. թէ բերէ ամիսն և թէ ոչ. ×××× կարդայ զի աւագ շաբթին աւուրքն է մեկնած զայն աւուրցն զխորհուրդն ասայ. և զգծողս յիշեայ:

O intelligent brother, begin the (lections on) the Creation on Palm-Sunday; read them . . . whether the month brings them or not [i.e. whether they appear in their proper place in the menologium or not, Easter being a moveable feast], for the days of Holy Week start (then); declare the mystery of those days, and remember me, the scribe.

fol. 575<sup>a</sup>, lower margin (red ink): զվերջի աշխատողակս զյովանէի երէցն յիշել ի տէր.

Remember me, the most insignificant of drudges, Yovsēp' *erēc*, in the Lord.

Fol. 591<sup>a</sup> Բարեխօսութեամբ սուրբ վկայիցս, ողորմեայ քս ան. ամենայն հաւատացեալ քրիստոնէիցս. մանաւանդ ստացողի գրոցս զաքարիայ զալիֆայի և ծնողացն իւր գրիգոր և բատիկին. և կողակցին եղիսաբեթին. և որդւոյն յովանէսին. եղբարցն և քրւերցն և ամենայն արեան մերձաւորացն. և մեղսասէր գրչիս. խաչատուր երիցուն. և ամ արեան մերձաւորացն. կարդա.

By the intercession of these holy martyrs have mercy, Christ God, on all Christian believers, above all on the acquirer of this book, Zak'aria Łalifay and his parents Grigor and Batik, and his wife Elisabet' and his son Yovanēs, his brothers and sisters and all blood relations, and on the sinful scribe, Xaçatur *erēc*, and all his blood relations. Read on.

Fol. 616<sup>b</sup> Լորդ յայսմ քաղցրանուագ երգոյս հետեւեալ ի սէրն քի, ստացաւ զաւակ անսահ ըստ հոգւոյ. և յիշատակ անջնջելի յաւիտենական. ի դուռն սրբոյ անձանի վայել.



չայարկ և գեղեցկասաց եկեղեցւոյ ի մայրաքաղաքս կոստանդնուպօլսոյ. ի խնդրոյ  
 անասէր զաքարիայ զալիֆայի՝ յիշատակ հոգւոյ իւրոյ. և ծնօղացն գրիգորին և բատիկին.  
 և կողակցին եղիսաբեթին, և որդւոյն յովանէսին. |xxxxxx պապոցն՝ զաքարիային և ուղղու-  
 լուին. և մեծ մամոցն՝ շահրիստանին և մուծլուին. և եղբարցն պօղոսին եղիային ան-  
 տուրին և սահակին. և քրւերցն՝ աննային մարիամին կուլիստանին շահրիստանին և  
 նազլուին. և աներոջն պալէ՝ և զոքրնջին փաշային. և հօրեղբօրն մանուկին, և քեռոցն  
 մահտեսի տօնիկին գրիգորին պօղոսին և զարաճէ, և մօրքրոջն նազլուին, և կողակցին  
 եղբարցն՝ տէր սարգիսին՝ զասպարին՝ պաղտասարին սահակին և մելքոնին. և անարեան  
 մերձաւորաց. որ. և զամ[ենայն] սն արժանասցին հասանել մասին սրբոցն ի լոյս՝ ամեն:  
 Եւրդ գրեցաւ ի մեծահանդէս քաղաքս կոստանդնուպօլսի ի թմականիս հայոց՝ Խ. xx ի  
 թգրուածք և ի մեծ բունակալութե իսմայէլացւոց և հագարացոց. ի վր բազում || ազգաց և  
 ազանց. քրիստոնէից և ալլասեռից: Սուտան մահամատի որ Խ. ամայ մանուկ գոյով կալաւ  
 թագ և թախտ թգրուածք հօր իւրոյ: Եւ ի հայրապետութեն հայոց՝ որ ի սր էջմիածինն.  
 տեառն տէր փիլիպպոս կ[թղկն]: Չեռամբ տկար և փծուն գրչի խաչատուր երիցու: Եւրդ՝  
 երես անկեալ պաղատիմ հանդիպողացդ յայսմ ծաղկաւէտ բուրաստանի՝ և հոգիազարդ  
 մատենի. յիշել զվերոյ գրեալ անունն ի սէր քի ի ժամաղօթիցն. զի թերևս զմնացեալ և  
 զգնացեալ յանցանսն որ ընդ մեզ. ջնջեսցի ձերոյին սր մաղթանօքդ. և ողորմութե ցօղիկն  
 անձրեւեսցի ի շարաւալի յոսկերս մեր. առ ի բուսուցանել յօրն աներեկի. վերանալ ընդ  
 քի. Ծի և ինքն քն զիշողքդ զիշեցեալքս առհասարակ արժանի արասցէ, երանաւէտ  
 ձայնին ի փառս ամենազօր անուան իւրոյ: Եւ նմա փառք ընդ հօր իւրում, և սր հոգւոյն  
 ամեն: Հայր:

Now, following this melodious hymn to the love of Christ, there is acquired a spiritual child immortal and an ineffaceable memorial for ever [for the sponsor] at the door of the fair-roofed and sweet-voiced Church of the Holy Mother of God in the metropolis of Constantinople, at the request of the godly Zak'ariay Էalifay in commemoration of his soul and that of his parents Grigor and Batik ['Duckling'], and his wife Elisabet', and his son Yovanēs, . . . his grandfathers Zak'ariay and Ufurlu [Tk. *uğurlu* 'Felix'], and his grandmothers Šahristan<sup>1</sup> and Mut'lu [Tk. *mutlu* 'gay'],<sup>2</sup> and his brothers Pōlos, Eliay, A(stua)catur and Sahak, and his sisters Annay, Mariam, Kulistan [Pers.-Tk. *gülistan* 'rose-garden'], Šahristan and Nazlu [Tk. *nazlı* 'gracious, coquettish'], and his father-in-law Palē [cf. Tk. name *Balı*], and his mother-in-law P'aša [Tk.], and his paternal uncle Manuk, and his maternal uncles the *mahtesi*<sup>3</sup> Tōnik, Grigor, Pōlos, and Էaračē [Tk. *karaca* 'blackish, roe-buck'],<sup>4</sup> and his maternal aunt Nazlu, and his wife's brothers Tēr Sargis, Gaspar, Pałasar, Sahak and Melk'on, and all blood relations, that all<sup>5</sup> may be worthy to achieve the portion of the saints in [the] light [of Heaven]. Now, [this manuscript] was written in this celebrated city of Constantinople in the Armenian era 1\*\*\* during the rule and great tyranny of the Ismaelites and Hagarites over many peoples and nations, Christian and allophyle, [in the reign] of the Sultan Muhammad who while a boy of eight years took the crown and throne of his father's kingdom, and when the Lord of Lords P'ilippos Catholicos was patriarch of Armenia in Holy Etchmiadzin, by the hand of the weak and abject scribe, Xaçatur *erē*. Now, falling on my face I beseech those of you who meet with this opulent garden of flowers, this book adorned with the Spirit, to commend the above-mentioned names to the love of Christ at the time of their prayers, that perhaps there maining and continuing (?) transgressions which are in us might be

expunged by your holy supplications, and the dew of mercy fall on our rotting bones and revive them on the Day which shall know no night (that they might) rise (to be) with Christ. For Christ himself shall make all those who remember those we have mentioned worthy (to hear) the blessed voice(s) resounding) to the glory of his almighty name. And to him (who is) with his Father and the Holy Ghost glory, Amen. (Our) Father.

A later hand has added in crude *notrigir*: *այլ և յիշեցէք վերջի աշաօղըս* [for *աշխատողըս*] *սորայ զուկասըս և ծնողըն իմ տիրացուն խաչատուրըն և մարդայն և ամայն մերձայոր սորայ և դուք յիշեալ լիցիք անմահ գառին ած* [for *այ*] *ամէն. թիւին ռմիւնին*:

And also remember the most insignificant of workers on (? the binder of) this (manuscript) Łukas and my parent(s) the *tiraçu* (chorister) Xaçatur and Marda (Mart'a) and all his relations, and you also shall be remembered by the immortal Lamb of God. Amen. In the year 1221 (= A.D. 1772).

### *Miniatures*

6<sup>b</sup> A full-page portrait of St. Gregory the Illuminator, founder of the Armenian Church, with King Trdat at his feet, badly smudged.

131<sup>b</sup> A quarter-page miniature portraying SS. Cosmas and Damian, the patron saints of physicians, representing All Saints, the subject of the lection on the following page, 132<sup>a</sup>. (These saints are again depicted in the margin opposite their lives, 553<sup>b</sup>; they were popular among the Armenians, as intercessors for good health.)

189<sup>b</sup> A full-page miniature divided into four panels showing St. Gregory's sons and grandsons, SS. Vrt'anēs, Aristakēs, Yusik (patriarchs of Armenia), and Grigoris (bishop of Caucasian Albania).

257<sup>b</sup> A full-page miniature, the top half divided into two panels, each containing an alternative version of the Annunciation: in the left panel Mary is depicted holding a pitcher near a well, in the right panel she is in the interior of a house. The lower half-page depicts the Adoration of the Magi. Underneath there is the inscription: *Քաղոցի իթ. և Հոկտեմբերի 29. Տօն է ծննդեան և յայտնութեան քր. այ. մերոց*: 'K'aloç 29 and January 6. It is the feast of the Nativity and Epiphany of Christ our God.'

402<sup>b</sup> A full-page miniature, the upper half showing the Resurrection, the bottom half divided into two panels showing (left) the Crucifixion, and (right) the Entombment; badly smudged.

### *Marginal figures*

God in the heavens holding the infant Jesus; below, the Dormition of the Virgin, two angels bearing censers (13<sup>a</sup>); St. Veronica with mandill (16<sup>a</sup>), Myron of Cyzicus (18<sup>a</sup>), Bassa (22<sup>b</sup>), Thomas Apostle (26<sup>b</sup>), Daniel (29<sup>b</sup>),

Thaddaeus, smudged (33<sup>b</sup>), execution of John the Baptist, faces of John and executioner smudged (37<sup>a</sup>), Joshua and Moses (43<sup>a</sup>), two of the forty virgin martyrs (48<sup>b</sup>), Solomon and Anna under a tree (53<sup>a</sup>), Sahak the Parthian (55<sup>a</sup>), Autonomos (59<sup>a</sup>), the True Cross, with Helen and Constantine (60<sup>a</sup>), John Chrysostom (62<sup>b</sup>), Mesrop (68<sup>a</sup>), Moses and Aaron (69<sup>a</sup>), Phocas of Sinope (76<sup>b</sup>), Eraita of Alexandria (77<sup>b</sup>), Thecla (79<sup>a</sup>), John the Evangelist and Prochorus (81<sup>b</sup>), Simeon son of Cleopas (85<sup>a</sup>), Ananias (91<sup>b</sup>), Justina (92<sup>b</sup>), Pelagia (101<sup>a</sup>), Zacharia (103<sup>b</sup>), Mesrop (107<sup>a</sup>), Luke the Evangelist (112<sup>b</sup>), James, brother of Jesus (119<sup>a</sup>), Cyrma (140<sup>b</sup>), Gabriel (144<sup>a</sup>), John the Almoner (151<sup>b</sup>), Matthew the Evangelist and his angel (158<sup>b</sup>), Gregory Thaumaturgus (176<sup>a</sup>), Mercurius the Scythian (182<sup>b</sup>), King Trdat (185<sup>a</sup>), Barbara (194<sup>b</sup>), Bartholomew (201<sup>a</sup>), Nicholas of Myra (206<sup>b</sup>), James of Nisibis, smudged (214<sup>a</sup>), Stephen protomartyr (233<sup>b</sup>), Peter and Paul (237<sup>a</sup>), King Abgar (244<sup>b</sup>), Basil of Caesarea (245<sup>b</sup>), John the Baptist (274<sup>a</sup>), Antony the Hermit (278<sup>a</sup>), Emperor Theodosius, smudged (279<sup>b</sup>), Gregory Nazianzen (290<sup>b</sup>), Sergius the General and his son (298<sup>a</sup>), Barsauma of Melitene (302<sup>a</sup>), Blasius of Sebaste (312<sup>b</sup>), Presentation of Christ in the temple (319<sup>a</sup>), Mesrop (326<sup>a</sup>), James son of Zebedee (328<sup>a</sup>), Head of John the Baptist (333<sup>b</sup>), Eudocia of Phoenicia (347<sup>b</sup>), Euphrosine (359<sup>b</sup>), Pope Gregory (368<sup>a</sup>), Alexianus (376<sup>a</sup>), John patr. of Jerusalem (381<sup>a</sup>), Benedict of Rome (388<sup>b</sup>), the Crucifixion, smudged (393<sup>b</sup>), Mark the Evangelist with his lion (400<sup>b</sup>), Melchizedec (405<sup>b</sup>), the Resurrection (407<sup>a</sup>), Catherine (411<sup>a</sup>), Vahan of Golt'n (412<sup>b</sup>), David of Dwin (418<sup>a</sup>), Doubting Thomas (419<sup>b</sup>), Miriam of Egypt (422<sup>a</sup>), Saba the General (432<sup>a</sup>), the Annunciation (433<sup>a</sup>), Antipas of Pergamum (439<sup>b</sup>), Artemon (441<sup>b</sup>), Crescentius of Smyrna (443<sup>a</sup>), Sabinus of Hierapolis (446<sup>a</sup>), Agapius (447<sup>b</sup>), Ardalon (449<sup>a</sup>), John of Odzun, badly smudged (450<sup>b</sup>), Jeremiah (472<sup>a</sup>), Elijah and Elisha (474<sup>a</sup>), the Ascension, smudged (475<sup>a</sup>), Job covered in sores, God in heaven (481<sup>a</sup>), John the Evangelist and Prochorus (485<sup>a</sup>), Massacre of the Innocents, smudged (488<sup>b</sup>), Clerica (494<sup>a</sup>), Zechariah (496<sup>b</sup>), Simeon Stylites (511<sup>b</sup>), Moses the Ethiopian brigand (520<sup>b</sup>), Philemon (523<sup>b</sup>), Hesychius of Bithynia (525<sup>b</sup>), Alexander (528<sup>b</sup>), Timothy of Bursa, smudged (532<sup>a</sup>), Barnabas (530<sup>b</sup>), Elisha (536<sup>a</sup>), Joseph of Dwin (539<sup>b</sup>), Theodore of Sebaste (542<sup>b</sup>), Thais (545<sup>a</sup>), Febronia (546<sup>a</sup>), Peter (549<sup>b</sup>), Paul (550<sup>a</sup>), Cosmas and Damian (553<sup>b</sup>), Hyacinthus of Caesarea (557<sup>a</sup>), Serapion (558<sup>a</sup>), Procopius of Jerusalem (559<sup>a</sup>), Thomas à Becket (562<sup>a</sup>), Agnes of Rome (563<sup>a</sup>), the Visitation (564<sup>a</sup>), Abdlmseh the Jew (567<sup>a</sup>), Bagarat of Tauromenium (568<sup>b</sup>), Julitta and her son Cyriacus (572<sup>a</sup>), Marcina of Antioch, smudged (575<sup>a</sup>), Theodore of Cyrene (576<sup>b</sup>).

#### *Xorank'*

7<sup>a</sup> A colourful geometrical and floral head-piece covering upper half of page, marking the beginning of the Armenian year, surmounted by two birds, with

a like design extending the length of the right margin. The first line of the text is composed of an ornate initial { } representing two dragons followed by ornithomorph capitals (smudged and discoloured); the next two lines are in purple *erkat'agir*, the fourth line is in purple *bolorgir*, the fifth in orange *bolorgir*, the sixth and seventh in black *bolorgir*.

258<sup>a</sup> A like head-piece, marking Epiphany and Christmas, enclosing an image of Christ as Pantocrator; full length marginal ornament. First line of text composed of { } in the shape of two lions and a jackal, followed by ornithomorph capitals; rest similar to above.

403<sup>a</sup> A like head-piece, marking Easter, enclosing Christ raised up by angels; full length marginal ornament. First line of text composed of 4 K in the shape of two lions, followed by ornithomorph capitals (badly smudged); rest similar to above.

C. J. F. DOWSETT

<sup>1</sup> H. Ačařean, *Hayoc anjnanunneri bařaran* [Dictionary of Armenian personal names], t. 4, p. 114 (Erevan, 1948), says that in form this is equivalent to Pers. شهرستان *šahrīstān* 'large city', but understandably finds it a puzzling name for a woman. It more likely represents Pers. شهرستان *šahrīstān* 'captor of cities' (ستاندن 'seize, capture'), subsequently undergoing metathesis or assimilation to the more common noun *šahrīstān*.

<sup>2</sup> Not listed in Ačařean, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. one who has made a pilgrimage to the

holy city of Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*). The title, a corruption of *maqdisī* or *muqaddasī* 'inhabitant of Jerusalem' (cf. the name of the Arab geographer al-Maqdisī or al-Muqaddasī, born at Jerusalem), is the Christian equivalent of the Muslim *hājj*.

<sup>4</sup> Ačařean, op. cit., t. 3, p. 135, has been able to find only two examples of this name, occurring A.D. 1324 and 1762.

<sup>5</sup> *zam[enayn]sn* (acc.) for *amenaynk'*, *amenek'in* (nom.).

## ANDALUSIAN QORANS

THE Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts has recently acquired some parts of a manuscript of the Qoran reputed to have been written in Spain, and attempts to verify its place of origin have led to a rather interesting discovery. Among those Arabic manuscripts known for certain to be Andalusian is a vellum Qoran written at Valencia in A.H. 557/A.D. 1162, and now in the Egyptian National Library. There is a facsimile from it in Moritz's *Arabic Palaeography*, pl. 47. On examining this, amongst other examples of Andalusian script, I was strongly reminded of one of the British Museum Qorans, Or. 1270, which was bought by this department about ninety years ago. The catalogue entry, by Rieu, is on p. 41 of the *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*. There is also an entry on it by Wright, accompanying a facsimile of f. 97<sup>v</sup>, in the *Oriental Series* of the Palaeographical Society, with a detailed description. But in neither entry is it suggested that the manuscript could be Spanish.

Opening it at the beginning of the Sūrat Yā-Sīn which is the page corresponding to that of Moritz's facsimile from the Egyptian National Library's Valencia Qoran, I put the two side by side. There is something more than a mere

resemblance: as may be seen from Plates XXX and XXXI, they are so alike that the two Qorans might well have been written by one and the same hand.

The facsimiles given here make it unnecessary to enlarge on what the two manuscripts have in common. The chief general difference is caused by the fact that in the Cairo manuscript the *sukūn* and the *shaddah* have become so faint as to be scarcely perceptible, and this, together with the contrasting sharpness of the letters, gives a relatively bleak 'unfurnished' appearance, at any rate in facsimile. As regards details, each time I thought I had detected a radical difference between the two hands, it proved to be quite insignificant. In line 10, for example, initial *kāf* is distinctly squarer in the Cairo manuscript than in the British Museum one; but in the next line the inverse is true. Again, in line 4 there is a difference as regards final *kāf*; but that of the Cairo manuscript has none the less its exact counterpart elsewhere in the British Museum one (e.g. f. 2<sup>v</sup>, l. 3). As to the slight difference in the Kufic *Sūrah* heading caused by the prolonged *Yā'* of the British Museum manuscript, this is the sort of variant we would expect to find in two different works by the same artist.

In short, it may be affirmed that British Museum Or. 1270 was certainly written in Spain, and that it was almost certainly written in Valencia in the twelfth century A.D., and very possibly by 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī whose signature is in the colophon of the Cairo manuscript, which I have not yet had the opportunity of examining—hence the words 'very possibly'. A further reason for caution is the existence of another Valencia Qoran dated only twenty years later than the one now in Cairo, and so like it and ours that all three might have been thought to be by the same hand if it were not known that this third manuscript, now in the Istanbul University Library,<sup>1</sup> was in fact written by a certain Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Atūs. It is therefore possible that the British Museum manuscript was written by him, and not by 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, or that it was written by yet a third Valencian calligrapher of the same school as these other two; and until it becomes feasible for one person to examine thoroughly all three manuscripts, I do not think that any more definite judgement can be passed.

The Kufic inscription at the end of the British Museum one recording the birth of a child in A.H. 652/A.D. 1254 merely gives, as Rieu says, 'a lower limit for the date of the manuscript'. It is still the custom in some Islamic countries to record births in a Qoran belonging to the family, and in this case the book might have come into the family's possession 100 years before the birth in question. The vellum on which the inscription is written is of a completely different quality from that of the Qoran itself, and the blue ink used for ornamental purposes is of a different tint from that which figures in the Qoranic illuminations which the writer of the inscription was evidently trying to copy.

As to the British Museum's new acquisitions which led up to these comparisons,



they are four parts, that is, four-sixtieths (one-sixtieth being here called *juz'* though in the East the word *hizb* is normally used, *juz'* meaning one thirtieth) of the Qoran written on vellum in fine large Maghribi script with exquisite blue and gold 'unwans, division marks, and marginal ornaments, the text of each part being preceded and followed by ornamental pages of the same outstanding workmanship. A facsimile (the original is about 7 inches square) is on Plate XXIX. Unfortunately the manuscript is stained with damp, and the margins have been cut all round.

The previous owner acquired these volumes just after the First World War from a princely Moroccan family whose ancestors had brought them from Spain, so it was said, when the Christian reconquest forced Moslems to take refuge in Morocco. About thirty years ago he showed them to the late Asin Palacios, who pronounced them to have been, in his opinion, written in Granada in the fourteenth century.

In weighing this opinion, it should perhaps be mentioned that Houdas, to judge from his *Essai sur l'Écriture Maghrébine*,<sup>2</sup> would certainly not have considered the hand which wrote this Qoran to be other than Moroccan or Algerian. It has in fact all those characteristics which are especially associated with Fez,<sup>3</sup> and nothing of the compactness and sobriety of the so-called Andalusian script. While admitting that the boldness of the Fez script may have been slightly curtailed by Spanish influence, Houdas maintains that it is none the less of purely African descent. But in this he is rash enough to set aside the statement of Ibn Khaldūn who, writing towards the end of the fourteenth century, with a first-hand knowledge of North-West Africa and Spain, says that in his day (probably a little later than the date of this Qoran) the Spanish Arabic script had completely superseded the African script in Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, except in out-of-the-way places, far from the courts of princes.<sup>4</sup> Thus, according to him, what we now know as North-West African is in reality a form of Andalusian. Did it develop its extreme boldness and exuberance after reaching Africa? Or did these characteristics originate in certain parts of Spain? If they did, this Qoran may well be Spanish. In that case, the current conception of Andalusian script is far too exclusive, being limited to one particular form of Spanish Arabic calligraphy. If any reader of this article has met with a hand like that of Plate XXIX in any Arabic manuscript known to have been written in Spain, I should be grateful if he would let me know.

MARTIN LINGS

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. XXXII. There are two facsimiles also in F. E. Karatay's *Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Katalogu*, pls. ix and x.

<sup>2</sup> *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux* (Paris, 1886), pp. 85-112.

<sup>3</sup> An excellent and typical example of sixteenth-century Moroccan script is to be seen on British Museum postcard OPB 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Muqaddimah*, ch. v, sect. 29.

## A VASE BY THE ALTAMURA PAINTER

**T**HROUGH a bequest by the late Miss M. T. F. Ready, augmented by the generosity of the National Art-Collections Fund, the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities has just acquired a fine Attic red-figured bell-krater by the Altamura Painter, an artist of the Early Classical period.<sup>1</sup> Two distinct varieties of bell-krater were produced concurrently in the fifth century, one with loop handles, the other with a heavy foot and rim, and lug handles; our vase belongs to the second, less common variety, and must come fairly early in the history of the shape, since its date is between 470 and 460 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The main scene shows two warriors preparing to leave home (Pl. XXXIII). A bearded man watches them, wrapped in his cloak, with a white fillet round his head; he is the father of one of them, or of both. On the other side of the group a woman holds out a wine-bowl, for them to pour a libation to the gods before setting out; as so often in scenes of this kind, there is nothing to show whether she is their mother, or the wife of one of them. She has a long tunic with sleeves; her hair is bound up with a plain band, and in her left hand she holds a flower which was once white but has now faded. White was also used for three inscriptions; *KAVO* written vertically between the woman and the left-hand warrior, and two meaningless sets of letters, *VON* and *ΛONV*, in the spaces between the heads of the three men.<sup>3</sup> On the reverse (Pl. XXXIV), a girl plays the double flute, while two youths dance; she wears a tunic with wide sleeves and is crowned with a soft chaplet, probably of wool, and a white garland. The youths are nude save for a small cloak or wrap, and the right-hand one is infibulated; both of them wear wreaths and chaplets, like the flute-girl. Dilute glaze is used for much of the musculature of the youths, and for their side-whiskers.

The two warriors in the main picture call for further comment. The right-hand one, who is bearded, wears a cuirass with a short tunic under it; he also has a helmet of Thracian type, a spear, and a shield with a snake as a blazon. To the lower part of the shield a large piece of leather or heavy cloth is attached by three rivets; it is decorated with two bands of pattern, between which is a large apotropaic eye, the corners and the reserved zone round the iris being shaded with dilute glaze. This shield-apron, as it has been called, appears in East Greek art soon after 550 B.C., and is still found as late as the end of the fifth century;<sup>4</sup> it is unknown in Attic vase-painting until about 500 B.C., and does not become common till the second quarter of the century, when it occurs quite frequently, both in mythological scenes and in pictures of everyday life, but it falls out of favour soon after the middle of the century, its latest appearance in Attic art being perhaps the picture on a jug in the Vatican, whose date is about 430 B.C. or shortly after.<sup>5</sup> No one has yet identified the Greek name for it, but its purpose seems plain—to protect the soldier's legs from such missiles as arrows or



sling-bullets. Presumably the Athenians borrowed the idea from the Eastern Greeks at about the same date that it begins to appear on Attic vases, and its disappearance from Attic vase-painting doubtless reflects its abandonment in real life. One would like to suppose that this borrowing was the result of the Athenians' first encounter with the Persians, who made great use of the bow and arrow as an offensive weapon; the obvious occasion would be 498 B.C., when a contingent went from Athens to help the Greeks of Ionia in their revolt against their Persian rulers. Unfortunately the argument is not decisive, for individual Athenians could have seen the shield-apron in use before that date; the most that can be said with confidence is that the period when it is fairly common on Attic vases corresponds to the period of active hostilities between Athens and Persia.

The other warrior is younger, being beardless. He has a helmet of Attic type, with the hinged cheek-pieces turned up to leave his face free. The edge of the neck-guard is not drawn with a relief-line, and its position is simply indicated by the way his fair hair, rendered by dilute glaze, stops short below and beside it; the omission is no doubt a deliberate attempt to suggest the effect of soft hair escaping below the guard and blurring its outline. He also wears a cuirass and short tunic; the horizontal folds across his thighs show that he had in addition a kilt-like garment secured at the waist. His equipment is completed by a shield and a bow-case; the combination is surprising and, indeed, impractical, for no one could use a bow when his left arm was encumbered with a Greek shield. It has therefore been suggested<sup>6</sup> that this figure is not just some unnamed contemporary Greek soldier, but is none other than the hero Teucer, whose weapon was the bow; the idea is convincing, and the subject of the picture will therefore be Teucer and his elder half-brother, Ajax the Greater, setting out for the Trojan War. If so, the third man is their father Telamon, and as neither of them was married at this time, the woman must be either Hesione, by whom Telamon had Teucer as an illegitimate son, or his lawful wife Eriboia, the mother of Ajax. Ajax stretches out his right hand in what might be taken as an attitude of entreaty, though he may be doing no more than reach for the libation bowl; Teucer's gesture is one which generally represents surprise or dismay. Sophocles knew a version of the story in which Ajax replied to his father's farewell in words which invited the resentment of the gods<sup>7</sup>—reason enough for his companion to look alarmed—but the explanation does not quite fit, for Ajax is not talking to Telamon but is looking the other way. There may have been more to the story than we know, or it may be that Teucer expresses no more than impatience to be gone.

The main scene as we now have it differs in some respects from the preliminary sketch, which was marked out on the pot with a blunt point before the final drawing in glaze was started. The position of Telamon's right arm is curious; indeed, his whole attitude would be much more natural if he were

holding a stick, as such figures often do on Greek vases of this period. In fact the preliminary sketch actually gave him a stick, but whether from carelessness or on aesthetic grounds, the artist did not in the end draw in the only part of it which would have been visible, between the bottom of the shield-apron and Telamon's right toe. The sketch also put Teucer's bow-case the other way round, with its mouth and hanging flap coming just below the root of the tail of the scorpion on his shield; this arrangement implies that his legs and lower body were to be turned to the right, not to the left, for the bow-case was worn with its mouth to the front. Moreover, other sketch-lines prove that the artist planned at one stage to show Teucer with his left hand raised, instead of his right; and this attitude implies that he was to have no shield, but only a bow-case. The artist may have made these changes in his pose and equipment because he felt that the effect would be more satisfactory with two shields, each with the blazon showing, instead of one, but there is another possibility. Ajax's shield is noticeably the larger of the two, and it will be recalled that in the *Iliad* the great size of his shield, 'like a tower', is emphasized; the obvious way to bring home the fact that a shield is unusually large is to put it next to one of normal size, so it may be that one motive for the changes made to the original scheme for Teucer was the artist's desire, on second thoughts, to provide a foil for the shield of Ajax.

P. E. CORBETT

<sup>1</sup> Registration number 1961 7-10 1. Height, 40.2 cm. Maximum diameter of rim, 47.6 cm. Maximum width, measured across the handles, 48.5 cm. The upper part of the vase has been broken; some chips are missing, mostly from the interior, but nothing of importance has been lost from the figures. Sotheby & Co., *Sale Catalogue for 19 June 1961*, Frontispiece; no. 175. Side A, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 July 1961; *Illustrated London News*, 22 July 1961, p. 135. Side B, *Country Life*, 20 July 1961, p. 140, fig. 2. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 592, no. 35 bis; I am indebted to Sir John Beazley for permission to quote his attribution of the vase.

<sup>2</sup> On the varieties of bell-krater, see L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. ii, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the inscriptions on the front of a calyx-krater in Boston by the Froehner Painter, an artist whose style is very close to that of the Altamura Painter; Caskey and Beazley, vol. ii, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> For the early representations, see R. M. Cook in *CVA* British Museum, fasc. 8, p. 54 on pl. 5; late examples are found on the frieze of the Nereid Monument (*Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, ii, nos. 855, 880, 883) and on the frieze from Gjölbäsk-Trysa (F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbäsk-Trysa*, pl. 2/3, B 3; pl. 20, A 10).

<sup>5</sup> Early Attic examples, a black-figured lekythos by the Painter of Vatican G 49 (*ABV* 536, no. 41); a red-figured kyathos in the manner of the Panaitios Painter (*ARV* 217, no. 2). The jug Vatican H 525; L. B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les Enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* pl. lxvi and p. 90, no. 72.

<sup>6</sup> By Sir John Beazley and Professor Martin Robertson independently.

<sup>7</sup> Sophocles, *Ajax*, 766-9.

## GARRICK, SHAKESPEARE, AND WILKES

THE theatre in the eighteenth century played a particularly vigorous role in the popular life of England and unquestionably the London theatre was made famous in the middle of the century by the great dramatic genius of David Garrick (1717-79). Making his reputation in 1741 in the part of Richard III, Garrick proved over the next thirty years his versatility as a Shakespearian actor by many triumphs in both tragic and comic parts. From 1747 he produced at the Drury Lane theatre a large number of Shakespeare's plays and though these garbled versions of Shakespeare might horrify us today, the efforts of Garrick and his fellow actors and the literary critics of that age succeeded in convincing the English that Shakespeare was the greatest glory of our heritage. From Garrick descends the great stream of Shakespearian acting, so ably led in the late eighteenth century by Mrs. Sarah Siddons and her brother, John Kemble. Appropriately, therefore, the British Museum contains two—albeit two very different—personal relics of Garrick, which both attest to his devotion to Shakespeare.

The more impressive is the life-size marble statue of the standing figure of Shakespeare, which Roubiliac sculptured for Garrick in 1758. It now stands in the King's Library—a not entirely satisfactory setting, for it was originally designed to adorn the temple to Shakespeare which Garrick had built in 1756 in the garden of his villa at Hampton. There, so Mrs. Esdaile<sup>1</sup> recounts, 'a dozen chairs were provided for its admirers, who were sometimes served with tea under its very shadow'. Mrs. Esdaile also records that Garrick paid only £315 for the statue and the marble used for the head turned out to be riddled with blue veins. 'What,' cried Garrick, 'was Shakespeare marked with mulberries?' This witticism alludes no doubt to the mulberry tree at Stratford-upon-Avon, said to have been planted by Shakespeare himself, the existence of which was well known to Garrick as the story of his mulberry-wood casket will show (Pl. XXXV (a)).

This more intimate personal relic of Garrick was bequeathed by George Daniel Esq. in 1864;<sup>2</sup> its promised arrival at the Museum was greeted in *The Times* on Monday, 11 April 1864 in the following announcement:

### SHAKESPEARIAN RELIC

At this period, when everything connected with Shakespeare has a peculiar interest, we have the greater pleasure in being able to announce that the country will shortly possess the famous and beautiful cabinet, carved from the wood of the mulberry tree, presented by the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon to David Garrick upon the occasion of the jubilee of 1769. This exquisite work of art, representing scenes from the plays of Shakespeare, carved with wonderful spirit and minuteness, together with the Garrick correspondence upon the subject, the medal presented to the actor and a perfectly unique (sic) ring containing a fine miniature of Shakespeare under crystal and set in gold, has been bequeathed to the British

Museum by the late Mr. George Daniel, of Canonbury, the eminent book collector and well-known antiquary and author, who died in his 75th year of apoplexy last week, at his son's (Dr. Daniel's) house, The Grove, Stoke Newington. The deceased was the direct descendant of Paul Danieli, the head of a distinguished Huguenot family.

This biographical note offers the only known explanation of why the Garrick casket was in George Daniel's possession, but unfortunately nothing is known of its earlier history after the death of Garrick in 1779. The essential item in the box, and for which the box had in fact been made, was not mentioned—The Freedom of the Borough of Stratford. This document, to which is affixed the town's seal, reads:

Stratford upon Avon } At a Common Council held this Eleventh Day of October 1768  
Borough. . . . } present,

Samuel Jarvis Mayor,

William Lees . . . )

John Halford . . . )

Nathaniel Cooks . . . )

Richard Allen . . . )

William Evetts . . . )

William Bolton . . . )

Richard Lord . . . )

John Baylis . . . )

John Hitchcocks . . . )

John Meacham . . . )

Aldermen

William Eaves . . . )

Thomas Nott . . . )

Richard Stevens . . . )

Isaac Gardner . . . )

Charles Ingram . . . )

Burgesses

DAVID GARRICK Esqr. the greatest theatrical Genius of the Age and who has done the highest Honors to the Memory of the immortal Shakespear (a Native of this Place) was unanimously elected an honorary Burgess of this Corporation, and his Freedom was directed to be presented to him in a Box to be made of the Mulberry Tree planted by Shakespear's own Hands.

Given under the Common Seal of said Borough  
the Day and Year above mentioned.

This document in its wooden casket was dispatched to David Garrick with an accompanying letter from the town clerk, which is dated 3 May 1769, almost seven months after the meeting of the Common Council. The letter reads:<sup>3</sup>

Sir,

The Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the antient Borough of Stratford upon Avon—a Town that glories in giving Birth to the immortal Shakespear whose Memory you have so highly honoured and whose Conceptions you have ever so happily expressed—rejoice in an Opportunity of adding their Mite to that universal Applause your inimitable powers have

most justly merited. And as a Mark of their Esteem and Gratitude have respectfully transmitted to you the Freedom of their Borough in a Box made from a Mulberry Tree, undoubtedly planted by Shakespear's own hand which they hope you will do them the Honor of accepting.

Stratford upon Avon  
3<sup>d</sup> May 1769.

By Order of the Mayor  
Aldermen and Burgesses in  
Common Council signed by  
W<sup>m</sup>. HUNT  
Town Clerk

It is addressed:

To David Garrick Esq<sup>e</sup>  
London

Garrick evidently received the box and its flattering contents within a few days for his reply is dated 8 May 1769.

London Southampton  
Street May 8  
1769

Gentlemen

I cannot sufficiently express my acknowledgments for the honor you have done me in electing me a Burgess of Stratford upon Avon: A Town which will be ever distinguish'd & reverenc'd as the Birth-place of Shakespear.

There are many circumstances which have greatly added to the Obligation you have confer'd upon me. The Freedom of your Town given to me unanimously, sent to me in such an elegant, and [over leaf] *inestimable* Box, and deliver'd to me in so flattering a manner merit my warmest gratitude. It will be impossible for me ever to forget those, who have honor'd me so much, as to mention my unworthy name with that of their immortal Townsman.

I am

Gentlemen

Your most Oblig'd  
& Obedient humble  
Servant

D. Garrick

(Endorsed) To

The Mayor, Aldermen and  
Burgesses of the Town  
of Stratford upon Avon.

This letter is now on exhibition at the New Place Museum in Stratford, being in the possession of the Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace. Rather puzzlingly, this letter was described as the gift of John Lane, Esq. in the *Catalogue of the Shakespeare Library and Museum*, 1868, and not as from the Borough's archives.<sup>4</sup>

If Garrick had to wait seven months to receive his freedom, he almost certainly did not know that the idea of honouring him in this way had been brewing since

1767. There is a letter<sup>5</sup> to William Hunt, Town Clerk of Stratford-upon-Avon, from Francis Wheler, barrister-at-law and steward of the Court of Record of Stratford-upon-Avon, dated: Temple, 28 November 1767, in which he says:

I saw Sr Ch[arle]s Mordaunt this morning who is of the same opinion. And in order to flatter Mr. Garrick into some such Handsom present I have been thinking it would not be at all amiss if the Corporation were to propose to make Mr. Garrick an Honourary Burgess of Stratford and to present him therewith in a Box made of Shakespears Mulberry tree. . . .

Nearly a year elapsed before Minutes<sup>6</sup> of the Council Meeting of the Stratford Corporation held on 11 October 1768 record that David Garrick 'was Unanimously Elected an Honourary Burgess . . . in a Box to be made of the Mulberry Tree planted by Shakespears own hands'.

Francis Wheler, writing to the town clerk, William Hunt, from Coventry on 3 November 1768 says, 'I desire to have the Box &c. sent to Town as soon as finished that I may take them to Mr. Garrick.'<sup>7</sup> The presentation of this honour on behalf of the Stratford Corporation was apparently anxiously coveted by Francis Wheler, for in another letter from Francis Wheler to William Hunt from The Temple dated 29 November 1768 he writes, 'I have been in expectation of receiving Mr. Garricks Freedom. If the workman has finished the box I should be glad to receive it before I leave town and to deliver it to him.'<sup>8</sup> Mr. Wheler had to wait until the spring before the workman—alas, not here mentioned by name!—finished the carved wooden box. By then, Wheler was evidently no longer in London and the presentation was made 'by George Keat, Esq.'<sup>9</sup> It is stated that 'at the time of presenting Mr. Garrick with his freedom, a complimentary letter was sent by the Corporation to George Keat, Esq., for his trouble in attending Mr. Garrick, and desiring his acceptance of a neat writing standish, carved from the same mulberry wood'.

The *Public Advertiser*, of 11 May 1769, reporting the presentation to Garrick in great detail, offers an explanation for the honour and its particular timing in 1769 in its last paragraph:

We hear that, in consequence of the above, a Jubilee in Honour and to the Memory of Shakespeare will be appointed at Stratford the beginning of September next, which will be kept up every seventh year. Mr. Garrick, at the particular request of the Corporation and Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, has obligingly accepted the Stewardship. At the first Jubilee, a large handsome Edifice, lately erected in Stratford by subscription, will be named Shakespeare's Hall and dedicated to his Memory.

It would seem, therefore, that the plan agreed upon by Francis Wheler, Sir Charles Mordaunt, and William Hunt in November 1767 had been successfully brought to fruition.

The box or casket is an elaborate piece (Pl. XXXV (a)), resting on four small silver dragons with eyes of garnet and enamelled barbed tongues. The sides are



carved in high relief with an appropriate choice of subjects; on the front, in a park-land landscape, a nude figure (perhaps emblematic of Fame) is seated on the shield of Stratford-upon-Avon holding the bust of Shakespeare towards the three standing nude figures of the Graces who hold a laurel wreath. On the back (Pl. XXXV (b)) Garrick is depicted in the character of King Lear during the Storm scenes beside the blasted oak—even the forked lightning is carved with dramatic emphasis. On the left-hand side (Pl. XXXVI (a)) the emblematic putto figure of Tragedy, writing in a book with a quill pen, sits on a trophy of weapons, crowns and helmets, while on the other side (Pl. XXXVI (b)) the putto figure of Comedy holding the mask kneels on a trophy of bow and quiver, floral garland, shepherd's crook, &c. Each of the four scenes is framed by rococo scrolls incorporating a feminine or child-like head in very high relief. On the lid (Pl. XXXVI (c)) a silver handle of rococo design is surrounded by four trophies of a theatrical character.

The authorship of this elaborate box was not known in the Museum, though it has transpired that R. B. Wheler<sup>10</sup> in 1806 had stated that 'the ornaments on this box, of very exquisite workmanship were . . . all curiously carved, and highly finished by Mr. Davis, an eminent carver, of Birmingham'. Wheler gave no evidence to support this attribution and I could find only one confirmatory piece of evidence in the Birmingham trade directories. In the *Tradesman's True Guide and Universal Directory of 1770*, produced by Sketchley & Adams<sup>11</sup> under the heading of Newhall Street, there is this entry:

Davis and Griffin, Carvers and Gilders [no (street) number].

Through my colleague, Miss Patricia Butler of the Birmingham Museum, the Birmingham Reference Library staff notified me of the following interesting advertisement in the *Birmingham Gazette* of 4th September, 1769:

DAVIES and GRIFFIN, CARVERS in STONE and WOOD, at their Shops in Warwick and Birmingham, perform all Sorts of Monuments, Chimney-Pieces and all Branches of House-Furniture Ornaments, Ornamental Vases and Terms, in the Greek and Roman Taste, for Halls, Gardens, Walks etc. They think it improper to speak of their Abilities in Alto and Basso Relievo, as some Specimens may constantly be viewed at their Shops, and their Connexion with Mr. Winstanley, Stone-Mason, enables them to show a greater Assortment of foreign Marble, than any other shop in Birmingham—Ladies and Gentlemen shall be waited on with Drawings at the shortest Notice.

#### T. DAVIES TO THE PUBLIC

I beg an impartial Reading, and then I will submit to the Candour of the impartial Public, who are not to be swayed by Words, but Actions: I detest any Ways to hold a Cabal with Mr. E. Grubb; and am at least as great an Enemy to Traduction, notwithstanding his Advertisement, of last Monday: nor can I charge my Memory with ever having repeated any Thing to his Prejudice; but always allowed him a competent Share of Merit, and that some Things he has done were very well, though not to be called MASTERLY CARVING,



which is seldom acquired without much more than his Experience. Notwithstanding, having heard of the elder Grubb's taking some Liberty with my Name, I thought it better to pass it by with the Contempt Falsehood merits, especially, as I had Reason to think it might be *other Effects than rational Coolness*. Soon after, upon my meeting the younger Grubb, I informed him of the Reports of his Brother and requested he would prevail on him to cease from such Animosity, and invited him to come and see me, and be more friendly; but, notwithstanding a seeming Acquiescence, did neither. *On a recent Occasion, Mr. Nott,<sup>12</sup> of Stratford came to Birmingham, in order to enquire about the Box I then was Carving for the Corporation to be presented to Mr. Garrick, which was brought to Mr. Moore's, in Edgbaston-Street, where Mr. E. Grubb was, and who, with Mr. Nott's Consent, I asked into a back Room to see it, where we spent an Afternoon and Evening very sociably.* In the Presence of Mr. Nott, I intreated a more friendly Correspondence with Mr. Grubb, who seemed equally desirous to cultivate a Friendship on his Part but must leave to himself how much he was swerved from his then Professions.

It but ill becomes a Man to speak in Praise of his own Performance and Abilities. I am well satisfied with the great Preference given to those Things I have executed in the Town to any other Person's, which may be seen at several Gentlemen's Houses in Birmingham and the Country, as well as my Shops; and must acknowledge many of them would yet bear some Masterly Strokes. However, as Mr. Edward Grubb seems inclinable to try a Competition, an Opportunity now presents itself, without Injury to his Multiplication of Business, if he proves most successful, there being two figures to be done for the Door-Case of the Charity-School. Now I will do either (the Boy or the Girl) with him, 301. to 201.—The best Figure to be made a Present to the School and the other to be at the Disposal of the Winner; if he do not like to do either Figure, any Thing else that he is most used to—Stone or Wood.

T. DAVIES,

Wanted, an Apprentice

This advertisement contains the conclusive evidence that the Garrick box was carved by this Birmingham craftsman, T. Davies—wrongly spelt 'Davis' by K. B. Wheler and by the 1770 Directory.

An attempt to trace T. Davies's bill or a record of payment among the Chamberlain's Accounts, Stratford-upon-Avon Corporation, has been unsuccessful, though under the Account of Richard Stevens for 1769 there is the entry:

To Mr. Taylor in part for the Box . . . £30

The box referred to is probably the Garrick box, as there are several other Garrick items in this account. The amount is large but the wording suggests that it may include other expenses. 'Mr. Taylor' can be identified as Thomas Taylor, joiner (d. 1801), who contracted for the carpenter's work in the new town hall in 1767<sup>13</sup> and much other work for the corporation over many years. Elected to the council in 1784, he eventually was elected mayor in 1794. Many of Taylor's receipted accounts are preserved but not those for the Garrick box. Almost certainly Taylor would not have carved the Garrick box himself for there

is no record of his business ever producing work of this type. If Taylor commissioned the work elsewhere, as seems likely, he would quite naturally have turned to Birmingham.

An amusing sequel to this history is contained in the *Public Advertiser* of 8 July 1769; it reads:

#### A CARD

The Mulberry Box presents Compliments to the Standish of the same Materials, hoping they shall meet very soon at the London Tavern, and that an uninterrupted Friendship may thenceforward succeed to their late Separation, as they are appointed to Joint Shares in the same Office, viz. Grooms of the *Stool* to the Supporters of the *Bill of Rights*.

In this public notice, Garrick ('the Mulberry Box') is clearly addressing George Keats, Esq. ('the Standish of the same Materials'), who presented the freedom on behalf of the Stratford Corporation to Garrick and was rewarded with 'a neat writing standish carved from the same mulberry wood'. The year 1769 saw the vindication of John Wilkes (1727-97); on 10 November 1769 Wilkes's action against Lord Halifax, Secretary of State, long delayed, in the first instance by legal chicane, then by the effect of the outlawry, was brought to trial and resulted in a verdict for Wilkes with £4,000 damages. Wilkes left the court free from financial embarrassment due to the liberality of his sympathizers on both sides of the Atlantic, wisely directed by a committee of 'supporters of the Bill of Rights', over which John Home Tooke presided. In discharging Wilkes's various liabilities the committee disposed of awards of £17,000. There is a notice in the *Public Advertiser* of 7th June 1769 which reads:

Yesterday a meeting of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights was held at the London Tavern (Robert Jones Esq. in the Chair) . . . and the Society adjourned to the second Monday in October.

Evidently Garrick was actively involved in this movement in defence of Wilkes and individual liberty. Clearly, during the summer of 1769 the cause of John Wilkes was one of the dominant themes of London society for the *Public Advertiser* of 26 June 1769 reports that 'the cold collation given by Alderman Townshend at the London Tavern on Friday night last, was extremely elegant; near 600 Gentlemen attended; 532 of whom sat down to supper, 130 wax tapers were lighted up; many patriotic and constitutional toasts were drank but that most applauded was "Alderman Wilkes and the Laws of the Lord"'. Why Garrick should have chosen to draw attention to his rôle in this public movement in such an oblique manner remains a mystery.

HUGH TAIT

<sup>1</sup> K. A. Esdaile, *Roubiliac* (1928), p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. no. 1864, 8-16, 1. L. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$  in., H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. The register entry of 1864 records that 'many small portions of the carving are now wanting'.

<sup>3</sup> Preserved inside the wooden casket and part of Mr. Daniel's bequest. A copy of this letter is preserved among the Dyce collection of Garrick letters (no. 215), Victoria & Albert Museum.

<sup>4</sup> The writer is deeply grateful to Mr. Levi Fox, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L., Director, The Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace, for the transcript and information about this letter and also for other relevant extracts from the borough archives and records in the collections of the trust.

<sup>5</sup> Stratford Borough MSS. 38, f. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Council Book F, p. 524.

<sup>7</sup> S.B. MSS. 38, f. 7.

<sup>8</sup> S.B. MSS. 38, f. 9.

<sup>9</sup> R. B. Wheler, *History and Antiquities of Stratford-upon-Avon* (1806), p. 165.

<sup>10</sup> R. B. Wheler, op. cit., p. 165 footnote. I am extremely grateful to Mr. Levi Fox for bringing to my notice this vital reference, which enabled me to establish the authorship beyond dispute.

<sup>11</sup> Reprinted for William Downing by Robert Birbeck, 1886, p. 60.

<sup>12</sup> Presumably the Thomas Nott named as a Burgess on the Freedom of Stratford document quoted above.

<sup>13</sup> *V.C.H. Warwick*. iii. 227 n.

## THE R.F.A. RIESCO GIFT OF CHINESE PORCELAIN

### PART I

OF the five pieces of Chinese porcelain, included in this gift, pride of place must go to the famous pear-shaped bottle with a flaring mouth (a shape called by the Chinese *yü-hu-ch'ün p'ing*) which is decorated in underglaze red (*yu-li-hung*). This bottle, which has been so often published and illustrated,<sup>1</sup> was once one of the treasures of the Alfred Clark collection (Pl. XXXVII). It is painted with a broad band, containing a sketchy chrysanthemum spray, and above this three triangular panels containing scrollwork.

The origins of this (the underglaze red) technique [writes John Ayers] are if anything more mysterious than those of painting in cobalt blue, since no previous history of its use in Near Eastern pottery can be adduced. One might therefore be disposed to regard it as yet another of the Chinese potter's fruitful discoveries. But there is evidence to suggest that Korea may possibly have been the source of this technique, for among the celadon wares of the Koryu period are some red decorated pieces, which the Japanese regard as being at least as early as the 13th century.<sup>2</sup>

In fact the possibility that this technique was first used in Korea in the reign of king Ch'ung-yul-wong, who reigned in Korea after the Mongol invasion from 1275 to 1308, was touched upon by myself as early as 1953.<sup>3</sup> The question whether this technique dates back in China to the Sung period remains an open question. As Gray says, there is no doubt that its origin is closely connected with that of underglaze blue.

In both cases the design was painted on the body and covered with a colourless glaze and would have remained invisible until it was developed in the kiln. Great difficulty seemed to have

been experienced in controlling the pigments, and all the early pieces have more or less failed to develop as intended. By improved technique in purifying the pigment the potters learnt to perfect the underglaze blue technique, but they were not successful with the copper red and after the early 15th century it ceased to exist.<sup>4</sup>

This last statement is not strictly true; for both Chêng Tê (1506-21) dishes<sup>5</sup> and Wan Li (1573-1619) stem cups decorated in underglaze red exist, and the technique was, of course, fully developed again in the K'ang Hsi period (1662-1722).

'There are two main groups of (Chinese) underglaze red of the 14th century', writes John Addis. 'In the first the designs are spare, linear and simple' and among many examples of the type this particular bottle is cited. 'Specimens', he continues, 'have been excavated in East Africa, but no piece or fragment has yet been recorded as having been found in China. Possibly then, this ware may have been made principally or even solely for export, though where there are so few extant examples no such inference can be at all secure.'<sup>6</sup> The second group was the object of a recent paper by Addis entitled '*A Group of Underglaze Red*'.<sup>7</sup> He says of this second group that more than sixty examples are known. It includes bowls, dishes, cupstands, *yü-hu-ch'un*'s (of a much stouter appearance than the bottle under discussion), and ewers; while the first group is confined to a handful of pieces, of which the two chief shapes are the slender edition of the *yü-hu-chun* bottle form and the spouted pouring bowl.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that these two shapes are recorded among the hoard of silver pieces, excavated at Hofei in Anhui in a find that can be dated to about 1333.<sup>9</sup>

It is not at present possible [says Addis], to say which of these two groups is the earlier. The former has obvious affinities with *ying ch'ing*, such as the spare decoration in bands and the slender form of the *yü-hu-ch'un*. The decoration of the latter group is richer, more technically proficient and more aptly suited to the shapes; but perhaps this greater degree of sophistication does not necessarily imply a later date. They are both clearly Jao wares, in the sense suggested at the beginning of this note (that is to say they were both made in the region of Jao-chow in Kiangsi before the reorganisation of those kilns under the imperial patronage at the end of the 14th century and the establishment of Ching Teh Chên) and both seem to belong to the Yuan dynasty, but it does not seem possible to be more precise.<sup>10</sup>

This seems to be an over-cautious statement. For I would agree with Ayers that it is reasonable to assume that the break with the *ying ch'ing* (*ch'ing pai*) tradition, began first with the *shu fu* wares; and from this assumption we might not unreasonably proceed to the view that the somewhat tentative paintings in underglaze red and underglaze blue succeeded these. Now the group to which the Riesco bottle belongs are all unevenly potted, and have glazes of a deep green tint; in fact, as Addis admits, they have stronger affinities with the *ying ch'ing* porcelains of the Sung dynasty than the second group; which to my mind

is clearly in favour of an earlier date. Whatever the date of the second group,<sup>11</sup> the first group to which our vase belongs can be dated with security at least as early as the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Hobson in his catalogue of the Clark collection attributed this vase to the Sung dynasty. The shape of the slender *yü-hu-chu'n*, it might be mentioned in passing, bears a close resemblance to many of the Honan *temmoku* vases, which have been dated in the past to the Sung period.<sup>13</sup> Whether the underglaze-red technique preceded the underglaze-blue technique in the Jao wares has yet to be debated.

In the exhibition devoted to *The Arts of the Mongol period* held in the British Museum during the summer and autumn of 1955, the Riesco bottle was shown side-by-side with a fragmentary bottle of identical design found at Gedi on the east coast of Africa in the course of excavations conducted by the Trustees of the National Park of Kenya.<sup>14</sup> Gray in his article *Art under the Mongol dynasties of China and Persia*, reproduces these bottles side-by-side on the same plate. Of the Riesco bottle he writes, 'This was seen to resemble the Gedi piece closely, though again it was smaller. In both cases (also in the blue-and-white bottle of the same shape mentioned above<sup>15</sup>) the neck clearly shows inside the luting by which it was attached to the body in biscuit.'<sup>16</sup> This is even more evident in a fragment of a neck of a third underglaze-red bottle of the same design in the Zanzibar Museum; which as far as I know is still unpublished. Only two other complete bottles decorated in the same style as the Riesco bottle are at present known. One of these is in Japan,<sup>17</sup> and the other, which as far as I remember is damaged, and unpublished, is in the Musée Guimet. This makes a small group of three bottles and two fragments of bottles in all.<sup>18</sup>

There is, however, a sub-group of these *yü-hu-ch'un* vases, decorated in designs reserved against a band of underglaze red, represented in this country by the David Foundation bottle,<sup>19</sup> which is decorated with an incised design of a peony spray against a red ground. There is another and smaller bottle decorated in the same reserve technique with a phoenix in Japan,<sup>20</sup> and Addis mentions the existence of two more in the Peking Museum. One of these is about the same size as the David Foundation bottle, and the other about the same size as the Japanese example. 'The larger is decorated with a broad band of incised flower scroll, two flowers, possibly lotus. . . . There is also a crude band of red glaze within the mouth. The smaller Peking *yü-hu-ch'un* has an incised design of two hares among *ling chih* reserved against a background of red glaze . . . a band of red glaze within the mouth has run down in a broad pendant drip.'<sup>21</sup> All these four *yü-hu-ch'un* are of the same slender form with a tapering neck, and carry the same greenish glaze as the family to which the Riesco vase belongs, although the technique of decoration is slightly different. They must be of the same date and provenance. The Peking authorities date this group to the Sung period.

The second most interesting piece in the Riesco gift is a stem cup which can



also be dated to the Yüan period (1280–1368) (Pl. XXXVIII). This piece is decorated outside in dark brown with a primitive plum spray and clouds, and inside with a flower spray, surrounded by chrysanthemum scroll in white slip in slight relief. It is more globular in form than the well-known Yüan stem cups, decorated on the outside with dragons in underglaze blue and slip dragons within;<sup>22</sup> to which it must be related, although the stem is shorter, and not ridged horizontally, and the glaze not strictly of the *ying ch'ing* type. This stem cup was included, I think mistakenly, by Garner in his book on *Oriental Blue and White* as decorated in failed underglaze blue, 'with a very simple design in blackish blue outside, and in the centre of the bowl is what seems to be an attempt at painting in cobalt blue that has gone wrong in the firing'.<sup>23</sup> But in my opinion Gray is correct in describing this piece as decorated in underglaze red which has failed, rather than underglaze blue,<sup>24</sup> and it should not properly have been included, in my opinion, in the Oriental Ceramic Society Exhibition of *Chinese Blue and White*.<sup>25</sup> But I entirely agree with Garner when he writes 'the contrast between the elementary painted decoration and the slip decoration inside, which has great refinement, suggests that this may be one of the earliest experiments in blue and white, applied to a well-established *shu fu* tradition', except that I should substitute the underglaze red for underglaze blue. There is I think little doubt that this stem cup belongs, at the very latest, to the first half of the fourteenth century,<sup>26</sup> but since it is unique, it is difficult to establish its exact position by comparison. It is, as far as I know, the only example known of underglaze-red decoration combined with slip decoration. It may also be the only surviving example of the primitive ancestors of those sophisticated imperial fifteenth-century stem cups decorated with fruit and fish forms in underglaze red, for which the reigns of Hsüan Tê (1426–35) and Ch'eng Hua (1465–87) were justly famous.

SOAME JENYNS

<sup>1</sup> (a) *International Exhibition of Chinese Art*, Royal Academy, (London, 1936), Cat. no. 1444.

(b) *Exhibition of Chinese Art*, Venice, 1954, Cat. no. 596. (c) Exhibition at the British Museum, 'Art under the Mongol Dynasties of China and Persia', June/Oct. 1955. See also Basil Gray, *Oriental Art*, n.s., vol. 1, 1955, pl. 5.

<sup>2</sup> John Ayers, 'Some Characteristic Wares of the Yüan Dynasty', *O.C.S. Trans.*, vol. xxix. 54/55, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Soame Jenyns, *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, (London, 1953), p. 27, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Basil Gray, 'Art under the Mongol Dynasties of China and Persia', *Oriental Art*, n.s., vol. i, 1955, p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> Soame Jenyns, 'A Visit to Peikou, Taiwan to

see Early Ming Porcelain from the Palace Collections', *O.C.S. Trans.*, vol. xxxi. 57/59, pl. 15b, and p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Addis, 'The Use of Copper Red on Jao Wares', *Oriental Art*, Winter, 1960, vol. vi. 4, n.s., p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> J. M. Addis, 'A Group of Underglaze Red', *O.C.S. Trans.*, vol. xxxi. 57/59.

<sup>8</sup> Illustrated Ayers, figs. 29–32.

<sup>9</sup> *Wen Wu T'i'un K'ao Tzu Liao*, vol. ii, 1955, and reproduced in part in the Archives of the *Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. xi, 1957.

<sup>10</sup> J. M. Addis, *Oriental Art*, p. 152.

<sup>11</sup> See *O.C.S. Trans.*, vol. xxxi. 57/59, in which Addis dates them to the Yüan period. They were also the subject of discussion by J. A. Pope, who

in *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, 1958, pp. 78/79, dated them tentatively to the reign of Hung Wu (1368-98). This problem is also discussed by Gray in vol. xxiii, no. 3 of the *British Museum Quarterly*.

<sup>12</sup> It was dated in this way in the Catalogue of the *Venice Exhibition* in 1954.

<sup>13</sup> See *Venice Exhibition*, Cat. no. 507 and the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art*, Royal Academy, 1935/6, Cat. no. 1157.

<sup>14</sup> See J. Kirkman, *The Arab City of Gedi: Excavations at the Great Mosque: Architecture and Finds*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 4, 13, and 129.

<sup>15</sup> The reference is to the blue and white *yü-hu-ch'un* decorated with chrysanthemums in underglaze blue; given to the British Museum by C. T. Loo and said to have come from a Sung grave. Illustrated Jenyns, *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, pl. 4a.

<sup>16</sup> B. Gray, 'Art under the Mongol Dynasties of China and Persia', *Oriental Art*, vol. 4, p. 164.

<sup>17</sup> *Sekai Toji Zenshu*, vol. xi, colour plate 5 and *Exhibition of Yüan and Ming Ceramics*, Tokyo, April/May 1956. Japanese Ceramic Society, Cat. No. 69.

<sup>18</sup> Since this was written I have found another cut-down bottle of this family in the reserve collection of the Leiden Museum.

<sup>19</sup> John Ayers, *O.C.S. Trans.*, op. cit., fig. 27.

<sup>20</sup> *Exhibition of Yüan and Ming Ceramics*. Japanese Ceramic Society, Cat. no. 71.

<sup>21</sup> Addis, *Oriental Art*, p. 151. They are exhibited as Sung.

<sup>22</sup> See Jenyns, *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, pl. 3c (iii).

<sup>23</sup> Sir Harry Garner, *Oriental Blue and White*, London, 1954, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Basil Gray, 'Art under the Mongol Dynasties of China and Persia', *Oriental Art*, p. 164.

<sup>25</sup> *Loan Exhibition of Chinese Blue and White*, fourteenth to nineteenth centuries, Oriental Ceramic Society at Arts Council Gallery. 1953/4, Cat. no. 8.

<sup>26</sup> See Garner's *Oriental Blue and White* and the Catalogue of the *Loan Exhibition of Chinese Blue and White* by the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1953/4.

## CHINESE PAINTINGS OF THE SUNG (960-1279) AND YÜAN (1280-1368) DYNASTIES

AN EXHIBITION IN THE GALLERY OF  
ORIENTAL ART  
MAY-OCTOBER 1961

FOR many years the British Museum has shown in this gallery a painting on darkened silk of *Two White Geese resting on the Shore*, which carries an old attribution to the Northern Sung painter Chao Ch'ang (early eleventh century). Now hung beside it is the picture of *Two Gibbons playing in a Loquat Tree*, signed by I Yüan-chi (d. 1067), which has recently been purchased from the fund established by the late P. T. Brooke Sewell (Pl. XXXIX).<sup>1</sup> The 'Two Geese' may be the remains of a Northern Sung painting, but the attribution to Chao Ch'ang cannot be taken very seriously: he is best known as a flower painter but also painted pictures of birds, and was particularly admired for his use of colour. I Yüan-chi on the other hand is said to have abandoned flower painting when he saw Chao Ch'ang's superiority in this field, and to have specialized thereafter in the painting of deer and gibbons. This story was recorded within ten years of his death, and at least testifies to his activity as a painter of monkeys and deer, whose habits he studied in their wild haunts in the Wan-shou mountains, in his



native province of Hunan. When to his great delight, he was summoned to the Sung court at K'ai-fêng in 1064, he first painted pigeons and peacocks on a silk screen in the Imperial Audience Chamber, and deer on a small screen in another room. He was then ordered to paint 'A hundred Apes' in one of the palace halls, but died in 1067 before he had done more than a small part.

The present picture is painted in the 'boneless' style, i.e. without drawn outline, in natural colouring, which, although sunk into the silk, is remarkably well preserved. While sharing the intimacy and naturalism of animal and bird painting at this time, the execution is direct and objective without sentimentality. The tree has more plastic form and less surface interest than is usual in Sung Academy painting, and it should be remembered that the artist was more of a professional than an Academy painter. The picture bears seals of the Sung emperors Hui Tsung (1100-26) and Kao Tsung (1127-62). The Catalogue of the Imperial collection of Hui Tsung includes 245 paintings by I Yüan-chi whose authenticity he accepted, but only two remain in the Palace collection, now in Formosa, which are accepted as originals by the artist.

Sung figure painting is represented by four incomplete hand-scrolls on silk, three of which carry old attributions of different weight to some famous masters. But perhaps the oldest is the *Lady of the court Feng protecting the Emperor Yuan-ti* (reigned 48-33 B.C.) *from a Bear*, a subject already treated in the famous scroll attributed to Ku Kai-chih (A.D. 344-406), which is the greatest treasure in the Department. In vigour of composition and brilliancy of colour this is still near to the T'ang style and it can hardly be later than the eleventh century, and in a tradition associated with the name of Chao Yen (A.D. 907-22), a leading figure painter of the Five Dynasties period.

The painting now entitled *Women and children on a garden terrace*, but formerly called *Babies at play*, is also attributed to a tenth-century master, Chou Wên-chü and by no less a hand than the thirteenth-century painter Ch'ien Hsüan. There is unfortunately a good deal of repainting on this scroll, but it is still possible to sense the distinction of the original work, and enjoy the harmonious spacing of the figures.

Only slightly less impressive is the note by a Ming official and painter of the fifteenth century, Wu P'ao-an attached to the scroll entitled *The Three Births of Yüan-tsê*, recording that it had belonged to the great Yüan master Chao Mêng-fu and that he had attributed it to Liu Sung-nien (c. 1170-1230), an Imperial Academy painter who worked first at K'ai-fêng at the court of Hui Tsung, and then at the new capital of the Southern Sung at Hangchow. The subject is the recognition by Li Yüan of the reincarnate soul of his friend Yüan-tsê in a thirteen-year-old herd boy riding a buffalo, just as he had predicted immediately before his death. The painting is executed with great care for detail, in the hide of the buffalo and the bark of the trees for instance, which show the

influence of Li T'ang whose style Liu followed; and this may indeed be regarded as in the best tradition of consummate genre painting, reticent but explicit.

The fourth hand-scroll is once more a part only, and what survives is badly damaged; but it may date from the twelfth century and preserve the composition of an older painting, perhaps by the ninth-century master whose name it bears, Chao Kung-yu, a painter of Buddhist subject on wall and silk. The subject is *Demons trying to recover the glass begging bowl in which the Buddha has imprisoned the son Pingala of the demon-mother Mara*, in order to force her to cease devouring the children of men. It preserves the fine line and rich colouring of T'ang, but the actual handling and landscape cannot be earlier than late Sung.

The atmospheric landscape painting in ink washes with touches of light colour, of the Southern Sung period (1126-1280) has always been much admired in Japan, whereas in China these painters have been despised by the intellectual critics especially since the time of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and rejected because of their professionalism and supposed lack of spiritual depth. This school which represented Sung landscape painting in the West also in the first quarter of this century, is represented in the exhibition by three hanging scrolls, all in the past from Japanese collections and still mounted in Japanese brocade mounts. None is signed but one bears the seal of Ma K'uei and the others have old attributions to Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei, which at least indicate their standing in the eyes of Japanese connoisseurs.

A different tradition is represented by the large painting on silk in light colours of *A Lake Shore in Winter*. It actually bears a 'signature' in the tree trunk of the Five Dynasties painter Huang Ch'üan (first half of tenth century), and it is, indeed, in the tradition transmitted from Kuo Hsi through the Northern Sung painter Ts'ui Po (eleventh century) to later times. Whatever its actual date it is a fine example of the naturalism of the Imperial Academy's tradition. On a smaller scale this is admirably shown in the often reproduced *Bird on the Bough*, an album leaf which is surely an original painting by a painter of the Academy in the circle of the Emperor Hui Tsung himself. His easily recognizable calligraphic sign is found on countless paintings which have more or less claim to reproduce his style. An attractive hand-scroll on silk of *Birds in a fruiting Li-chi tree* is shown on one of the long slopes. As has been remarked by Mr. James Cahill in his recent book,<sup>2</sup> the bird and flower paintings associated most clearly with Hui Tsung are all presented on a single plane without recession, a characteristic of the present picture also. Although Ch'ien Hsüan is reckoned a Yüan painter because he survived until 1300, he worked within the limits of the Sung Academy style, as may be seen in the intensely realized *Young noble with a bow*. The true expressionism of the Sung literati is hardly represented in the collection. The nearest that we get to it is in the Tiger painting, in the back-ground of which is a waterfall and wind-blown bamboo, which carries

a traditional Japanese attribution to Mu Ch'i (c. 1210-70) the late Sung Ch'an painter whose work is preserved in the Zen Buddhist temples of Japan. Although in rather poor condition this picture retains some of the mysterious power of these ink pictures by Mu Ch'i. In the same tradition, but certainly not earlier than the fourteenth century, and perhaps only of the fifteenth, is the picture of *Drunken Taoist hermits in a storm*, which was bequeathed to the national collection by the painter Wilson Steer. It recalls some Yüan Ch'an Buddhist paintings in Japan but unlike these is partly in colour.

Three of the Four Great Masters of Yüan are represented in the exhibition, though perhaps not all by originals. The long hanging picture signed by Huang Kung-Wang and dated 1343 was exhibited for the first time in 1959 after its acquisition in 1957, and so attention need not be drawn to its outstanding importance as an example of the carefully built-up landscapes which are known to characterize Huang's style, which was so much admired and imitated by later masters. The landscape by Ni Tsan (1301-74) and the bamboo shoot by Wu Chên (1280-1354) can hardly be considered originals, but give a good idea of the styles of these artists who made in the Yüan dynasty a fresh starting-point in Chinese painting. Two Yüan painters whose work was directly inspired by Northern Sung masters are Shêng Mou (fl. 1310-60) and Kao K'o-Kung. The former generally used colours on silk to build up a classic mountain composition with closely rendered trees in the foreground. It is easy to see why the pair of paintings entitled *Reading in the Woods* although carrying no inscription was long ago attributed to him in Japan. These paintings, which perhaps originally formed a single composition, have been in the Museum collection since 1881. On the other hand, the *Snow Landscape*, which bears Shêng Mou's signature and the seals of Emperor Ch'ien Lung is in a more impressionistic manner and the handling of the foreground does not seem to be in the artist's usual style. Kao-K'o-kung (1248-1310) has a less clearly defined style, but is generally considered to have worked with wet and splashy brush, rather in the manner of Mi Fei, and it is for this reason that the beautiful ink painting *Sage crossing a bridge in the mountains* is associated with his name, although previously attributed to Hsü Tao-ning, an eleventh-century master. In any case these paintings show the continuation of the Sung tradition during the Yüan dynasty alongside the new developments heralded by the Four Great Masters.

BASIL GRAY

<sup>1</sup> Additional Chinese painting, 313.

<sup>2</sup> Treasures of Asia: Chinese Painting, by James Cahill. Geneva, 1960.

## REBINDING THE KLENCKE ATLAS

THE Klencke Atlas has recently undergone repair and reconstruction in the Stationery Office Bindery of the Museum. The colossal size of this volume presented unusual technical problems in the experience of the craftsmen and women concerned, and justifies some record of the method of binding which was adopted.

The atlas was put together by a group of Dutch Merchants headed by John Klencke for presentation to King Charles II on his Restoration. It contains 37 engraved wall maps (in 39 sheets) by Blaeu Hondius and other Amsterdam map publishers. The sheets measure (when open) up to five feet square and are folded into a binding 5 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  3 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. The Klencke Atlas remained in the Royal Library until 1828 when it passed to the British Museum with King George III's topographical collection; it is now preserved in the Map Room.

The only known atlas of comparable dimensions is the slightly smaller one (169  $\times$  105 cm.) prepared for Prince Johan Maurits of the Netherlands, also about 1661, and now in the Öffentliche Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

It was a wise decision to rebind the atlas, for the old binding was falling apart and the guards were proving of insufficient strength to withstand the strain of opening. Before any new work could commence, many problems had to be resolved and a clear policy laid down on the binding procedure to be followed. Consideration of each operation was governed by the fact that the book was of unusually large size and weight, handling difficulties would therefore naturally arise, and specially constructed equipment would have to be devised. The first operation was to inspect, clean, mend, and strengthen the maps where necessary; this was followed by making up guards, using an all-rag loan paper lined with linen. To remove any possible strain when opening the maps, these guards were made twice the size of the previous guards. The maps with their attendant guards were then assembled. A sail cord of the desired strength and thickness was purchased and a specially long low sewing frame, 1 ft. high by 7 ft. long, was constructed. Hemp cords were then positioned; lengths of the stoutest thread some twenty feet long were necessary in order to prevent a knot at too frequent intervals. As each section was sewn all along, this demanded much pulling through of thread, and each section required constant knocking down.

End-papers were then made with cartridge lined with union and faced both sides with an antique marble paper specially purchased for the work. These end-papers were then sewn into position on the book, which was glued up, rounded and backed; to do this, two large planks and four carpenter's clamps were arranged as an improvised backing press. Boards of the correct size were obtained with the help of the Museum carpenter. These were blockboard, which was considered to have the necessary strength with a minimum of weight. The

edges of the board were bevelled at head, tail, and fore-edge, and then channelled and drilled to receive the frayed-out cords, which were pegged into position. It was now necessary to make the double head-bands, with cord which was specially made and covered with calf leather. To enable the sewer to sew the double head-band into position, a device was used for holding the book between two benches while resting at an angle on a third; the actual sewer having to stand on the bench to execute the work. The back of the book was then lined with three thicknesses of scrim, two all over and a third piece between each band. The fore-edges of the boards were thickened to facilitate the use of the original brass clasps as these governed the thickness of the book when finished. Meanwhile, an order had gone to the tanners for an extra large skin of leather measuring some 10 ft. in length, and the search was on. Previously the book had been rebaked in two skins, but this was considered a practice to be avoided if possible. The leather merchants did not fail; but only after searching the entire country could they produce a skin measuring some 46 sq. ft. and of the required length.

The leather was cut to size and shape for the spine, leaving the full flesh of the leather wherever possible. After pasting the leather, the book was placed on its fore-edge on the floor. Two men were necessary to hold it in position, while a third laid the leather, turned it in and made it secure. The boards were then closed and the bands set. Now all was ready to prepare a template for the original sides which it had been decided would be restored. This was intricate work as these sides varied in thickness and shape, and had undulating edges. The edges of the boards were lined with part of the same new hide as used for the spine; this was cut away to allow the accurate placing of the original goatskin sides into position.

The question of gold finishing now arose, and Mr. Nixon, Deputy Keeper of Printed Books, selected a design for the spine; the sides were finished and tooled in real gold in continuation of the original design and workmanship.

The lettering piece from the previous binding (presumably a copy of the original) was retained and replaced in the position it occupied, half way down the spine. It records the names of the original Dutch binders as follows:

KEES DIRCKZ  
ET FILIVS D.K.  
COMPEGERVNT  
ANNO 1660.

In order to tone down the brilliance of the new gold finishing, a brown diluted paint was carefully brushed over the new tooling. A new brass tool had to be engraved exactly to match the original design. It was now possible to fit the original heavy brass clasps, and as some of the original brass pins holding the

clasps on the book were no longer usable, new brass pins fashioned from brass rod were produced in the same design. The clasps were then rivetted into position. The size and weight of the atlas made it necessary to fit castors as had been done previously. For ease of movement, these were held in position by wooden shoes. It was decided to use the old castors and shoes because, although more modern Shepherd castors were available, these would run too easily and allow the book to slip away from the user and so do irreparable damage.

The staff who were engaged on the work are to be congratulated on their success in tackling a task which called for every kind of ingenuity and improvisation. Thanks are due to various friends of the Museum staff for supplying information on the atlas for help, guidance, and materials where needed; also to the Wigmore Bindery for loaning a tool. It is hoped that the present binding is of sufficient strength and character to enable the book to be used for many years to come without further rebinding.

WALLACE POINTER

## OUTSTANDING ACQUISITIONS RECEIVED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS 1961

### APRIL

1. PIUS II [Aeneas Sylvius]: *De remedio amoris*, with *Somnium fortunae* [Henricus Mayer: Toulouse, c. 1488].

Only one other copy, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, seems to be known. This copy contains the bookplate of the donor.

*Presented by Dr. Victor Scholderer*

2. 134 copies of the Eikon Basilike and related books.

This gift comprises everything from the Madan collection of the Eikon Basilike, which was begun by the late Falconer Madan, which can usefully supplement the Museum's holdings. The only duplicates are some examples in contemporary bindings. There are 106 separate editions, issues, or variants of the Eikon Basilike or of the Works of King Charles I and their acquisition means that the Museum now possesses every recorded edition or issue printed in England and lacks only one contemporary English edition

printed in Holland, three Dutch editions, and one Danish edition. The most notable of the books are the first issue of the first edition, with Royston's name in the imprint, and a copy of the finest contemporary edition, the third printed at Rouen by Jean Berthelin in 1649, with the errata corrected in the hand of the translator, Jean Baptiste Porée.

The remaining 28 books include extracts from the Eikon, imitations of it, and books concerned with the controversy over its authorship, to the solution of which Mr. Madan has contributed a very plausible suggestion.

*Presented by Mr. F. F. Madan*

### OCTOBER

3. *The Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Blasing of Arms*, printed by The Schoolmaster Printer at Saint Albans, 1486.

An imperfect copy which contains manuscript notes and corrections showing that it



was prepared for press in the printing of the edition printed by Wynkyn De Worde in 1496. This is the only known example of an English fifteenth-century book used for such a purpose.

Marginal figures in manuscript throughout the volume indicate the beginning of the equivalent pages in De Worde's quires. The section on The Blasing of Arms has been heavily corrected to modernize or bring into accord with London practice the spelling of the Saint Albans edition.

*Purchased*

4. Chinese terrestrial globe made in Peking in 1623 by the Jesuit Fathers Manuel Dias and Nicolo Longobardi.

This is the earliest surviving example of a Chinese globe. The cartography incorporates many improvements based on European maps and on knowledge of recent geographical discoveries, especially those in the region of the Far East. The globe measures approximately 23" in diameter and is painted in lacquer on wood. The stand is not original.

*Presented by Sir Percival and Lady David*





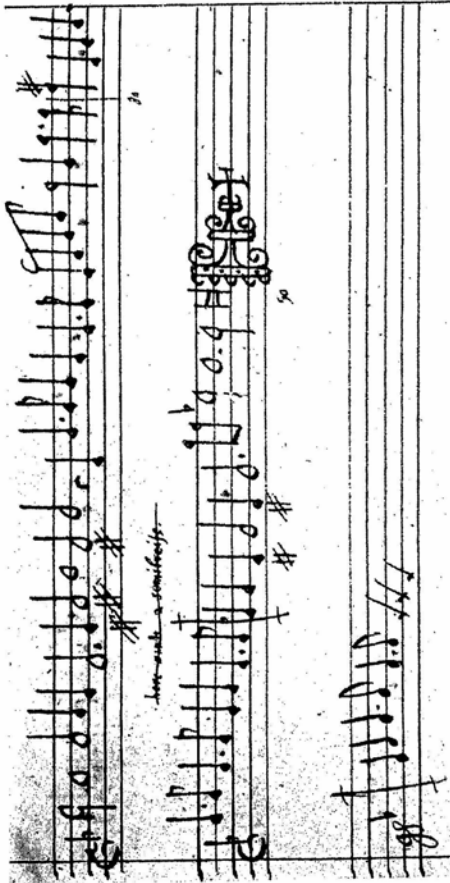
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*Deo*  
*Deo*  
Iste hinc est de gradibus  
tunc deo fit unipidit  
deus qui.

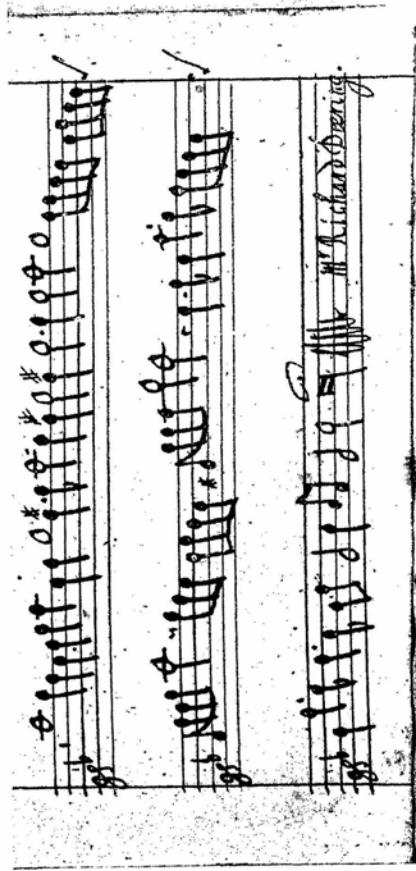
first visit a 6-yr old boy  
very noisy.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 तस्यै नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Φα<sup>α</sup>  
Φα<sup>α</sup> Φα<sup>α</sup>  
○



(a)



(b)

XXIII. DR. MATTHEW HUTTON

(a) Correction and Annotation (Add. MS. 17792, f. 102). (b) Copy of a Fancy (Add. MS. 17795, f. 170). (c) Letter to Dr. John Covel (Add. MS. 22910, f. 494)

Aynho near  
Banbury  
14. 7. 99.

The little I had of your good company has made me uneasy because I could have no more of it, but if it ever be my good fortune to come that way again I shall not deny my self the pleasure of troubling you longer with mine. In my return home I called upon Mr Ford at Buckingham, & have given him a song of Charlemin's to pick out for you. I have also according to my promise not you have a Catalogue of the Chaucers of the Church of York, as I have as I could make one; I have a great deal concerning most of the persons mentioned therein with some other particulars they have had in Church & State, but I send you only the names & dates. I have collected a Catalogue in the same manner of many Cathedral & Monasteries out of Registers & cartularies, & reduced them into Columns, where you may see all the Contemporaries at one view: if I had time & money to spare, I would not grudge my pains in endeavouring an entire account of all the Frebendars in several Cathedrals, but I have no relation to any Church besides Aynho, where the cure is the same. will not allow me to be so unpropitiously imposed. At spare times, when my pen brings me to hand as to a Cathedral use to throw away some idle hours upon old MSS. & make some slight collections: but a few such as yours would enlarge the learned world. God bless you, that you may be as great as any of your generation is, the nearly wish of

Your obliged humble servant

Math. Hutton.

(c)

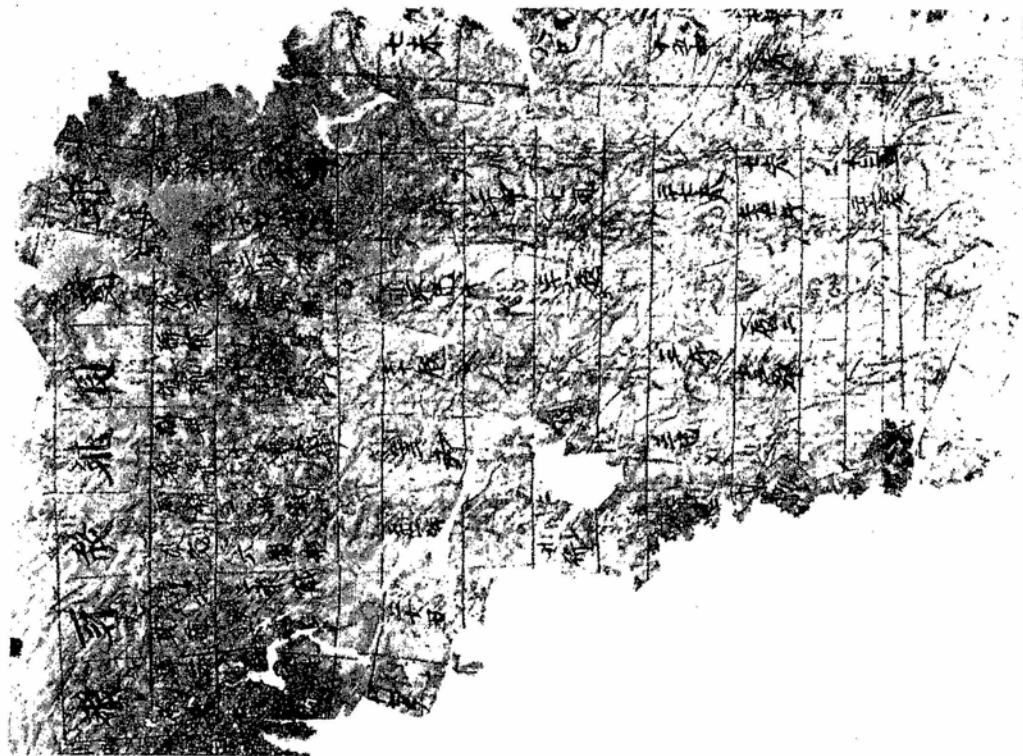
TRIPOLI DI SORIA



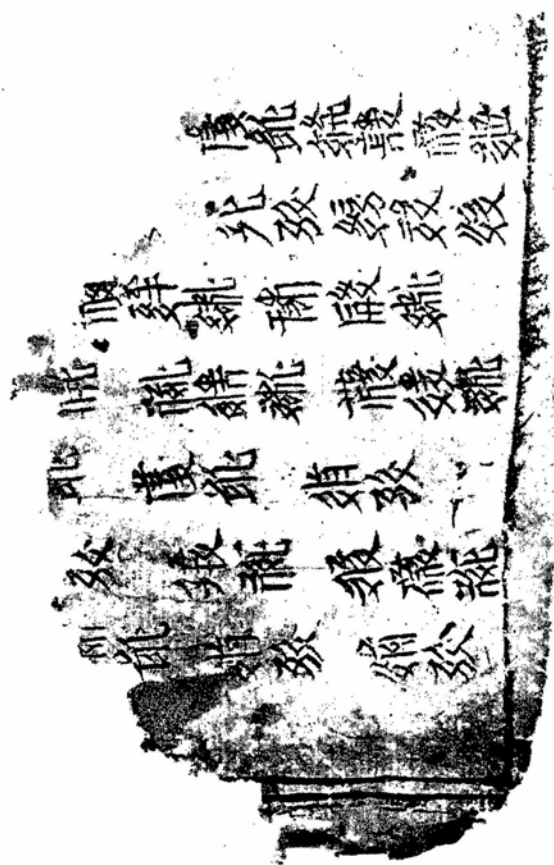
XXIV. VIEW OF TRIPOLI IN SYRIA, c. 1600 (Add. MS. 50506, f. 4)







(b)



(a)

XXVI

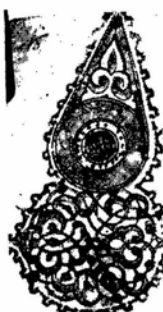
(a) Fragment containing Tangut place-names, probably from the Code of Laws  
(b) Sino-Tangut calendrical text, showing the sixth to the twelfth month



**Յ** արդարեայ իրարախառնելի Ի. Եւ. Լի. Ը՝ ամբի  
 Ի Թիմու. Թե համաւեցւոյ օգուտաւն. կայսեր  
 Լի. ամեն. Լաւ դարձաւ. հայր և ան. Եւ. Լի. Ը՝  
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 رَبُّكَ يَعْلَمُ كَمَا تَدْعُوهُمْ  
 بِأَسْمَاءِ الْغَيْبِ لَا يَمْلِكُ لَكَ  
 بِرَبِّكَ اسْمٌ إِلَّا شَاءَ  
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 كَسَمَّ يَتْلُو آيَاتِ  
 الْكِتَابِ الْمُنِيرِ  
 تَلُوا عَلَيْكَ مِنْ قَبْلُ

 نَزَعَ فَرُجَتِمْ بِأَلَمِ  
 إِنَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ  
 وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ الْفَلَكُ  
 وَالنَّجْمُ وَالشَّمْسُ  
 وَالْقَمَرُ لَا تَسْجُدُوا  
 لِلشَّمْسِ وَلَا لِلْقَمَرِ

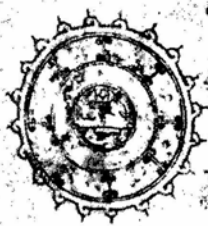


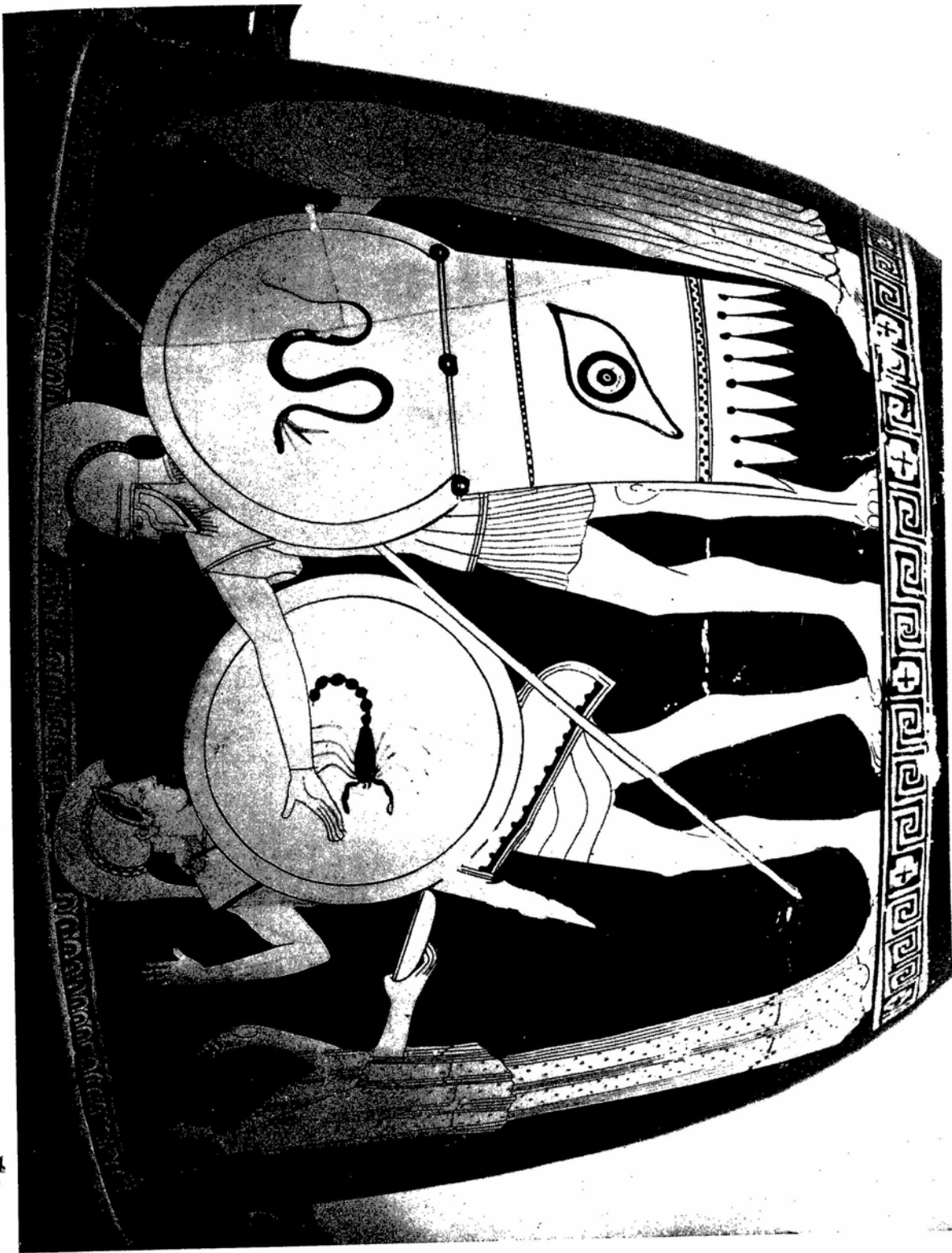
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدانا لهذا وَكُنَّا لَهُ ناكِبِينَ

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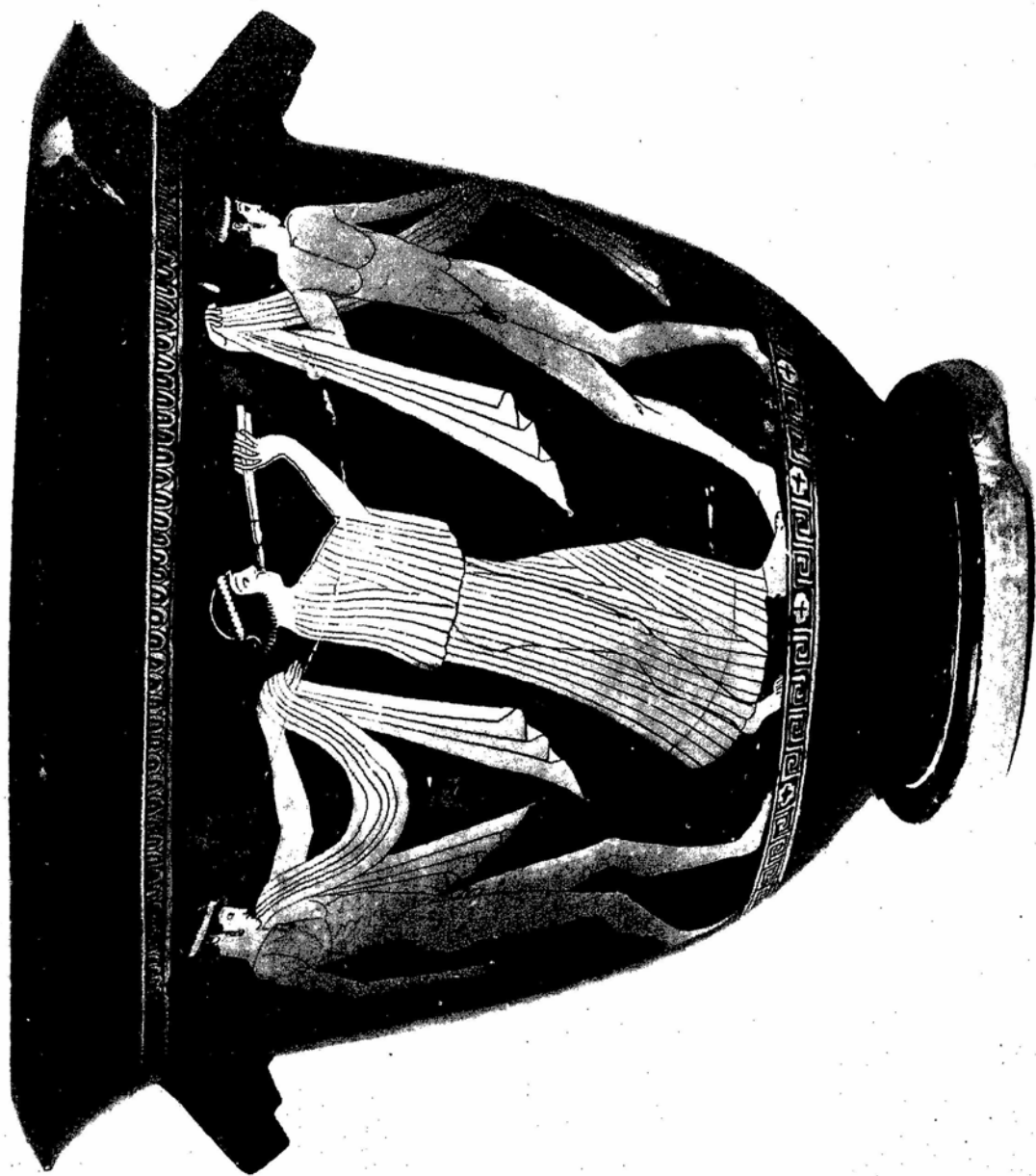




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XXXIII. A VASE BY THE ALTAMURA PAINTER; Obverse

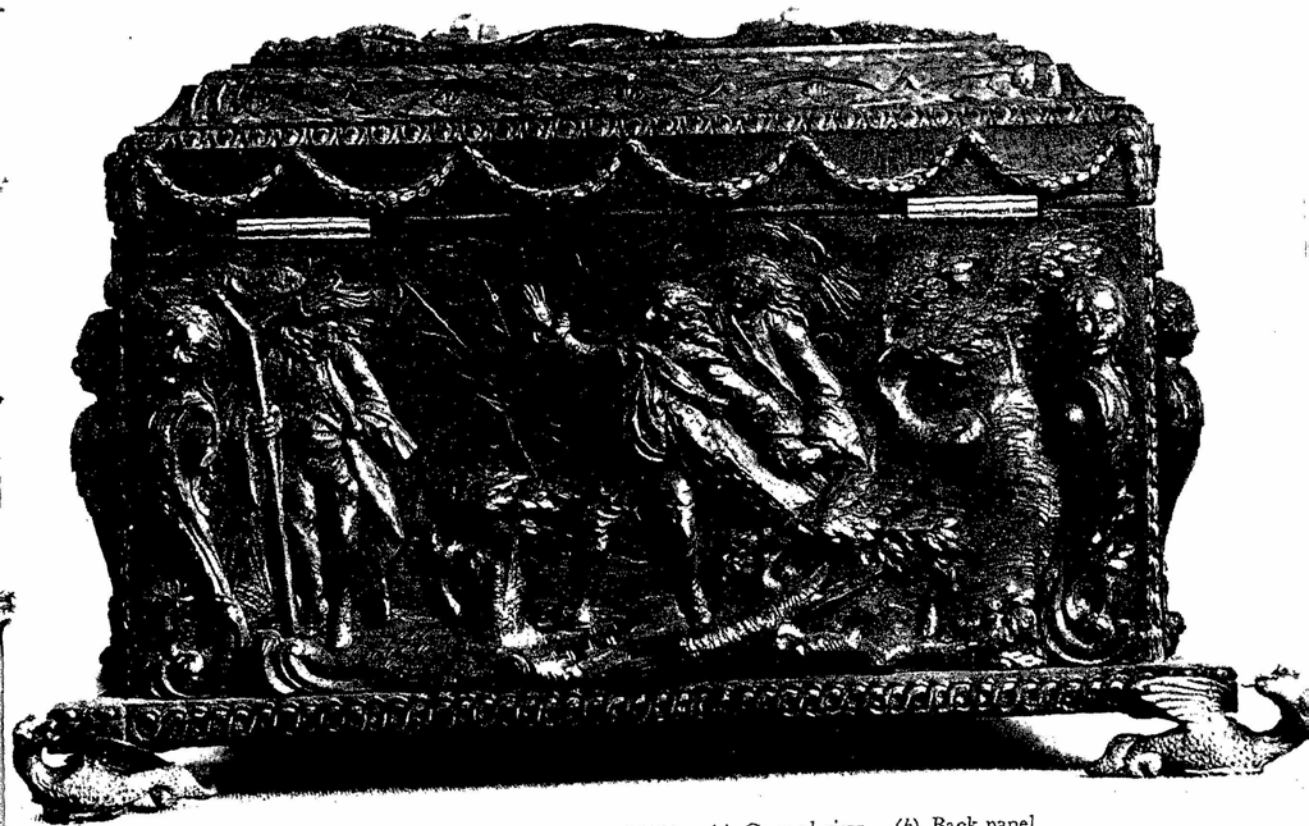


XXXIV. A VASE BY THE ALTAMURA PAINTER; Reverse





(a)



(b)

XXXV. GARRICK'S CASKET. (a) General view. (b) Back panel



(a)



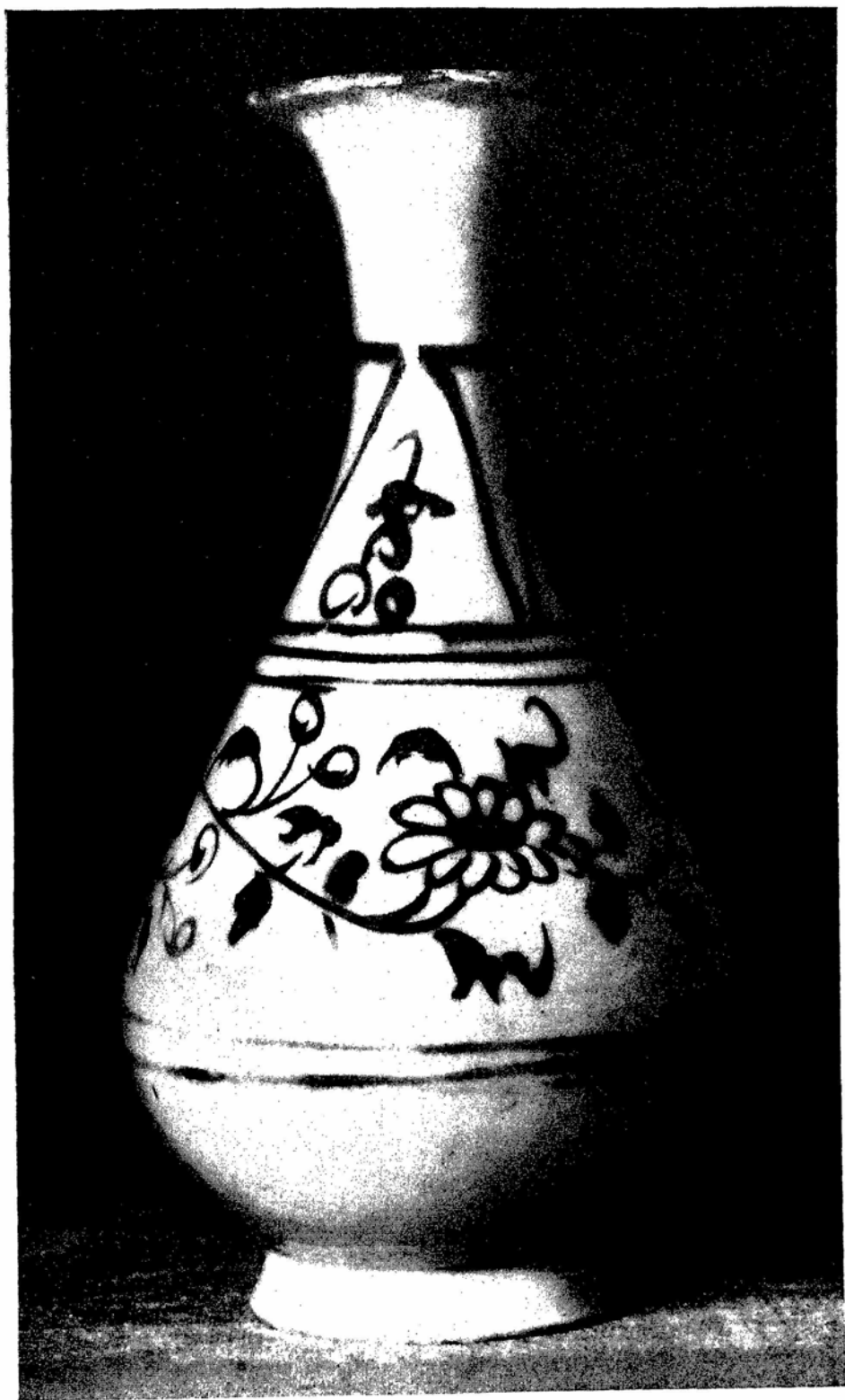
(b)



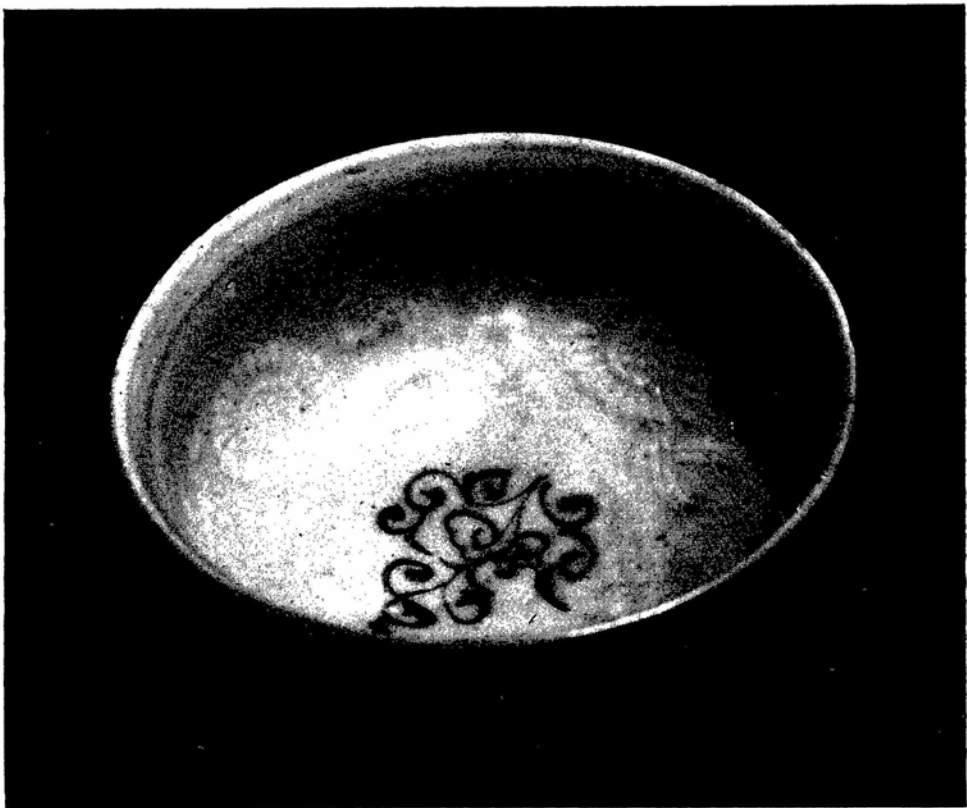
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XXXVI. GARRICK'S CASKET

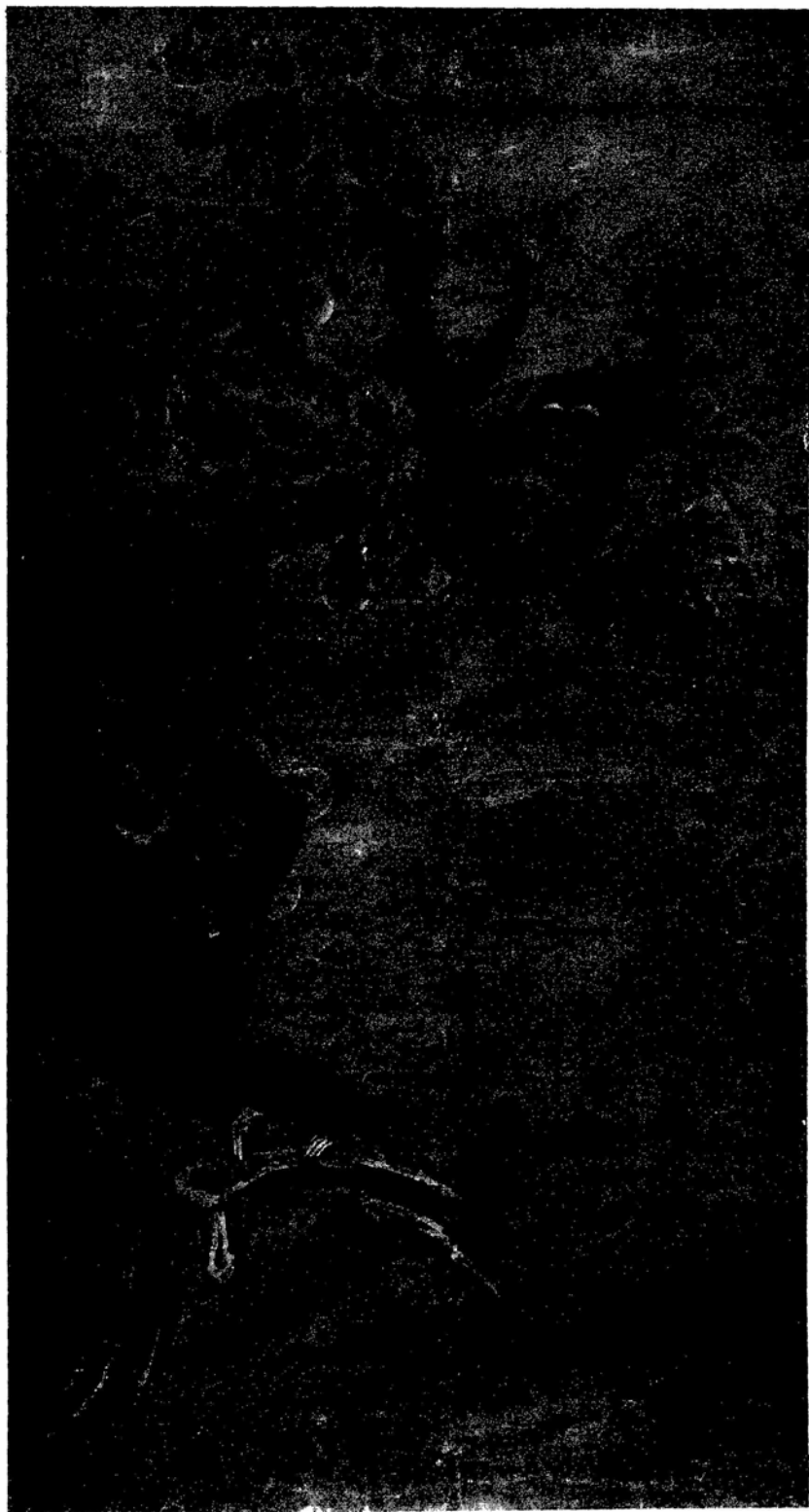
(a) Left side. (b) Right side. (c) The Lid



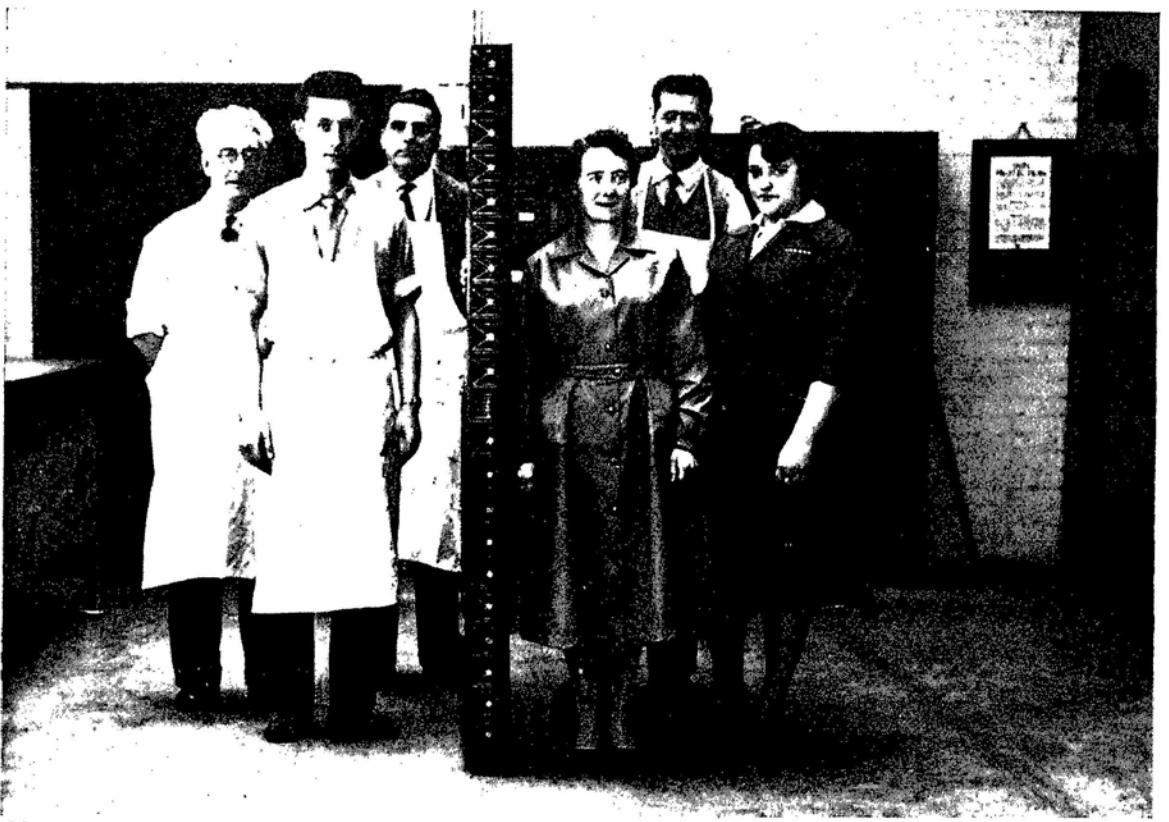
XXXVII. CHINESE BOTTLE, decorated in underglaze red,  
14th century, height  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in.



XXXVIII. TWO VIEWS OF A CHINESE STEM CUP  
decorated in underglaze red and flower scroll in white slip in relief, 14th century, height 3 in.



XXXIX. TWO GIBBONS PLAYING IN A LOQUAT TREE  
by I Yüan-chi (d. 1067), Chinese, Northern Sung dynasty Size (160 × 85 c.m.)



(a)



(b)

# XL. THE KLENCKE ATLAS

(a) The completed, newly bound Atlas

(b) Sewing the headband

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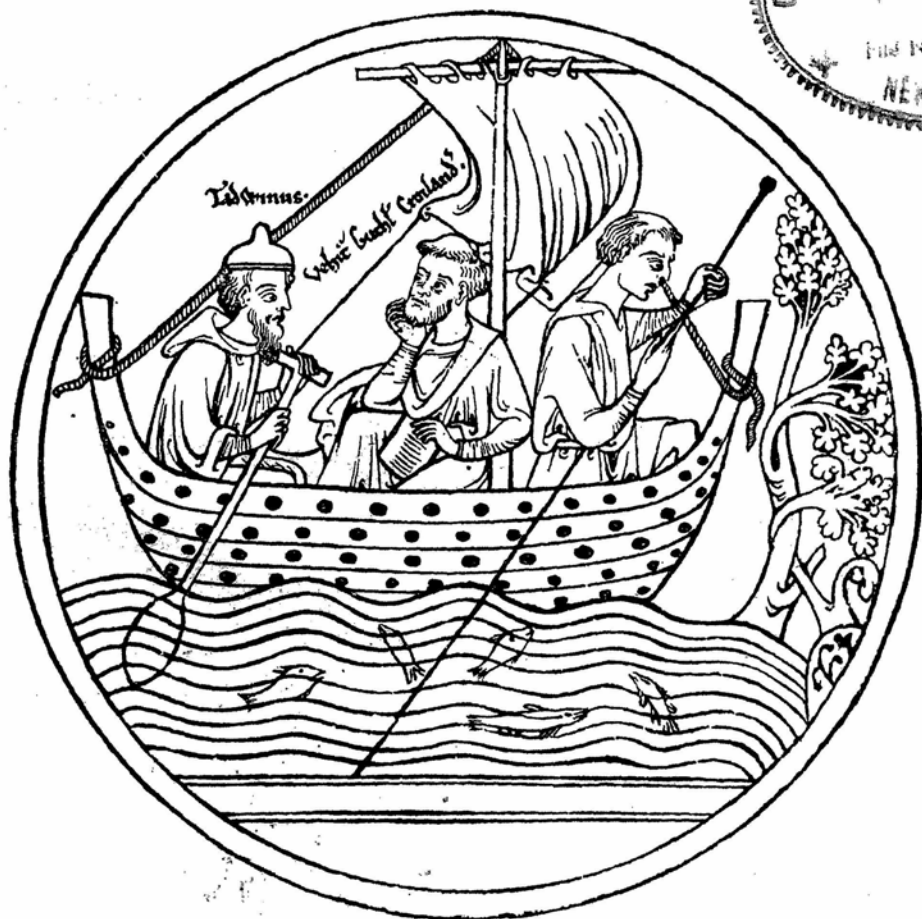
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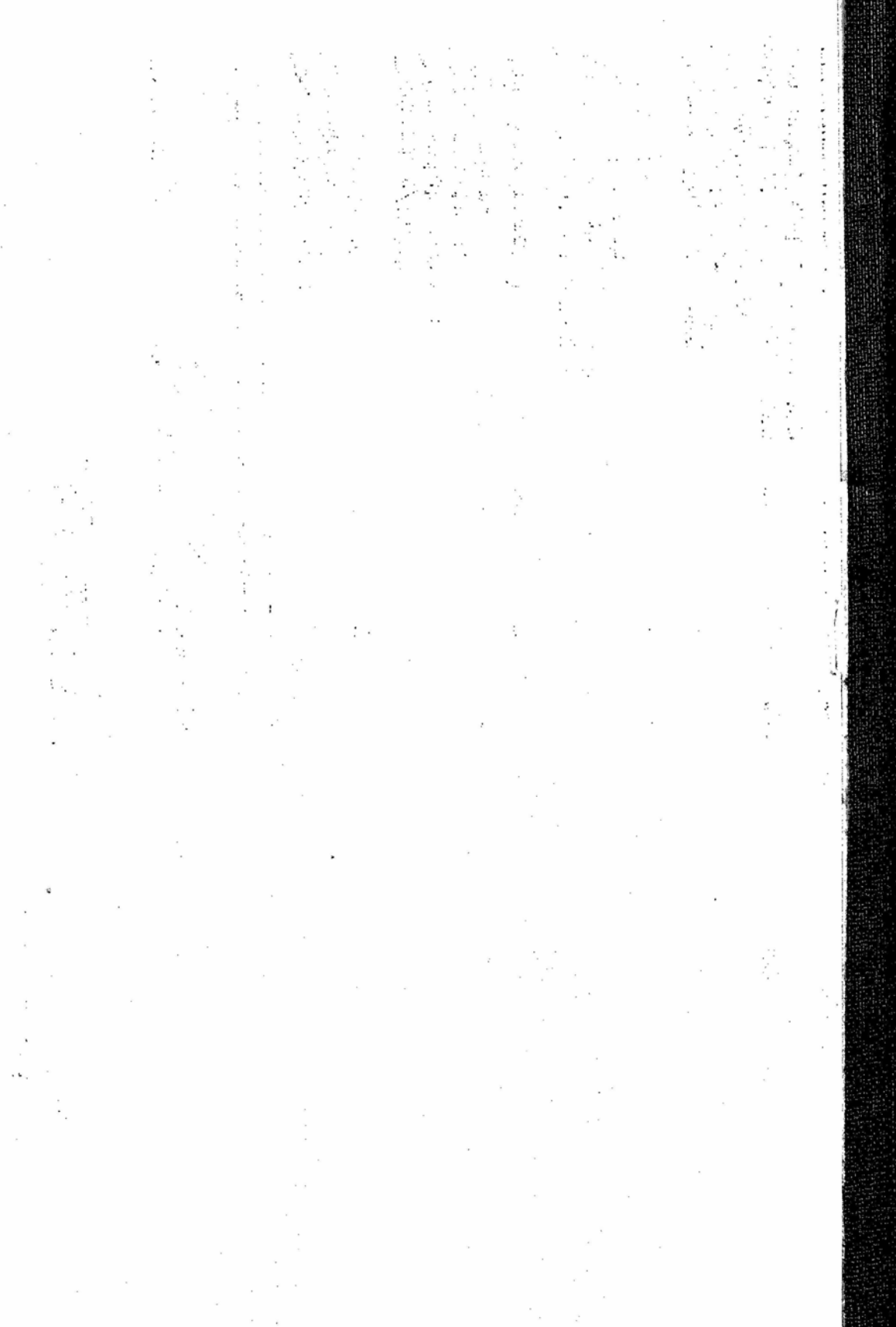
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