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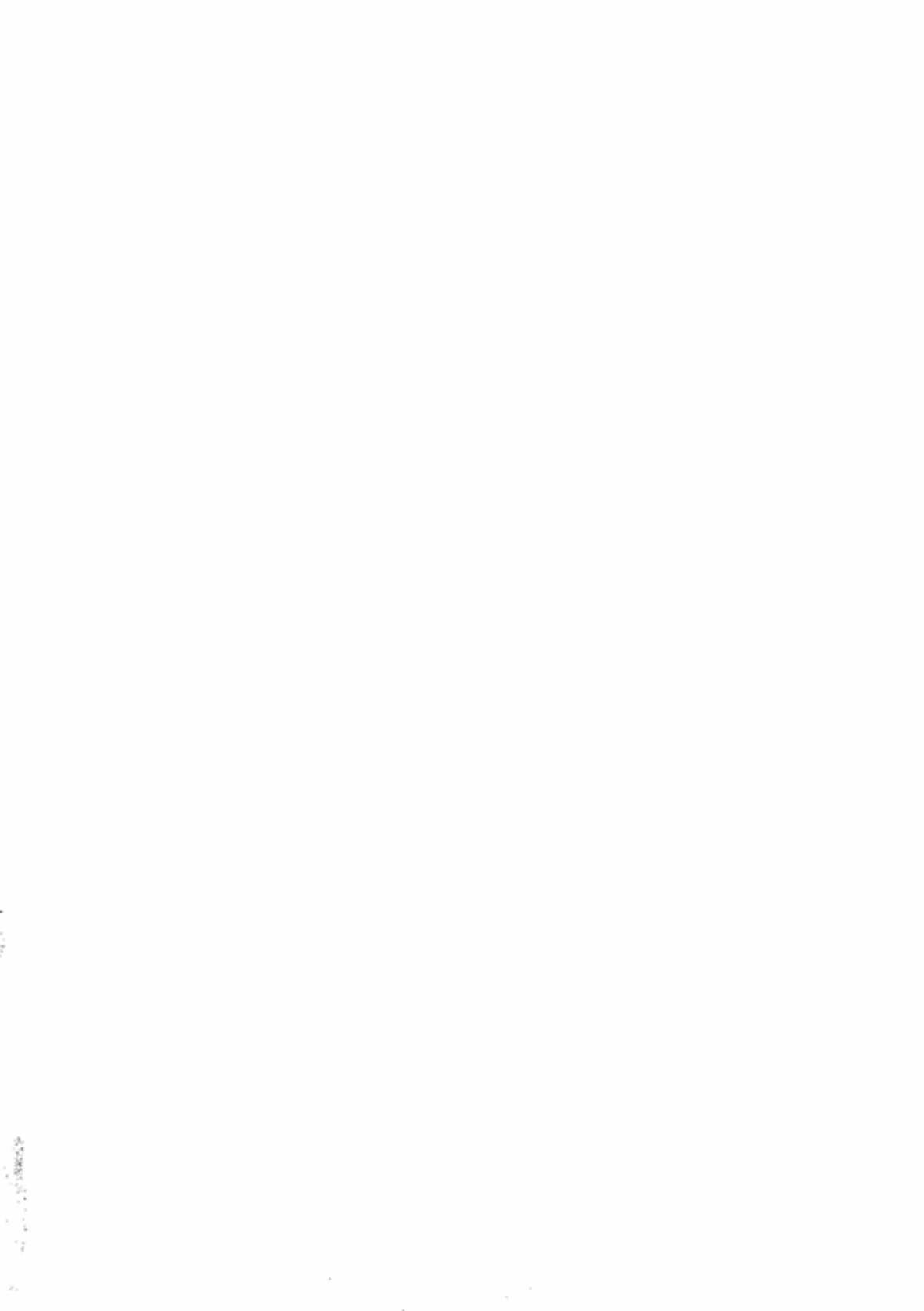
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A RARE LÜBECK MISSAL

THERE has recently entered the Museum collection a copy of a Lübeck Missal, which like most early printed missals is a large folio as well as something of a rarity. Its types mark it out as from the press of Peter Drach at Speyer, showing his conjugate types 19 and 22 for the text and his type 21 for the Canon of the Mass, the earliest use of any of which seems to have occurred in 1495. Only twice apparently is the edition to which it belongs mentioned in the handbooks—once summarily in Panzer's *Annales* (ix. 185, 255) from the catalogue of the Thott collection (vii, p. 30) and again in a detailed entry by Reichling (*Appendices*, no. 996) made from the copy in the Gymnasium Josephinum at Hildesheim (now destroyed). Reichling assigns it to 'c. 1495', but Panzer is closer to the truth in listing it among the books of the sixteenth century, for on the recto of fol. cxxv, in the course of a discussion on certain liturgical procedures, a clash between a Sunday and the vigil of St. Matthew is referred to with the comment 'prout contigit anno. M. ccccc. v.' It is thus clear that the book cannot be anterior to 1505.

Peter Drach, the founder of the firm, had died in 1504, but the business was carried on by his son, also named Peter. No mention is made of the Lübeck Missal in the Drach account books recently published,¹ and there may have been some disorganization in the office about this time. None of the traceable copies appears to have a title, which is at any rate unusual at this date, nor is it at all certain that the customary woodcut of the Crucifix was provided before the Canon; the latter is perfect as to text in eight leaves but shows no trace of an extra leaf for the cut, which indeed seems to be wanting in all known copies.² The book is *sine ulla nota* and carries no official recommendation, so that it was presumably a speculation on the printer's part; no Missal for Lübeck use had been printed for some twenty years.

Collation uncertain, but apparently: [* **6+1]; a-k⁸ 110; (ij, iij)⁸⁺¹ m-t⁸; V-Z ⁸. 225(?) leaves, 15-103, 113-225 numbered I-CCII, with errors. Two columns, thirty-eight lines to a column.

The Museum copy once belonged to Liborius Hunolt, a cathedral cleric of Halberstadt, who bought it from the parish priest of Tettenborn (about 35 miles away) 'med: $\frac{1}{2}$ imperi.' and presented it to the Halberstadt Franciscans in 1662. It has now been given the press-mark C. 110. k. 5.

V. SCHOLDERER

¹ See F. Geldner, 'Das Rechnungsbuch des Speyrer Druckherrn . . . Peter Drach', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, Bd. 5, Lief. 1 (1962).

² Weale-Bohatta, *Missalia* (1928), no. 543, mentions eight copies, four of them imperfect, which are now mostly destroyed or no longer in

place. Another copy, also imperfect, is preserved at St. David's College, Lampeter. Reichling no. 996 allots '10 ff. (canon)' to the Canon quire, but, imprecise as usual, mentions no cut. Possibly a block was made and rendered useless by some mischance.

ALEOTTI'S IDROLOGIA

GIOVANNI BATTISTA ALEOTTI, a notable architect and engineer, was born at Argenta in the province of Ferrara in 1546, and died at Ferrara in 1636.¹ Many of his works were not published in his lifetime. One of these, *Dell'interrimento del Po di Ferrara*, was first published in 1847 with an introductory memoir on his life and works by Luigi N. Cittadella. In this memoir there is a list of Aleotti's published works, starting with *Gli Artificiosi et curiosi moti spiritali di Herrone*, first published at Ferrara in 1589. This work is a translation of the *Pneumatica* of Hero of Alexandria, with an original contribution added by Aleotti: 'Quattro theoremi non men belli & curiosi de gli altri,' in the words of the title-page. Cittadella describes² how Aleotti added manuscript notes and corrections to a copy of the 1589 edition, and increased the number of his own 'theorems'. At the head of the added manuscript Aleotti wrote 'De la hidrologia overo raggionamento', but these words are deleted, and the title continues: 'De la scienza et arte del ben regollar l'acque . . . libro sesto. Nel quale si dimostrar' alcune piaceuolezze le quali si possono fare artificiosamente con l'acqua.' Cittadella infers that this 'libro sesto' was intended to form part of the 'grandiosa opera della *Idrologia*', which for some unknown reason was never published, though it appears to have been ready for printing in 1601.

A manuscript of the *Idrologia* in five books is in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena. According to Cittadella³ another manuscript, comprising only the first four books, was located in the Archivio Comunale at Ferrara; and there was also a third copy, all in the hand of Alberto Penna (who died in 1691), comprising books 1-4 and part of book 5. The rest of book 5, and the sixth book, in the original manuscript, were once in the possession of the Marchese Ercole Bevilacqua, whose collection was dispersed after his death.

Cittadella describes the copy of the 1589 edition annotated by Aleotti. He informs us⁴ that this copy, with additions all in Aleotti's hand, once belonged to Alberto Penna, and that in 1847 it was preserved in the *Costabiliana*, i.e. the library of the noble family of the Costabili. This same copy is given a brief description as lot 152 in *Catalogo della prima parte della biblioteca appartenuta*

al Sig. March. Costabili di Ferrara, February 1858, when it was bought by Boone on behalf of the British Museum. It is now placed at C. 112. f. 14. But in the intervening century it has appeared in the *General Catalogue of Printed Books* simply as 'another copy' of Hero's work with 'copious ms. notes and additions'.

On the title-page of this copy the words 'et curiosi moti' are deleted, and after Aleotti's name the following is added in manuscript: 'del quale particolarmente è questo libro.' At the foot of the title-page is Alberto Penna's signature. Pasted on to the left margin is a new title in manuscript, which was transcribed in full by Cittadella.⁵ This new title was apparently intended for a new edition of the 'Libro delli ingegnosi spiritali d'Herrone', with the addition of a book by Aleotti, in which he would demonstrate how music can be played on organs and other hydraulic instruments.

In this copy the following material is bound together:

1. Aleotti's translation of Hero's work, as printed in 1589, but with numerous corrections and extensive additions in manuscript.
2. Thirty-five pages of manuscript, divided into an introduction and twelve chapters. The heading indicates that this manuscript was intended for the sixth book of the treatise on 'Idrologia'. Chapter 8 gives an example of 'piacevolezza'—a garden gate so devised that those who enter are saluted by guns and may even have a shower-bath. (Pl. I.)
3. The *Quattro theoremi*, being pages 88–102 of the 1589 edition, with a separate title-page. These are renumbered in manuscript as theorems 13–16, theorem 17 is inserted in manuscript, and the printed work concludes with the following, numbered in manuscript as theorem 18: 'Modo di far salire un canale d'acqua . . . in cima d'ogni alta torre.'
4. The remaining theorems are all in manuscript, but their numeration is confusing and inconsistent. A theorem numbered 18, inserted after the printed work, is followed by theorems 19–23, the last of which is entitled 'Della musica neccessaria à quelli architetti che si diletmano di fabricare machine hidrauliche'. This is followed by a second sequence of theorems numbered 19–23, and a third sequence numbered 19–24. At the end of theorem 21 of the second sequence ('Quali sian i numeri che rendono perfette le consonanze') is a note signed by the author on 26 January 1615. The last twelve theorems are all concerned with music, and together they occupy more than sixty pages of manuscript.

J. L. MAINPRICE

¹ See *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1960).

² Cittadella, p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

PATIENCE AND THE GONDOLIERS

AT the sale of the Sullivan manuscripts from the collection of the late Mrs. E. M. Bashford, held at Sotheby's on 13 June 1966, the Sullivan Appeal committee was able to acquire the full scores of three of the best known of his comic operas written in collaboration with W. S. Gilbert: *Patience*, *The Gondoliers*, and *Princess Ida*. The committee decided that the first two (now Add. MSS. 53777 and 53779) should be preserved in the British Museum, which had contributed to the appeal, and the third in the Bodleian.

This important acquisition was made possible, against very strong competition, by the generosity of the Arts Council, the Pilgrim Trust, the Wates Foundation, the Friends of the National Libraries, the Gilbert and Sullivan Society, and the public in general, to all of whom the Museum is greatly indebted.

Apart from an early piano work (Add. MS. 49977), these scores are the first examples in the Museum's custody of autograph manuscripts by Sullivan, who, though much maligned today, was in Gilbert's words: 'incomparably the greatest English musician of the age—a man whose genius is a proverb wherever the English tongue is spoken'.¹ Their importance is increased by the fact that no published full score of either of these operas exists, except in the form of a piano reduction; and therefore Sullivan's own scoring, although showing 'the reserve, the chastity, the economy known alone to genius',² and in consequence possessing no great visual appeal, is of the greatest musical interest.

Patience opened on 23 April 1881 at the Opera Comique. It was transferred to the Savoy Theatre on 10 October, and ran in all for 408 nights. The form of the libretto was finally decided in the autumn of 1880. On 1 November, Gilbert wrote to Sullivan saying that he wished to satirize what he had called in another letter 'the affectations and eccentricities of the modern school of lily-bearing poets',³ rather than the devoted attachment of a band of young ladies to two youthful clergymen, his previous idea, based on a tale of clerical antagonism in one of his *Bab Ballads*, 'The Rival Curates'.

The music of *Patience* was begun while Sullivan was at Nice at the New Year of 1881. The scoring, however, only started on 13 April, and the overture was not completed until the morning of the 22nd, the day before the opera was due to open.

On 20 April there is the following entry in Sullivan's diary: 'Rehearsal at 12, then home to write tenor song, afterwards cut out.'⁴ It seems likely that this refers to the song, originally destined for the Duke, which has been lifted from between numbers 4 and 5 in the first act, and is now pasted in at the back. Unfortunately, although we have the introduction (see pl. II), the accompani-

ment, and the close of the song, we have neither the words nor the vocal line in this manuscript.⁵ The same lack appears in another song for the Duke, designed originally for the opening of the finale to Act II. Although incomplete, and lacking an introduction, it has the same accompaniment as the one mentioned above, arranged slightly differently. This, however, has been cancelled, and the finale is the same as number 7 in the same act. These changes are all adopted in the copy of the score (Add. MS. 53778), not in Sullivan's hand, also acquired at the sale, which conforms with the published vocal score.

The Gondoliers opened at the Savoy on 7 December 1889, and ran for 554 nights. It was the last really successful Gilbert and Sullivan opera, and preceded by only four months the violent dispute (well documented in the Gilbert Papers)⁶ from which the partnership never really recovered.

After the composition of *The Yeomen of the Guard*, finished in October 1888, Sullivan turned his mind to the writing of a Grand Opera, eventually realized in *Ivanhoe*. Gilbert, in a letter of 20 February 1889, pointed out that Sullivan could write both light and serious music at the same time, as he had done before, but Sullivan was tired of always subjecting, as he thought, his music to the words; a dispute grew up between them which was not settled until 9 May when, finally, they 'shook hands and buried the hatchet'.⁷ In March, Sullivan had been to Venice which enchanted him, and when, early in June, Gilbert sketched out his ideas for *The Gondoliers*, he was delighted.

Sullivan was otherwise occupied during the summer of 1889, and *The Gondoliers* was composed almost entirely in November at a pace worthy of Rossini at his prime. The opening on 7 December was a great success. On the 8th, Gilbert wrote to Sullivan: 'I must thank you again for the magnificent work you have put into the piece. It gives one a chance of shining right through the twentieth century with a reflected light.'⁸

The manuscript differs slightly from the published vocal score in some details of musical setting, and in the choice of names for some of the characters. At the beginning Fiametta is merely called 1st Girl, and Francesco 1st Gondolier. In 'Are you peeping?' the manuscript calls the ladies Gianetta and Tessa, whereas now they are called Fiametta and Vittoria. Casilda is always called Carlotta, and her father's entry is announced thus:

From the country of the Cid
The Duke of Vallodolid. . . .

which has been crossed out and changed to:

From the sunny Spanish shore,
The Duke of Plaza Tor. . . .

Alterations in the score can be seen in the quartet 'In a contemplative fashion'. Here, over the solid slow march of the main theme, the matrimonial situation is

discussed by each character in turn, at first resignedly in quavers, and then vengefully in quaver triplets. Changes have been made in the manuscript so that the men—who in any case are more resigned—never venture beyond a quaver rhythm, and thus alternate their quavers with the triplets of the ladies. This device of setting melodies in different rhythms against one another is a favourite of Sullivan's, and is delightfully demonstrated here.

The acquisition of these two scores admirably complements the Gilbert Papers (Add. MSS. 49289-353) bought in July 1956, which include a great deal of correspondence between the collaborators as well as the libretti, some in proof, others in manuscript, of most of the operas.

P. M. CADELL

¹ Letter to Sullivan 31 Mar. 1889, quoted in Sullivan and Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, p. 190.

² Isaac Goldberg, *Sir Wm. Gilbert, a Study in Modern Satire*, p. 144.

³ Letter to James Albery, the playwright, 21 Apr. 1880. (Add. MS. 49338, f. 703.)

⁴ Quoted in Sullivan and Flower, *ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵ The words of this song were discovered in the galley proofs of *Patience* submitted to the Lord

Chamberlain (Add. MS. 53251, no. 76), by Mr. Kenneth Carrus of Banbury Grammar School (see *The Times* of 18 Feb. 1967).

⁶ Add. MS. 49333, f. 64 f.

⁷ Sullivan's diary for 9 May 1881, quoted in Sullivan and Flower, *ibid.*, p. 191.

⁸ Quoted in Sullivan and Flower, *ibid.*, p. 197.

Quotations from the Gilbert Papers by courtesy of F. B. Cockburn, Esq.; those from the Sullivan diaries by courtesy of the Trustees of the H. T. Sullivan Trust.

PROMETHEUS

THE famous legend of Prometheus, the indomitable Titan who befriended men and gave them fire, thereby incurring the wrath of Zeus, is told at length by Hesiod and pervades ancient literature through Greek and Roman times. For us it has been immortalized by Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, which presumably was part of a trilogy: *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer*, *Prometheus Bound*, *Prometheus Freed*, possibly followed by a satyr play. Representations of the various episodes have survived here and there in Greek and Roman art; they start with a (lost) Island gem from Crete, an ivory plaque from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, two bronze reliefs from shield-straps found at Olympia and the Ptoan Sanctuary, and a number of early vase-paintings, all of the seventh and sixth century B.C.; then come a few red-figured vase-paintings (of Prometheus the Fire-bringer), and the Hellenistic representations on Etruscan mirrors, two marble groups from Pergamon and Rome; and lastly numerous engraved gems, wall-paintings, lamps, sarcophagi, and other reliefs of the Roman period.

We see Prometheus holding up the narthex, the stalk in which he brought the fire to men; or he is riveted to a rock (or some other support), with the eagle,

'the winged hound of Zeus', approaching or actually feasting on his liver; and at length he is freed by Herakles. We also know that the legend was famous enough to be represented on the throne of Zeus at Olympia in a painting by Panaenus, the brother or nephew of Phidias (cf. Pausanias v, 11, 6).

To the somewhat heterogeneous extant representations of this myth has now been added another which may rank as the finest that has survived. It appears on an Etruscan scarab recently acquired by the British Museum (1966, 7-27, 1). Though the stone—a banded agate—measures only 15 by 12 mm. the scene is graphically rendered in a masterly manner (Pl. IV a-c). Prometheus, bearded and nude, is shown seated on a rock, his hands raised and bound, his legs outstretched and propped against the hatched border of the stone. The eagle has arrived and is ready for its work (the irregular streak next to its beak is not, as one might think, blood streaming from a wound, but is due to the fracture which runs down the middle of the stone). The agony of Prometheus is movingly depicted in the rendering of the face with the half closed eyes and distorted mouth.

The date of the engraving, judging by the expert modelling of the trunk of the body in three-quarter view, combined with a frontal head and limbs in profile, should be in the first quarter of the fifth century, perhaps around 480 B.C. It is therefore not far removed from the performance of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (c. 462 B.C.). Though the stone is Etruscan, the style of the engraving is close to the contemporary Greek, and evidently copied a Greek model, or was perhaps executed by a Greek artist. As is regularly the case in Etruscan scarabs of this period, the beetle is carefully worked and there is a tongue ornament running round its base.

The stone must have served as a pendant of an Etruscan necklace, as shown by the gold attachments that remain. One may compare the necklace in the British Museum published by F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery*, no. 2273, where several of such scarabs appear suspended from a gold chain. According to the vendor, the stone was bought by his father in Rome, early in the twentieth century; so it was evidently found in Italy, in a tomb on an Etruscan site.

When I studied the stone in London in the summer of 1966, I was tempted to discern a letter or two (Pr) near the head of Prometheus, part of his Etruscan name Prumathe?—the other letters having disappeared in the cleaning and repolishing of the stone while it was in private hands? But my English colleagues (Mr. Haynes, Mr. Higgins, and Mr. Boardman) think that these marks are mere scratches; and so it may be. Fortunately our hero needs no name attached to him. His identity is plain.

For representations of Prometheus—the Fire-bearer, Bound, and Freed—in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art cf. especially:

A. Milchhöfer, 'Die Befreiung des Prometheus', 42 *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1882.

A. Furtwängler, 'Prometheus', *Archäologische Zeitung*, xliii, 1885, cols. 223 ff.

- O. Benndorf, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Serie D (1889).
H. Holleaux, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xvi, 1892, p. 351, pl. x.
R. Bapp, in Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, s.v. Prometheus, cols. 3083 ff. (1897-1902).
A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii, 1900, pp. 73, 204 f., 344, and the references there cited.
J. D. Beazley, *American Journal of Archaeology*, xliii, 1939, pp. 618 ff. (on 'Prometheus Firelighter').
E. Kunze, 'Archaische Schildbänder', *Olympische Forschungen*, ii, 1950, pp. 91 ff.
D. Feytmans, 'Une représentation de Prométhée porte-lumière sur un vase attique', in *Mélanges Grégoire*, iv, 1953, pp. 151 ff. (On a vase from Spina in the Ferrara Museum.)
J. L. Benson, *Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen* (1953), p. 79, pl. 3, b = a seated prisoner? or Prometheus?, on a Corinthian aryballos in a private collection in Basle.
L. Eckhard, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, xxiii, i (1957), s.v. Prometheus, cols. 704 ff.
G. Bernabo-Brea and M. Cavalier, *Il Castello di Lipari e il Museo Archeologico Eoliano* (1958), p. 75, pl. xxiv = Prometheus between two satyrs, as in Beazley, loc. cit.
J. Boardman, *Island Gems* (1963), pp. 52 f.
E. Paribeni, in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, vi (1965), s.v. Prometeo, pp. 485 ff.
G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, vol. i, no. 870 (forthcoming).

GISELA M. A. RICHTER

A BRONZE AGE HOARD FROM PORTFIELD FARM, WHALLEY, LANCASHIRE

The Discovery

IN the summer of 1966 pipe-laying operations were carried out by Manchester Corporation Waterworks across land to the east of Whalley, Lancashire. The route of the pipeline passed over an Iron Age hill-fort, Portfield Camp, about half a mile from Whalley. During the later stages of the work across the camp, two gold and seven bronze objects were discovered by workmen.

Portfield Camp has been described in some detail by Forde-Johnston,¹ who gives details of the location, topography, and defences. Although a close watch had been kept during the early stages of the pipe laying across the camp, and also when pipes were laid in 1953 and 1957, no objects of an Iron Age or earlier date had come to light, save for a slate disc.²

A brief outline of pipe-laying procedure is necessary for an understanding of the position of the find, and of the nature of the subsequent searches. The pipeline referred to above is the third 3-foot pipe laid by Manchester Corporation Waterworks across Portfield Camp: it lies parallel to and on the north-east side of the two earlier ones. The third pipe was laid in a trench 12 feet wide by 10 feet deep, which cut partly through back fill from the earlier pipeline trench, so

that the south-west side of the trench was faced with backfill and the north-east side faced with undisturbed ground. About 15 yards of trench are open at one time and the pipes are laid in 30-foot lengths, the trench is then partly backfilled by hand and finished by mechanical means. It was during the process of hand back-filling, i.e. the removal of soil from the trench sides to pack underneath the pipe, that the finds were made in the north-east face at a depth of 18 inches in sandy clay.

The finds discussed below came to light after the gold bracelet had been brought into Blackburn Museum for identification. When questioned about the position of the find the workmen revealed that a further gold and several bronze objects had been found close together. These workmen pointed out the 'exact' spot independently and gave positions differing by forty yards. In order to locate the exact position of the find, a trench was excavated in filled ground along the north-east edge of the trench for about 40 feet, before an undercut section of the trench side was revealed. This section was the point where the workmen had dug deeper into the trench side in search of more objects. A 6-foot square opened up around this spot was excavated to a depth of 3 feet, well into undisturbed strata. While no further objects were discovered, the extent of the original search made by the workmen was established. Nothing was discovered to suggest that the nine objects were not found together as described by the workmen, and constitute a hoard.

The exact position of the hoard is indicated in Fig. 1.

J. D. BLUNDELL
Blackburn Museum

¹ J. Forde-Johnston, *Transactions, Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. 72, 1962, p. 26.

² J. D. Bullock, *Transactions, Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. 67, 1957, p. 115.

The Hoard

The hoard consists of nine pieces, two of gold and seven of bronze:

Gold (fig. 2, nos. 1 and 2, and pl. V)

1. Penannular tress-ring of hollow triangular section, decorated with fine concentric incised lines made with a tracer. The ring is slightly damaged and in one area squashed. The binding ribbon joining the two outer sheets of gold at the outer apex of the triangle has been displaced for part of the circumference, and the internal sheet has come away from one of the external sheets at one point.

Maximum diameter: 3.6 cm.; maximum diameter of internal opening: 1.7 cm.

2. Plain penannular bracelet of flattened, slightly hollow D-section, with externally expanded terminals. Modern damage consists of a scraped sample from the edge of the hoop and a file mark near one terminal.

Maximum external diameter of hoop: 6.3 cm.; maximum width of ribbon: 0.45 cm.

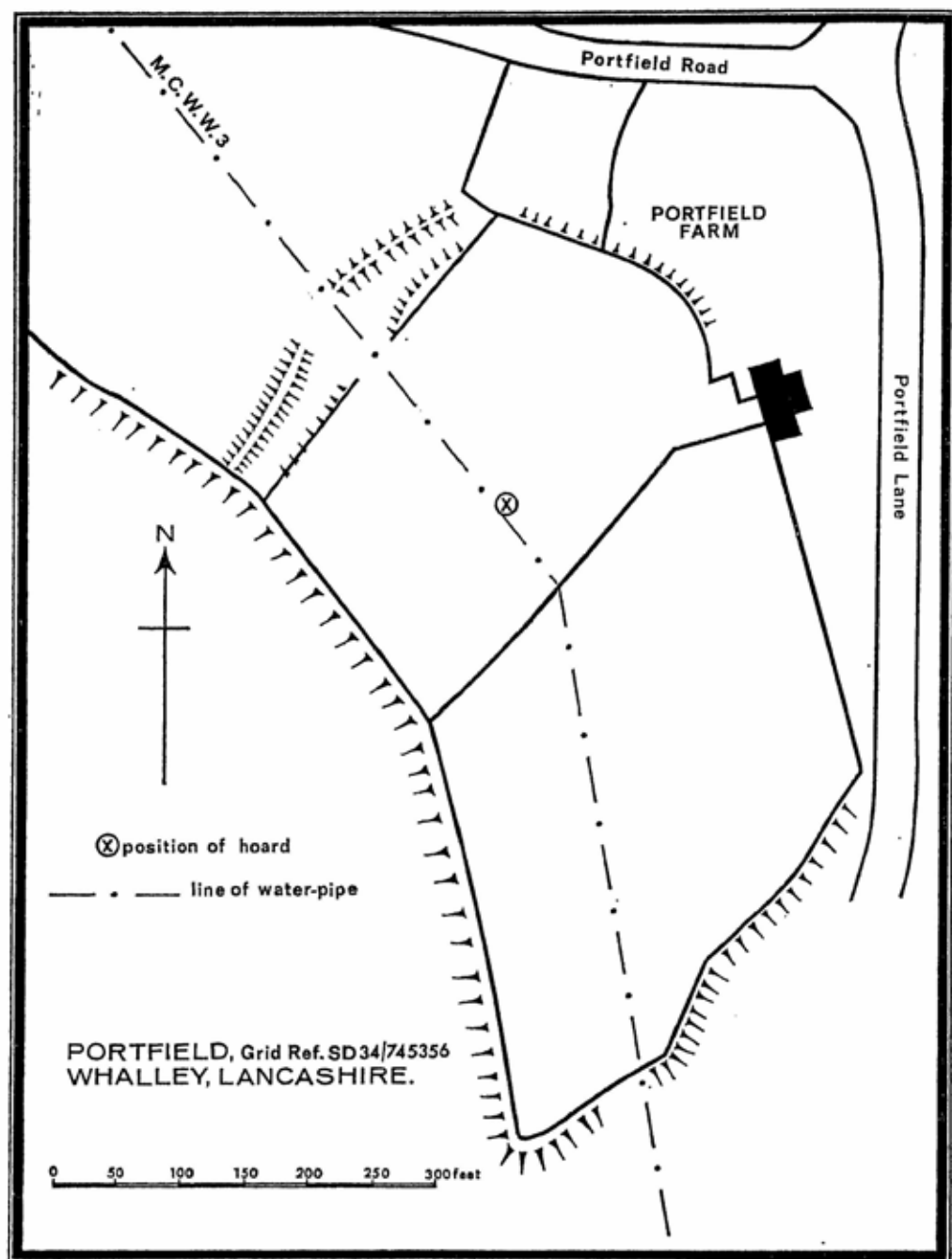


FIG. 1. Portfield Camp, showing position of Bronze Age hoard.

Bronze (fig. 2, nos. 3-9)

3. Single-looped, socketed axe, sub-rectangular at mouth, with quadrangular body and expanded curved cutting-edge. Heavy moulding at the mouth with lighter moulding beneath from which descend three vertical, parallel, ribs. Socket badly cracked in two places with third minor crack through the mouth moulding. Considerable corrosion on two faces and at cutting-edge. Two vertical mouldings inside the socket.
Total length: 8.3 cm.; width across the cutting-edge: 4.8 cm.
4. Single-looped, socketed axe, oval at mouth, with octagonal faceted body and expanded curved cutting-edge. Deep but slight moulding at the mouth. Loop and cutting-edge broken away. Considerably corroded.
Total length: 8.0 cm.
- 5-6. Two pieces forming a tanged knife with central rib on each side of tang. Lower part of blade lacking and much of cutting-edges corroded.
Length: 10.7 cm.
7. Part of a blade, possibly from a knife, with broad central thickening and bevelled edges.
Length: 6.0 cm.
8. Lower half of a socketed gouge, lacking mouth and cutting-edge.
Length: 6.1 cm.
9. Piece of rough metal resembling a splash with bent-over runner.
Maximum width: 3.0 cm.

At an Inquest held in Accrington on 22 November 1966 the gold tress-ring and bracelet were declared Treasure Trove and seized on behalf of the Queen in right of the Duchy of Lancaster. With Her Majesty's permission these objects of great archaeological interest were acquired for the National Collection. In addition, Mr. T. Seed, the owner of Portfield Farm, has with great generosity presented the bronze implements in the hoard to the British Museum. In this way the entire find has been kept together and is now preserved in the National Collection. Replicas are to be presented to Blackburn Museum.

Discussion

The hoard contains two quite distinct components: a personal, decorative element consisting of the two gold ornaments, probably intact when placed in the ground; and secondly, scrap metal in the form of broken or damaged bronze implements. The small fragment of rough metal (Fig. 2, no. 9), clearly a by-product of smelting, shows that the hoard was the property of an actual bronze-smith.

Dr. Savory has argued¹ that gold tress-rings of the type represented in the hoard (Fig. 2, no. 1) first appear while objects of the Wilburton complex were current in Britain, and Dr. Eogan has recently stressed² that if the form was first produced, as its distribution suggests,³ in Ireland, then its origin must lie early in the eighth century B.C. to allow association of the type with late Urnfield bronzes in France. The tress-ring, however, enjoyed a considerable life for it

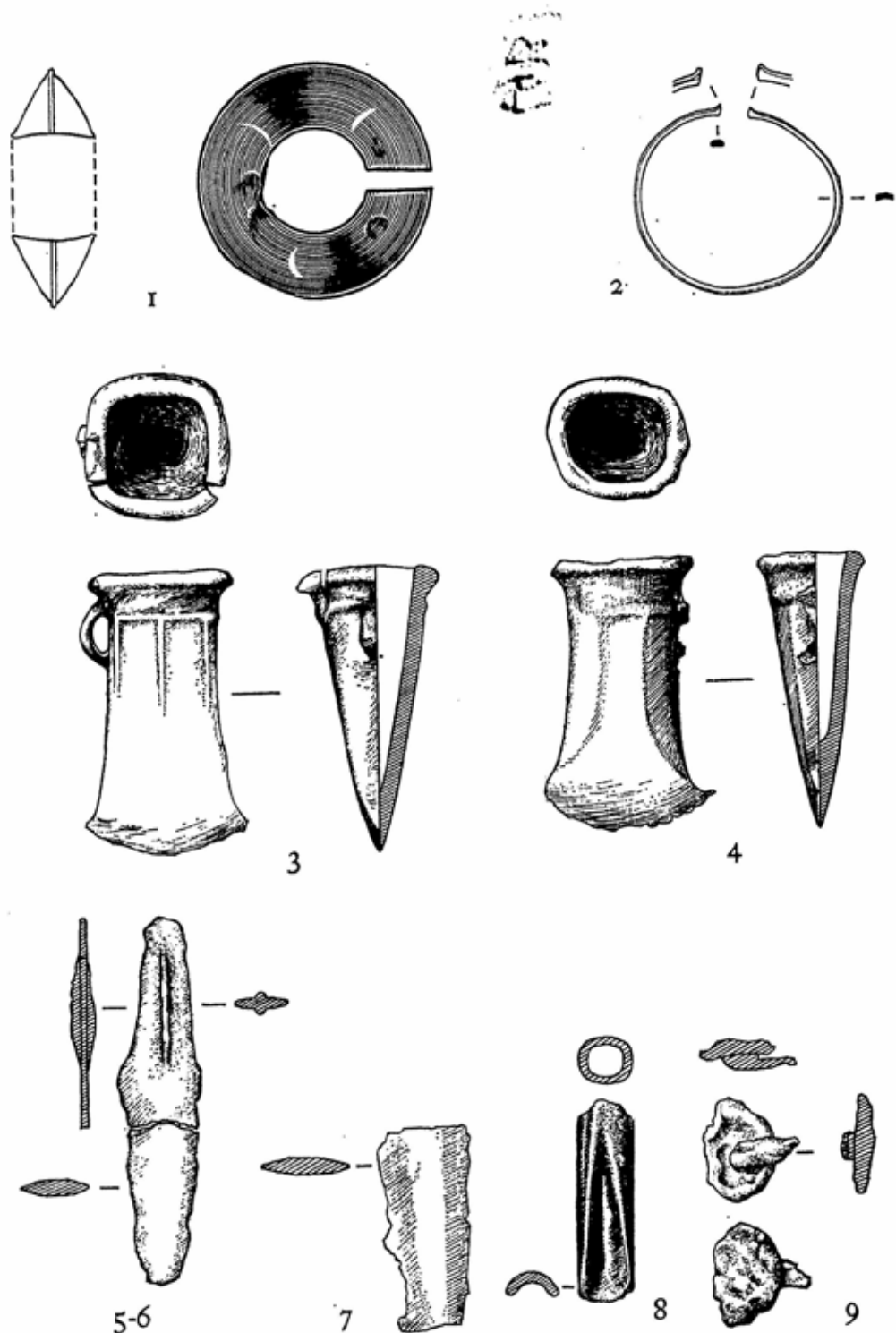


FIG. 2. The Portfield Hoard: 1-2 gold; 3-9 bronze (drawn by Mr. P. C. Compton). All half actual size except no. 1 which is actual size.

appears in the north of England in the Heathery Burn Cave assemblage,⁴ showing survival at least into the seventh century, while its apparent association with pre-Roman Iron Age pottery at Harting Beacon, Sussex,⁵ implies a still later survival, at least in the south. A date no earlier than the seventh century B.C. is supported by the gold bracelet (Fig. 2, no. 2),⁶ for this is a copy in gold of the variant type of Covesea bronze bracelet with outwardly expanded terminals but D-shaped flattened bow found again in the Heathery Burn Cave assemblage.⁷

Several of the bronzes represented in the hoard can equally be matched in this assemblage. The form of knife with central rib on each side of a broad tang (Fig. 2, nos. 5-6), socketed axes of Yorkshire type (Fig. 2, no. 4), and the socketed gouge (Fig. 2, no. 8) are all implements common to both, though insufficient of the Portfield gouge survives to indicate whether this belongs to the plain or collared form. The faceted axe from Portfield (Fig. 2, no. 3) cannot be precisely matched here, though one socketed axe from the Heathery Burn Cave,⁸ lacking any clearly defined faceting, shares its deep mouth moulding. The remaining pieces are too indefinite to allow much useful comment, but the fragment of blade (Fig. 2, no. 7) could well be part of a Thorndon type of socketed knife, a type found again in the Durham cave. The close over-all similarity with elements of the very much larger Heathery Burn Cave assemblage confirms that a date not earlier than the seventh century B.C. can be accepted for the Portfield Hoard.

The siting of the hoard near the junction of the river Calder with the Ribble points to a still active trade link along a trans-Pennine route of long standing. The hoard itself, though small, reflects two of the main forces at work in north-west England during the latter part of the Bronze Age: the influence of the Irish metal industry during its Dowris phase,⁹ and secondly, the growing strength and satisfaction of regional tastes. The tress-ring can be seen as an Irish import pure and simple, but the bracelet is a more complex affair. While reflecting contact with those continental influences which brought the Covesea bracelet to eastern Scotland, native tastes have compelled the translation of this bronze form into gold, and a transformation of its bar-shaped hoop into a ribbon. Yet, wherever the bracelet was fashioned, and since this particular form is unknown in Ireland, the presumption must be that it was either made in or made for the north British market, there can be little doubt that the gold itself came from Ireland. This same local taste was responsible for the development of regional specialization in socketed axe production of which the Yorkshire axe is one example.

Against this background the knife with ribbed tang forms a useful link between geographically remote industries. Found locally at Winmarleigh near Garstang in Lancashire, the knife also appears in hoards at Westow, Yorkshire,¹⁰ Nottingham,¹¹ Marden,¹² and Broadness¹³ in Kent as well as the Heathery

Burn Cave assemblage,¹⁴ and in a looser association with other bronzes at Highdown Hill, Sussex.¹⁵ It occurs again in Scotland, at Monmore, Perthshire,¹⁶ and at least ten times in Ireland,¹⁷ including the Dowris Workshop hoard.¹⁸

The actual location of the hoard within a fortified enclosure inevitably provokes the questions, how late can the hoard be dated, and how early is the fortification? If some chronological convergence can be argued, then there may be grounds for thinking that the occurrence of an apparently Late Bronze Age hoard in a pre-Roman Iron Age camp may not be entirely fortuitous.

In 1955 Dr. Proudfoot summarized some of the evidence for Late Bronze Age survivals into the full pre-Roman Iron Age. Since that date fresh evidence has come to light to suggest that certain elements, like the weaving comb, have already appeared well before the close of the Bronze Age, e.g. at Shearplace Hill, Dorset,¹⁹ and that pottery styles hitherto thought to date to the second half of the sixth century B.C. or later must in fact go back to the seventh, e.g. at Staple Howe with its Hallstatt 'C' razor associations. It is perhaps relevant too to recall the occurrence of Late Bronze Age bronzes in association with occupation debris within defended sites at Scarborough in Yorkshire²⁰ and Breiddin Hill Camp, Montgomery,²¹ illustrating their occasional survival in the north and west into a period when defensive sites were being constructed.

From a detailed typological study Forde-Johnston has concluded that the earlier of the two phases of defences at Portfield Camp may date to a period as late as post 50 B.C.²² Lacking actual datable material from the initial construction phase, such a date is inevitably a matter largely of conjecture. If, however, a direct connexion between hill-fort and hoard cannot at present be demonstrated, the possibility that at some future date a more intimate relationship may be shown to exist must remain, if only to act as an incentive for a much more extensive examination of a site which could well prove an important step towards a better understanding of the later prehistory of Lancashire.

I. H. LONGWORTH

¹ *Arch. Camb.* (1958), cvii. 14-16.

² *P.P.S.* (1964), xxx. 304.

³ V. B. Proudfoot (1955), *The Downpatrick gold find*, 27 ff.

⁴ *Arch.* (1894), liv. 95, fig. 2.

⁵ *Ant. J.* (1953), xxxiii. 204 ff.

⁶ Following Coles's dating for Covea brace-lets, *P.S.A.S.* (1959-60), xciii. 39 ff.

⁷ B.M. Reg. No. 1911, 10-21, 5.

⁸ *Arch.* (1894), liv. 99, fig. 8.

⁹ *P.P.S.* (1964), xxx. 293 ff.

¹⁰ *J.B.A.A.* (1864), xx. 107.

¹¹ *P.S.A.*, 2nd ser. i (1859-61), 332.

¹² *J.B.A.A.* (1858), 257 ff., pl. 13.4.

¹³ *P.S.A.* xxiii (1909-11), 160 ff., fig. 6, no. 6.

¹⁴ *Arch.* (1894), liv. 99, fig. 6.

¹⁵ E. C. Curwen (1954), *The Archaeology of Sussex*, 186 and fig. 61.4.

¹⁶ *P.S.A.S.* (1922-3), lvii. 144, no. 13, fig. 9, no. 12.

¹⁷ Listed by Hodges in *U.J.A.* (1956), xix. 52.

¹⁸ *P.P.S.* (1964), xxx. 297, fig. 12, no. 4.

¹⁹ *P.P.S.* (1962), xxviii. 289.

²⁰ R. E. M. Wheeler in *The History of Scarborough* (1931), ed. A. Rowntree, 22.

²¹ *Arch. Camb.* (1937), 92, 114.

²² *Tr. L. & C.A.S.* (1962), 72, 46.

THE ROMAN SITE AT HINTON ST. MARY, DORSET

Discovery

THE village of Hinton St. Mary¹ lies in the Blackmoor Vale, one mile north of Sturminster Newton, about eight miles from Shaftesbury to the north-east and the same distance from Blandford Forum to the south-east (Figs. 1, 2, and 3). The Ordnance Survey spot height in the village is 285 feet above sea-level, and the village is on the crest of a Corallian limestone ridge on which stand Sturminster Newton to the south and Marnhull to the north. This formation, which in contrast to the Kimmeridge and Oxford Clays on either side has ready supplies of water, is of local importance now, and in Roman times supported the two nearest known sites at Fifehead Neville² and at Allard's Quarry, Marnhull. The river Stour meanders along the west side of the ridge past Hinton St. Mary and then cuts through it at Sturminster Newton. After running south over the clays of the vale to the east of the ridge it turns south-east past Hambledon Hill and Hod Hill, beyond which its valley cuts through the Dorset Downs and passes Blandford Forum on its way to the sea.³

About 200 yards west of the crest of the ridge at Hinton St. Mary, sheltered from the winter weather, lie the home, forge, and workshop of Mr. W. J. White. In September 1963 in the field behind his home, Mr. White discovered a Roman mosaic pavement of good quality (Pl. VI). The subsequent clearing of the pavement revealed a pair of rooms, joined by an 11-foot opening and measuring 28 ft. 4 in. by 19 ft. 6 in. over all. The floor of the smaller room has three rectangular panels (Pl. VII). In the centre is Bellerophon, mounted on his horse Pegasus killing the Chimaera, a fabulous beast with a lion's head, a serpent for a tail, and a goat's head in the centre of its back. In the side panels are hounds with jewelled collars chasing stags and a doe in woodland. The floor of the larger room has a central roundel surrounded by four lunettes and four quarter-circles. In the centre is the bust of a man with a Chi-Rho behind the head (Pl. VIII *a*). In the corners are four more male busts, while of the lunettes three show dogs chasing deer (Pl. VIII *b*) and the fourth contains the representation of a tree. The pavement was described and published without delay by Professor J. M. C. Toynbee, and there is no reason to quarrel with her conclusions. The most important part of her discussion concerned the identification of the head in the larger room, and the following paragraphs summarize her argument.⁴

When Constantine I decided in A.D. 313 to seek the patronage of Christ, he adopted the Chi-Rho monogram as his official badge on his own helmet and on the shields and standards of his soldiers. The monogram was used thereafter

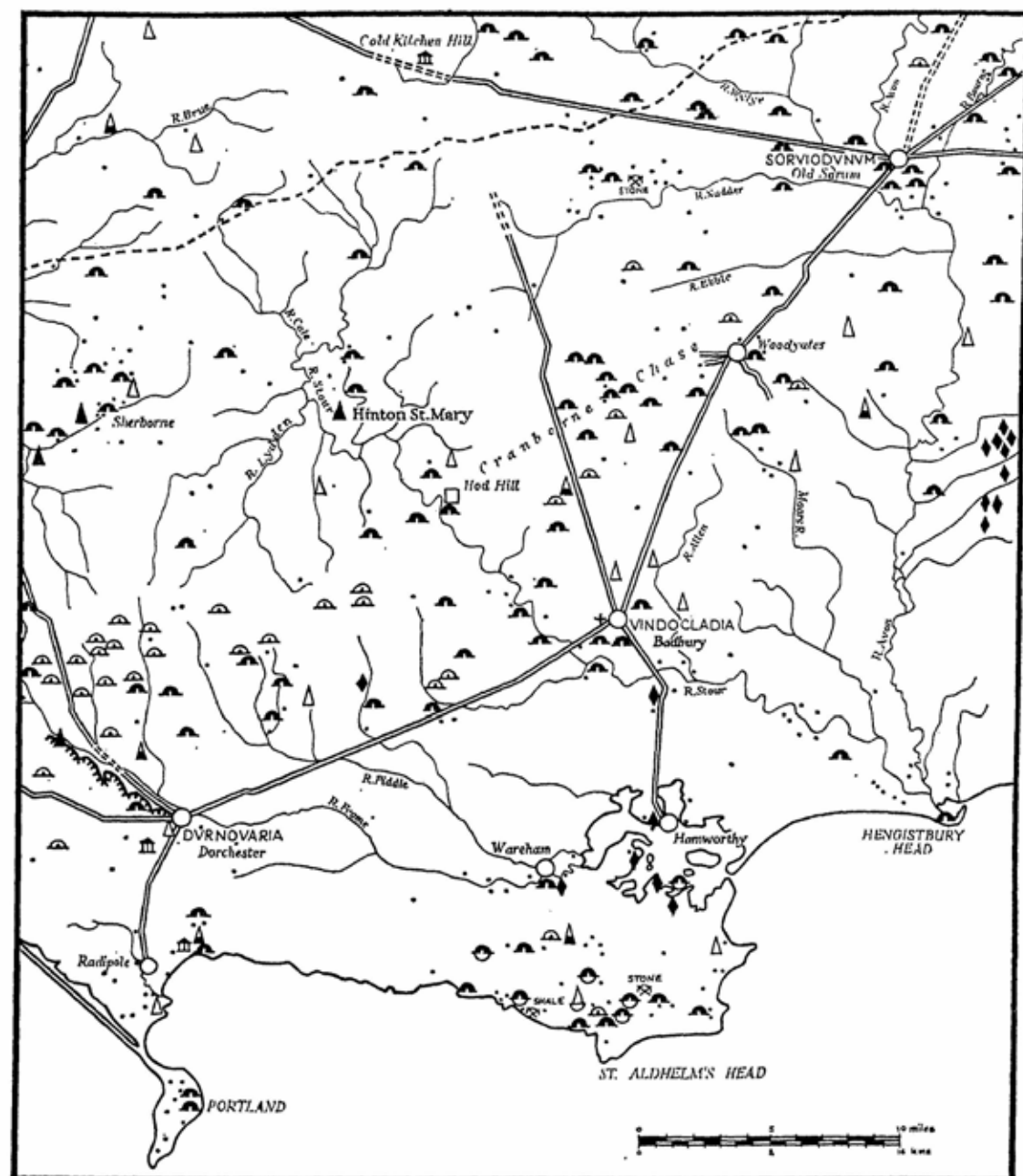


FIG. 1. Hinton St. Mary in its Roman setting.

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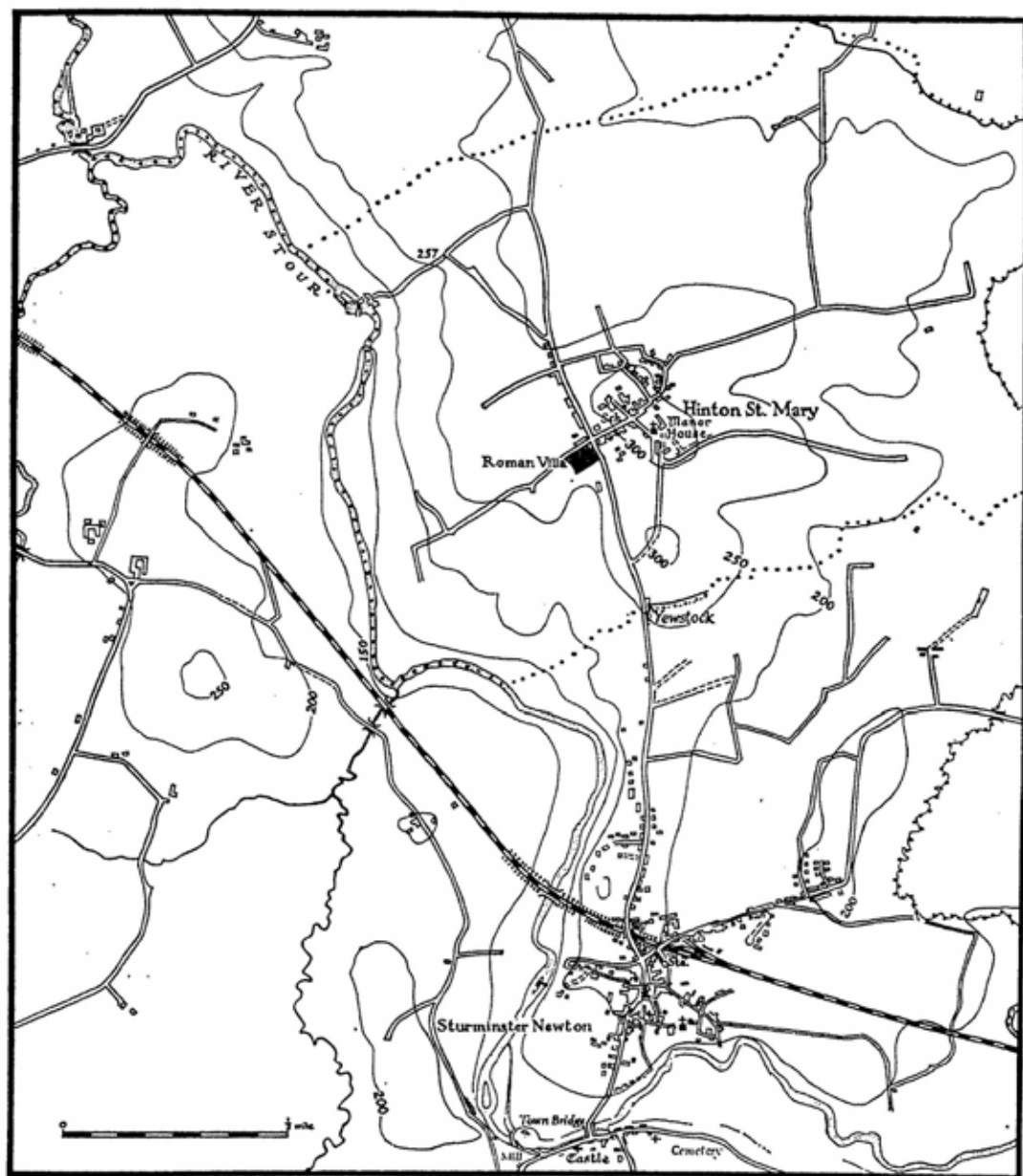


FIG. 2. Hinton St. Mary in its modern local setting.

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throughout the Roman empire as a Christian symbol.⁵ The prominence of the Chi-Rho monogram therefore suggests that the pavement was laid during the fourth century, as does its style. Accordingly the person behind whose head the monogram is placed is likely to be a Christian. But who is he?

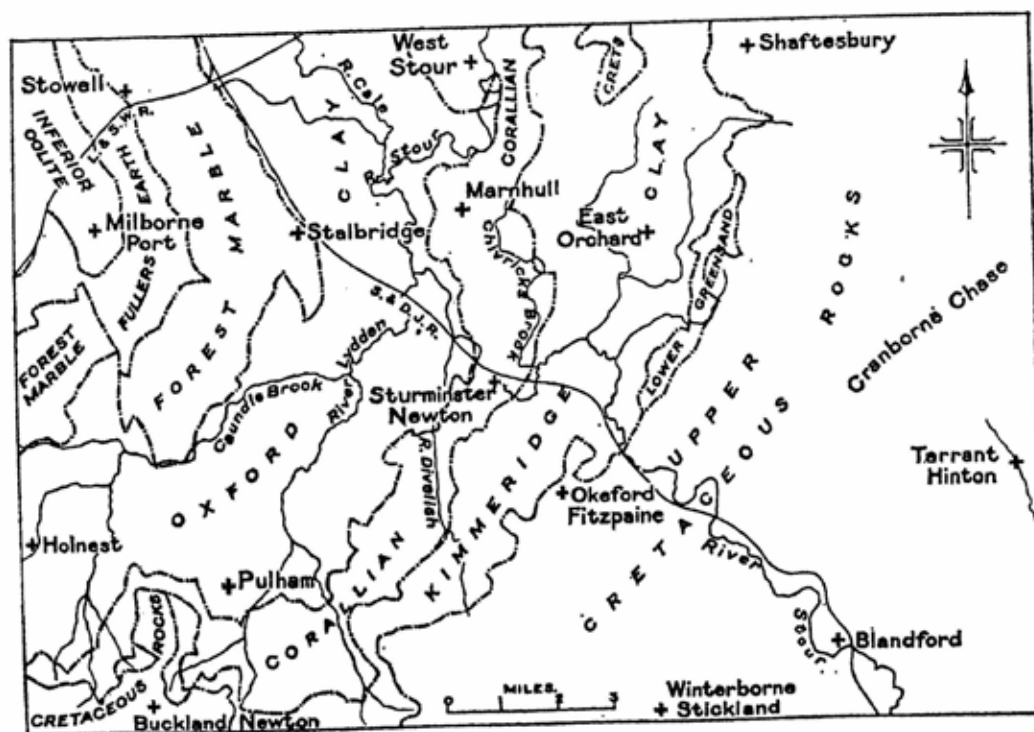


FIG. 3. Sketch map of the geology of the area round Hinton St. Mary. Hinton St. Mary lies between Sturminster Newton and Marnhull.

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He is not likely to be a Christian emperor because he has no distinctively imperial dress and no imperial insignia.⁶ He might be a saint, and there are pictures of saints with the Chi-Rho behind their heads; but in every case the saint is firmly identified.⁷ The very fact that the saints are identified suggests that it was necessary to show clearly that they were not somebody else, namely Christ Himself. The dress of the Hinton St. Mary bust is consistent with other representations of Christ of this period, where He wears an undergarment (*tunica*) and a mantle (*pallium*). The treatment of the hair can be matched on a fourth-century gold-glass medallion in the British Museum, where the main central

bust is clearly labelled *CRISTVS*.⁸ And pictures of Christ with the Chi-Rho behind His head, normally, but not always, on a nimbus, can be found in the art of the fourth and fifth centuries on sarcophagi, in paintings, on wall mosaics, and in works of other kinds.⁹

It may be objected that it would have been unsuitable to place a representation of Christ on the floor where it might be walked on, and indeed in A.D. 427 there was promulgated a decree forbidding the rendering of the *signum Salvatoris Christi* on mosaic floors.¹⁰ The exact meaning of *signum* is uncertain; but it is obvious that representations of Christ would come into this category. Nevertheless, the very publication of the decree shows that the cross or Chi-Rho monogram or something similar had appeared on floors at a date earlier than A.D. 427, and, if so, then why not a portrayal of Christ? There are no other known pictures strictly of Christ on floors; but pictures of the Good Shepherd, representing Christ, are found;¹¹ and so there seems to be every reason to support Professor Toynbee's claim that the Hinton St. Mary bust is probably not only the earliest known representation of Christ made in Britain but also the only known picture of Christ as Christ in a mosaic floor in the Roman Empire.

Exploratory Excavation

In April 1964 the British Museum undertook an excavation to explore the history, nature, and extent of the site. This preliminary investigation showed that the Christian pavement represented a pair of rooms in a substantial building-complex which flourished in the fourth century (Fig. 4), but which had been badly damaged by stone-robbing and ploughing.¹²

The main building of the complex may have been built round three sides of a courtyard, the fourth side being enclosed by a ditch. The Christian mosaic formed part of the best-preserved wing, which ran along the north-east side of the site. If buildings existed along the south-east side of the site, they had been very thoroughly robbed, the building material over much of their extent having been removed down to the bottom of the foundation trenches.

At the north-east end of the building in Area 1, part of a mosaic pavement with a geometric pattern still remained in position. The walls on either side of the pavement had been robbed almost to the bottom of the foundation trenches, some 9 inches below the level of the mosaic floor. Enough of the building remained, however, to show that it was 24 feet wide, with a tessellated corridor 10 feet wide running along its south-east side and with a gully 1 foot wide beyond that again. The building was traced for 100 feet to the south-west; but neither at this end nor to the north-east were its limits found. It was thought possible that the south-east wall of the corridor might join the building to which the Christian mosaic belongs; but a trench dug to test this theory revealed no junction at the expected point.

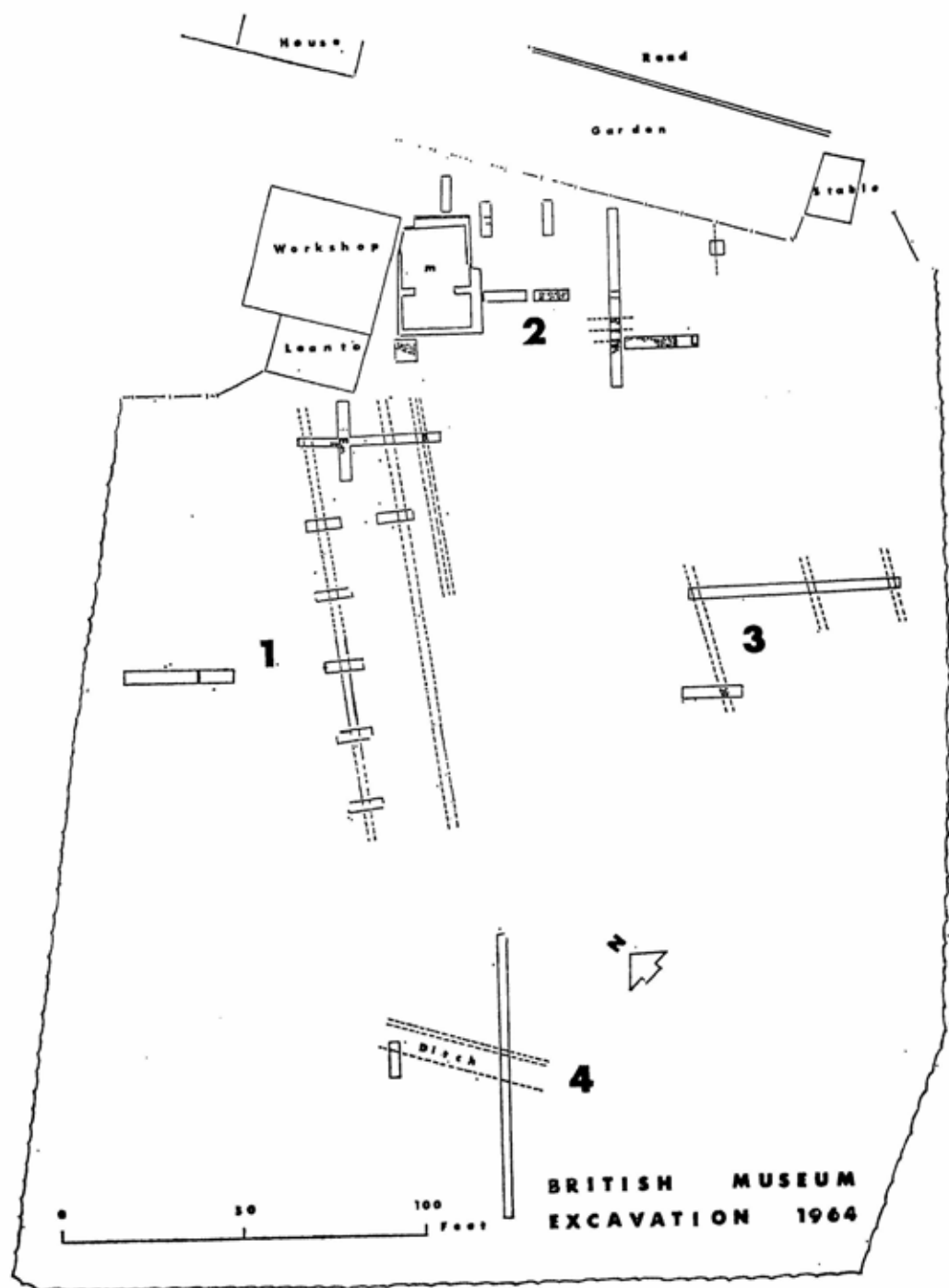


FIG. 4. Plan of the 1964 excavation.

The remains in Area 2, which includes the Christian mosaic, were the best preserved on the site. No floor, however, seems to have survived either immediately outside the pavement rooms or in the main trench cut across Area 2; but masonry and heavy rubble, separated by a ditch or gully, were found in position in the south-western half of the trench. The wall with masonry in position is probably a continuation of the south-west wall of the room containing the main pavement. The limits of the building in this area were not certainly discovered; but they may be represented at the far end of Area 2 by the discovery at a low level of the remains of the foundation trench of a masonry wall close to the existing garden fence.

The main trench cut from north-west to south-east across Area 3 uncovered what may be the lowest courses of two substantial foundations at either end of the trench. It seems likely, however, that if the stone courses are the remains of a building, the walls were thoroughly robbed and all other traces of the building were removed by thorough cultivation at an early date. It is not yet certain, on the other hand, that a building exists in Area 3 because the remains in this area are not on the same alignment as those in Area 1, nor are they at right angles to those in Area 2.

A trench across Area 4 revealed no remains of buildings. The only feature was a ditch with a black fill across the centre, of which the north-east edge was bounded by a drystone wall remaining to the height of some 3 or 4 inches. The ditch yielded pottery and some coins; but it was not possible to remove the fill completely because it was flooded by rain-storms.

Lifting the Pavement

The 1964 excavations thus showed that a rich complex of buildings had existed on the site in the Roman period, but that, apart from the pavement discovered in 1963, the structures had been badly damaged and robbed. It seemed that the pavement would be best preserved not on the site but in a museum. The British Museum, therefore, after consulting the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society and the Ministry of Public Building and Works, bought the Christian pavement from Mr. White in the spring of 1965. The main work on the site during the summer of 1965 was thus of necessity confined to lifting the pavement from its bed, moving it to the British Museum and relaying it in the newly rebuilt Prehistoric and Romano-British Galleries.¹³

The method of lifting the pavement was not that of rolling up the mosaic from its bed and unrolling it in the museum. Professor S. S. Frere used this method successfully at Verulamium,¹⁴ and the Director of Hull Museums, Mr. J. Bartlett, and his staff have used the method again with excellent results at Rudston and Brantingham in Yorkshire.¹⁵ Nevertheless, no pavement as large

as the Hinton St. Mary pavement has been lifted by the rolling method, and so in the interests of its complete safety the pavement was cut carefully into pieces which were reassembled in the Museum. The work was undertaken by Art Pavements and Decorations Ltd., and as a result of the great care shown by the Managing Director, Mr. W. E. Novis, and all of his staff the pavement was transferred with success to London.

Careful records were first made of every aspect of the pavement. It had already been drawn in 1963 by Mr. D. Neal of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, and so the initial step was to photograph the pavement in detailed close-up sections of about 2 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. Over-all photographs and photographs of large sections were also taken in both colour and black and white to supplement the series taken for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) in 1963.

Next a plaster cast was made of the surface of the whole pavement, both as a direct record of the tesserae in position and also to record any irregularities in the pavement so that they could be compared to any features discovered after the lifting of the mosaic.

The method of lifting the mosaic itself was simple in principle. Cotton net was stuck over the whole surface of the pavement with Scotch glue. A sharp knife was used to cut through the cotton net and into the mortar between the tesserae. A section of mosaic about 2 feet square was then sliced from its bed with a large trowel and turned over on to a tray. The section was recorded on a plan and by photographs and the tray was stored for transport to London. While the mosaic was being lifted a bed was prepared on the floor of the exhibition gallery so that the relaying could begin almost as soon as the pavement had been moved from the site. The relaying consisted of the reverse of the work on the site. A bed of mortar was laid on a prepared concrete slab. The back of each section of mosaic was spread with more mortar and the section was fixed in position. The sections were fitted together like a jigsaw, the cotton net was soaked and peeled off, the pavement was washed, and was then virtually complete.

Thus the main part of the work of the 1965 season was the lifting, removal, and relaying of the mosaic itself. In addition to this, however, careful observation was made of the mortar bed immediately below the tesserae in the hope that it might yield evidence of how and when the pavement had been laid in antiquity, and at the same time a small amount of excavation was done next to one corner of the pavement, both to elucidate the structures to which it belongs and also to help drain the pavement bed during the lifting operation.

The problem of the way in which pavements were laid is one of great importance. If it could be solved it might throw light not only on the methods of the ancient craftsmen but even perhaps on the size and organization of the firms which laid them.¹⁶ It was felt, however, that it was unlikely that a type of

evidence which seems so far to have been observed only rarely would be found on the site at Hinton St. Mary.¹⁷ We did hope, on the other hand, to find some evidence in the mortar under the pavement of the date at which it was laid. In the event we found no evidence of date; but we did find evidence of how the pavement may have been laid.

There are basically two ways in which mosaic may have been laid, either cube by cube on the ground or, as in modern practice, in prefabricated sections. What was noticed at Hinton St. Mary was that the light mortar had darker streaks in it. Some of these darker marks, such as the straight lines outlining the rectangular hunt panels to either side of the Bellerophon roundel, were obviously connected with the structure of the pavement. The regular occurrence of the dark mortar seems best explained if this mortar represents joins made on the floor between prefabricated sections of the scroll. Such a theory would explain various irregularities in the design of the mosaic itself. Of these the most obvious is the misplacing of the pomegranate to the left of Christ's head (Pl. VIII *a*). Other such features in the Christ room include:

1. The tree section not butted against the back of the deer in the hunt picture to the right of Christ (Pl. VIII *b*).
2. The twig growing from the back of the dog in the same picture (Pl. VIII *b*).
3. The change of direction in the fret design round the curved side of this picture (Pl. VIII *b*).
4. The change in the design of the wave pattern round the bust of Christ (Pl. VIII *a*).
5. The change of colour in the fret design round Christ (Pl. VIII *a*).

In the Bellerophon room the features include:

1. The deer's head which has no corresponding body in the right-hand picture (Pl. VII).
2. The branch of a tree which is growing from the head of the stag and which lacks a trunk in the left-hand picture (Pl. VII).

The pavement therefore produced unexpected and surprising evidence for the way in which it was laid. A further discovery was a protective iron window-grille.¹⁸ This, together with the carved stone fragments from an ornamental table (Pl. IX)¹⁹ and from a pillar or pilaster, combine with the quality of the pavement to suggest a prosperous establishment of some pretensions.

Further Problems

These in summary are the main discoveries which have been made so far. A number of problems, however, remain to be solved, including the plan and

purpose of the building, its economic background and social status, its date, and its relationship to the wider historical picture.

Although the general extent of the remains has been discovered, the plan of the buildings is not yet known, particularly in the area of the pavement itself. The limited excavation in 1965 outside the area of the pavement showed that the substantial wall along the south-west edge of the pavement continues outside that room in both directions; but what sort of rooms, or whether any rooms, exist there is not known. The basis of the structure is known to be of masonry, and the walls above that may have been partly timbered, similar to those of the Roman cob-walled cottages in the settlement at Studland.²⁰ The site has been called a villa, on the grounds that the two rooms floored by the pavement resemble the *triclinium* of a country house;²¹ but it must not be forgotten that Mr. R. A. H. Farrar has pointed out the difficulty of accepting the remains at Frampton with similar pavements as a normal villa (Pls. X and XI).²² They lie in low, wet, unsuitable ground, and, although Lysons's excavation did not recover the whole plan, his account suggests that he did not miss much of what remained. The plan is peculiar and cannot as it stands represent a villa-site. Lysons said that the function of the site must be religious, and Farrar has suggested that he may be right. What sort of site is Hinton St. Mary? We do not know; but it may be something similar to Frampton.

Whatever the nature of the building, however, it was clearly expensive both to erect and to furnish, as the substantial nature of the masonry and the good quality of the mosaic demonstrate. The next problem, therefore, is to investigate the nature of the local economy and the date of its prosperity. Contemporary evidence for its nature has not yet come from the excavation; but the medieval and modern evidence suggests that, while wool-production probably had greater importance on the downland sites in the area, the farms by the Stour depended to a greater extent on arable and livestock, in particular on cattle.²³

Some dating evidence has come from the site at Hinton St. Mary already. The pottery, for example, so far includes no samian. On these grounds alone it is unlikely that the occupation of the site commences until after the beginning of the third century, and the late nature of the pottery is confirmed by the coins, almost all of which are dated between A.D. 270 and 400. A recent survey of some fourth-century mosaics by Dr. D. Smith, however, suggests that we can try to be more precise than this.²⁴ Part of his argument is that certain mosaics, mostly in Dorset, were laid by the same firm or firms not earlier than the decade A.D. 315-25 and not later than the decade A.D. 340-50. The relationship between the mosaics of this group is demonstrated by the resemblance between some of the mosaics from Frampton and that from Hinton St. Mary (Pls. XII, XIII, and XIV).²⁵ Another pavement in the same group is the Venus pavement from Hems-worth (Pl. XV).²⁶ The portrayal of deities and creatures associated with sea and

river is especially characteristic of mosaics of the Dorchester group. There were dolphins at Frampton, and at Hemsworth a panel round the apse was decorated with sea monsters, fish, and shells, while across the threshold lay another panel in which fish only seem to have been depicted. Further, on either side of the goddess floats an ivy leaf with curling stem, which is matched at Frampton in the medallion portraying a diademed head (Pl. XIII). Other mosaics which Dr. Smith has attributed to the same group were found at Fifehead Neville,²⁷ Lufton,²⁸ Wynford Eagle,²⁹ and in Durngate Street in Dorchester itself,³⁰ while outside the county, at Withington in Gloucestershire, the Dorchester firm won a contract to replace pavements in a floor which had previously been laid by a Cirencester firm (Pl. XVI).³¹ From none of these sites, however, is there sure dating evidence, and Dr. Smith's hypothesis is supported mainly by the assigning of the Lufton villa by its excavator to the late third or early fourth century and by the identifiable coins found at Fifehead Neville which are of the same period.³² At Hinton St. Mary a search must be made under the bed of the pavement for well-sealed and stratified dating evidence, preferably in the form of coins. It may not exist; but a search must be made.

After evidence has been found for the date of the Hinton St. Mary site's prosperity and so for the prosperity of the group of villas to which it belongs, the area's relationship to the regional and national events of the period must be considered. The most wide-ranging recent survey is Professor Hawkes's paper 'Britons, Romans and Saxons round Salisbury and in Cranborne Chase', in which he reviews and reassesses General Pitt-Rivers's work in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.³³ Hawkes, following Collingwood,³⁴ suggested that Salisbury Plain and Cranborne Chase lacked villas because they were imperial estates, exploited as sheep country for the production of wool in the third and fourth centuries.³⁵ Mr. Manning has recently shown that Caistor-by-Norwich and Caerwent are as likely sites for the state mill of *Venta* as Winchester; but he does not question the basic thesis of a deliberate conversion from cultivation to wool-production, with which the chronology provided for the area by the protective earthwork of Bokerley Dyke is intimately linked.³⁶

The Dyke was probably built about A.D. 325. It was extended about the time of the great barbarian attack in A.D. 367-8 and was again improved at about the end of the century, perhaps under Stilicho between A.D. 395 and 399.³⁷ The evidence from Woodyates, the settlement at Bokerley Junction, suggested to Hawkes first a period of growth from about A.D. 275 to 325; second, a period of maximum activity from A.D. 325 to the extension of the Dyke about A.D. 360-70; third, a recovery but with such diminished activity as to imply rapid decay; and fourth, the building of the 'Fore Dyke' finally cutting the trunk road in the last years of the century. After this the lack of records suggests that Bokerley Dyke had little part to play until the fresh West Saxon threat arose in the sixth century

in Hampshire. There were English victories at Old Sarum in A.D. 552, at Barbury Castle on the Marlborough Downs in A.D. 556, and at Dyrham, north of Bath, in A.D. 577. Even though nothing is recorded of the advance across Dorset and south Devon, the Dyke presumably held until the seventh century, when the British were defeated at Bradford-on-Avon in A.D. 652, at Penselwood in Somerset in A.D. 658, and again in A.D. 682, when they were driven in flight as far as the sea, presumably somewhere on the north coast of Somerset or Devon.³⁸ It may therefore be inferred that the history of the Dyke and the area behind it in the fifth century was one of comparatively uneventful decay. Professor Hawkes's interpretation was confirmed by Mr. Rahtz's excavations at Bokerley Junction in 1958.³⁹

Into this framework could be fitted a hypothetical history of the site at Hinton St. Mary and of the sites which Dr. Smith has shown must have flourished at the same time because they had stylistically similar—and similarly expensive—mosaics laid. The occupation of the Hinton St. Mary site begins about the same time as that of the Woodyates settlement. If Dr. Smith is right in his dating of the Dorset group of mosaics, then the Hinton St. Mary site was at its most prosperous at the same time as Woodyates, that is between A.D. 315–25 and A.D. 340–50. Some reasons for the beginning of this period of prosperity can be tentatively advanced after considering Dr. Smith's survey. He points out⁴⁰ that apart from the urban mosaics of the second century, such as those at St. Albans, and the late-first- and second-century mosaics at Fishbourne in Sussex, most Roman mosaics in Britain seem to belong to the period A.D. 300–70. Of the 400 mosaics found on villa sites—the grand total of all mosaics found is 600—about 80 per cent. are concentrated in Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Dorset. The villa mosaics of Britain are thus especially interesting, for in Gaul and Germany there seems to have been a drastic reduction in demand for mosaic pavements in rural buildings after the Germanic invasions of A.D. 260–75. Only in strong and important cities such as Trier and Cologne did the craft revive and flourish in the fourth century.⁴¹ It seems possible, therefore, that after the Germanic invasions there was emigration from those provinces to Britain, that new sites such as Hinton St. Mary were occupied, and that after some half-century of development they were prosperous enough to be able to afford mosaics laid by the best available craftsmen. Then, after the Hinton St. Mary pavement had been laid and had been in use for some time, it was showing signs of wear and tear. Careful repairs were needed; but either the occupants of the villa could not be bothered to send for expert help, or the Dorchester mosaic firm had left the district for lack of business, for the repairs at Hinton St. Mary were carried out by carefully mortaring in old stone roof-tiles. Like the coins from the Woodyates settlement, the coins from Hinton St. Mary continue throughout the last half of the fourth century; but the falling off in numbers of the Woodyates coins

in the last part of the century and the repairs to the Hinton St. Mary pavement suggest that there may have been a similar decay and decline in prosperity at both sites.⁴² The reason for the decay in the decades following the *conspiratio barbarica* of A.D. 367 was probably due not so much to actual insecurity in the country districts as to the general deterioration of trade owing to the disorganization of world commerce on which the villa system had depended. The decay was probably slow, for to the south of Hinton St. Mary, outside Dorchester, a temple was built within the ramparts of Maiden Castle after A.D. 364.⁴³ Similarly, the temple at Pagans Hill in north Somerset was refurbished after A.D. 367.⁴⁴ The decline in confidence after A.D. 367, however, is shown indirectly at Brean Down, Somerset, where the religious use of the conspicuous temple did not extend substantially beyond A.D. 367.⁴⁵ Direct evidence of the violence of the raids up the Severn by the Irish pirates has come from the villa at Kingsweston, excavated by Mr. Boon.⁴⁶ The villa at North Wraxall in Wiltshire, which is within striking distance of the Bristol Channel, also met with a violent end, as is evident from the broken masonry and corpses tumbled in the well. Professor and Mrs. Hawkes have recently pointed out that the coin series ends with several of Gratian (A.D. 367–83) and that this most strongly suggests sacking by pirates, probably in the years after A.D. 388 when Britain, on the death of Maximus, was left without adequate defence.⁴⁷ Occupation of the area, of course, did not come to an end, either near the coast or further inland, as is demonstrated, for example, by the fifth-century building which ApSimon deduces must have existed on Brean Down⁴⁸ and by the accumulating evidence of continuity of occupation of sites in Wiltshire.⁴⁹ The prosperity necessary to support the Hinton St. Mary site, however, had gone completely. The pattern of life in the area probably changed from large-scale production for trade to mere subsistence-farming, and the social consequences can scarcely be guessed at.

This hypothesis may be a correct interpretation of what happened. It contains, however, a large number of propositions which need testing, and it is hoped that it will be possible to search for evidence in a future excavation.⁵⁰

K. S. PAINTER

¹ *Hinton* means 'at the high farm'. It belonged to the abbey of St. Mary of Shaftesbury, and this is probably the reason for the second element in the name. See Hutchins (1868), vol. iii, pp. 547–8; Fägersten (1933), p. 41.

² For Fifehead Neville see *PSA*, 2nd ser., vol. viii (1881), p. 543; vol. ix (1882), p. 66; *PDNHAS*, vol. xxiv (1903), pp. 172–7; 1 (1928), pp. 92–96. For Todber see Williams (1950); Fowler (1966b), with promise of publication in *PDNHAS*.

³ Osborne White (1923). For the absence of

water from the Oxford and Kimmeridge Clays, and for its presence and importance in the Corallian, see p. 96.

⁴ See Toynbee (1964a), and Toynbee (1964b), for the first publication of the pavement and site.

⁵ The monogram was, of course, in use before A.D. 313; but it became ubiquitous after its adoption by Constantine. See Toynbee (1964b), pp. 10–11.

⁶ Toynbee (1964b), pp. 11–12. Imperial dress could be a *cuirass* and *paludamentum*, or a *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*. Imperial insignia

could be a diadem, a laurel-wreath, a globe, or a sceptre.

⁷ Toynbee (1964*b*), pp. 12-13. e.g. a fifth-century painting of St. Januarius in the Naples catacombs: Brusin and Zovatto (1957), p. 81, fig. 35; a fourth-century fragmentary gold-glass medallion, probably of St. Laurence: C. R. Morey (1959), p. 75, no. 460.

⁸ Dalton (1901), no. 630, p. 127 and pl. xxviii; Toynbee (1964*b*), pl. vii.

⁹ Toynbee (1964*b*), p. 13, for detailed references.

¹⁰ *Corpus Iuris Civilis* II: *Codex Iustinianus*: 8. This is a decree of the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, dated A.D. 427: *signum Salvatoris Christi nemini licere vel solo in silice vel in marmoribus humi positus insculpere vel pingere, sed quodcumque reperitur tolli*.

¹¹ Three in Aquileia are: (1) In what was once the fourth-century cathedral. He appears in peasant guise and with a sheep on His shoulders: Brusin and Zovatto (1957), p. 91, fig. 38. (2) In a fourth-century private oratory, the so-called Oratorio del Fondo della Cal, He is shown in a badly damaged rendering in the same peasant costume, but with two sheep at his feet: Brusin and Zovatto (1957), p. 210, figs. 92, 92*a*. (3) The third rendering is also of the fourth century in an aristocratic private house, known as del Fondo Cossar: *Fasti Archaeologici*, vol. xiii (1960), pl. 37, fig. 107 (no. 6502): G. Brusin (1961).

¹² Painter (1965). For the extent and cause of later, perhaps medieval, damage to the site see Taylor (1967). For the pattern of medieval settlement in the area between 1086 and 1350, which might account for the damage, see Taylor (1966).

¹³ Painter (1966).

¹⁴ Frere (1958).

¹⁵ 'Araldite in the restoration of Roman mosaics' in *CIBA Technical Notes* (July 1965); Bartlett (1963).

¹⁶ For a statement of the problems of mosaics see Smith (1955).

¹⁷ Exceptions are Francolise in Italy and Masada in Israel. For Francolise see Blanckenhagen, Cotton, Ward-Perkins (1965). A more detailed account of the evidence at Hinton St. Mary will be published in a later paper.

¹⁸ Manning and Painter (1967).

¹⁹ The three carved fragments of stone were found in 1963. For a very similar, almost complete, table-top of Chilmark stone see Morley

Hewitt (1963), 'Room XXII' and plate vi*b*; also illustrated in *JRS*, vol. lii (1962), pl. xxiv and p. 185. Morley Hewitt quotes fragments of tables carved by the same craftsmen from Whitsbury in Salisbury Museum, from Kings Worthy in Winchester Museum, and from Bawdrip in Bridgewater Museum. A carved slab of similar type was found in 1965 in excavations at Todber, north of Hinton St. Mary, and is now in Shaftesbury Museum. More fragments were found at Kingsweston Roman villa (Boon, 1951).

²⁰ Field (1966). For comparatively recent Dorset cob-built cottages with stone foundations see Kerr (1965).

²¹ Toynbee (1964*a*), p. 5.

²² Farrar (1957). For the excavation of the Frampton site see Lysons (1813).

²³ For medieval evidence see Keil (1966). For the modern pattern of farming see Osborne White (1923), pp. 2, 91-92; Roscoe (1952).

²⁴ Smith (1965).

²⁵ Lysons (1813), pls. v, iv, and vii.

²⁶ Hinks (1933), pp. 99-100 and pl. xxx.

²⁷ Fifehead Neville: see n. 2 *supra*.

²⁸ Lufton: Hayward (1953).

²⁹ Wynford Eagle: *JBAA*, vol. xx, p. 273; *RCHM* (1952), p. 269.

³⁰ Durngate St., Dorchester: now in the Dorset County Museum, it includes chequered snakes. See Smith (1965), p. 104.

³¹ Withington: Lysons, vol. ii (1817), pl. xx; Hinks (1933), p. 113, no. 37*d*, fig. 128; Smith (1965), p. 105.

³² *PSA*, 2nd ser., vol. viii (1881), p. 543, '... a large number of coins. These last are of third brasses, of Probus, Carinus, and Constantius Maximus and his son; ranging, therefore, from A.D. 276 to A.D. 340.'

³³ Hawkes and Piggott (1947).

³⁴ Collingwood and Myres (1937), pp. 208-25.

³⁵ Collingwood and Myres (1937), pp. 223-4 and 239-40.

³⁶ Manning (1966).

³⁷ For the disaster of A.D. 367 see Ammianus xxvii. 8. Work by Stilicho in Britain is suggested by a passage in Claudian (*de laudibus Stilichonis*, vol. ii, pp. 247-55) in which the provinces testify to Stilicho's achievements. The nature of the poem, however, makes it an untrustworthy source, and Stilicho's presence in the island cannot be regarded as certain.

³⁸ Blair (1956), pp. 35-36.

³⁹ Rahtz (1963).

- ⁴⁰ Smith (1965), pp. 95-96.
⁴¹ Parlasca (1959), pp. 49 ff.
⁴² For the Woodyates coins see Pitt Rivers (1892), pl. clxxxviii.
⁴³ Wheeler (1943), pp. 131-5.
⁴⁴ Rahtz (1951).
⁴⁵ ApSimon (1965).
⁴⁶ Boon (1951).
⁴⁷ S. C. Hawkes (1961), p. 25; id. (1964), p. 186. For the site see Pugh and Crittall (1957), p. 92.
⁴⁸ See n. 44 *supra*.
⁴⁹ See Bonney (1966) and Fowler (1966).
⁵⁰ I must express both official and personal thanks to the following organizations and individuals who have given unstinting help to the Museum and myself: Ancient Monuments

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THE LATER HISTORY OF THE ROMAN SITE AT HINTON ST. MARY, DORSET

THE remarkable preservation of the Roman mosaic discovered at Hinton St. Mary in 1963, and acquired by the British Museum in 1965, is in sharp contrast to the rather fragmentary remains of the adjacent building or buildings on the site.¹ This note is intended to give a brief account of the later history of the field in which the remains lie in order to explain their fragmentary nature. Very little documentary evidence exists, and most of the conclusions reached here are as a result of field observation and survey.

The field in question is the north-easternmost of a number of irregular fields which, together with an area of woodland, occupy the south-west of the parish of Hinton St. Mary (Fig. 1). The shape of these fields and the way in which they



FIG. 1. Map to show the field-system in the parish of Hinton St. Mary. The site of the Roman buildings and mosaic is shaded.
 Drawn from the Ordnance Survey 6-inch Dorset sheet VII: 15 (ed. 1902). Reproduced with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown Copyright reserved.

appear to have been cut into the woodland suggests that the area was never part of the medieval open-field system which existed in the parish until at least the sixteenth century.² Evidence from the Tithe Map of 1843 and from the remains of ridge and furrow³ supports this idea, and it appears that the open fields originally lay all round the village except on the south-east.

However, this does not mean that this area in general, and the field in which the site lies in particular, was never ploughed. In fact quite the reverse is true. The area has probably been divided up into enclosed fields from an early medieval date, and ploughed for many centuries. This can be seen clearly in the immediate area of the field with which we are concerned (Fig. 2). It is bounded on its south-west and south-east sides by a scarp up to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high which in the main is a negative lynchet formed as a result of the continuous cultivation of the adjacent fields. Even more remarkable is a scarp up to 8 feet high which runs south-east from near the east corner of the field and which again is largely a negative lynchet produced as a result of ploughing the field below it, probably for many centuries.

There is also evidence from the field in which the site lies for extensive ploughing, of at least two phases. The north-west, south-west, and south-east sides of the field have low scarps or ridges along much of their lengths, nowhere much above 1 foot high, which are in part headlands on which a plough has turned and in part negative lynchets produced by ploughing. In addition a low and rather degraded scarp running across the field from north-west to south-east near its north-east side is also the remains of a negative lynchet. These features suggest that the field has been ploughed in two directions at different times. The south-west three-quarters was ploughed cross-ways, i.e. from north-west to south-west for a considerable period, and later the whole field was ploughed longways, i.e. from south-west to north-east, probably for a much shorter period. It is this ploughing which is largely responsible for the fragmentary nature of the site especially at its south-east part. In particular the ploughing has reduced the platform which runs obliquely north-north-east to south-south-west across the field, and which appears to have once held a corridor wing, to a broad indeterminate ridge which only the contours bring out clearly.

The date of this ploughing is of course unknown, but it was probably of considerable antiquity. The fine worm-worked earth lying over the mosaic indicates that a considerable time has elapsed since that part of the field was ploughed, and certainly the field was under permanent pasture by the mid nineteenth century.⁴

One clear indication not only of ploughing but of the destruction of the Roman buildings on the site is the fact that the name of the field on the Tithe Map of 1843 was 'Stoney Hill'. This shows beyond any doubt that foundations

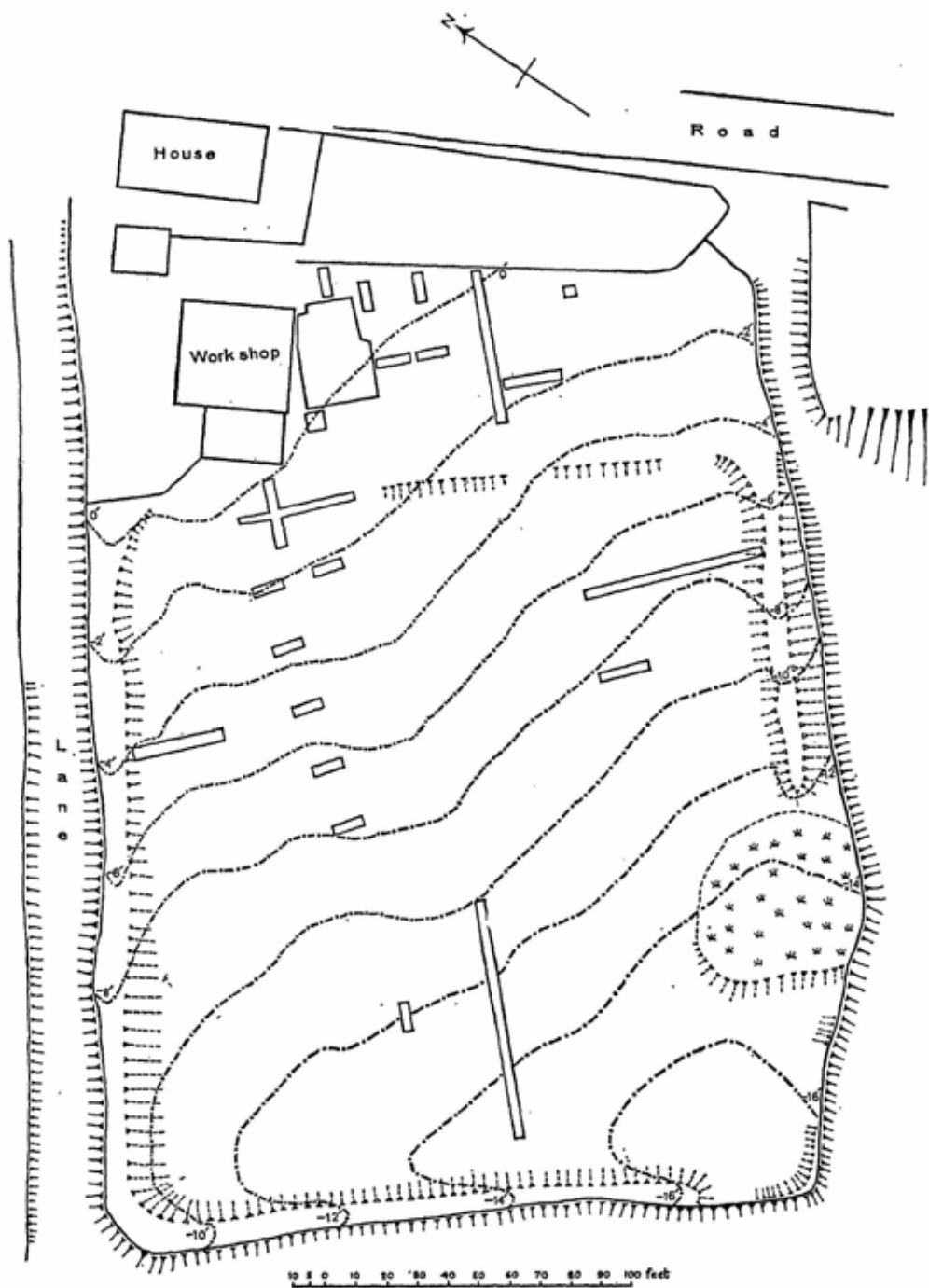


FIG. 2. Plan of the Roman site at Hinton St. Mary. The slope of the field is down from the initial survey-point at 0 ft. The rectilinear features in the field are trenches cut in the excavations of 1963 and 1964.

of the Roman buildings had been turned up in sufficient quantities to give this significant name.

C. C. TAYLOR

¹ J. M. C. Toynbee, 'The Christian Roman Mosaic, Hinton St. Mary, Dorset' in *Journal of Roman Studies*, lxiv (1964), pp. 7-14; K. S. Painter, 'Excavation of the Roman Villa at Hinton St. Mary, 1964' in *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society for 1964*, vol. 86 (1965), pp. 150-4.

² H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems* (1915), Appendix II, p. 442; and *Dorset Procs.*, lxxiii (1951), p. 117.

³ R.C.H.M. (Eng.), *Dorset*, iii, Hinton St. Mary, Monument (19), forthcoming.

⁴ Tithe Map of Hinton St. Mary, 1843.

THE EARLY PHASE AT AMARAVATI

THERE is general agreement among students of the art and epigraphy of the south-east Deccan regarding the chronology of the Middle and Late Phases at Amarāvati. This is based on the well-known inscription of an official of Siri Sivamaka Sada carved on a Middle Phase fragment of the coping of the rail of the Great Stūpa. Though first reported by Robert Sewell some little distance from the site of the Stūpa, this fragment does indicate that the mature style of the Middle Phase had already been achieved by the reign of the Sātavāhana Siva Srī (about A.D. 159 to 166) or Sivaskanda Sātakarni (about A.D. 167 to 174), whichever identification is preferred. (Those who place the later Sātavāhanas two decades earlier than the dates accepted in this paper may make the necessary adjustments.) On the date and duration of the Early Phase, however, there seems to be no agreement whatever. The First Period of C. Sivaramamurti lasts from about 200 to 100 B.C.: a view based on stylistic comparisons with other sites in the north-west Deccan and north India and on epigraphy. I have placed roughly the same sculptures in my Early Phase, and, also arguing from style and epigraphy, have dated them to the second quarter of the second century A.D. and a little earlier. Philippe Stern and Mireille Bénisti, arguing from style and iconography and insisting that their chronology is relative merely, seem to occupy an intermediate position. In his first treatment of the problem Stern¹ provisionally placed his Jaggayyapeta Style (my Early Phase) together with Kārī, Junnar, Kondāne, and the early paintings in Caves IX and X at Ajantā, between the toranas of Sānchī I and III and the 'Mathurā Style'. Of Jaggayyapeta he said that some may think it contemporary with Bhārhut but 'Son aspect fruste ne permet donc pas de conclure à une relative ancienneté'. With the Pompeii ivory in mind, he also permitted himself the cautious statement that the Sānchī toranas were not very much earlier than A.D. 79. This view, not very different from my own, was radically modified in the French scholars' book on Amarāvati (Stern and Bénisti). There, certain

pieces of the First Period (the Jaggayyapeta Style of the earlier book) were related to Bhārhut and early Sānchī (their Plates I–III), while others ‘un peu plus évoluées’ were related to the toranas of Sānchī I and III and the ‘Mathurā Style’ (their Plates IV–X). Others (their Plates XI–XV), the end of their First Period and the beginning of my Middle Phase, were later again. Thus while most of their First Period pieces were advanced to a point where my absolute dating was easily accommodated, some (their Plates I–III and related pieces) were taken back to the period of Bhārhut and early Sānchī, that is, in the opinion of most scholars, to about 100 B.C., if not earlier.

This is the problem reconsidered here. I will deal first with the sculptured slabs which made up the rail to the Great Stūpa, and then with those which decorated its drum.

The archaeological evidence for the rail is small but clear, and is provided by Robert Sewell’s excavation in 1877 and, to a lesser degree, by James Burgess’s examination of the site in 1881–2. Sewell’s Report is a careful piece of work. His personal copy, generously annotated and containing the unpublished photographs he had taken, has recently been acquired by the Department of Oriental Antiquities. Sewell’s excavation was in the north-west quadrant of the rail, where he discovered the undisturbed ‘platform’ or pradakshināpatha between the rail and the drum of the Stūpa itself. It was covered with a darkstone flooring, a stone used for the same purpose at Nāgārjunakonda. Against the outer circumference of the pradakshināpatha Sewell found the fragmentary bases of four uprights and one complete cross-bar of the rail *in situ*. The first upright (Sewell No. 26) was 2 ft. 3 in. broad. For 6 inches above the pradakshināpatha the inner face was plain and smooth. Above this was a 3-inch horizontal band of ornament; then a half lotus of three rows of petals surrounded by a narrow band of ornament, and finally three vertical, shallow flutes, left plain and with lotus buds in profile in the bottom two corners. The outer face of the upright was smoothed but unsculptured. Between this piece and the next upright and still mortised in position was a cross-bar (Sewell No. 27). The inner face was decorated with a full lotus of three rows of petals surrounded by a narrow band of ornament on a projecting boss 2 ft. 4 in. in diameter. The outer face, however, was plain, its curve following the line of the lenticular mortises. The next upright (Sewell No. 28) was 2 ft. 2 in. broad and designed like the first. Sewell’s photograph of the inner faces of these three pieces *in situ* is here illustrated (Plate XVII). A third base (Sewell No. 37) formed with Sewell Nos. 26 and 28 three consecutive uprights of the rail, the intervening cross-bar unfortunately being missing. For some reason Sewell omits to describe this fragment. Burgess only mentions its unsculptured outer face (Burgess No. 135), but it is possible to make out from his unpublished photographs of the site in 1881–2 that what little decoration remained on its inner face was similar in design to Sewell Nos. 26 and 28. The

next upright but one was also found by Sewell *in situ* (Sewell No. 39). It was 2 ft. 7 in. broad. Sewell regrets that he was unable to give as accurate a description of this fragment as he could wish. His note, made on the spot, reads: '*Pillar in situ. Inside (the inner face) is the same as 26, 28, but the back (outer face) is carved with half-disk (half-lotus) and flower-band with dolphins' heads (makaras) at the ends. The back is slightly curved.*' Burgess (No. 137) merely refers to the piece as '*another smashed base of a pillar*', which is what it had become in the intervening four years, as can still be seen on Burgess's photograph of the inner face. These pieces alone can be accepted as found *in situ* in the north-west quadrant of the rail.

Sewell's first three (Nos. 26, 28, and 37) fragmentary uprights then were carved only on the inner face, the outer being left plain: the decoration of the inner face consisted of a horizontal band of ornament, a half-lotus with three rows of petals, and three vertical shallow flutes left plain with two lotuses in profile in the lower corners. The cross-bar (No. 27) was also plain on the outer face and merely curved to follow the line of the mortises: the inner face carried a lotus with three rows of petals. The British Museum possesses the only two complete uprights of this type which seem to have survived. They and three cross-bars similar to Sewell's No. 27 are illustrated, as assembled in the Museum, on Stern and Bénisti Plate *iva*. Though we cannot be absolutely certain where these five pieces were found, it is highly probable that they, like most of the Elliot Collection, were dug out just north of the west gate. That the British Museum pieces are contemporary with Sewell's Nos. 26, 28, and 37, the close similarity in dimensions, design, and style will hardly permit a doubt. Fortunately, the British Museum uprights carry dedicatory inscriptions which, I venture to claim, would be accepted by the most sceptical of epigraphists as belonging to the reign of Vasishthīputra Sri Pulumāvi, who ruled from about A.D. 130 to 158. A comparison need only be made with the dedication made at the west gate in an unspecified year of Pulumāvi on two unsculptured fragments, one found at the west gate, the other 20 yards to the north (Burgess No. 121). As regards the uprights of the rail of the Great Stūpa, Sewell's Nos. 26, 28, and 37 and the two complete British Museum pieces occupy the first place in any sequence of design and style. (Barrett, Type 1, from which Sewell's No. 40 should be excluded.) They are followed, formally at least, by uprights (Barrett, Type 2) identical in design to the first but broader. (Burgess Nos. 155 and 156 and probably Nos. 142 and 159. His No. 58B may also be included, but the inscription which he attributes to it really belongs to his No. 164.) These pieces were found in the north-west quadrant of the rail. The next type (Barrett, Type 3) is sculptured on both faces. The lotuses have four rows of petals and into the fluted area, otherwise left plain, is introduced, usually, it seems, on one face only, a foliate-wave motif. (Barrett, Catalogue No. 4 and probably Burgess No. 187

from the north-west quadrant.) Sewell No. 40 (Burgess No. 138), from the north-west quadrant, was probably of this type, but both writers describe the outer face only. Sewell No. 39, found *in situ*, seems, if his description is accurate, to have carried Type I decoration on both faces. In the next type (Barrett, Type 4) the fluted areas of the outer face remain plain except for the foliate-waves, but on the inner face they are filled with sculptured scenes (Barrett, Catalogue No. 5). There follows the fully developed type of the Middle Phase (Barrett, Type 5), which, as has been already said, is fairly securely dated by the dedication of an official of Siri Sivamaka Sada. During the Middle and Late Phases uprights were carved on both sides with sculptures within which a clear and generally accepted progression of style can be observed.

As far as the cross-bars are concerned the situation is less complicated. Sewell No. 27 and the three British Museum pieces (Barrett, Catalogue Nos. 6-8) are the simplest in design (Barrett, Type 1). Sewell found another example (No. 31) '*so close to No. 27, which is the lowest of the three discs of the rail, it is not at all improbable that this marble was the upper or middle one between the same two uprights*'. A little to the south of Sewell's excavation Burgess found three more (Nos. 109-111), clear on his photographs of the site. (I omit Sewell No. 44 which he claims to be exactly similar to his Nos. 27 and 31, since Burgess (No. 136) says it is carved on both sides.) A very important Type 1 cross-bar was found by Burgess in the south-west quadrant (No. 36), but I will return to this later. The next type (Barrett, Type 2) carries a Type 1 lotus on both faces. These were reported by Burgess in all quadrants but the majority seems to cluster in the south-west quadrant (Burgess No. 39, containing references to many others). Type 3 is the fully developed Middle Phase cross-bar and does not concern us here.

The value of Sewell's report is clear. It establishes beyond doubt that the rail in its final and most elaborate form at the end of the Late Phase retained at least a portion of its north-west quadrant decorated in its simplest and, we must believe, earliest manner. It is not impossible that the 'Officer of Works' of the Late Phase was aware of the incongruity and was already beginning to replace old-fashioned uprights: a Late Phase drum slab (Barrett, Catalogue No. 93) is carved on the back of a cut down Early Phase Type 2 upright (Barrett, Catalogue No. 3). Secondly, the formal series proposed here is not necessarily a strictly chronological one, or, if so, was concentrated into a very brief period: a Type 3 upright (Sewell No. 39) was found *in situ* next but one to three uprights of Type 1 (Sewell Nos. 26, 28, and 37). In any case Types 1 and 2 of the cross-bars are identical in style. I would suggest then, so far as the uprights and cross-bars of the rail are concerned, the progression of style from the inception of the Early Phase to the achievement of the mature Middle Phase could not have occupied a period of more than forty-four years at the outside, that is, from the accession

of Pulumāvi to the end of the reign of Sivaskanda Sātakarni. It was almost certainly much briefer.

So far archaeology, stylistic analysis, and epigraphy seem to agree. Less so perhaps when we approach the problem of the coping which surmounted the Early Phase uprights and cross-bars. In the Middle and Late Phases the outer face of the coping is decorated with a continuous garland carried by young men, and the inner with Jātakas and scenes from the Buddha's last earthly existence. There is, however, another coping, on one face of which, carved in low relief, a continuous garland is carried by dwarfs. At least nine pieces of this coping have survived: six from the north-west quadrant (Sewell Nos. 25, 35, 43, 62, and 76 *a* and *b*, and Burgess No. 128); one (Burgess No. 2B) from a little to the west of the south gate; one (Burgess No. 45) from the south-west quadrant; and one in the collections of the British Museum (Barrett, Catalogue No. 12). Some pieces, e.g. Sewell Nos. 25, 35, and 43, and Burgess No. 2B, are complete in section, curved at the top and with one face left smooth and unsculptured. There is general agreement that these coping fragments are closely related stylistically to the uprights and cross-bars of the Early Phase. The half-lotuses within the curves of the garland are those of Type 1 uprights and cross-bars with, however, only two rows of petals. The connected flower discs at the bottom of some of the 'dwarf' coping fragments are found on Type 2 uprights and later into the Middle Phase. They are replaced on certain fragments by the square rosette commonly employed in the Early and Middle Phases. Again, one would wish to associate Types 1 and 2 uprights and Type 1 cross-bars with a coping plain on one face. Finally, though it may be objected that in the disturbed condition of the site the position of pieces not actually *in situ* carries little weight, it is worth mentioning that Sewell Nos. 25 and 35 lay within 10 feet of the pieces found by Sewell *in situ*, Sewell No. 43 about 20 feet to the north-east, Sewell No. 62 about 15 feet to the north-north-east and Sewell No. 76 *a* and *b* about 15 feet to the south-west. (Burgess No. 128 is admittedly a terminal piece and therefore out of position. It is perhaps significant that it was not observed by Sewell in 1877.) In other words, if these coping fragments formed with Sewell Nos. 26, 27, 28, and 37, one unit plain on the outer face, they have fallen roughly where one would have expected, when the great mass of the Stūpa, thrust outwards by the early nineteenth-century excavation of a tank, sheared off the top of the rail. Thus the identity of style and design and the archaeological evidence combine to suggest that the 'dwarf' coping surmounted uprights of Types 1 and 2 and cross-bars of Type 1; were contemporary with them; and still formed part of the north-west quadrant of the rail when major work on the Great Stūpa was finally abandoned at the end of the Late Phase. The dwarf continued to occupy a prominent position on terminal portions of the coping during the Middle Phase (Burgess No. 145 and Stern and Bénisti, Plate

xxviii*a*) and Late Phase (Burgess No. 9, illustrated by Stern and Bénisti, Plate LVIII*a*).

There is, however, a difficulty, though not, I think, insuperable. Two of the 'dwarf' coping fragments (Sewell No. 60 and Burgess No. 2*B*) carry dedications in a style of script found on several other Amarāvati pieces. It appears, for example, on a well-known sculptured pillar in the British Museum, which occupies Plates I and II*a* of Stern and Bénisti. Though no recent student of epigraphy would entertain a comparison of this script with that of Bhārhut or early Sāncī—it is clearly later than that on the toranas of Sāncī I and III—it has a more archaic appearance than that on the two British Museum Type I uprights. Now the Type I cross-bar (Burgess No. 36), already mentioned as found in the south-west quadrant, also has a dedication in this 'earlier' style. This cross-bar, which carries a lotus with two rows of petals surrounded by a broad band of floral ornament, was found in association with a mutilated Early Phase upright (Burgess No. 44), probably of Type 3 but carrying lotuses with only two rows of petals, and with an important piece of the dwarf coping (Burgess No. 45). If these inscriptions are placed beside those found in the north-west Deccan—the only relevant comparison—their closest parallels would probably be some of the private dedications on the pillars within the Kārla Caitya. There seems now to be fairly general agreement that the excavations of the Caitya only just preceded Ushavadāta's dedication of a village to the ascetics of Kārla and therefore took place in the reign of Gautamīputra, Pulumāvi's predecessor. So strong is the stylistic and archaeological evidence at Amarāvati, one may fairly claim that both styles of script, on the coping and cross-bar and on the uprights, were used side by side, that on the coping and cross-bar being a little old-fashioned compared with contemporary developments in the north-west Deccan.

If the foregoing argument is acceptable, the British Museum pillar (Stern and Bénisti, Plates I and II*a*) may be withdrawn from the French writers' earliest group (their Plates I–III) and placed with the dwarf coping where on epigraphical and, indeed, on stylistic grounds it belongs. The same applies to the split pillar (Burgess No. 87) found at the West Gate, which was recut with figures of the Buddha and stūpas in the fourth century A.D. (Stern and Bénisti, Plate LXVII*a*).

Several fragments have survived of a third coping, carved with young men and animals and again plain on one face. There are three pieces in the British Museum (Barrett, Catalogue Nos. 9–11). Four were found in the north-west quadrant (Sewell Nos. 36, 45, and 54 and Burgess No. 56*B*), one at the west gate (Burgess No. 89) and two in the south-west quadrant (Burgess Nos. 69, and 73 and 29*B*). Accepted by all recent students as contemporary with the dwarf coping, they present no problem of style or chronology. It is useless to speculate whether they, like the 'dwarf' coping, formed a part of the rail to the

Great Stūpa in its final form, but it is worth mentioning that this variety of coping is frequently portrayed on the stūpas represented in little on Late Phase drum slabs.

The various forms of the rail already discussed were then erected no earlier than the reign of Pulumāvi. We may now turn to an examination of the slabs which decorated the drum of the Stūpa itself. There is no question but that the final decoration of the drum consisted of rectangular slabs, usually carved with a representation of the Stūpa in little, flanked by slender pilasters and crowned by a narrow frieze on which could be read at eye level scenes from the Buddha's previous and last existences. Most of the rectangular slabs are in the British Museum. It seems clear, on present evidence, that the casing of the drum in this manner took place for the most part in the Late Phase. Few drum slabs of the Middle Phase seem to have survived, and of these one at least (Barrett, Catalogue No. 51) was split, turned, and recarved with a drum frieze in the Late Phase (Barrett, Catalogue No. 118). The evidence for the earlier decoration of the drum is based on two important palimpsests. The fine drum slab² in the Government Museum, Madras, shows on one side the miniature Stūpa, the flanking pilasters, and crowning frieze, cut from one piece of limestone in the style of the Late Phase. The decoration on the reverse consists merely of a pilaster supporting a frieze, the rest of the field left plain. The greater part of the frieze is broken away, but it can easily be reconstructed from complete pieces. It shows scenes of worship of the Stūpa and Throne separated by a miniature rail, the uprights of which were decorated with two half-lotuses and supported two lotus cross-bars. The pilaster consists of three narrow plinths on which rests a vase. Two winged addorsed elephants support the shaft which is decorated with one full and two half-lotuses. Two winged addorsed horses on three narrow plinths crown the lotus capital. The second palimpsest is in the British Museum. It also bears on one side a Late Phase representation of the Stūpa (Barrett, Catalogue No. 98). The left edge of the reverse (Barrett, Catalogue No. 15) is carved with a pilaster, now fragmentary, similar to that on the reverse of the Madras slab, but bearing on the shaft a female figure standing on a makara. Unlike the Madras slab the field is occupied by an elaborate carving of the Enlightenment above a plain rail. Here the small stūpa at Jaggayyapeta examined by Burgess is helpful. Many of the drum slabs were found *in situ*. Few had any carving except the pilaster up one edge. The back of the other edge of each was cut away so as to receive the plain edge of the next slab, thus concealing and strengthening the joint. But these slabs occupied the curve of the drum, and it was only at the āyaka-platforms or rectangular projections of the drum at the four cardinal points that the slabs bore sculptures other than the pilasters. It was never considered necessary to renovate Jaggayyapeta, not even when in the twentieth year of the Ikshvāku Vīrapurushadatta (third-quarter of the third century A.D.)

five āyaka-pillars were dedicated to the stūpa. Nor indeed was the stūpa at Bhattiprolu renovated, a stūpa not much smaller than the Great Stūpa of Amarāvati itself. There, at the north āyaka-platform Alexander Rea³ found a small fragment of a pilaster base (his Plate VII, Fig. 3), a pilaster carved with addorsed horses with riders (his Plate VIII), and part of a slab carved with the feet and legs of a draped figure and at the right edge the base of a pilaster consisting of two plinths and the vase (his Plate IX). At neither site have slabs in Middle or Late Phase style been reported. There is good evidence, however, that the stūpa at Ghantasāla underwent the same renovation as Amarāvati.⁴

The drum of the Amarāvati Stūpa was then decorated in the Early Phase with sculptured scenes separated by pilasters at the āyaka-platforms, and with slabs plain except for pilasters at intervals on the curved quadrants. From the quadrants a number of fragments have survived.

(a) *Without frieze*

1. The big slab, over 13 feet long divided by three pilasters into three plain fields. Found by Sewell at the east gate (Burgess No. 206 and Burgess, *Amaravati*, plate XLIX 5 and 6).
2. A small fragment with part of capital and two addorsed lions, from the south-west quadrant (Burgess No. 87B).
3. Base of pilaster with vase supported by dwarf. Found at the east gate (Burgess No. 73B).

(b) *With frieze*

1. The Madras Palimpsest. Find spot unknown.
2. Found at the east gate (Burgess No. 71B and Burgess, *Amaravati*, plate LI, 1).
3. Found at the east gate (Burgess No. 72B, and Burgess, *Amaravati*, plate LI, 3).
4. Found at the east gate (Burgess No. 210, and Burgess, *Amaravati*, plate LIV, 2).

(c) *Separate friezes*

1. Found in south-west quadrant (Burgess No. 9B and Stern and Bénisti, Plate XIV, b).
2. Found at east side of south gate in Alexander Rea's excavation (Stern and Bénisti, Plate IXa).
3. A fine unpublished frieze in the Museum at Amarāvati (Plate XVIII).
4. Frieze in British Museum carved on a split pillar (Barrett, Catalogue No. 17).
5. Found at west gate (Burgess No. 82, and Burgess, *Amaravati*, Plate XLVIII, 4 below).
6. Frieze in British Museum (Barrett, Catalogue No. 55).
7. Frieze in British Museum (Barrett, Catalogue No. 56).

All the friezes are similarly designed, that is, with figure or decorative panels separated by a miniature railing consisting of uprights with two half-lotuses with or without the central full lotus, supporting groups of two cross-bars. Fortunately

several of the above slabs carry dedications ((b) 1-4 and (c) 2, 3, and 6). Both Chanda and Dani would accept the script as of the period of Pulumāvi and no epigraphist, I believe, would now dissent. The script of the dedications on (b) 1-4 and (c) 2-3 has a slightly earlier look than that on the two British Museum rail uprights while that of (c) 6 is exactly similar. Indeed the frieze (c) 4 is carved on a split pillar which itself bears a fragmentary inscription (Barrett, Catalogue No. 23), hardly, if at all, older than those on the other quadrant pieces and perceptibly 'later' than the script of the 'dwarf' copings. It is perhaps worth noting that on the top of the frieze in the Museum at Amarāvati ((c) 3) a continuous miniature garland is supported by dwarfs and swans. Moreover, all these friezes are immediately followed, both stylistically and epigraphically, by pieces in the full Middle Phase style (Stein and Bénisti, Plate xviiA). We may conclude that the severe decoration of the quadrants began no earlier than the reign of Pulumāvi, continued into the Middle Phase, and was probably retained until the end of that Phase, for on the earliest of the Late Phase drum slabs the stūpa is sometimes represented as cased in this manner (Barrett, Plate iiiA).

From the āyaka-platform several fragments have also survived. The more important are here listed:

(a) *Slab without pilaster*

1. A Vrکشacaitya (Sivaramamurti, Plate xv, 1).

(b) *Slabs with pilaster*

1. The British Museum palimpsest.
2. Worship of domed caitya. Found outside the north or west gate (Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Reports. 1908-9. Plate xxixd).
3. Unpublished fragment in the Museum at Amarāvati (Plate XIX).
4. A fragment with part of capital, worshippers, and procession of geese at base (Sivaramamurti, Plate xiv, 4).
5. Base of pilaster with procession of geese at base. Found at the east gate (Burgess No. 209, and Burgess, *Amaravati*, Plate XLIX, 8).
6. The so-called Yaksha Candamukha (Sivaramamurti, Plate xvi, 1).

(c) *Slab with pilaster and frieze*

1. Barrett, Catalogue No. 16.

We may concede that the decoration of the āyaka-platforms, being the most important parts of the drum, was probably completed before that of the quadrants began. I have argued that the work proceeded steadily with no appreciable interval separating the one from the other. This, I believe, would be the view of Sivaramamurti—and the view of all students so far as the stūpa at Jaggayyapeta is concerned. Stern and Bénisti, on the other hand, place the decoration of the

āyaka-platforms (their Plate IIIa, the British Museum palimpsest) in the earliest group of their First Period, related to Bhārhut and early Sāncī, and the decoration of the quadrants (their Plate VIIIb, the Madras Museum palimpsest) in the second group of their First Period, related to the toranas of Sāncī I and III and the 'Mathurā' Style: an interval of perhaps 100 and, many would claim, nearer 200 years. I should add that for them the Jaggayyapeta sculptures, both āyaka-platform and quadrant decoration, are exactly contemporary with the second group of their First Period.

Stylistic comparison of the āyaka-platform and quadrant slabs at Amarāvati is not wholly satisfactory, since the field of the latter is bare of the relatively large-scale sculpture of the former. We have to be content with a comparison of the pilasters. Apart from the decoration of the shaft, no student, one may claim, would be able to distinguish stylistically between the pilaster forms on either type of slab or between those of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta. On the pilasters of the quadrant slabs at Amarāvati the shaft is formed by a miniature Type 1 upright. On the āyaka-platform slabs it supports a male or female figure on a makara, a motif found on both types of slab at Jaggayyapeta. But even here there is one possible exception with a miniature upright ((b) 5) which I have included among the āyaka-platform slabs, though no part of the field survives, because of its close resemblance to (b) 4. Again, the representation of the human form in the fields and on the pilasters of the Amarāvati āyaka-platforms is, though slightly different in style, at the same stage of development as that on both types of slab at Jaggayyapeta. It would have been helpful to compare the friezes on āyaka-platform and quadrant slabs. The evidence is, however, confusing. The top of some āyaka-platform slabs ((b) 2 and perhaps (a) 1 and (b) 1) is so cut that a frieze of quadrant type could have been supported. Sivaramamurti (I.B. 17) seems to mention an āyaka-platform fragment with such a frieze but I have been unable to identify the piece. Other āyaka-platform slabs at Amarāvati perfect at the top ((b) 6) and all at Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, and Ghantasāla terminate in a plain rectangular moulding up to 6 inches broad. This moulding is carved as a frieze in one instance only ((c) 1) with the Offering of the Monkey to the Buddha. Similar treatment of the same subject is found on a Middle Phase upright (Burgess, *Amaravati*, Plate XII, 3). Other sculptured fragments have also been found beyond the north or west gates (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports 1908-9. Plate xxx a, b, c, and e). They are presumably from āyaka-platform slabs, rather differently designed from those already discussed but in the same style. The sculptured scenes are divided by vertical panels of decoration in which the lotus predominates. The slabs terminate in a narrow frieze with half-lotuses above and pendent lotuses below a continuous undulating garland. Whether they belonged to the Great Stūpa itself or to some smaller stūpa within its precincts it is impossible to say.

One of the āyaka-platform slabs ((b) 6) bears an inscription variously read but clearly cut. This inscription (Chanda No. 36) belongs to Chanda's second group, all examples of which (Chanda Nos. 25, 29, 33, 36, 40, 42, and 44) are in the same style as the inscriptions of the 'dwarf' coping. Indeed, Chanda Nos. 42 and 44 seem to be fragments of the 'dwarf' coping. They are called coping slabs (*unisa*) in the inscriptions and are described by Sivaramamurti (II. E. 30 and III. F. 9) as fragments showing the half-lotus with inscriptions above. If my interpretation of the epigraphical evidence on the uprights of the rail is acceptable, its application here strengthens the view that the decoration of the āyaka-platforms immediately preceded that of the quadrants. It is worth noting that Sivaramamurti himself (III. F. 9) accepts one of Chanda's second group as even later than I would claim. Even so, there remains an interesting epigraphical problem. Chanda's first group (his Nos. 1-20) is accepted by all epigraphists as containing the earliest inscriptions at Amarāvati. They are dated by Chanda to about 200 B.C., by Sivaramamurti to about 200 to 100 B.C., and by Dani to the first half of the first century A.D. Chanda Nos. 3 and 5-20 are all inscribed on small uprights and cross-bars, which Sivaramamurti has plausibly suggested formed the harmikā, or small rail, surrounding the summit of the dome of the Great Stūpa. Chanda Nos. 1 and 4 are also said to be on uprights. The former is not listed by Sivaramamurti, while the latter is attributed by him (II. E. 28) in error to his Second Period. Chanda, No. 2 'on a sculptured fragment' is also not listed by Sivaramamurti. I have only recently appreciated Chanda's error in attributing it to Amarāvati. In fact, it is inscribed on the plain rectangular moulding of one of the slabs from Jaggayyapeta (Burgess, *Amaravati*, Plate LIV, 4). I would hazard the suggestion that his inscription No. 2 does not belong to Chanda's first group but is, rather, quite as late as his Nos. 37, 38, and 43, a sub-group of his second group which appears somewhat more archaic than the other inscriptions in that group. On epigraphical grounds we may have to concede, thus reversing the position held by Stern and Bénisti, that the decoration of the drum of the Jaggayyapeta stūpa just preceded that of the āyaka-platforms at Amarāvati, which itself was immediately followed by the quadrant decoration. I would, however, continue to emphasize that the duration of the Early Phase was brief and that the manipulation of several styles both of sculpture and of script swiftly culminated in the complete mastery of the Middle Phase. Strong corroboration of this view is provided by the inscriptional and stylistic evidence at Ghantasāla, which makes it clear—and here there is no contrary opinion—that the Early Phase decoration of the āyaka-platforms there took place in the reign of Pulumāvi, somewhat later than at Jaggayyapeta and Amarāvati.

In the earliest group of their First Period, Stern and Bénisti also include (their Plate IIIb) a Buddhapāda or Footprints of the Buddha in the British Museum.

This slab is also a palimpsest. On the other side is carved above a plain miniature rail a full lotus surmounted by a large trisūla and separated from the remains of a repeat of this motif by a pendent lotus (Barrett, Catalogue No. 18). A more complete fragment from west of the south gate (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, 1905-6, Plate XLVII, 3) helps to complete this piece. Below the plain miniature railing was a broad frieze of half-lotuses and a narrow band of rectangular rosettes divided by vertical strings of pearls, the whole supported by a version of the slabs which decorated the āyaka-platforms of the Great Stūpa. In this instance, addorsed winged horses and the lotus capital of the pilaster remain and, in the field, the top of a domed and windowed caitya. Three further fragments of this type of slab have survived (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, 1908-9, Plate xxxia-c from beyond the north or west gate). The height of a complete slab must have been about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet. I have suggested that they cased the high drum of an Early Phase small stūpa at the site. The date of the original face of the British Museum palimpsest will be that of the āyaka-platform slabs, that is, early in or just before the reign of Pulumāvi. The slab was cut down, reversed, and carved with the Buddhapāda towards the end of the Early Phase. That the interval of time involved was small is supported by a comparison of the original face with the terminal ornament of slabs which in the Middle Phase decorated the dome of the Great Stūpa (Barrett, Plate xix). There, on a smaller scale, the full lotus and trisūla motif is repeated together with the narrow frieze of rosettes and vertical strings of pearls.

In the earliest group of Stern and Bénisti's First Period, there remains one small fragment (their Plate 11b) on which is incised a stūpa and a vrksha caitya. It possibly formed part of the coping of the harmikā rail. In any case it bears an inscription which would have to be placed in Chanda's first group. This group includes by common consent not only his Nos. 1-20, from which I have attempted to withdraw No. 2, but also the unsculptural fragment of a pillar dedicated by the senagopa Mudukutala (Burgess No. 69b, found at the east gate) and a more recently discovered fragment of a rail coping, 21 inches high and entirely plain, dedicated by the attendants (?) of a princess (rājakumārī) Sammalī (Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1953-4). Another piece of plain coping, 19 inches high and uninscribed, was found by Burgess (No. 70b) close to Mudukutala's pillar.

This group, as already said, is variously dated. P. R. Srinivasan (Lalit Kalā, No. 10, October 1961) has recently reconsidered the evidence. Such inscriptions as those on the small uprights and cross-bars—he quotes Chanda Nos. 6 and 13—are brought down to the first century B.C. along with the Sammalī coping, since they are dedications. But descriptive labels, such as Sivaramamurti Nos. 1 (an estampage of this vital inscription, which belongs, in my opinion, to Chanda's second group, has never been published) and 3 (Chanda's second

group No. 36) are taken back into the middle of the second century B.C. The archaeological and stylistic evidence, if fairly set out here, will not permit this reversal of Chanda's sequence. Moreover, unless his groups are allowed to form a close series, it is impossible to give an account of the early history of the Great Stūpa consonant with the other evidence. Here Dani's interpretation is of value. For him Chanda's first group represents a regional adaption of the Nānāghāt style in the north-west Deccan and remains current until the early part of Pulumāvi's reign, when it is directly succeeded by Chanda's second group whose forms are traceable to Kushān inscriptions. Dani's dating of the Nānāghāt inscriptions to about the middle of the first century A.D. implies the acceptance of the so-called short chronology for the Sātavāhanas, according to which Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, came to the throne about 30 B.C. Obviously, the long and the compromise chronologies, which place Simuka's accession about 180 B.C., 120 B.C., or 75 B.C., derive no support from the position taken here.

The early history of the Great Stūpa may be summarized as follows. Once the constructional work and plastering were completed, the rail of the harmikā (Chanda's first group) was added to the summit of the dome, presumably at the time of the deposition of the relics. The decoration of the āyaka-platforms (Chanda's second group) was next undertaken, simultaneously with the earliest sections of the great rail. (Chanda's second group merging swiftly into his third group.) The decoration of the āyaka-platforms completed, work began on the quadrants of the drum (Chanda's third group) and continued well into the Middle Phase. All this activity occupied no more than three or four decades in and just before the reign of Pulumāvi, that is, by any of the proposed chronologies, after about 80 A.D.

I have omitted any reference to the so-called Asoka pillar, recently discovered at Amarāvati, since its full publication is expected. If it is, in fact, an Asoka pillar, it may have a bearing on the problems discussed here though it will not necessarily imply the existence of a stūpa at Amarāvati in the third century B.C. Nor will the condition of the site at its first discovery and its subsequent misadventures encourage speculation whether such a stūpa later became the core of the Great Stūpa itself. Finally, if the Sammalī coping and Mudukutala pillar are thought to presuppose the existence of a stūpa before the Early Phase, one can but reply that no sculptured fragments from that stūpa have survived.

DOUGLAS BARRETT

ABBREVIATIONS

Barrett	Douglas Barrett, <i>Sculptures from Amarāvati in the British Museum</i> , London, 1954.
Burgess	James Burgess, <i>Notes on the Amarāvati Stupa</i> . Archaeological Survey of Southern India, No. 3, Madras, 1882.

Burgess, <i>Amaravati</i>	James Burgess, <i>The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta</i> , London, 1887.
Chanda	R. P. Chanda. 'Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions', <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , xv.
Dani	Ahmad Hasan Dani, <i>Indian Palaeography</i> , Oxford, 1963.
Sewell	Robert Sewell, <i>Report on the Amarāvati Tōpe</i> , London, 1880.
Sivaramamurti	C. Sivaramamurti, <i>Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum</i> , Madras, 1942.
Stern and Bénisti	Philippe Stern and Mireille Bénisti, <i>Évolution du Style Indien d'Amarāvati</i> , Paris, 1961.

¹ J. Hackin *et al.* *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bégram*, Paris, 1954.

² Douglas Barrett, 'Two Unpublished Sculptures from Amaravati', *The British Museum Quarterly*, vol. xx, no. 3, 1956.

³ South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Madras, 1894.

⁴ Douglas Barrett, 'Two Unpublished Sculptures from Andhradesa', *Arts asiatiques*, tome iii, fasc. 4, Paris, 1956.

FEATHER JACKET (JIMBAORI) OF THE MOMOYAMA PERIOD (1573-1638) SUPPOSED TO HAVE BELONGED TO HIDEYOSHI (1536-1598)

THERE has been in the Collections of the British Museum since 1897 a rather battered feathered jacket, gift of Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, which bears a label in English (not Japanese) that it was once the property of the great Japanese General Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who made himself master of Japan in the sixteenth century. The past history of this jacket remains a mystery. All we know is the name of the dealer from whom Franks acquired it.

The *Jimbaori* is a sleeveless coat, worn over armour. It is believed to have developed in Japan during the Muromachi period (1338-1573) from the *Dohaku*, a coat worn over the *Kosode*, a garment with short, rounded, sleeves and narrow cuffs; originally worn by both men and women as an undergarment, but later developed by the warrior class into formal wear. These *Jimbaori* usually had family insignia like a mon, or a favourite device, sewn in the form of a patch on the back of the garment. Our feather *Jimbaori* includes such a patch in the middle of the back formed by a radiating feather design in appliqué arranged like the circles on a target.

The whole of the outside surface of this *Jimbaori* is covered with feathers pasted on singly in tiers starting from the bottom and planted like overlapping tiles. All of these feathers have been stuck on to the hemp background by hand. They have been attached to the material by an adhesive which is now reddish-brown in colour and is still in a remarkably flexible condition but whose precise nature it is difficult to identify.

Feather Jimbaori, we are told by Mr. Yamanobe of the Tokyo National Museum, were popular among daimyo during the Momoyama (1573-1638) and early Tokugawa (1615-1867) periods; but few examples appear to have survived even in Japan. This makes our Jimbaori of more than usual interest. For although there is no evidence beyond the label that it ever belonged to the Taiko, it almost certainly derives from the Momoyama period: (1) because the feathers are pasted on to the background cloth, not attached or woven into it as appears in the later Tokugawa examples of these jackets; and (2) because the body of the garment is of hemp and not cotton, a textile which was only introduced into Japan, and not much used, during the Momoyama period.

Our Jimbaori has a body of ramie hemp with a collar of cream silk damask twill, stiffened by paper. The pattern on the collar is of a four shaft warp twill on a plain tabby ground and the twill is Chinese. There is no reason to believe that the collar is not contemporary with the rest of the jacket; for many Chinese silks were imported into Japan during the Momoyama period. The same considerations apply to the lining of the jacket, also of hemp, which is dark brown in colour and decorated in painted gold stripes which we also believe to be contemporary with the rest of the jacket. The edging of the coat is in a thin black silk thread held in position by a blue thread of ramie which is tacked throughout the whole coat, which is a good deal worn. The purple silk loop fastening at the neck is in good condition but it is unlikely to be a replacement for it is attached by the same blue thread used for the edging. I should like to acknowledge the help of the Research Department of the Laboratory in identifying the body of the cloth as hemp.

Most of the feathers themselves have been identified by the British Museum (Natural History) as belonging to two species of Japanese pheasant: (a) Yamadori, the copper pheasant (*Syrnaticus Soemmerringii*); and (b), Kiji, the green or Japanese pheasant (*Phasianus Versicolor*, or as it is sometimes called *P. Colchicus Versicolor*).¹ In addition, there are four rows on each side of the middle of the front of the jacket of the vermiculated body feathers of a drake of some unidentified species of the genus *Anas*. These have also been used to outline the decorative roundel on the back of the coat.

In the Edo or Tokugawa period, Mr. Yamanobe informs us, this technique of applying feathers by an adhesive was changed to the more delicate process of a cloth of woven threads with feathers attached. In these later Jimbaori the feathers are laid on the threads which run lengthwise. One such jacket, he tells us, once belonging to a member of the Date family, is in a museum in Sendai City. But it is clear that our Jimbaori belongs to the earlier and less sophisticated group in which the feathers were pasted on to a backcloth. It would have been impossible, I think, to have contrived the target-shaped design on the back by any other method.

The practice of applying feathers to articles of clothing must go back to at least as early as the T'ang period in China. In the famous T'ang poem entitled 'The Never Ending Grief'² by Po Chü-i, the T'ang Emperor Hsüan Tsung, commonly known as Ming Huang (the Magnificent), who reigned from 715 to 756, abdicated, and died in 762, the poet refers to a song and dance composed by the Emperor for his favourite, the Lady Yang Kuei Fei. This composition, called 'The Song of the Rainbow Skirt and the Feathered Jacket', was performed in his presence by this *femme fatale*, for whom his infatuation ultimately cost him his kingdom! There have survived in the Shosoin Repository in Japan, whose contents, belonging to the Emperor Shomu, were dedicated to the Great Buddha in 756, in the north section lower floor, three series of six panels, originally forming three folding Chinese screens, decorated with feathers in the pasted technique.³ In the first of these series the six panels are decorated with a poem of moral maxims in which the Chinese characters are formed by pheasant feathers pasted on to coloured paper.⁴ The mounting, as well as the colour of the first, third, and fifth panels, does not correspond with the description in the Kenmotsucho (Deed of Gift) owing to extensive repairs made in 1693. In the second series the six panels were decorated with moral maxims in seal (chuan) characters in pasted pheasant feathers alternating with characters painted in colour.⁵ These panels were mended in 1833 and now form a single screen. In the third and most interesting of these series the panels are decorated with a design of ladies under trees in pheasant feather appliqué.⁶ Most of the Yamadori feathers have fallen off leaving the outline of the design drawn in ink, and the hands, sleeve ends, cheeks, and lips painted in colour, while blue beauty spots are revealed on each side of the mouth! One of these panels has been completely restored and only the face is original. The original lining paper of the panel bears the date of the sixth month of the fourth year of Tempyo-Shoho (752).

The Chinese have continued to use this technique of pasted feathers up to comparatively recent times on panels of landscape, figures, birds, and flowers worked out in pasted kingfisher feathers.⁷ These feathers were also cut and applied with gum to Chinese filigree ornaments and used in the same manner for the decoration of hair pins, pendants, and the elaborate head-dresses of the traditional stage. The widely distributed species of kingfisher, *Halcyon Chloris*, seems to have produced most of these feathers, and both Cambodia and Borneo appear to have been sources of supply for the Chinese market. This use of kingfisher feathers in China must go back to at least as early as the Sung dynasty; for we hear that kingfisher feather brocades were used at the Sung Court through an Edict of 1107 in which the Emperor forbade the destruction of these birds for this frivolous purpose.⁸ It would be interesting to know whether it was from China that the Japanese inherited this technique. It is perhaps not out of place

to mention in passing that in the K'ang Hsi period (1660-1722) the use of whorls of peacock feather was fashionable as a thread for Chinese embroidery on satin.

In ancient Peru feathered cloaks, usually of parrot, quetzal or humming-bird feathers go back to the pre-Columbian period. In these cloaks the feathers are tied in or sewn on to a base. More famous than these are the capes, cloaks, helmets, and busts of the War God, Ku, made of red and yellow feathers from Hawaii. In all these the feathers are attached to a matting with a separate binding base, while the helmets and busts have a basketry foundation over which the netting was stretched. The origin and age of Hawaiian feather work is uncertain but it was a live tradition when Captain Cook visited those islands in 1778, and persisted well into the nineteenth century. In New Zealand feather cloaks were made of New Zealand flax with feathers attached to warps by parts of intertwined wefts. The commonest feathers in use in this country were those of the kiwi and various pigeons. Red feathers were the most highly valued.

All this feather work seems to be local developments based on a general Polynesian tradition of feather fabrics of whose existence we have no evidence before the late eighteenth century, and where in all instances the feathers were woven in or attached with threads. It would be interesting to know whether (a) this technique was indigenous to these Pacific Islands, (b) it was derived indirectly from the feather work practised in Tokugawa Japan in the seventeenth century, (c) it was derived more indirectly still at an earlier date from China, perhaps via Borneo, or (d) as is less likely, its origin lay in the equally old tradition of this craft which flourished in ancient Peru.⁹ For cultural links of any importance have yet to be established between Polynesia and the new world.¹⁰

SOAME JENYNS

¹ Authorities disagree as to whether the Japanese or green pheasants are best regarded as a separate species or a branch of the common pheasant, *Phasianus Colchis*. Four separate species of the green pheasant appear in Japan: *P. C. Versicolor*, *P. C. Robustipes*, *P. C. Tokkaidi*, and *P. C. Tannenses*, which differ little in appearance. See J. Delacour, 'Pheasants of the World', *Country Life*, 1951.

² Soame Jenyns, *A Further Selection of the 300 Poems of the T'ang Dynasty*, p. 11, London, reprinted 1959.

³ Jiro Harada, *English Catalogue to Treasures in the Imperial Repository Shosoin*, published by the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo, 1932, describes the decoration on this series of panels as duck feathers. But the description of the contents of the north section of the *Treasures of the Shosoin* published by the Asahi Shimbun in 1962, p. xvii,

nos. 72 and 73, says this series of screens was originally decorated with the pasted feathers of Kiji (the green) and Yamadori (the copper) pheasants, whose feathers were also used on our jacket.

⁴ (a) Jiro Harada, op. cit., description of the panels series 1, pp. 45 and 46, no. 118, with the translation of the poems of moral maxims. (b) Asahi Shimbun, op. cit., no. 80, p. xviii.

⁵ (a) Jiro Harada, op. cit., description of the panels series 2, no. 119, pl. xxvii, pp. 46 and 47, with translation of poems of moral maxims. (b) Asahi Shimbun, op. cit., nos. 72 and 73, pl. xvii.

⁶ (a) Jiro Harada, op. cit., description of the panels series 3, p. 47, pl. xxvii. (b) Asahi Shimbun, op. cit., nos. 74-79, p. xxvii.

⁷ See, for Chinese pictures in kingfisher feathers, R. Soame Jenyns and W. Watson, *Chinese Art, The Minor Arts*, vol. ii, Fribourg,

Switzerland, 1965, colour plate opposite p. 172 and monochrome plates 157 *a* and *b*.

⁸ *Sung Shih*, 153, 10/16. Quoted in a note by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill in their translation of *Chao Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg, 1911, at the top of p. 236.

⁹ Where garments sewn with feathers were in use by the Chimu on the north coast of Peru, who flourished between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. While fragments of feather fabrics,

some of which were secured by an adhesive, have survived from the post-Tiahuanaco civilization of approximately the same date from southern Peru, where an even older tradition of feather work exists among the Nazca, whose civilization dates back to between the first and tenth centuries A.D.

¹⁰ The spread of the sweet potato from South America to Polynesia is apparently one of the few exceptions to this axiom!

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS

DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

Acquisitions, July to December 1966¹

- Full scores of 'Patience' (Add. MSS. 53777, 53778) and 'The Gondoliers' (Add. MS. 53779) by Sir Arthur Seymour Sullivan (d. 1900). Autograph, except for 53778. *Acquired with the aid of contributions from the Arts Council, the Pilgrim Trust, the Wates Foundation, the Gilbert and Sullivan Society, the Friends of the National Libraries, and a public appeal organized by the D'Oyly Carte Opera Trust.*
- Letters and papers of Charles Thomson Ritchie, 1st Baron Ritchie of Dundee, relating chiefly to his resignation as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1903. Add. MS. 53780. *Presented by the Right Hon. Lord Ritchie of Dundee, P.C.*
- Pedigree of the Cotton family, compiled by Nicholas Brett and copied and painted by John Hinde; 1754. Vellum roll. Add. MS. 53781.
- Heraldic commonplace-book of John Philipot, Blanch Lyon Pursuivant (Somerset Herald 1624), containing notes on arms and monuments in Kent; 1613. Formerly Phillipps MS. 13121. Add. MS. 53782.
- Imitation of a medieval miniature by the 'Spanish Forger'; late 19th cent. Add. MS. 53783.
- Drafts and completed poems by Ted Hughes, Wole Soyinka, Patric Dickinson, and Geoffrey Grigson; 20th cent. Autograph and typewritten. Add. MSS. 53784-7.
- Letters to Emily Beatrix Coursolles Jones (Mrs. F. L. Lucas) (d. 1966) from Walter de la Mare, Lytton Strachey, and others. Add. MS. 53788. *Bequeathed by the recipient.*
- Letters from George Meredith to Sir William Hardman; 1861-85. Add. MS. 53789. *Presented by the Trustees of the Garrick Club.*
- Letters of William Theed, R.A., the sculptor, written during his travels on the Continent; 1790-5. Add. MS. 53790. *Presented by Mrs. Doris Mysie Pyman, great-granddaughter of the writer.*
- Journals and note-books of Sir Robert Ker Porter during his travels in Russia, etc.; 1817-20. Formerly Phillipps MSS. 14718-20, 14722, 14724, 14771, 14773. Add. MSS. 53791-9.
- Correspondence and papers of James Adair, M.P., supplementing Add. MSS. 50829, 50830. Add. MSS. 53800-15. *Presented by the British Records Association, together with Add. Charters 75580-6.*

¹ The following list includes manuscripts incorporated into the collections between July and December 1966. The inclusion of a manu-

script in this list does not necessarily imply that it is available for study.

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Selected Acquisitions, July to December 1966

I. ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

The Qur'an, copied in 402/1011 by Sa'd ibn Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Karḥī, in fine archaic Nashī characterized by the thickness of the horizontal strokes. With gold-ruled margins and surah headings written in gold bent-Kufic outlined with white in a blue gold-framed panel or in white Tulūṭ in a gold panel. Copious marginal notes on the different Qur'an readings. (Or. 13002.)

Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn, by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ġazālī (died 505/1111). A calligraphic copy, originally in seven volumes of which only the first five appear to have survived. Dated 846/1442. Fine archaic Nashī with richly illuminated frontispieces in the Mamlūk style and, in vols. 2-4, full-page 'unwans for each book, and chapter headings in gold Tulūṭ. The text has been completed with two volumes copied in Nashī in 1295/1878. (Or. 13003 A-G.)

Ṭabaqāt ar-ruwāh, by Abū āl-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn Ḥaḡḡāḡ al-Quṣayrī an-Nīsābūrī (d. 261/875). Biographies of Traditionists. This appears to be the only surviving copy. Dated 547/1152, Baghdad. (Or. 13050.)

Uṣūl al-fiqh. A treatise on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence by Abū āl-Maḥāmid Bādr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zayd al-Lāmiṣī. Copied in 534/1139. (Or. 13018.)

Iqtidā' al-ḡāfil bi-ihṭidā' al-'āqil. A treatise on Sufism by Abū Bakr Quṭb ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qaṣṭallānī aṣ-Ṣāfi'ī (d. 686/1278). Copied in archaic Nashī in 682/1283. (Or. 13008.)

al-Kāfi sharḥ uṣūl al-Bazdawī, by Ḥusām ad-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥaḡḡāḡ ibn

'Alī as-Signāqī (d. 710/1310.) A commentary on a treatise on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence according to the Ḥanafī school. Probably the autograph. (Or. 13012.)

Ta'liq 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī, by Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāridī al-Ḥanbalī. Semantic and grammatical notes on al-Buḥārī's collection of Traditionists. Possibly 16th cent. (Or. 13013B.)

Eleven alchemical treatises, one in Persian, including extracts from rare works by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī. Copied in the early 16th cent. (Or. 13006.)

Three biographical texts:

i. At-Tibyān li-Bad'at al-Bayān, by Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qaisī ad-Dimašqī, called Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn. Copied in 829/1426.

ii. An appendix to (i) written by Abū āl-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī aṣ-Ṣāfi'ī. Dated 830/1427. The autograph.

iii. I'lām bi-mā waqa' fi Muṣṭabih ad-Dahabī min al-awḥām. Emendations to ad-Dahabī's biographical dictionary al-Muṣṭabih fi asmā' ar-riḡal, by the same author as (i). Copied in 829/1426. (Or. 13016.)

II. JAPANESE MANUSCRIPTS

Kunkunshi kokufū shigaku shamisen-fu. A work on Ryukyuan music for the shamisen, containing (i) introductory remarks; (ii) the musical piece Kagiade-fū bushi; (iii) augmented preface signed by the compiler Matsumura Shinshin; (iv) three drawings of the shamisen; (v) detailed table

of contents; (vi) two-page postface in Chinese. c. 1892. (Or. 13025.)

III. KOREAN MANUSCRIPT

Tong'in sib'i kyonghyol-do, or Tong'in kyongmu bon, according to the cover. Acupuncture points. With four views of the human figure showing meridians and bone structure. 5 vols. 19th cent. (Or. 13035.)

IV. MANCHU MANUSCRIPT

Has'hū ergi kuwarān-i golo suwayan-i Manju gūsai ting ni kamciha nirui duin hacin ton i getusa. Army register. 1842. (Or. 13040.)

V. PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT

Kulliyāt of Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 942/1535-6). Copied in a small neat Nasta'liq script during the second half of the 16th cent. With three illuminated headings and five contemporary miniatures. (Or. 13021.)

VI. REJANG MANUSCRIPT

South Sumatran inscribed text on bamboo strips. Written in the Rejang language, using *renchong* script. (Or. 12986.)

VII. TAMIL MANUSCRIPT

A copy of Constanzo Gioseffo Eusebio Beschi's Grammatica latino-tamulica. 1814. (Or. 13044.)

DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

Acquisitions, July to December 1966

I. AMERICAN SCHOOL

IRENE ARONSON (b. 1918). *Blake Pier, Hong Kong*. Lithograph. Presented by the artist.

II. BRITISH SCHOOL

M. DUBOURG (fl. 1820) after James Pollard. *His Majesty George IV travelling in Hyde Park*. Aquatint engraving. Purchased.

CHARLES LOCK EASTLAKE (1836-1906). *The Fosse, Dinan, Brittany*. Water-colour. Purchased.

THOMAS HEARNE (1744-1817) after T. Gainsborough. *Woman and two children being ferried across a stream*. Pencil. Purchased.

SIR CHARLES JOHN HOLMES (1868-1936). *Seventeen studies of Sky and Cloud formations*. Water-colours. Presented by M. R. Holmes, Esq., and R. R. Holmes, Esq.

JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS (1805-76). *Study of a Spanish Inn-Keeper*. Water colour. Purchased.

ERSKINE NICOL (1825-1904). *'Wettin' the Floor'. The Trio*. Water-colours. Purchased.

WILLIAM PEARSON (worked 1798-1813). *Landscape with Stream in centre, Cottages and Water-wheel on left*. Water-colour. Purchased.

THOMAS ROSS (ROSSE), fl. 1730-57? *Studies of Figures for S & N Buck's Long View of Portsmouth (?)* 1749. Pen and Grey Wash. Purchased.

III. FRENCH SCHOOL

CLAUDE NATTIEZ (fl. late 17th cent.). *Roman Architectural Study*. Pen and Brush in Sepia. Purchased.

IV. GERMAN SCHOOL

CHRISTOPH VAN SICHEM II after Jacob Matham. *Portrait of a Young Man in a Turban*. Woodcut. Wurzbach No. 21. Purchased.

V. ITALIAN SCHOOL

GASPARE GABRIELLI (fl. from c. 1805, died c. 1833). *Landscape with Pond*. Water-colour. *Purchased*.

FEDERICO ZUCCARO (1540/1-1609). *The Disputation of St. Catherine*. Study for the fresco in S. Caterina dei Funari, Rome. *Purchased*.

VI. SPANISH SCHOOL

PABLO PICASSO (b. 1881). *David and Bathseba after Lucas Cranach I*. Lithograph, second state. *Presented by Mrs. Basil Gray*.

DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS

Notable Acquisitions, July to December 1966

One hundred and sixteen Roman silver denarii and antoniniani covering the period of Macrinus (A.D. 217-18) to Postumus (A.D. 259-68), from the Beachy Head Treasure Trove. *Reg. no. 1966, 9, 9. Purchased*.

A Roman silver denarius of Philip I, A.D. 244-9, with reverse 'Aequitas'. A Roman gold aureus of Diocletian of the mint of Aquileia, A.D. 294-303. A Roman gold aureus of Constantius I of the mint of Aquileia, A.D. 305-6. *Reg. no. 1966, 8, 4. Acquired by exchange*.

A Greco-Bactrian silver Attic tetradrachm of Menander, c. 150 B.C. A Greco-Bactrian silver Attic tetradrachm of Lysias, c. 125 B.C. *Reg. no. 1966, 11, 4. Purchased*.

A set of three newly minted gold coins of Kenya. *Reg. no. 1966, 11, 6. Purchased*.

The dies and puncheons used for striking the Churchill medal together with specimens of the medal in gold, silver, and bronze. *Reg. no. 1966, 7, 4. Given by Messrs. B. A. Seaby Ltd.*

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, July to December 1966

1. Small black granite stela inscribed with the standard text for *shabti*-figures (66850, height 3½ in., Saite Period, c. 600 B.C.).
2. Two crystalline limestone marbles, one inscribed with the royal name Djjet, the other with that of Anedjib (66851-2,

diameter ⅝ in., First Dynasty, c. 3100 B.C.). *Given by C. Aldred, Esq.*

3. Lapis lazuli amulet in the form of a ram with four heads (66853, length ⅜ in., Ptolemaic Period, c. 200 B.C.). *Given by I. R. Malek, Esq.*

DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN ASIATIC ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January to June 1966

- 134715-33. Gold belt ornaments. From north-west Persia, Avar or White Hun, 6th cent. A.D. *Purchased.*
134734. Bronze belt with incised decoration. From Ardebil, Persian Azerbaijan, c. 9th cent. B.C. *Purchased.*
134735. Bronze situla with repoussé decoration of a banqueting scene. From Luristan, c. 8th cent. B.C. *Purchased.*
134736. Cast bronze disc ornamented with animals and birds. From Asia Minor, Parthian, c. 1st cent. B.C. *Purchased.*
134737. Limestone statuette of a man with a jar-container on his back. Sumerian, late 3rd millennium B.C. *Presented by E. G. McLoughlin, Esq.*
134738. Terracotta plaque with a Mušhušsu figure in relief. Babylonian, 1st millennium B.C. *Presented by E. G. McLoughlin, Esq.*
134739. Terracotta plaque of an elaborately dressed woman. Old Babylonian, early 2nd millennium B.C. *Presented by E. G. McLoughlin, Esq.*
134834. Bronze plaque with south Arabian inscription describing the dedication of a gold statue. Sabaeen, c. 1st cent. B.C. *Purchased.*
- 134835-7. Cylinder seals from Assyria and Syria, 2nd millennium B.C. *Purchased.*
134838. Stone figure of a kneeling man. Sumerian, late 3rd millennium B.C. *Purchased.*
134839. Spout in the form of an animal's head, broken from a stone vase. From Susa, late Prehistoric, c. 2800 B.C. *Purchased.*
134840. Amulet in the form of a bird with spread wings. Late Prehistoric from near Kermanshah, c. 3000 B.C. *Purchased.*
134841. Shell inlay with incised decoration of onagers. Sumerian c. 2500 B.C. *Purchased.*
134842. Stamp seal of greenish stone in the form of a lion's paw which rises into a couchant goat. Asia Minor, c. 1800 B.C. *Purchased.*
134843. Terracotta female figurine. Old Babylonian, c. 1800 B.C. *Purchased.*
134844. Haematite stamp seal with design of Hittite hieroglyphs and animal figures. Hittite, c. 1400 B.C. *Purchased.*
- 134740-73 *Objects purchased from the Collection of the late Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill.*
134740. Silver bowl with inlaid gold decoration of friezes of archers, birds, battlements, and rosettes. Achaemenid Persian, c. 5th cent. B.C.
134741. Limestone bowl decorated with oxen carved in relief. Sumerian, c. 3000 B.C.
134742. Glass bowl with vertical fluting. Parthian, c. 1st cent. A.D.
134743. Bronze finial in the form of a wolf's head. Parthian, c. 1st cent. A.D.
- 134744-5. Duck's head and camel's head of painted pottery, broken from theriomorphic vessels. From Samsun (Amisos), Phrygian, c. 4th cent. B.C.
134746. Bronze horse bit with cheek pieces in the form of mythical monsters. From Luristan, early 1st millennium B.C.
- 134747-50. Stamp seals from Mesopotamia and Iran, c. 3000 B.C.
- 134751-73. Cylinder seals representing styles from early Sumerian to Achaemenid Persian.
134847. Stamp seal with royal bust and inscription in Pahlavi. Sassanian, 3rd-4th cent. A.D. *Purchased.*
134848. Alabaster statue of a standing woman. South Arabian, 1st cent. A.D. Height 68.5 cm. *Purchased.*

- 134849-55. Seven cylinder seals representing Jemdet Nasr, Akkadian, Cypriot, and Syrian styles. 4th-2nd millennia B.C. *Purchased.*
134856. Fragment of a stone vase with a carved lion's head. From Susa, 3rd millennium B.C. *Purchased.*
- 134857-8. Two prehistoric figurines, one of limestone, the other of clay. 4th millennium B.C. *Purchased.*
- 134859-60. Two Syrian stamp seals. 2nd millennium B.C. *Purchased.*
134861. Bronze bowl with net-work pattern. From north-west Iran, 8th-7th cent. B.C. Diameter 17 cm. *Purchased.*
134862. Fragment of stone relief from the Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, showing men carrying logs. Joins fragment 93019 on exhibition in Nineveh Gallery. Assyrian, 7th cent. B.C. Height 17.5 cm. *Presented by the Leeds City Museums.*
- 134863-72. Ten fragments of cuneiform tablets from the 1933 excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at El-Amarna (Egypt). 14th cent. B.C. *Presented by the Egypt Exploration Society.*
- 134873-4. Two grey ware vessels from western Iran. 3rd millennium B.C. *Purchased.*
134875. Bronze statuette of a nude woman wearing the head-dress of the goddess of Byblos. 1st-2nd cent. A.D. Height 22 cm. *Purchased.*
134876. Ivory figurine of a nude steatopygous woman. Sassanian, 3rd-4th cent. A.D. Height 15 cm. *Purchased.*
134877. Small, grey ware beaker from near Teheran. c. 9th cent. B.C. *Presented by Miss Bennett.*
134878. Cuneiform tablet of the Third Dynasty of Ur. c. 2100 B.C. *Presented by Mr. R. F. Falkner.*
134879. Silver bowl with lotus leaf pattern and a name inscribed in either Greek or Phrygian on the base. From Asia Minor, 4th cent. B.C. Diameter 18.5 cm. *Purchased.*
134884. Single-handled bronze beaker with Akkadian inscription. From Luristan, 18th cent. B.C. Height 16 cm. *Purchased.*
134885. Cut-glass beaker. From Amlash, Sassanian, 4th cent. A.D. Height 10.2 cm. *Purchased.*
134886. Limestone frieze with grape vine ornament carved in relief. From South Arabia, 2nd cent. A.D. Height 22.5 cm. *Purchased.*
134887. Stamp seal in a silver setting inscribed with the name Ba'al-hanan. Phoenician, 7th cent. B.C. *Purchased.*
- 134888-90. Three inscribed stamp seals. Sassanian, 3rd-4th cent. A.D. *Purchased.*
134891. Terracotta funerary mask. South Arabian, 1st cent. B.C.-A.D. Height 14.5 cm. *Purchased.*
134892. Inscribed limestone incense altar. South Arabian, 1st cent. B.C.-A.D. Height 17 cm. *Purchased.*
- 134893-900. Eight fragments of glass and glaze from the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq at Nimrud. Late Assyrian, 9th-7th cent. B.C. *Purchased.*
- 134901-2. Two fragments of multicoloured and mosaic glass, from the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq at Tel Rimah. Middle Assyrian, 13th-12th cent. B.C. *Purchased.*

DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January to June 1966

PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES

- A Roman iron window grille, found at Hinton St. Mary, Dorset. *Purchased* (1966, 2-6, 1).
- A type series of pottery from the Iron Age and Roman settlement at Dragonby, Lincolnshire. *Purchased* (1966, 6-4, 1 ff.).
- A Roman bronze helmet from Hawkedon, Suffolk. *Purchased* (1966, 6-5, 1).

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 1100-c. 1500

- A fragment of a roof finial, decorated in the form of a face. 13th cent. *Given by A. Derrett, Esq.* (1966, 4-1, 1).
- A series of sherds from the pottery kiln site at Audlem, Cheshire. 14th cent. *Given by the Grosvenor Museum, Chester* (1966, 2-2, 1).
- A series of sherds to illustrate the products of the Nottingham pottery kilns. 13th and 14th cent. *Given by the Castle Museum, Nottingham* (1966, 2-3, 1).
- A series of sherds from the pottery kiln site at Sneyd Green, Staffordshire. 14th cent. *Given by the City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent* (1966, 2-4, 1).

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 1500-c. 1900 A.D.

- A vertical table clock, dated 1592, engraved with the arms of von Zinzendorf and von Königsberg. *Purchased* (1966, 6-2, 1).

A brass-framed, provincial French lantern clock, inscribed on the cresting *FILIATRE/ A ANPUE/ TIER / VILLE.* about 1750. *Purchased* (1966, 6-3, 1).

A brass demonstration model of a lever escapement standing on three turned feet. Probably French, about 1799. *Given by E. Graus, Esq.* (1966, 4-2, 1).

A nickel model of the lever escapement. The back plate is snailed and inscribed *HERMAN ROOST. ECOLE D'HORLOGERIE. BIENNE 1889.* *Given by E. Graus, Esq.* (1966, 4-2, 2).

The movement of a Friesland clock, with alarum and rack-striking. Mid-18th cent. *Given by B. Hutchinson, Esq.* (1966, 4-3, 1).

An enamelled porcelain salt in the form of a shell resting on a dolphin. Made at Bow, 1747-50. *Purchased* (1966, 2-1, 1).

A horn box, with inlaid metalwork in floral design on the lid, said to be used in connexion with the custom of 'drizzling'. Mid-18th cent. *Given by Mrs. M. O. Ashby* (1966, 2-5, 1).

A bronze seal die, inscribed 'The Seal of And. Coltee Ducarel, L.L.D. Official of the Archid. of Canterbury'. Dated 1782. *Given by Mrs. E. W. Fuller through the National Art-Collections Fund* (1966, 6-1, 1).

A silver seal die of the Customs of Lancaster, inscribed *SIG. CUS DE LANCASTER ME. PO. CAES.* 18th cent. *Given by Mrs. E. W. Fuller through the National Art-Collections Fund* (1966, 6-1, 2).

Acquisitions, July to December 1966

PREHISTORIC AND
ROMANO-BRITISH
ANTIQUITIES

Bronze Age sherds from Filitosa and Cucuruzzu, Corsica. *Given by Mrs. M. Carey* (1966, 7-4).

A type series of sherds from the Belgic settlement at Bagendon, Gloucestershire. 1st cent. A.D. *Given by Mrs. E. M. Clifford, F.S.A.* (1966, 7-5).

A late Bronze Age hoard consisting of a gold bracelet and a gold tress-ring (declared Treasure Trove) and of seven fragments of bronze. Found on Portfield Farm, Whalley, Lancashire. An *ex-gratia* payment was made to the finders. *The bronzes were given by T. Seed, Esq.* (1966, 12-8).

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 1100-c. 1500 A.D.

A series of sherds from the pottery kiln site at Winksley, near Ripon, Yorks. 13th cent. *Given by D. Greenwood, Esq.* (1966, 12-3).

A series of sherds from the pottery kiln site at Old Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire. 14th cent. *Given by the City Museum, Lincoln* (1966, 12-2).

A series of sherds from the pottery kiln site at Upper Heaton, Yorkshire. 14th cent. *Given by the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield* (1966, 12-4).

A series of sherds from 'The Roses' pottery kiln site at Toynton All Saints, Lincolnshire. 14th cent. *Given by Mrs. E. H. Rudkin* (1966, 12-5).

A series of sherds from the pottery kiln site at Ashstead, Surrey. 14th cent. *Given jointly by the Guildford Museum and the Surrey Archaeological Society* (1966, 12-7).

A series of sherds from Goltho, Hawerby, Kettleby Thorpe, Ketsby, Maltby, Thornton-le-Moor, and Wragholme (all medieval

sites in Lincolnshire). *Given by Mr. and Mrs. R. Russell* (1966, 12-6).

A gold swan jewel decorated with white enamel. 15th cent. French or English. *Purchased (with the aid of the National Art-Collections Fund, the Pilgrim Trust, and the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)* (1966, 7-3, 1).

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. 1500-c. 1900 A.D.

A set of 'jacks', comprising three wooden figures, holding hammers and mounted on an iron frame. Probably Flemish, about 1500. *Bequeathed by the late F. Knowles-Brown, Esq.* (1966, 7-2, 1).

The Magical Speculum of Dr. Dee (1527-1608); an Aztec obsidian mirror of 14th or 15th cent. date, in a wooden case, cloth-lined, and covered with gilt-tooled leather. Formerly in the Horace Walpole Collection at Strawberry Hill. *Purchased* (1966, 10-1, 1).

A Bow porcelain mug, gilded, and painted with a landscape in red monochrome. c. 1770. *Given by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Tilley* (1966, 10-3).

A long-case clock movement by S. Hammond of Battle, c. 1740. *Given by G. Planus, Esq.* (1966, 10-2, 1).

A long-case clock movement by Lasseter, Senr. of Arundel, c. 1780. *Given by G. Planus, Esq.* (1966, 10-2, 2).

An exceptionally large pottery jug and transfer-printed floral decoration, and painted with the inscription: Josiah Winfield China and Earthenware Manufacturer OAKINGHAM 1826. *Bequeathed by Miss Alice Hannah Ford* (1966, 12-1).

A pocket watch made in Switzerland for the Spanish market, c. 1880. *Purchased* (1966, 7-1, 1).

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, July to December 1966

CHINA

- Bronze 'hill' censer. Ht. with cover $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. Probably 1st cent. B.C. 1966-7-27-1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*
- Bronze belt-hook. L. $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. 4th cent. B.C. 1966-7-25-1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*
- Gilt bronze figure of a lion. Ht. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. T'ang Dynasty. Silver repoussé double-skin cup. Ht. $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. 13th or 14th cent. 1966-7-26-1, 2.
- Six-lobed brown lacquered dish. Diam. 7 in. 11th cent. A.D. 1966-12-20-1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*
- Porcelain bowl with white glaze. Diam. at lip 5 in. Export ware, 15th cent. 1966-10-11-1.
- Hanging painting on paper—cat on a rock watching a butterfly—by Ts'ai Han (1647-86) and Chin Yüeh. Ht. 63 in., w. $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1966, 7-25, 015. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*
- Hanging painting on paper, 'The Buddha Amitābha', by Wang I-t'ing (1868-1938) and dated 1925. Ht. $32\frac{1}{2}$ in., w. 19 in. 1966, 7-25, 016. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*
- Hanging painting on paper, landscape, by Wu Chün-ch'ing (1844-1927) and dated 1915. 1966, 10-10, 014. j

JAPAN

- Illustrated Sutra scroll in gold on blue paper. First half of 12th cent. 1966-12-12-01. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*
- Landscape in ink and light colours on paper attributed to Shōkei. $51\frac{5}{8} \times 21$ in. About 1500. 1966-7-25-013. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*
- 'Edo Hakkei', eight woodcut prints by Kiyonaga (1781) and a surimono woodcut print by Umpo. 1966-10-10-01 (1-8) and 02.

Two sheets of ink figure sketches by Yoshitoshi (1839-92). Ukiyoe School. 1966-6-13-06.

The Battle of Pyong-Yang, triptych woodcut print by Kiyochika. Dated Meiji 27 (1894). 1966-7-25-014. *Given by G. M. Partridge, Esq.*

KOREA

Lacquered Sutra box, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and silver wire. 13th cent. $18\frac{3}{4} \times 10 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in. 1966-12-21-1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

SOUTH EAST ASIA

Standing bronze Buddha. Dvaravati style: about A.D. 900. Ht. $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. 1966-7-30-1. *Given by Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*

TIBET

Four gilt bronze Buddhist figures. Tibet: 16th-18th cent. A.D. 1966-10-5-1-4. *Bequeathed by Dr. E. G. Millar.*

INDIA

- Three schist Buddhist sculptures. Gandhara: 1st-2nd cent. A.D. 1966-10-17-1-3. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*
- Four terracottas and a fragment of a schist palette. North India: 1st-8th cent. A.D. 1966-12-9-1-5. *Given by Professor K. de B. Codrington.*
- Two iron arrow-heads. Found in High Range, Kerala. Perhaps 5th cent. A.D. 1966-10-18-1. *Given by A. J. E. Steven, Esq.*
- Steatite figure of Gaja-Lakshmi. Kashmir: late 7th cent. A.D. Ht. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1966-10-12-3. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Steatite figure of Gaja-lakshmi. Kashmir: about A.D. 700. Ht. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1966-10-13-1. *Given by Douglas Barrett, Esq.*

Limestone relief of Siva and Parvati. Panjab Hills: about A.D. 900. Ht. 15 in. 1966-10-12-2. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Sandstone relief of Buddha's Descent from the Trayastrimsa Heavens. Ht. 2 ft. 7 in. Orissa: 9th cent. A.D. 1966-10-16-1. *Given by City Museum, Bristol.*

Granite figure of standing Vishnu. South India. Pallava: 8th cent. A.D. Ht. 4 ft. 10 in. 1966-12-16-1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Granite head and torso of a standing Vishnu. South India. Early Cola: 10th cent. A.D. Ht. 2 ft. 6 in. 1966-12-16-2. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Wood figure of a male dancer. Kerala: 12th cent. A.D. Ht. 3 ft. 6 in. 1966-12-16-3. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Stone figure of Bhairava. Hoysala: early 12th cent. A.D. Ht. 2 ft. 1 in. 1966-10-14-1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Ivory throne leg, decorated with lion and elephant conjoined. Orissa: 16th cent. A.D. Ht. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1966-10-12-1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Ivory rhyton-shaped vessel. South India: 17th cent. A.D. Ht. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1966-10-17-4. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Two miniatures from a manuscript of the Kalpasutra. Western India: about A.D. 1500. 1966-10-10-05 (1-2).

Illustrated page from a manuscript of the Bhagavata Purana. Central India: early 17th cent. A.D. 1966-10-10-012. *Given by T. A. J. Burnett, Esq.*

Drawing of Raja seated with child on lap. Basohli Style: about A.D. 1720. 1966-7-25-04. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Drawing of lady attacked by demons in a jungle. Basohli Style: about A.D. 1720. 1966-7-25-05. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Two paintings: (a) Vishnu as Varaha; (b) Krishna killing Kamsa. Basohli Style: about A.D. 1730. 1966-7-25-01-02. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Drawing of Raja with favourite. Basohli Style: about A.D. 1750. 1966-7-25-07. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Painting of Krishna killing Kamsa. Guler Style: about A.D. 1760. 1966-7-25-03. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Painting of a scene from the Bhagavata Purana. Perhaps Guler Style: about A.D. 1760. 1966-7-25-09. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Painting of a female devotee chanting the scriptures. Guler Style: Jammu, about A.D. 1760. 1966, 10-10-011.

Two paintings of music parties. Bundi: about A.D. 1770. 1966-7-25-010-011. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Painting of Vishnu as Matsya. Pahari: probably Arki, about A.D. 1760. 1966-7-25-08. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Painting of Sansar Chand of Kangra. Kangra Style: about A.D. 1785. 1966-7-25-06. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Painting of a Sikh chieftain with his guru. Sikh School: about A.D. 1830. 1966-10-10-06.

Drawing on palm-leaf of Krishna and Gopis. Orissa: 18th cent. A.D. 1966-7-25-012. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

ISLAMIC

Thirteen glazed pottery fragments from Afrasiyab (Samarqand). Persia: 8th-11th cent. A.D. 1966-12-13-1-13. *Given by Mrs. P. E. Corbett.*

Eleven fragments of glazed pottery collected from Afrasiyab (Samarqand), Bukhara, and Bamiyan. 8th-12th cent. A.D. 1966-12-14, 1-11. *Given by Basil Gray, Esq., C.B.E.*

Glass dish with wheel cut decoration. Persia: 9th cent. A.D. Diam. 6 in. 1966-12-12-1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

A collection of 348 glass weights and 21 glass bottle stamps. Egyptian: 8th-14th cent. A.D. 1966-7-29-1. *Given by Miss Mabel Adamson.*

Bronze incense burner in the form of an ibex. Persia: 12th cent. A.D. Ht. $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. 1966-7-28-1.

Bronze bowl with Arabic inscription cut in relief. Diam. $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. India (Deccan): 16th cent. A.D. 1966-7-14-1.

The Sages of China bringing books of history to Ghazan Khan. Miniature from the

Jami 'al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din. Persia (Herat School): about A.D. 1425. 1966-10-10-013.

Ali killing an opponent in single combat. Miniature from a manuscript. Turkey: late 16th cent. A.D. 1966-10-10-04.

Four paintings: (a) a group of Delhi merchants; (b) a party of horse merchants from Kabul and Persia; (c) a party of Sikhs; (d) the last Mughal Emperor. India (Delhi): about 1850. 1966-10-10-07-010.

DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Selected Acquisitions, January to December 1966

AMERICA

A wooden drum from Ecuador. *Given by Dr. K. Vigors Earle.*

A stirrup-spouted pot ornamented with mythical creatures, from the Mochica culture. *Given by Mrs. O. M. Taylor.*

A small collection of bronze gilt and bronze objects from the Vicus culture near Piura, Peru.*

A tripod pottery vessel from a tomb in the Sona district, Province of Veraquas, Panama. *Presented by Mme de Ripoll.*

AFRICA

An ivory beaker from Benin. A wooden mask from the Ogoni tribe of the Niger Delta, and other specimens obtained by exchange.

Two terra cotta funerary heads from the Ashanti, Ghana.*

A wooden figure of a seated European. Carved by the Yoruba carver Bamgboye of Odo-Owa, Ilorin Province, Northern Nigeria, in the 1930s. *Given by Mrs. E. E. Robertson.*

Two basketry armlets from Rwanda. *Presented by J. Sim, Esq.*

A collection of thirteen yellow glass beads from Ghana.*

ASIA

A collection of 31 pottery vessels from various parts of Southern Arabia and a series of colour slides and photographs. *Given by Dr. M. J. Littlewood.*

Two silver currency blocks of the type known as 'tikals', probably from Thailand. *Given by H. Emmanuel, Esq.*

An ethnographical collection principally of textiles from Indonesia.*

A silver brocade cloth from Sumatra, an Ikat textile and a number of batik cloths together with other ethnographical specimens.*

Two leather puppets from Andhra, Godavari district, India. *Given by Douglas Barrett, Esq.*

Two lacquered boxes from Burma. *Given by Lt.-Col. E. H. E. Wilson.*

A collection of clothing and ornaments from the Meo, Yao, Ekaw and Thai Lu hill tribes, Thailand.*

* Unpublished.

OCEANIA

An ethnographical collection from Rennell Island (collected by Mr. and Mrs. Bradley)* in 1953.

A plank built canoe with pearl shell inlay, Auki, Malaita, British Solomon Islands. *Given by R. Spivey, Esq.*

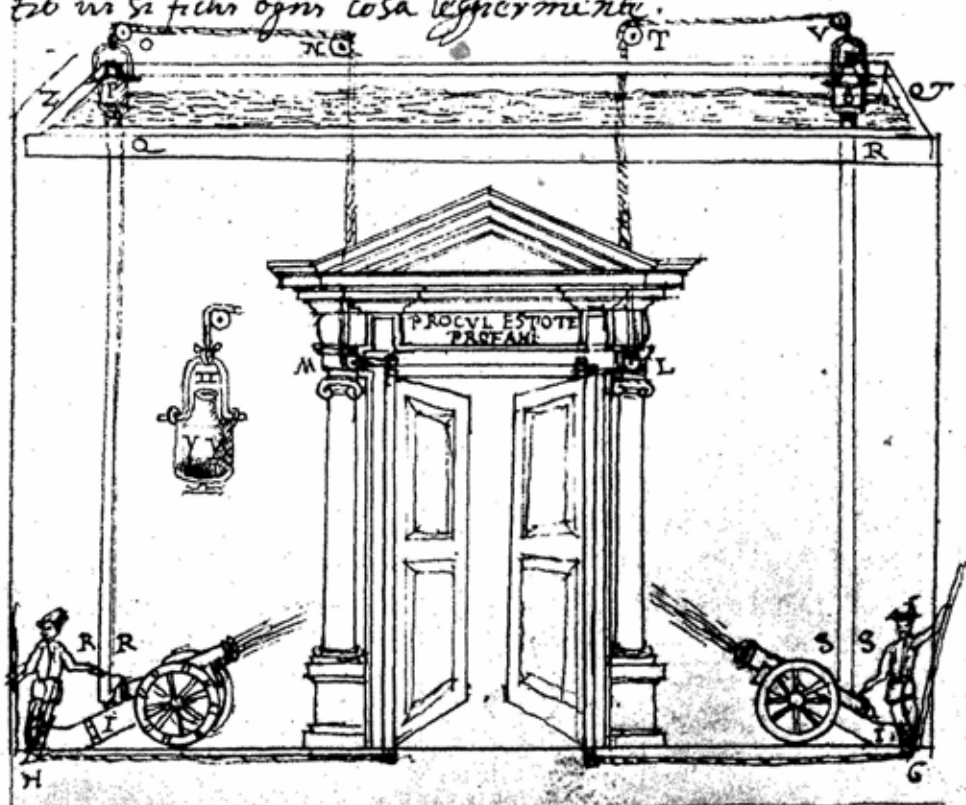
A painted board taken from the 'custom house' from Langalanga, near Auki, Malaita, Solomon Islands. *Given by J. Peake, Esq.*

A bark painting from Arnhem Land.*

* Unpublished.

NEL APRIRE DE LA PORTA D'VN
Giardino far uedere et udire òl Bombo di due
tiri d'Artiglierie, et se ci piacerà
che Bagnino gli entranti
CAP. VIII.

Se nell'aprire della porta d'un giardino uorremo che s'odano
due colpi d'Artiglierie, sopra la muraglia nella quale sia
la porta siac accomodato un gran vaso che indefficiente-
mente habbia sempre $\frac{3}{4}$ l'acqua alta $\frac{3}{4}$ di piede al.
il qual uaso habbia il fondo di breta molle di modo che den-
tro vi si fichi ogni cosa leggiermente.



No. 4. *Andante.*

393 *Andante.*

A handwritten musical score on ten staves. The staves are labeled from top to bottom: Clarinet (Clar.), Flute (Fl.), Cornet (Corn.), Violin I (Viol. I), Violin II (Viol. II), Viola, Voice, Cello, and Double Bass (Bass). The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

II. SIR ARTHUR SULLIVAN: the projected song for the Duke from Act 1 of 'Patience'. *Autograph*. Add. MS. 53777, f. 198

Handwritten musical score for "Dance a cachucha, fandango, bolero..." from Act 2 of "The Gondoliers". The score is written on 15 staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The music is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The lyrics "Dance a cachucha, fandango, bolero..." are written below the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

III. SIR ARTHUR SULLIVAN: 'Dance a cachucha, fandango, bolero...'; chorus from Act 2 of 'The Gondoliers'.
Autograph. Add. MS. 53779, f. 164 b



(a)

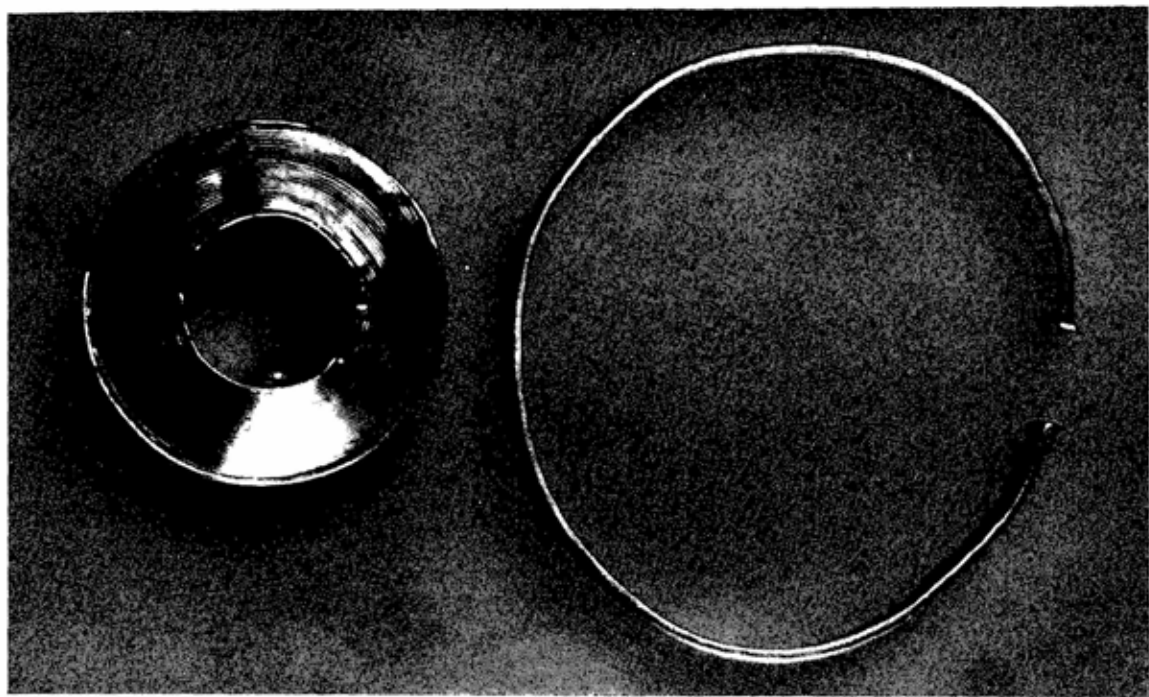


(b)

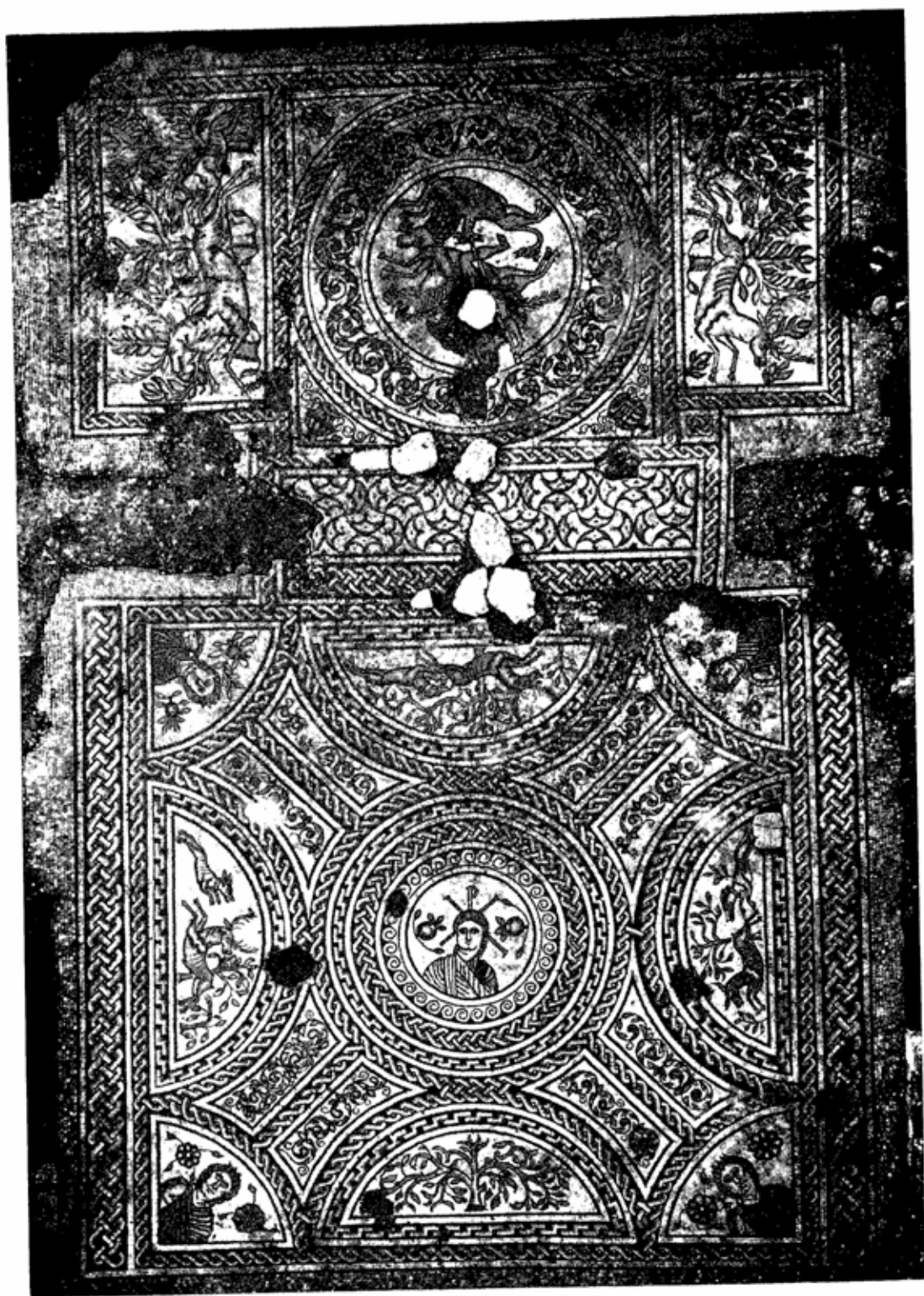


(c)

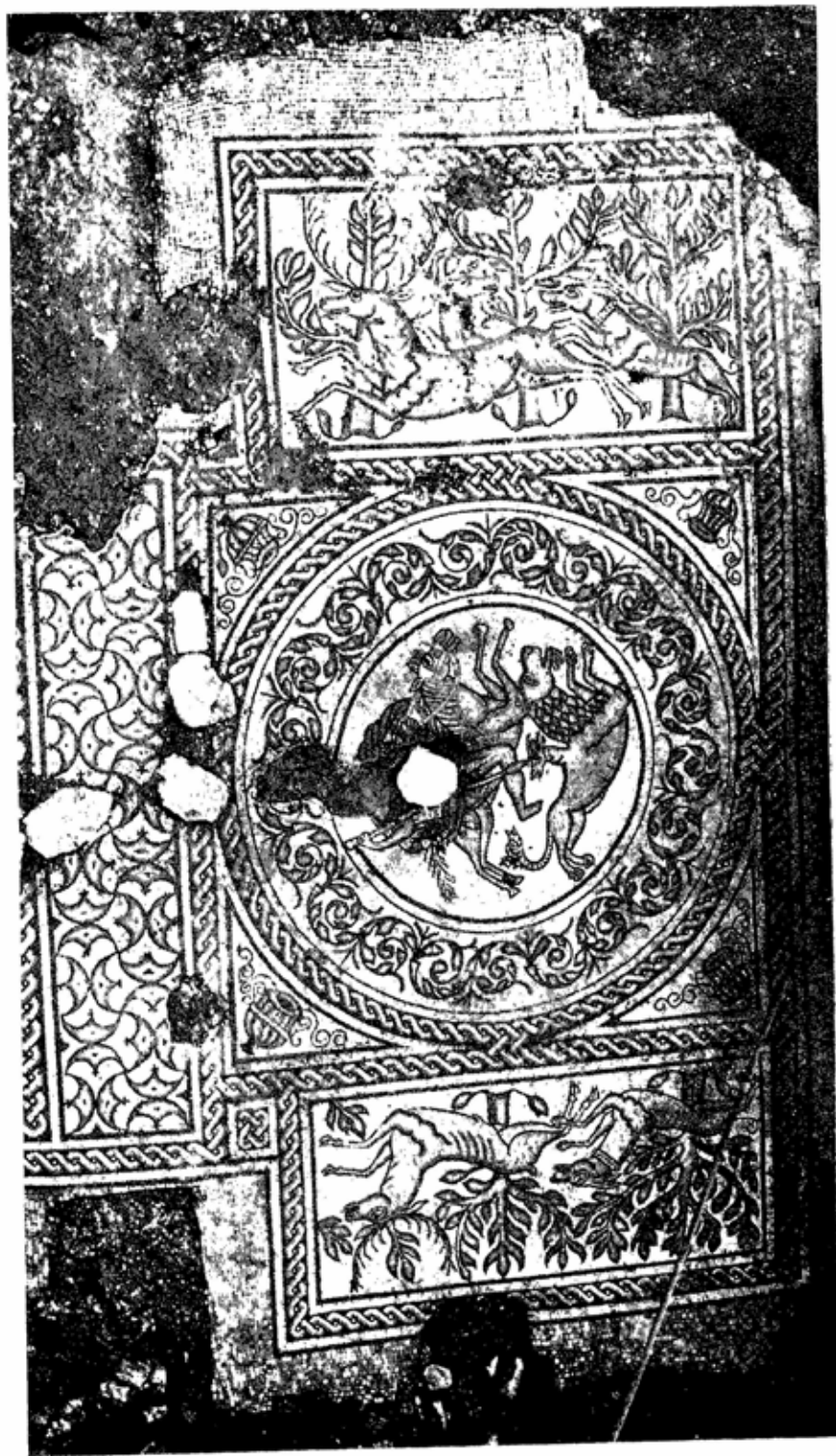
IV. PROMETHEUS, (a) front view, (b) back view, (c) seal impression
Etruscan scarab of banded agate



V. BRONZE-AGE HOARD FROM PORTFIELD FARM, WHALLEY, LANCASHIRE.
Gold tress-ring and bracelet from the Portfield Hoard



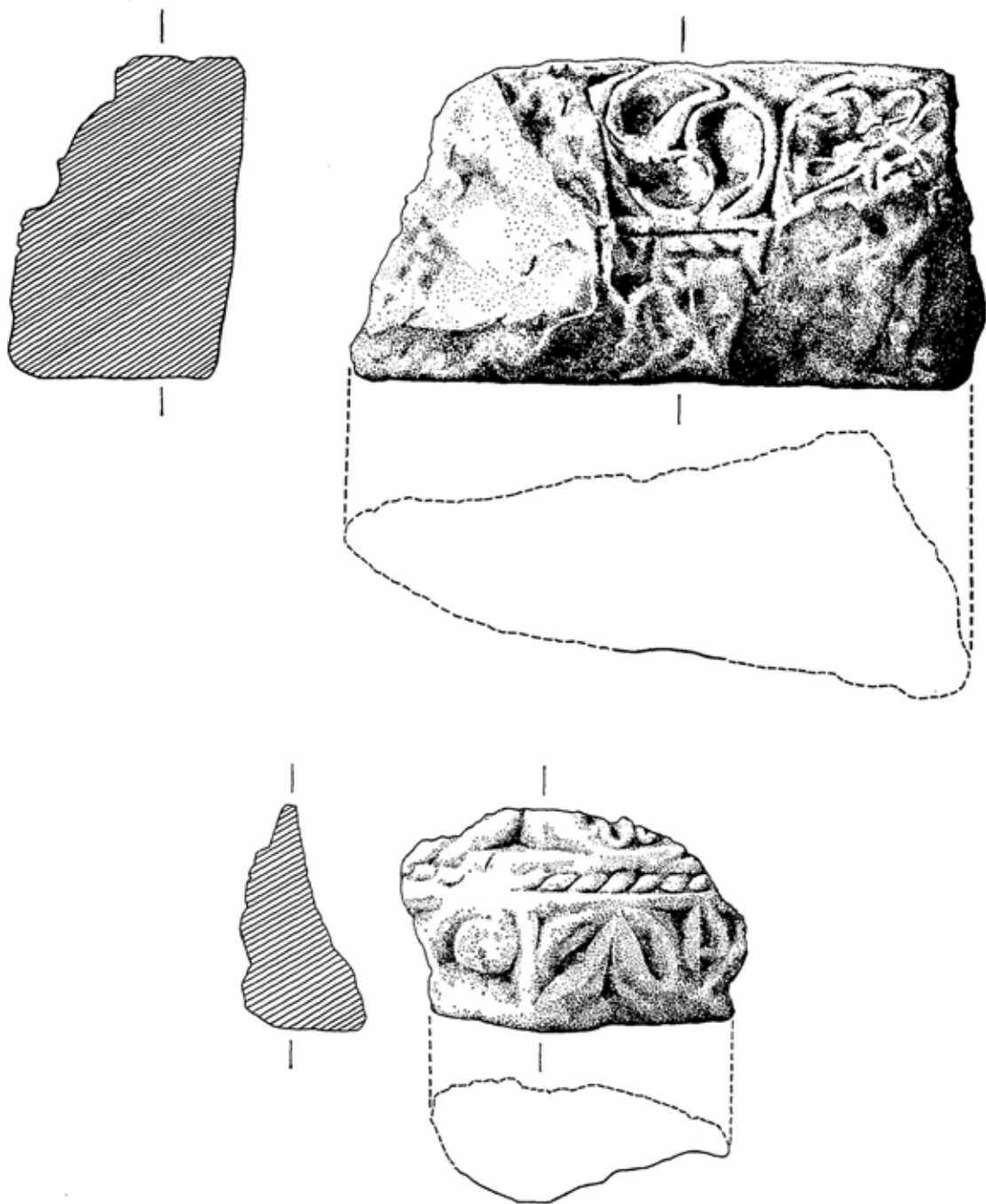
VI. HINTON ST. MARY PAVEMENT. General view



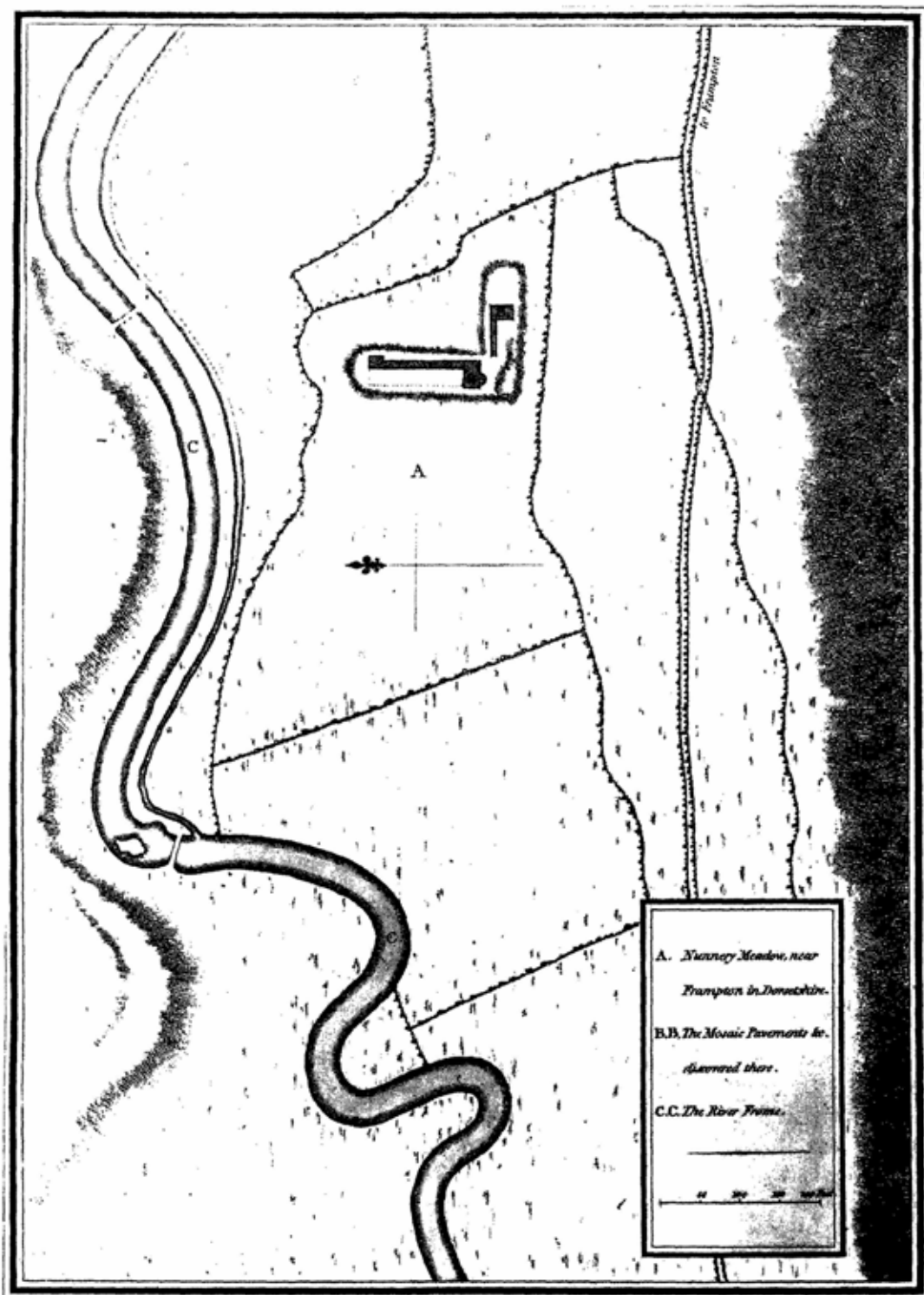
VII. HINTON ST. MARY PAVEMENT. Bellerophon room



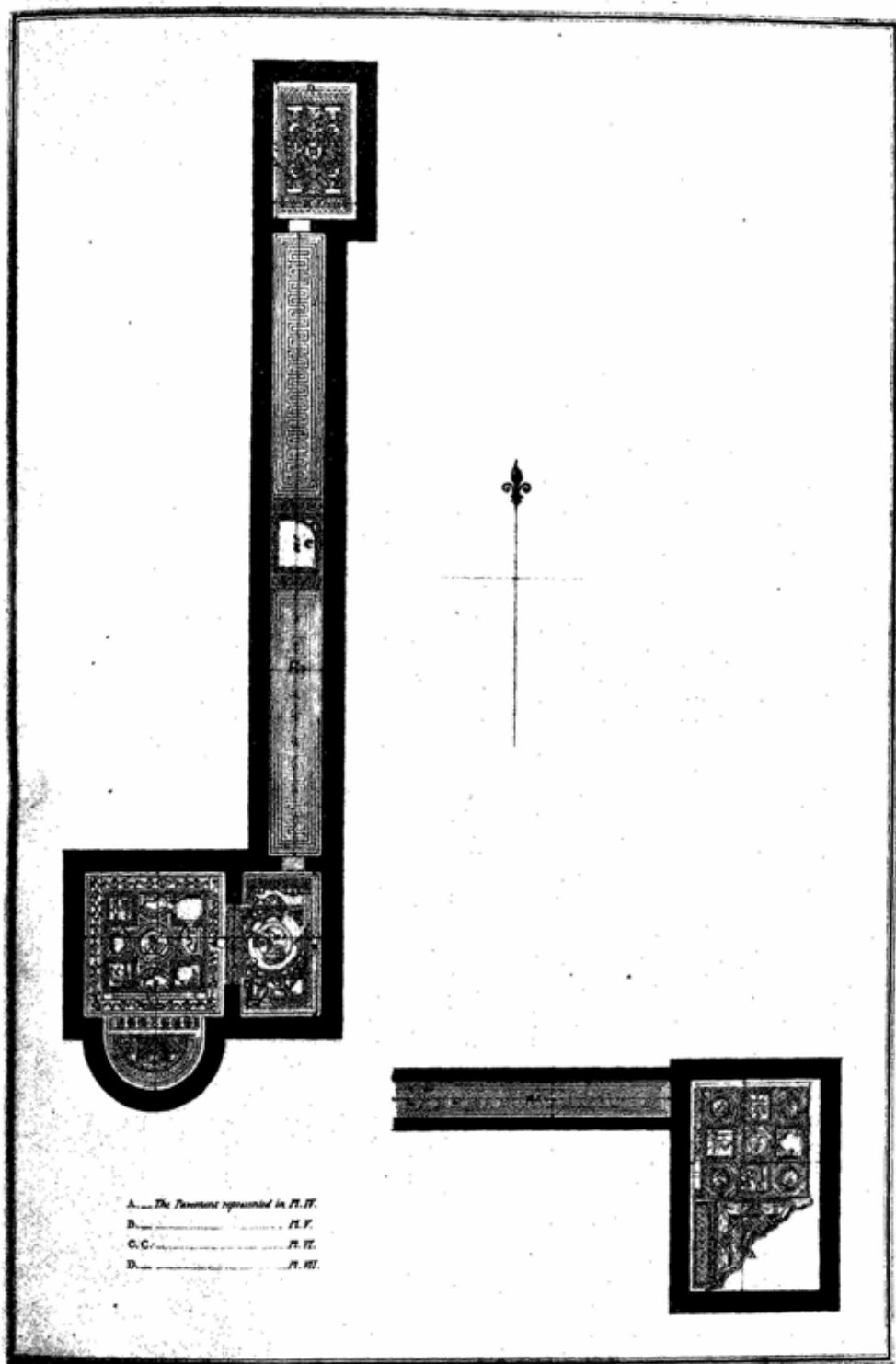
VIII. HINTON ST. MARY PAVEMENT
(a) Bust of Christ, (b) Hunting scene from Christ room



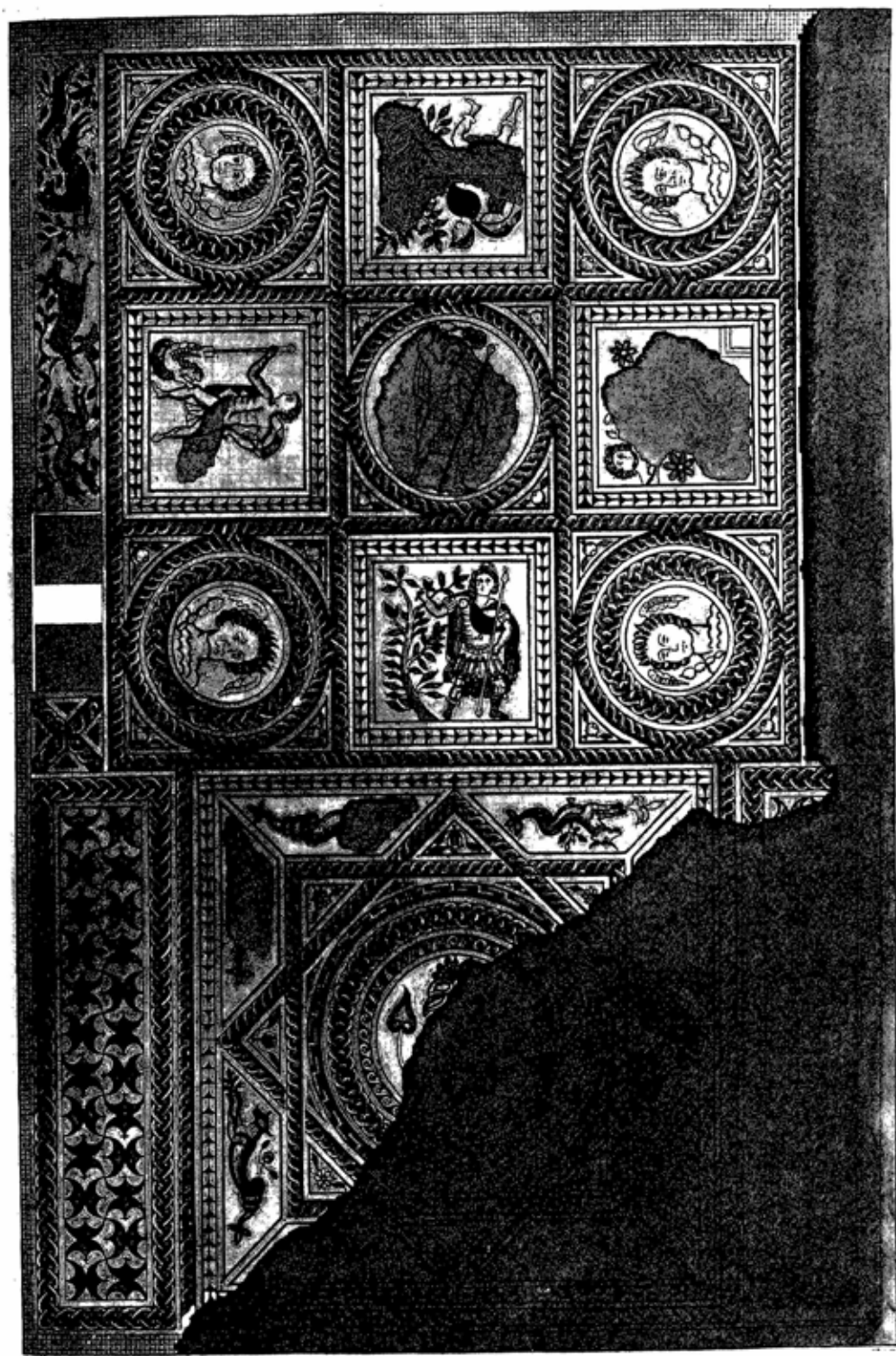
IX. FRAGMENTS OF CARVED STONE TABLE



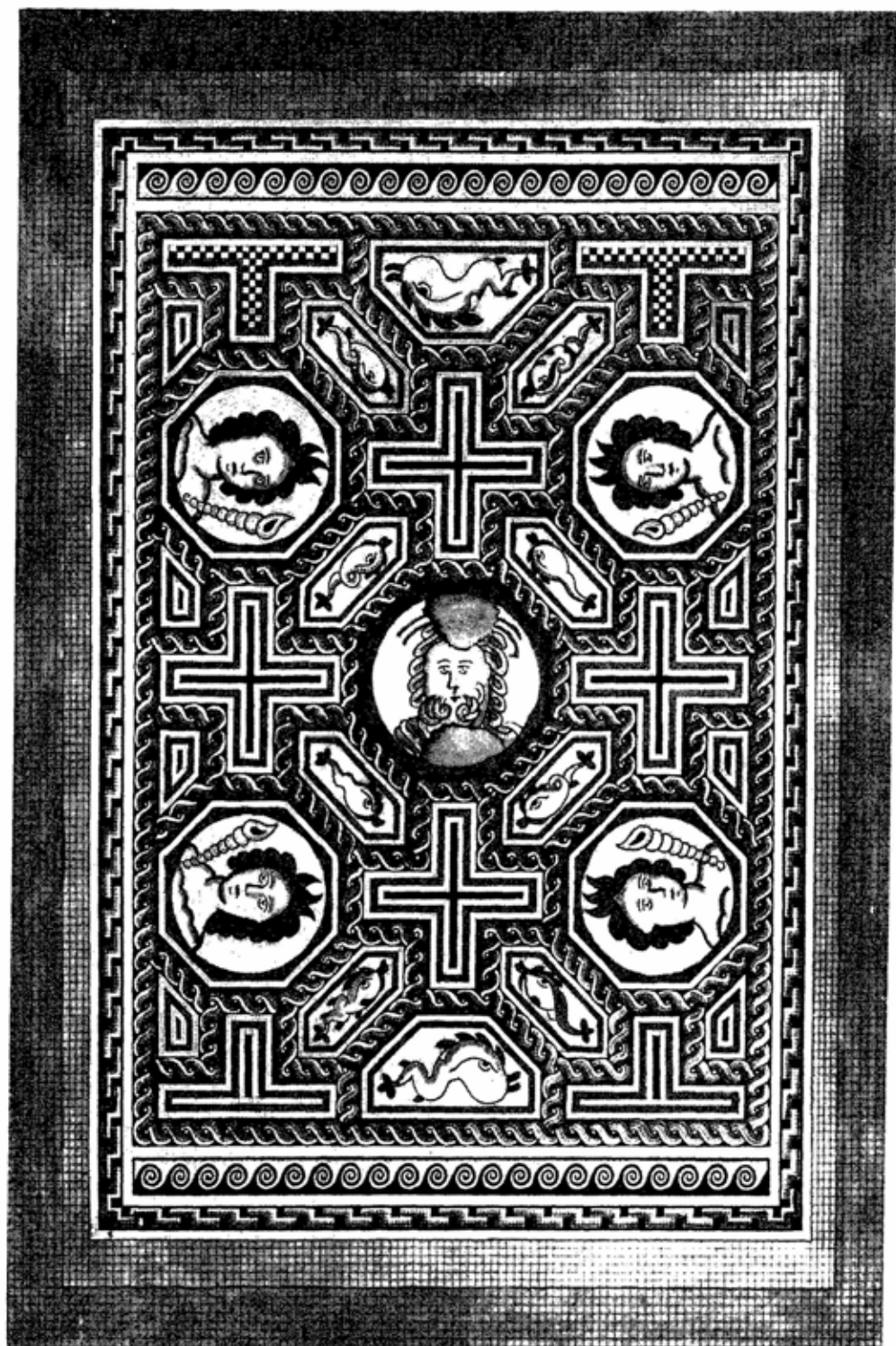
X. FRAMPTON. General plan (Lysons: pl. II)



XI. FRAMPTON. Detail of plan (Lysons: pl. III)



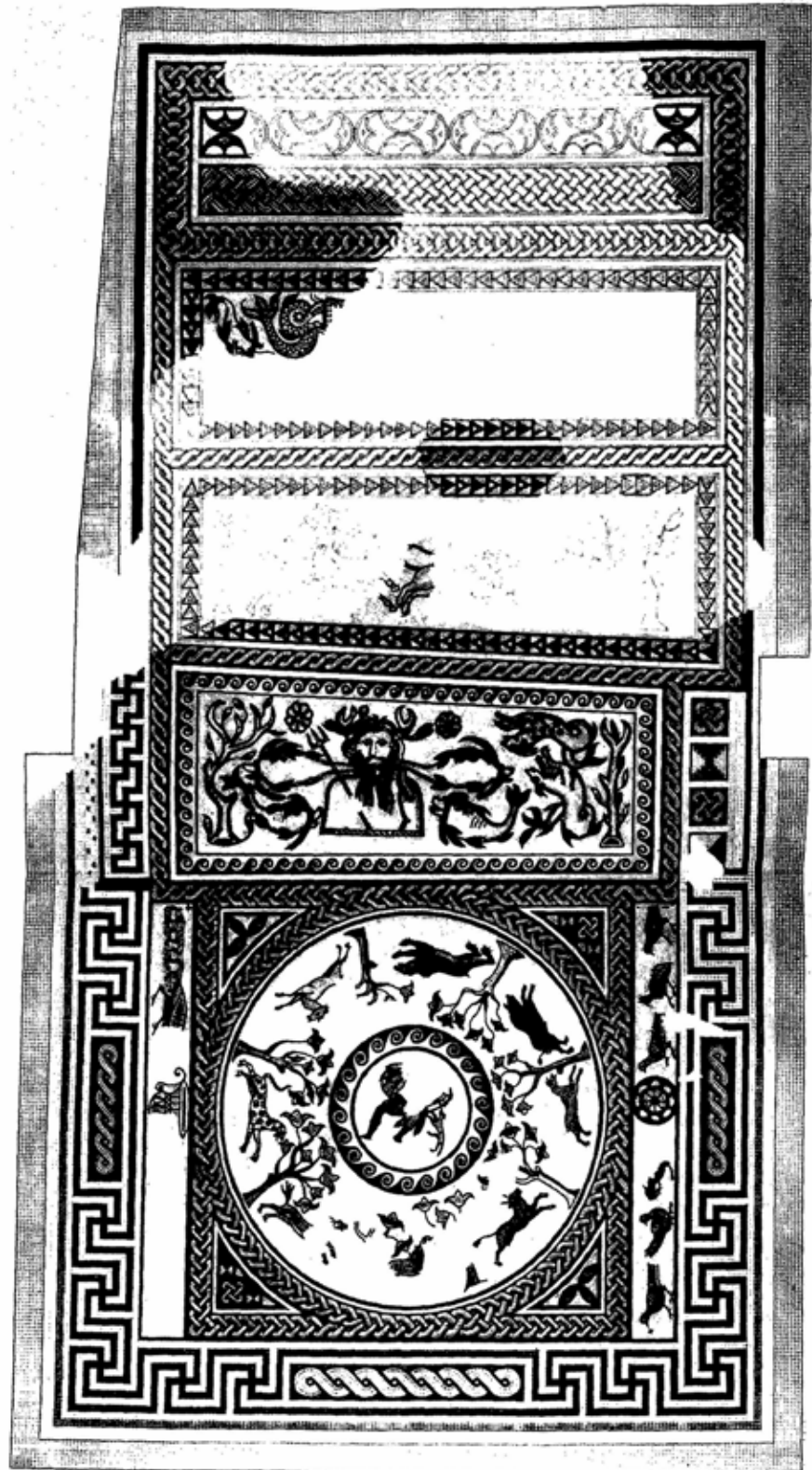
XIII. FRAMPTON (Lysons: pl. IV)



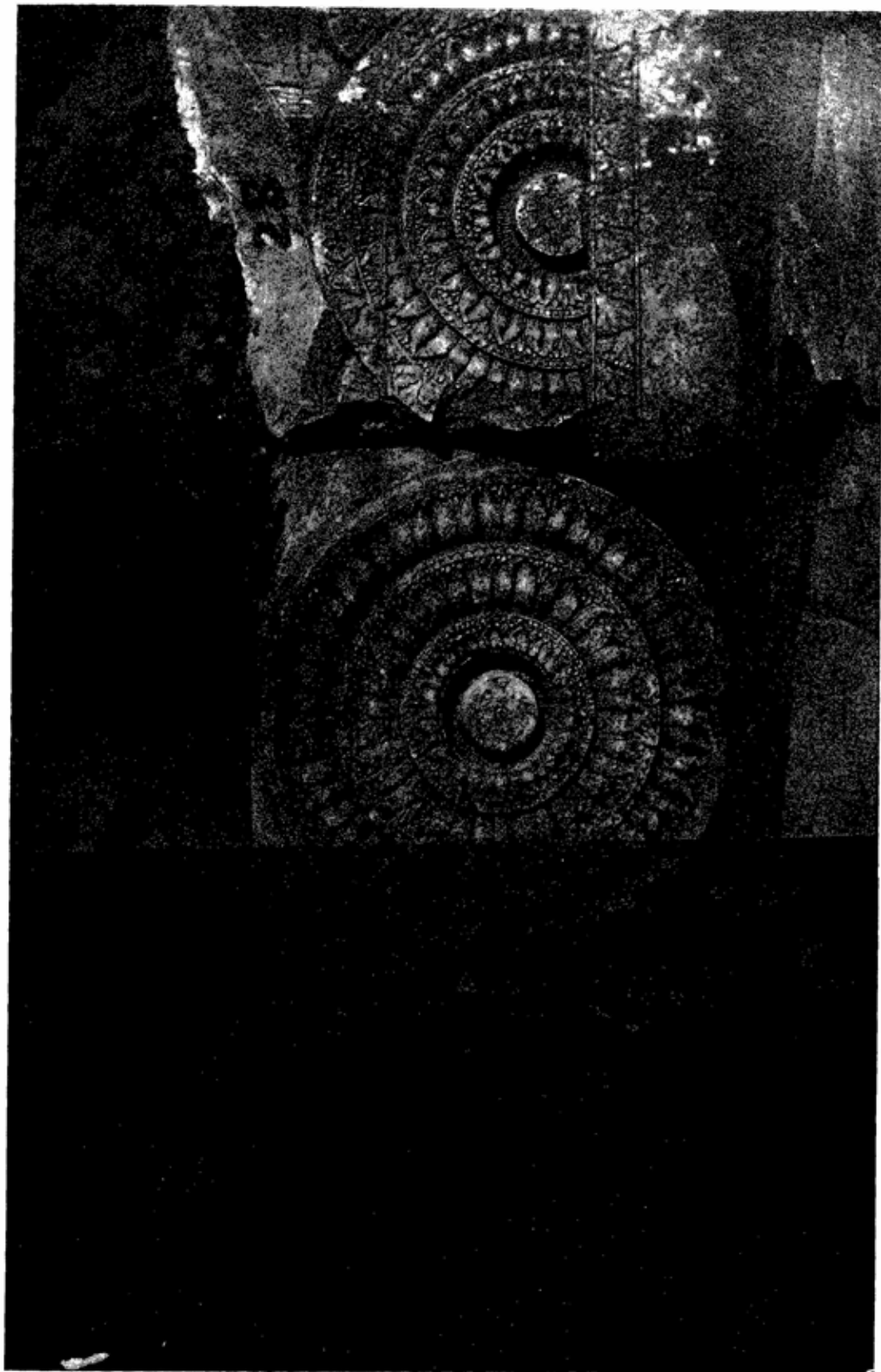
XIV. FRAMPTON (Lysons: pl. VII)



XV. HEMSWORTH. Venus pavement



XVI. WITHINGTON (Lysons: pl. XX)



XVII. Sewell's photograph of rail *in situ* at Amarāvati



XVIII. Frieze in the Museum at Amarāvati



XIX. Fragment from āyaka-platform in the Museum at Amarāvati



XX. FEATHER JACKET (UMBARI) OF THE MOMOYAMA PERIOD (1573-1618) supposed to



XXI. (Back view)



PROUST'S LETTERS TO SYDNEY AND VIOLET SCHIFF

AN archive of some 950 letters addressed to the late Sydney and Violet Schiff was recently presented to the Department of Manuscripts by their secretary, Mrs. Freda Gardner. This monumental gift, which Mr. M. A. F. Borrie has already described in the *British Museum Quarterly*,¹ does equal honour to the generosity of the donor and to the memory of the Schiffs themselves.

Both Sydney Schiff (12 December 1868–29 October 1944) and his wife Violet (1875–2 July 1962) were writers of talent and distinction;² but they will be remembered no less for the generosity with which they sought out and befriended the authors and artists of their time. Their correspondents during the period of more than half a century from 1907 to 1960 included—to name only those represented in the present collection—Marcel Proust, T. S. Eliot, Wyndham Lewis, Aldous Huxley, Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry, Edwin and Willa Muir, Richard Aldington, the three Sitwells, Sylvia Townsend Warner, Frederick Delius, John Nash, Oscar Kokoschka, and others of the most august and vital creative figures in the literature and arts of the twentieth century in England and elsewhere. But the letters also trace in living silhouette the twin personalities to which they respond. The minds and hearts of the Schiffs, with their intelligence, sensibility, and genius of friendship, are there preserved for posterity, perhaps also for the fulfilment of the hope expressed by T. S. Eliot, in *The Times* obituary of Violet Schiff, 'that some future chronicler of the history of arts and letters in our time may give to Sydney and Violet Schiff the place which is their due'.³

Among the letters here collected, those from Marcel Proust are perhaps the most noteworthy of all for the literary and biographical interest of their content, and indeed for the eminence of their writer in the hierarchy of genius. The Schiffs had read Proust's *Du côté de chez Swann* (1913) with enthusiasm in 1916,⁴ and it was to Proust, still un-met, and under the mysterious initials 'M.P.', that Sydney Schiff dedicated *Richard Kurt* (1919), the first novel in which he used his pen-name Stephen Hudson.⁵ Their correspondence began in April 1919 and continued until September 1922, two months before Proust's death on 18 November 1922. Proust met the Schiffs briefly during their visit to Paris in November 1919, and more frequently during their next visit, in April and May 1922. These were the years of Proust's belated fame, consequent upon the award of the Goncourt Prize to *À l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* in December 1919, and of his race against death for the completion of his great novel. More than ever

he preferred to conduct his relations with his fellow creatures, his exchange of ideas, feelings, and news, through the medium of his vast correspondence. His letters to the Schiffs may be regarded as the major correspondence of his last years and—although rivalled by the earlier series written between 1897 and 1909 to Marie Nordlinger, the Manchester cousin of Reynaldo Hahn—as his most important and attractive to any English friends.

Proust's letters to the Schiffs have been well known since their publication in 1932.⁶ However, even the most accurate printed edition of a correspondence can never be a complete substitute for the writer's own holograph. The original letters remain essential not only as a check upon the printed readings, but as preserving a uniquely direct contact with the writer at the very moment of writing. Such an intimacy is always present here, sometimes indefinitely, often objectively. We can see, for example, the break in Proust's writing caused, as he remarks, by an interruption from his housekeeper, Céleste Albaret,⁷ or by fatigue which compels him, half-way through another letter, to dictate instead to Céleste's niece, Yvonne Albaret, his typist.⁸ 'Forgive me while Céleste is asleep for writing to you on this horrible paper',⁹ he remarks; and this letter, indeed, is on less elegant paper than most of the rest. Another is found, unexpectedly, to be from Proust's dictation in the hand of Proust's chauffeur and Céleste's husband, Odilon Albaret.¹⁰ In the last letter of all, written two months before his death, his dislocated and trembling hand pathetically reflects the beginning of his final illness.¹¹ Elsewhere, however, Proust's handwriting images his robust ill health of every day. Difficult to elucidate at first, then dazzlingly clear, like his novel—swift and alert, graceful and powerful, intimate and noble, like his mind—Proust's hand is an essential and inseparable part of the thoughts it expresses. The holograph of a great writer perhaps conveys his intention at the moment of writing with a totality and immediacy to which the printed text of the same words, even if accurate, can never quite attain.

Apart from such imponderable but real values, the Schiff letters are important as evidence of text and date. The published version, as it turns out, contains many misreadings, which do violence to Proust's style and meaning, some silent corrections of fact or diction, and various omissions, ranging from proper names or brief phrases to passages of a hundred words or more. These omissions relate for the most part to the personal affairs of the Schiffs themselves, or to minor amical transactions between themselves and Proust which might to them have seemed too trivial or too private for publication. It may reasonably be inferred that the Schiffs themselves were responsible for most if not all of such deletions, and that the text supplied by them to the editors of the *Correspondance générale* was already in expurgated form. None relates to any matter of great moment, or to anything in the least degree discreditable to Proust, the Schiffs, or anyone else. Nevertheless, this hitherto unknown material, amounting to some 500 words,

reveals further details in Proust's life and character, or explains otherwise obscure allusions in published letters to the Schiffs and others. The significance of such new readings and new passages for the definitive text of Proust's correspondence need hardly be emphasized.

However, the most interesting contribution made by these autographs to Proustian scholarship is perhaps chronological rather than textual. Proust hardly ever dated his letters, many of which were hence published after his death in chaotic disorder, with erroneous dates or none, out of sequence, grouping, and context. Their value as sources for his life, the evolution of his thought, or the progress and construction of his novel, was diminished and obscured. The vast task of dating the letters from internal evidence was achieved for the greater part of Proust's published correspondence by Professor Philip Kolb in his monumental *La Correspondance de Marcel Proust* (1949),¹² and in his editions of Proust's letters to his mother, to Reynaldo Hahn, to Jacques Rivière, and others. Internal evidence can often date Proust's letters to the very day, or within a few days, of writing. Equally often, however, it can indicate only the month, season, year, or some still vaguer period; and it is liable, owing to imperceptible ambiguity or incompleteness, to lead to undetectable errors. Fortunately the letters to the Schiffs were mostly preserved in their original envelopes (usually, as it seems, the correct ones), complete with the postmark dates of departure from Paris and arrival in London, and were further arranged in numerical sequence by Sydney Schiff, often with pencil notes giving the dates of receipt or answering. They were published in correct chronological order, but for the most part without the dates which can now be supplied.

A full collation and discussion of the Schiff letters must await the future editor of Proust's correspondence, and can hardly be undertaken within the limits of the present article. The following notes, under the captions PAPER, POSTMARK, SCHIFF, KOLB, READINGS, give information concerning notepaper,¹³ Paris postmarks, dates supplied in manuscript by Sydney Schiff, with those inferred by Professor Kolb for comparison, with a selection of corrected readings, and summaries of passages omitted in the published version. Each letter is numbered in roman figures as in the published text, with Sydney Schiff's manuscript numeration (when this is different) added in parentheses.¹⁴ Page and line references are made where necessary to the published text.

I

PAPER: 182×134 mm.; pale blue; wm.; CONQUEROR / LONDON / [in circle] 1918; pp. 8. POSTMARK: Original envelope not preserved. SCHIFF: This must be about March 1919. I think this is first letter. KOLB: Avril 1919 [Apparently correctly]. READINGS: (p. 3, l. 6) for: vos lettres read: votre lettre; (ibid., l. 9) for: volume read: tome (p. 4, l. 28); for: mes enquêtes littéraires read: une enquête littéraire (p. 5, l. 5); for: M . . . de Z . . . read: Michel de Zogheb; (ibid., l. 8) for: J . . . de Z . . . read: Jacques de Zogheb.

II

PAPER: As I; pp. 4. POSTMARK: 30 April 1919. SCHIFF: 30th April 1919. KOLB: Vers la fin avril-début mai 1919. READING: (p. 5, l. 9) for: activité read: l'activité.

III

PAPER: As II; pp. 12 (11). POSTMARK: 2 July 1919. SCHIFF: July 2nd. 1919. KOLB: Vers la fin juillet 1919.

IV

PAPER: 175 × 112 mm; WM.: STAEL PAPER / [portrait bust]; pp. 8. POSTMARK: 5 August 1919. SCHIFF: Aug. 5th. 1919. KOLB: Vers août 1919.

V

PAPER: First sheet as I, but with date 1919; second sheet as I; pp. 8. POSTMARK: 18 November 1919. SCHIFF: 18th Nov. 1919. KOLB: Octobre-novembre 1919.

VI

PAPER: 180 × 131; WM.: JOYNSON'S / [ornament] / Parchment; pp. 12. POSTMARK: Original envelope not preserved. SCHIFF: Ansd. from Eastbourne Aug. 30. '20. KOLB: Vers la fin mars-avril 1920. [The lateness of the date given by Schiff is unexpected, since, as Professor Kolb has shown, the latest event mentioned in Proust's letter, the marriage of his friend Pierre de Polignac, took place on 19 March 1920, although Proust refers to it as recent. However, it seems that Letter VI was written after a long silence (Proust's words in Letter VII, 'j'ai été stupéfait que vous ayez attribué mon silence à un manque de sympathie', presumably refer to some remark in Schiff's reply to Letter VI); and Letters VII and VIII, which were indubitably written in September 1920, appear from their contents to have followed shortly upon Letter VI. Probably Schiff's dating should be accepted, and Letter VI assigned to the second half of August 1920.] READINGS: (p. 16, l. 22) for: que... J'ai read: que Louis Gautier-Vignal était votre parent et j'ai; (l. 23) for: X... read: lui; (p. 17, l. 9) for: Y... read: Gautier-Vignal.

VII

PAPER: As VI; pp. 12. POSTMARK: Paris postmark illegible; London postmarks 8.15 p.m., 3 Sept., and 7.15 a.m., 4 Sept., 1920. The letter has been reforwarded from the Schiff's London address, 18 Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, W. 2, to 'Birrow', Carew Road, Eastbourne. SCHIFF: About Sept. 20th [presumably in error, but if correct, then Schiff must have attached this letter to the envelope of a now missing letter]. KOLB: Vers l'été de 1920. READINGS: (p. 18, l. 7) for: X... read: Louis; (ll. 10, 11) X... and Y... are *sic* in autograph; (p. 20, ll. 19-20) in the omitted passage (52 words) Proust remarks that as he does not know a word of English [an exaggeration, but Proust is not known ever to have read an English author in the original except for Ruskin] he has not been able to read Schiff's novel [*Elinor Colhouse*] properly, but that a friend will translate it for him aloud.

VIII

PAPER: 191 × 152 mm.; wm. as VI; pp. 8 (6). POSTMARK: Original envelope not preserved. SCHIFF: About Sept. 24th 1920; Ansd. 24. 9. '20. KOLB: Vers l'automne de 1920. READING: (p. 21, l. 6) for: X . . . read: Louis.

IX

PAPER: 183 × 134 mm.; no wm.; pp. 12 (9). POSTMARK: 19 Nov. 1920. SCHIFF: Ansd. Nov. 22. 20. KOLB: Elle date approximativement de la fin de 1920 ou des premiers mois de 1921. READINGS: (p. 23, l. 19) for: X . . . read: Gautier-Vignal; (p. 25, l. 7) for: X . . . read: Louis Gautier-Vignal.

X

PAPER: 183 × 136 mm.; blue 'vellum'; no wm.; pp. 12 (10). POSTMARK: 16 July 1921. Registered letter. SCHIFF: Posted Paris 16. VII. '21. READINGS: (p. 25, l. 25) for: Cher Monsieur et Ami read: Cher Monsieur; (p. 26, l. 6) for: naturellement read: matériellement; (ibid., l. 13) for: X . . . read: Louis Gautier.

XI

PAPER: 173 × 115 mm.; yellowish white; no wm.; pp. 12 (11). POSTMARK: 12 October 1921. Registered letter. SCHIFF: Ansd. Oct. 17. '21. READINGS: (p. 28, l. 27) in the omitted passage (213 words) Proust asks Schiff to write a letter of recommendation on his behalf to Ellès, manager of the Ritz, explaining that he would like the staff there to take more trouble in protecting him from draughts, and not to tell him that he will have to leave before he has finished dinner if an American arrives by the next boat; (p. 29, l. 6) here and *passim* Proust spells Ellès with a grave accent, whereas the printed text omits the accent.

XII

PAPER: As X; pp. 8. POSTMARK: 21 October 1921. Registered letter. SCHIFF: Rcd. 22nd Oct. '21. KOLB: Vers la fin octobre 1921. READINGS: (p. 30, l. 2) for: comprenez read: comparez; (ibid., l. 8) for: les read: ces; (ibid., l. 32) in the omitted passage (80 words) Proust thanks Schiff for writing the letter of recommendation to Ellès which he had requested in Letter XI; (p. 31, l. 2) for: Babrusti read: Babinski, as Kolb correctly conjectures.

XIII (15)

PAPER: 175 × 110 mm.; wm.: [portrait bust] / JEAN BART; pp. 16 (14). POSTMARK: None. Addressed to: Monsieur Sydney Schiff, Restaurant Foyot, and delivered by hand. SCHIFF: Ansd. 10. IV. '22. KOLB: 28 à 29 avril 1922. [Proust heads this letter: 'Nuit de vendredi à samedi', and Kolb supposes it to have been written shortly before Letter XV, which he dates 2 May. Schiff's date shows that the Schiffs' visit to Paris must have begun three weeks earlier (as does the letter to Jacques Rivière cited below) and Letter XIII was presumably written during the night of Friday, 7 April–Saturday, 8 April 1922.] READINGS: (p. 33, l. 28) in the omitted passage (90 words) Proust remarks that he is writing to the *Nouvelle Revue française* to press them for a decision on Schiff's book (*Elinor Colhouse*, which Proust was urging

Jacques Rivière, editor of the *NRF*, to publish in that journal). Rivière wrote to Schiff (remarking that Proust had informed him of Schiff's presence in Paris) and to Proust on 8 April, immediately after receiving Proust's letter to himself, which is apparently lost. Cf. *Marcel Proust et Jacques Rivière, Correspondance, 1914-1922*, ed. Philip Kolb (1955), pp. 246-9. NOTE: This letter is accompanied by a single leaf of the same paper, twice folded, on which Proust has written a thirteen-word message to Schiff, saying that he has read 'le merveilleux voleur'. Cf. letter XXIII (p. 54, ll. 22-3), where Proust refers to Schiff's 'petits poèmes en prose (*le Voleur*, etc.)'.

XIV (16)

PAPER: As XII; pp. 4. POSTMARK: None. The envelope is unaddressed. Delivered by hand. SCHIFF: Rcd, 22nd April '22. KOLB: Vers la fin mai-début juin 1922. READINGS: (p. 35, l. 14) the words 'Ici intervient' et seq. are typewritten; (p. 36, l. 4) in the omitted passage (21 words) Proust affirms that his opinion of Schiff is in no way influenced by that of the *NRF*; (ibid., l. 6) for *Nouvelle Revue française* read: N.R.F.

XV (18)

PAPER: As XIV; pp. 4. POSTMARK: None. Delivered by hand. SCHIFF: Received 4 o'clock on May 1. 22. Everything was arranged as he wished and we dined together that evening. This was written and signed by Odilon Albaret, the taxi-driver husband of Céleste, M.P.'s faithful Abigail. KOLB: Mardi 2 mai 1922.

XVI (19)

PAPER: As XIII; pp. 4 (3). POSTMARK: None. Delivered by hand. SCHIFF: Recd. May. 14. 22. KOLB: Peu après le 2 mai 1922.

XVII (20)

PAPER: As XV; pp. 8 (5). POSTMARK: None. Delivered by hand. SCHIFF: May 29th 1922. KOLB: Vers le début de juin 1922. READING: (p. 39, l. 30) For: X . . . read: M^r Gautier-Vignal.

XVIII (21)

PAPER: As XVII; pp. 8. POSTMARK: None. Delivered by hand. SCHIFF: Recd. and answd. May 31. '22. Paris. KOLB: Début de juin 1922. READINGS: (p. 40, l. 8) for: Diaghilev read: Diaghilew; (ibid., l. 15) for: partout read: par tout; (p. 41, ll. 28-9) for: chercher mon . . . que je dois read: Chercher tout mon . . . que dois.

XIX (22)

PAPER: As XVI; pp. 4. POSTMARK: 19 June 1922. Registered letter. SCHIFF: Received 20th June 1922. KOLB: 14 Juin 1922. READING: (p. 42, ll. 11, 12) in the omitted passage (42 words) Proust discusses matters relating to a bill at the Ritz, apparently for the 'dîner monstre que j'ai fait chercher au Ritz' which is mentioned in Letter XVIII (pp. 40, 41). NOTE: This letter was apparently posted several days late, since the date of 14 June deduced by Kolb for its writing seems quite certain.

XX (23)

PAPER: As XIX; pp. 12. POSTMARK: 6 July 1922. Registered letter. SCHIFF: Received Crowborough. July 8/22. Ansd. July 10/22. KOLB: Fin juin-juillet 1922. READINGS: (p. 44, ll. 29, 32, p. 45, l. 8) for: Whistler read: Wisthler; (p. 45, l. 14) for: Peux-tu read: Veux-tu; (p. 46, l. 9) for: Borsuy read: Boissy.

XXI (26)

PAPER: As XVIII; pp. 8. POSTMARK: 19 July 1922. Registered letter. SCHIFF: Rcd. 20th July '22 at Crowborough. Ansd. 23rd July '22. KOLB: Juillet 1922. READINGS: (p. 47, ll. 4, 5) for: échoué. Grasset read: échoué à Grasset. Proust does not begin a new paragraph here; (ibid., l. 25) for: que Ruskin read: que ce vieil imbécile de Ruskin.

XXII (27)

PAPER: As XXI; pp. 20 (19). POSTMARK: 26 July 1922. Registered letter. SCHIFF: Received at Crowborough 28th July '22. Answered fully 30th July '22. KOLB: Vers la fin juillet-août 1922. READINGS: (p. 51, l. 18) for: Milan read: Venise; (p. 52, l. 28) for: aurais read: aurai.

XXIII (28)

PAPER: 190×150 mm.; no wm.; pp. 12 (9). POSTMARK: 29 August 1922. SCHIFF: Recd. 29th Aug. '22. Ansd. 1. Sept. '22. KOLB: 21 août 1922, ou peu de jours après. READINGS: (p. 53, l. 16) for: le soir read: ce soir-là; (p. 55, l. 10) before: avait insert: appelé Stoicesco; (ibid., l. 14) for: il y a read: il n'y a; (ibid., l. 18) for: du journal read: de journal.

XXIV (29)

PAPER: As XXIII; pp. 12 (11). POSTMARK: 15 September 1922. SCHIFF: Received London 16 IX 22. Ansd. shortly later by VS Sept. 18/22. KOLB: Vers le 8 ou 9 septembre 1922. READING: (p. 56, l. 20) for: de fin read: fui.

Other items in the Schiff papers are of Proustian interest. An unexpected and hitherto unknown juxtaposition between Proust and another remarkable Englishman is revealed by a letter of regrets from Proust, marked by Schiff: 'To W. Lewis July 1922'.¹⁵ Wyndham Lewis, as is shown by this letter, had been invited by Schiff to make a portrait drawing of Proust, who immediately sent Céleste to fetch him in the taxi of her chauffeur husband Odilon Albaret: 'the people at your hotel have perhaps told you that a very tall woman in a black hat came for you about 8 o'clock.' But Lewis was out, Proust caught cold that very evening, and he now explains that this indisposition is likely to last until after the artist's departure from Paris. There was to be no vorticist portrait of Proust. 'And yet', he politely laments, 'to be drawn by you would have been my only chance of reaching posterity.' An otherwise impenetrable allusion in Proust's

published correspondence with Schiff (Letter XXIII, p. 55) to 'l'occasion échappée du portrait prestigieux' can now be seen to refer to this incident.

Next comes an envelope addressed to Proust,¹⁶ now empty, bearing the crest of *The Times* newspaper,¹⁷ the London postmark 12 October 1922, and three new examples, totalling sixty words, of the pathetic, peremptory, and quavering notes with which Proust, unable to speak in the throes of his last illness, would at this time communicate with Céleste, using similar odd scraps of paper.¹⁸ One of these inquires whether any letter from 'Mr Schiff' [*sic*] has arrived; and it may be surmised that Céleste accordingly gave this envelope to the Schiffs as a memento.

The Schiff papers also include four cordial letters to Sydney Schiff from Proust's heir and younger brother, the distinguished surgeon Dr. Robert Proust (1873-1936). In the first of these, written in excellent English and dated 30 March 1923, Dr. Proust thanks Schiff for 'the kindly interest you have taken on Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's and my behalf'. Apparently Schiff had successfully intervened with Proust's French publishers in respect of temporary copyright difficulties which had threatened to result in 'Mr. Scott-Moncrieff being stopped in his admirable work'. Schiff's first impressions of C. K. Scott Moncrieff's great translation of Proust's novel had been unfavourable, and he had even thought it right to warn Proust himself on the subject; but this letter shows that he had not been slow to make practical amends for his error.¹⁹ In a letter of 10 November 1930 Robert Proust expresses his eagerness to see 'la copie des lettres que Marcel vous a écrites', and in the next, of 26 January 1931, he acknowledges receipt of 'ces 25 lettres de Marcel que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer. Je crois qu'elles pourront toutes être publiées dans la Correspondance générale de Marcel et je considère qu'elles permettront une très belle évocation de son caractère.' It may be presumed therefore that the published edition of these letters was printed from the copy (typewritten?) supplied by Schiff. There are only twenty-four letters in the published version. Unless a mere slip or miscount is involved, it seems that the editors may have omitted one letter, at present unknown and unidentifiable, which was present in the copy and is also absent from the Schiff archive.²⁰ Otherwise, it seems probable that the omissions and misreadings found in the published version were all or for the most part due to Schiff himself or his copyist, and not to the editors.

Among other pieces in the Schiff archive which might have been of potential interest for Proust's life are letters from his friends Edmond Jaloux and Lucien Daudet, and his biographer, Léon Pierre-Quint. As it happens, however, Jaloux's letters relate mainly to the possibilities of the publication of Schiff's novels in France, and contain no mention of Proust. Pierre-Quint's refer only to the publication of his own works on Proust. Lucien Daudet's display his lifelong loyalty to his dead friend, but reveal only a single small new biographical fact concerning Proust. In 1895 Lucien and his mother visited London, and 'Marcel

Proust had said he would join us at our Brown's Hotel ("elegant" in those days) but naturally he didn't come'.²¹ This is one of the earliest instances of the chimerical desire to visit England which pursued Proust throughout his life.

GEORGE D. PAINTER

¹ *B.M.Q.* xxxi, no. 1-2 (Autumn 1966), pp. 24-7. The letters from Proust are included in Add. MS. 52921, ff. 96-231.

² Sydney Schiff, under his pen-name 'Stephen Hudson', was associated with the *avant-garde* little magazine *Art and Letters* (1917-20). His long sequence of autobiographical tales, beginning with *Richard Kurt* (1919) and *Elinor Colhouse* (1921) and synthesized in *A True Story* (1930; revised and enlarged edition 1948), shows, as Edwin Muir wrote, 'a condensed, eliminative, almost taciturn art', and occupies a permanent and acknowledged place in the twentieth-century English novel. He dedicated his translation of *Time Regained*, the final volume of Proust's novel, which C. K. Scott Moncrieff had died before reaching, 'To the memory of my friend Charles Scott Moncrieff, Marcel Proust's incomparable translator.' Violet Schiff, alone or in collaboration, translated Charles-Louis Philippe's *Marie Donadieu* (1949), Raymond Radiguet's *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel* (1952), Louise de Villemorin's *Juliette* (1952), Jean-Louis Curtis's *L'Échelle de soie* (1957), and André Maurois's *Climats* (1957). She was the youngest daughter of Samuel H. Beddington, and a sister of Mrs. Ada Leverson, the loyal 'Sphinx' of Oscar Wilde. She studied singing under Tosti, sometimes accompanied Caruso in private recitals at the piano, and married Sydney Schiff in 1911. In her last years she was confined to her chaise-longue, and a little deaf, like her husband before her; but the unfaded vitality and responsiveness of youth remained in her eyes, her sensibility, and her conversation. As T. S. Eliot wrote (*loc. cit.*, note 3 below): 'Hers was a sympathy which made one feel that she understood much more than had been, or could be, put into words, that she was aware of, and responded to, that which could not be spoken.' Proust calls her in his letters 'the angel Violet', 'hidden, scented and marvellous flower' (*Correspondance générale*, iii, pp. 41, 51).

³ *The Times*, 9 July 1962, p. 18. See also obituary of Sydney Schiff, *The Times*, 13 Nov. 1944, p. 6; biographical note by T. E. M. Boll, in Stephen Hudson, *Richard, Myrtle and I*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1962.

An account of the Schiffs by a devoted and discerning nephew is given in Sir Edward Beddington-Behrens, *Look Back, Look Forward*, 1962, pp. 58-70. For their association with Proust see Violet Schiff, 'A Night with Proust', *London Magazine*, Sept. 1956; G. D. Painter, *Marcel Proust*, vol. 2 (1965), pp. 338-44, and index under Schiff.

⁴ Boll, *ibid.*, p. 35; Beddington-Behrens, *op. cit.*, p. 59; '1915' in Marcel Proust, *Correspondance générale*, iii, 1932, p. i.

⁵ An early novel, *Concessions* (1913), had appeared under his real name, and was followed by a volume of short stories, *War Time Silhouettes* (1916), in which he first used his pseudonym.

⁶ Marcel Proust, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Robert Proust and Paul Brach, iii, pp. 3-58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33, ll. 17-19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35, l. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7, Letter XV.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-8.

¹² Including (pp. 91-8) a discussion of the dating of Proust's letters to the Schiffs.

¹³ Proust's consumption of notepaper was enormous and varied. As Professor Kolb has often shown, the use of a particular paper in a dated or datable letter can be used as evidence for the approximate dating of other letters in which the same paper was used. The note gives page measurements in millimetres, colour (when not plain white or off-white), watermark, and number of pages, with the number of pages actually written (when this is less) in parentheses. Unless otherwise stated, the letters are written on folded sheets of four pages each.

¹⁴ It appears from Schiff's numeration that five letters, of which no further trace is known to survive, were omitted from the published text: two between Letters XII and XIII, one between XIV and XV, and two between XX and XXI. See also note 20 below.

¹⁵ Add. MS. 52921, ff. 232, 233.

¹⁶ Add. MS. 52921, f. 234.

¹⁷ The original contents of this envelope remain unknown, but it seems possible that Proust may have written concerning the favourable review of Scott Moncrieff's translation of *Swann's Way*

published in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 21 Sept. 1922.

¹⁸ See Painter, op. cit., ii, p. 356, and references p. 406.

¹⁹ See Painter, op. cit., ii, pp. 351-2, and references p. 406.

²⁰ Cf. note 14 above.

²¹ 'Marcel Proust avait dit qu'il serait venu nous rejoindre à notre Brown's Hôtel (alors "élégant") mais naturellement n'était pas venu.' Add. MS. 52917, letter of 7 Jan. 1940. It may be doubted whether Brown's Hotel has ever ceased to be elegant, even in 1940.

A RARE PRINTER AT ROME: ARIOTTUS DE TRINO

NO one has ever satisfactorily explained why the small and insignificant agricultural town of Trino (province of Vercelli) should have given birth to so many printers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many of whom printed in Venice, but some of whom printed successfully in Trino itself before 1600.¹ In the fifteenth century, for example, there were Gulielmus Anima Mia (active at Venice from 1485 to 1499), Bernardinus Stagninus (Venice, 1483-1538), and Joannes Tacuinus (Venice, 1492-1538); while in the sixteenth century perhaps the most prolific printers in all Italy were natives of Trino: the Giolito de Ferrari family, working mainly at Venice. But at least one printer from Trino found his way to Rome, where he is recorded as having printed only two books. Ariottus de Trino was not represented in the Museum collections until January 1967, when the Department of Printed Books bought a fine, clean copy of his edition of Xenophon's *Memorabilia Socratis* translated into Latin by Cardinal Bessarion and printed for the publisher Giovanni Mazzocchi in Rome on 1 December 1521.

The book contains a dedicatory epistle by Ianus Vitalis to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo written at Rome 'ex Cubiculo tuo. iii. Nonas Nouemb. [3 Nov.]', 1521, and a preface by Cardinal Bessarion to Giuliano, Bishop of Tusculum; at the end is a letter by Pope Leo X giving Giovanni Mazzocchi permission to publish the book, 'datum in uilla nostra Manliana Portuē. Dioc. Sub annulo Piscatoris' on 21 November 1521, signed by Jacopo Sadoletto as secretary to the Pope.

Bessarion, born at Trebizond some time between 1389 and 1403, became a Cardinal in 1439 and settled in Rome. Here he studied Latin intensively, translated the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, and no doubt completed his version of Xenophon about 1440. The Cardinal to whom he dedicated his translation was Giuliano Cesarini, who was killed in the Balkans in 1444. They had been friends together at the Council of Florence in 1439.² This Latin version of Xenophon was apparently not printed along with Xenophon's other works until 1534 at Basle, and until 1967 the earliest edition of the *Memorabilia* alone in the possession of the Museum was the Paris printing of 1542. The text of Bessarion's

version must have remained in manuscript in Rome for some eighty years before it was discovered presumably by the humanist Ianus Vitalis.

Xenophon's principal works were not popular with the fifteenth-century printers, and the new acquisition is not only the earliest edition of this text now in the possession of the Museum, but also the only one printed in Italy in the sixteenth century. It is not clear why it should have been printed by Ariottus, whose only other recorded production is the *Opusculum in quasdam Erasmi Roterodami annotationes* by Sancho Carranza de Miranda, also printed for Giovanni Mazzocchi.³

Ianus Vitalis, who edited the book and dedicated it to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469–1532), was a Sicilian from Palermo working in Rome. He also dedicated to Egidio the *De divina trinitate*, and the phrase 'ex cubiculo tuo' suggests that he was living in Egidio's house.⁴ Jacopo Sadoletto (born in 1477) became secretary to Pope Leo X in 1513, afterwards becoming a Cardinal in 1536 and dying in 1547. Leo X, who ascended the papal throne in 1513, had a villa at La Magliana (or Malliana), between Rome and Ostia, where he entertained hunting parties, and it was here that he gave Sadoletto permission to sign the imprimatur for the Xenophon on 21 November 1521. It is interesting to note that the printing of the book was completed only ten days later; the Pope, however, died on 1 December, the very day on which this book left the press.

Although Ariottus de Trino is only known to have printed two books in 1521–2 and nothing is known about his training, his press-work is good and he must have been a competent printer. The title-page of the Xenophon (Pl. xxiv) is most elaborately woodcut, with a portrait (presumably of Socrates) at the top and the coat of arms of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo at the foot of the page. The book also contains two striking woodcut initials belonging to two different alphabets (Pl. xxv).

The collation is: 58 leaves. A–N⁴ O⁶. Quarto. On the verso of the last leaf is a curious woodcut device consisting of three intertwined wreaths of leaves, which appear to be ivy, olive, and laurel, with the three initials V V V: unless these stand for 'veni, vidi, vici', which seems an inappropriate motto here, it is difficult to think of an interpretation (Pl. xxv). It is not certain whether Giovanni Mazzocchi, a native of Bergamo, was a brother of the better-known printer Giacomo Mazzocchi, but they must have been kinsmen: Giovanni himself was probably never a printer.⁵ Other copies of the Xenophon are recorded at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome; the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome; and the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome. The new acquisition has been placed at C. 125. dd. 7.

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³ Some 180 books were printed at Trino itself in the sixteenth century. See Marina Bersano Begey and Giuseppe Dondi, *Le cinquecentine piemontesi*, iii (Torino, 1966), pp. 157–301.

² Joseph Gill, S.J., *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 1964), chapters 4 and 8.

³ There is a copy of this book in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome. See Fernanda Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi* (Firenze, 1961), p. 14 n. 1.

⁴ G. Tumminelli, 'Giano Vitale umanista del secolo XVI', in *Archivio storico siciliano*, nuova

serie, viii (Palermo, 1883), pp. 1-94, especially at p. 82.

⁵ F. Ascarelli, p. 15 n. 1, quotes one book with the imprint 'Stampato in Roma per Juan Mazocho' as evidence that he was a printer: but 'stampato per' is probably more likely to mean 'printed for' than 'printed by'.

A VICTORIAN CONNOISSEUR AND HIS MANUSCRIPTS

THE TALE OF MR. JARMAN AND MR. WING

THE announcement of the death of John Boykett Jarman, Esq., appeared in the appropriate column of *The Times* on 29 February 1864. He had passed away suddenly three days earlier at Windsor, having attained the ripe old age of eighty-two. Less than four months elapsed before his library, including the 'beautiful collection of Illuminated Missals and Books of Hours, of exquisite quality, by Italian, French and Flemish artists . . . including choice specimens of Miniatures, Borders and Capital Letters' to which he had devoted much attention throughout his long life, came under the hammer at Sotheby's.¹ On the face of it there is little in the sale catalogue, apart from an occasional hint of damage by water, to suggest that this collection was in any way different from the many other private collections dispersed by the same auctioneers during the course of the nineteenth century. It consisted largely of Books of Hours illuminated during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, of the ornate variety particularly in vogue with the private buyer of the time, and of lots of loose miniatures and other ornamental cuttings apparently extracted from dismembered manuscripts of the same nature. But behind this particular collection lies a tale of disaster, and of artistic skill and ingenuity, which sheds light on an unusual aspect of Victorian connoisseurship and which, thanks largely to the detailed personal journal of Sir Frederic Madden and to the extensive records which he kept of his transactions as Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, it is now possible to retell.²

Mr. Jarman makes his first appearance in the *Post-Office London Directory* in 1808, in business as a goldsmith and jeweller at 25 Strand. He must have been about twenty-six at the time. In 1824 he had moved to 30 St James's Street, in 1829 he was at 4 Cleveland Street, and in 1830 he acquired a more permanent address at 130 New Bond Street. In 1841 he had established himself at 83 Grosvenor Street, just round the corner from his former address, and about the

same time acquired a country house at Datchet, facing across the Thames to Windsor Great Park. The Ordnance Survey 6 in. map of the area published in 1881 shows this as a substantial property, only a few yards from the river's edge. Its name was 'Rosenau', presumably after the ancestral home of Prince Albert, who had married Queen Victoria in 1840. Lot 147 in the Jarman sale included an 'Initial Letter, containing Arms of Rossenau' (*sic*).

Mr. Jarman's interest in illuminated manuscripts and other works of art is also recorded in the early years of his career. Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron*, published in 1817, includes a paragraph about 'a very blazing book-star' in his possession, whose 'rays at first nearly dazzled me!'³ From the context in which it appears, this seems to have been a Flemish manuscript, but unfortunately Dibdin failed to give any descriptive details. In 1838 he bought the *Esdaile Missal* which, already well known to bibliophiles, must have cost him a substantial sum.⁴ Another manuscript from his collection was the source for two plates in Henry Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, published in 1843, which suggests that he was quite willing to allow others access to his books.⁵ About the same time two sales were held on his behalf. The first, devoted to 'Ancient Stained Glass', took place on 3 July 1842.⁶ The second, on 8 June 1845, comprised portraits, miniatures, pictures, weapons, clocks, books, and a few manuscripts, 'a great variety of very Interesting Items for the Virtuoso and Connoisseur selected by the Proprietor during the last Forty Years'. The catalogue of the latter sale does not give the name of the vendor, but he is identified by Madden, who purchased four manuscript items, two western and two oriental, for the Museum.⁷ This collection was probably a selection from Mr. Jarman's stock-in-trade, for by this time he seems to have been a dealer in *vertu* rather than a straightforward jeweller.

Soon after this the whole of Mr. Jarman's collection of illuminated manuscripts, by now quite extensive and certainly very valuable, was very severely damaged by a flood. Because one of the volumes most seriously hurt was the *Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, illuminated about 1353 by Jean Pucelle, which was subsequently published in facsimile under the editorship of Sydney Cockerell, a version of the story of this disaster has already appeared in print. Cockerell probably got his information direct from Ruskin, who acquired this manuscript and two others from Jarman about 1854. Unfortunately he seems to have been entirely misinformed about the circumstances of the flood, which he believed to have been caused by the Thames overflowing into a cellar in the house at Datchet during the absence of the owner, and the issue has since been further confused by the publication of an entry in Ruskin's notes on his collections, written in 1878, which suggests that the flood had taken place only twenty years earlier.⁸ Mr. Jarman himself told the true story to Sir Frederic Madden when he called upon him on 18 February 1851, at the instigation of Dr. Daniel Rock who

had recently chosen one of Jarman's miniatures for use as an illustration in his *Church of Our Fathers*, and was endeavouring to persuade Madden to agree to a complicated three-sided deal, whereby he would be enabled to acquire one of the Jarman manuscripts by offering one of his own to the Museum on advantageous terms.⁹ Madden wrote in his journal:

I then walked on to 83 Grosvenor St. to call on Mr Jarman, whom I found at home, and remained in his rooms above two hours, looking at various illuminated manuscripts, portraits, painted glass, and other interesting objects. On enquiry for the Latin Psalter referred to by Dr. Rock, he at once produced it, and on my being astonished and grieved at the great injuries it had received, he informed me that a few years ago, he was in possession of 65 MSS. most of them of great value and with first rate illuminations. They were all secured in tin boxes and placed in a room on the ground floor, when during his absence from London, a violent storm arose (on a Saturday) which caused the water to rise several feet in the room in which the boxes were, and penetrating into them, the vellum of the MSS. became swollen and burst the boxes. The MSS. remained immersed in dirty water until his return, three days after the storm, when he discovered his irreparable loss. In money alone he calculated it at some thousands, and the MSS. in most cases were utterly spoilt! His first care was to separate the leaves of each, and dry and flatten them; this labour he continued for weeks, with but partial success; and the remains of his once beautiful collection he was now prepared to show me. The sight was really heart-rending! . . . The loss is really frightful to think of! I wonder Mr Jarman did not hang himself at once!¹⁰

This account makes it clear that, although the house at Datchet occupied a site probably liable to flooding, the Thames was not to blame and the disaster took place in the heart of Mayfair. Madden's record by no means exaggerated the results. Twelve lots in the sale catalogue of 1864 are described as to some extent damaged by water, Madden himself made a note of damp stains in a further eight, and six others identifiable today (including the three purchased by Ruskin) are visibly marked. This accounts for almost half the total of sixty-five which Jarman said he had possessed.¹¹ The amount of damage varies between slight staining of the margins and of leaves at the beginning and end of a volume (by great good fortune, the thirteenth-century *Hours and Psalter of Isabelle of France* escaped with nothing worse)¹² and partial obliteration of both text and illumination throughout the manuscript. The *Hours of Yolande of Flanders* and the *Esdaile Missal* were both amongst the most severely damaged. Madden noted that the Psalter which interested Dr. Rock had:

. . . nearly every leaf . . . blackened, and the text almost wholly obliterated. Strange to say, however, the miniatures are by no means so injured, and still retain their brilliancy and delicacy of colouring.¹³

This effect can be seen in one of the manuscripts which was bought for the Museum in 1864, now Add. MS. 25696. Mr. Jarman told Madden that in some cases only the miniatures were worth salvaging.

In his original account of the flood, Madden left the date blank. Elsewhere in his journal he gave it as either 1842 or 1846.¹⁴ Since the two medieval manuscripts from Jarman's 1845 sale which are now in the Museum are both quite innocent of water stains, and since Shaw did not mention any accident to the collection when he published the two miniatures from it in 1843, the later date seems the more likely. Indeed, a quite unusually violent storm did break over London in the summer of 1846. It happened on a Saturday, which agrees with Mr. Jarman's description, and is reported in detail in *The Times* of Monday, 3 August. Madden's vagueness about the date can probably be accounted for by the fact that he was on holiday in Worthing with his wife and children at the time.¹⁵ Certainly anyone who had experienced this storm would have had difficulty in forgetting about it. Enormous hailstones, weighing up to an ounce and a half, shattered the roofs of shopping arcades and railway termini and wrought havoc among the hothouses at Kew. The Guard was called out to rescue valuable paintings when water poured through the roof of the picture gallery at Buckingham Palace. Torrential rain fell for some three hours and many drains proved quite inadequate to cope with the pressure of water. The Fleet erupted from its cover 'with a noise like the explosion of a piece of artillery' and 'the deep barrel drain in the Green Park' burst and flooded the area towards the lake in St. James's Park, where men were forced to wade in to the rescue of grazing sheep.¹⁶

Under such violent storm conditions, 83 Grosvenor Street would be as vulnerable to flood as any place in London, the reason being the proximity of the aforesaid 'deep barrel drain' which subsequently passes under Green Park. This is the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, which carries what was formerly the Tyburn river, and it has a long history of flooding. It is recorded to have done so much damage where it passes under Buckingham Palace that George III attempted, with no success, to change its course at his own expense. The eastern end of Grosvenor Street, just before it meets Bond Street, passes across the old river valley. This valley is quite well marked and can be seen clearly both to the north, where it crosses Oxford Street just west of Marylebone Lane, and to the south in Piccadilly. Mr. Jarman's house is on the edge of what was once a marshy depression, and the present road seems to have originated as a short causeway across it. There is a distinct drop on the northern side, where Avery Row dips before rising into Brook Street, as well as on the south, where Bourdon Street falls away in the general direction of the Thames. The King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, 7 feet square in section and only about 6 feet below ground level, runs a few yards west of Mr. Jarman's front door and a survey of the sewers prepared in 1848 shows that it then had three branches. One of these, sealed off in 1861, flowed even nearer to his house, the third right past it to join another main sewer under Bond Street. After a severe rainstorm, not only would the actual sewer be under

unusual pressure from the water within it, but water on the ground surface would have found its way naturally into the original river valley and, prevented from running into the water-course by the sewer which encased it, would be forced to find a path alongside. Even in recent years basements along the line of the Tyburn have been inundated after storms far less severe than the one in 1846.¹⁷

Far from being discouraged by the wrecking of his precious collection, Mr. Jarman seems to have increased his enthusiasm. His first care was to salvage what he could and the steps which he took were remarkably successful. Even the most badly damaged surviving manuscripts have been dried out without entirely losing their pliability. The least ruinous were repaired and rebound. I suspect that it was at first solely for repair work that Mr. Jarman employed the artist, Mr. Wing, who was later to do so much work for him. Mr. Wing was one of a number of painters who, in the days before photography could be fully exploited, made a living by preparing accurate copies of original material for the use of publishers and of collectors. This activity was not confined to the bibliographical world—Mr. Jarman himself employed a man called Peter to copy historical portraits, apparently as part of his business¹⁸—but a number of artists are recorded to have used the facilities of the British Museum's library departments during the nineteenth century. The best documented is John Harris junior, who is reputed to have been so expert in copying portions of early printed books that his pages could not be told apart from the originals.¹⁹

Although Wing is not a common name, it has proved surprisingly difficult to find any traces of the career of Mr. Jarman's artist. Madden knew him, but failed to include either his first name or his initials when he had occasion to mention him in his journal, and no fewer than three artists of this name appear in issues of the *Post-Office London Directory* between 1846 (the date of the flood) and 1864 (the date of Jarman's death). It may well be that we have here an instance of a family of professional artists, for there were also two ladies of the name living in London who exhibited paintings in 1848 and in 1871 respectively, and Richard Wing, landscape painter of Fordingbridge, who exhibited between 1826 and 1832, appointed a London-dwelling nephew executor of his will.²⁰ Two of the three artists can be eliminated. William Edward Wing of 17 Priory Road, Wandsworth (1855), who was associated in the Entomological Society with two leading facsimilists, J. O. Westwood and Henry Noel Humphreys, died of consumption while work on Mr. Jarman's collection was still in progress.²¹ Adolphus H. A. Wing of 40 Fitzroy Square (1850-1) seems to have been almost exclusively a miniaturist and reappears in 1863-8 at 48 Piccadilly, offering to portray his clients either in paint or by the more up-to-date process of portrait photography.²²

The third artist was William Charles Wing, living at 44 Dorset Street in 1846-8. There are two references amongst the minutes of meetings of the Trustees of the British Museum to special permission being granted to Mr. C.

Wing to copy manuscripts of exceptional value. On the latter occasion his second initial is given as 'W'. This is certainly Mr. Jarman's artist, for on the first occasion he was making the copies for him.²³ He can probably be identified with a painter of portrait miniatures who was living at Upper Park Street in 1835 and who signed work 'C. W. Wing' in 1835 and 1838. One example of this artist's work has been reproduced and could certainly be by the hand that appears in Mr. Jarman's manuscripts.²⁴ So far only two references show him working on manuscripts for anyone other than Jarman. On 2 April 1852 a Mr. Williams, employed by the *Illustrated London News*, made arrangements with Sir Frederic Madden for him to be allowed to copy the portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, from the newly acquired *Bedford Hours*, for the magazine.²⁵ Then in 1860 he was employed by the Revd. F. H. Scrivener to prepare facsimiles of some biblical texts, including the *Codex Alexandrinus*, to be used as illustrations in a new book on the criticism of the New Testament.²⁶ This drew from Madden the following recommendation to the Trustees:

Mr Wing is a careful Artist, and Sir F. M. does not see any objection to permission being granted, but (as in the case of the late Mr Harris) he wishes to have the sanction of the Trustees for it.²⁷

Thanks to Madden's journal, Wing's association with Mr. Jarman is documented between January 1852 and December 1855, but we do not know just how soon after the flood he began working on the collection. He seems to have been employed initially to repaint areas of damaged illumination in manuscripts that were being restored. Retouching is clearly to be seen in several of the water-stained volumes still identifiable. The small Vallombrosan Breviary (now Egerton MS. 2973) was badly injured at the beginning and the calendar vignettes of the labours of the months have all been recoloured. Even the *Esdaile Missal* shows signs of repainting in places originally illuminated by the lesser of its two artists.²⁸ He was obviously very competent and Mr. Jarman recognized his talent, setting him to work on the more ambitious task of painting entire new miniatures for insertion into existing manuscripts or to be bound up in independent volumes. Only one lot in the sale catalogue of 1864 is openly described as a modern copy,²⁹ but Madden's notes on the sale recognize 'a vast number' of such items and, on one or two occasions since then, Jarman manuscripts have been described as modern or openly attributed to Wing.³⁰

Mr. Wing was a prolific miniaturist. I have so far traced about a hundred individual items, all from the Jarman sale, which are undoubtedly his work. Madden noted five lots of separate miniatures, totalling ninety-six items, in his sale catalogue, and almost fifty more are identified in the sales of Cecil Dunn Gardner and W. H. Crawford.³¹ This still accounts for only a fraction of the sixty sets of loose miniatures described in 1864 and it is quite plain that many more of

these were modern copies. Madden also noted several volumes with modern insertions. There is to date no reason to suppose that any other artist was involved. All the miniatures have similar characteristics—bright colours, careful attention to detail, an almost glossy finish. In most cases they are remarkably true to their models, although sometimes the faces of the figures could not have been painted in any but the nineteenth century. Wing was well able to increase or to diminish the scale of a composition or to vary its proportions, and it is quite clear for this very reason that he could not have relied on traced outlines. In preparing leaves for the embellishment of existing volumes he (and no doubt Mr. Jarman also) showed considerable appreciation of the material with which he was dealing and, even though the 'host' manuscript and the model for its new miniatures might be of entirely different dates and schools, he succeeded in marrying the two quite successfully enough to deceive even the experienced eye.

Two of Wing's series of loose miniatures are now in the Lilly Library at Indiana University, with the residue of the collection of Coella Lindsay Ricketts.³² One is a set of seventeen illustrations for a Book of Hours, copied directly, in the French style of the mid-fifteenth century, from Add. MS. 25695. Only the full-scale Evangelist miniatures, lacking in the original, are drawn from another source and provided with suitable borders. Each miniature has been extended slightly both top and bottom in order to cover the space reserved in the original for the text. These miniatures can be recognized in both the Gardner and the Crawford sales and the misreading of a note at the front of the volume, in the hand of one of these collectors, seems to have been the cause of the misunderstanding which led Millar, and after him Kurz, to believe that the artist was a lady.³³ The other set comprises eleven miniatures in a variety of styles, amongst which is one adapted from the *Da Costa Hours*, lot 65 in the sale, which was one of Wing's favourite models.³⁴

One of the volumes of individual miniatures recognized as modern by Madden is now in the Henry Huntington Library in California.³⁵ This seems to have puzzled a number of bibliophiles; in the catalogue of Robert Hoe's collection they are described as nineteenth-century, but the author of the entry in De Ricci's *Census* regarded them as genuine work of the school of Giulio Clovio.³⁶ Clovio was especially popular with Victorian collectors and these miniatures suggest that Jarman shared this partiality. They are so far the only instance amongst Wing's work in which the model can be identified as a manuscript not already in the Jarman collection. They are taken from the *Stuart de Rothsay Hours*, Add. MS. 20927, written by Bartolomeo Sanvito and illuminated by Clovio, bought for the Museum in June 1855.³⁷ Wing applied early in October for permission to make copies of them and Madden recommended that the Trustees should allow him to do so.³⁸ He must have set to work at once, for on the last day of the year Madden wrote:

Mr Wing the artist shewed me his copies of the miniatures in the Giulio Clovio Book of Hours, executed for Mr Jarman of Bond St. They are not very well done and I am at a loss to conceive how Mr J can expend his money in having copies made in this manner.³⁹

The original and the copy in this case may be compared in Pl. xxvi.

Eight miniatures were inserted into a small Book of Hours by the Venetian scribe Marco di Vicenza, now MS. lat. 25 in the library of University College London.⁴⁰ All but the first are copied, with slight variations in proportion, from a little French Hours of about 1515, now Add. MS. 35214, which is blended into the original Italian work of 1470-80 by the addition of elaborate borders, in the style of Attavante, round each miniature and its opposing page of text (Pl. xxvii). Similarly a manuscript recently in the hands of Sotheby's was embellished with thirteen additions, ten of them adaptations on a smaller scale of the miniatures in a French Mannerist Hours of about 1525 (MS. Smith Lesouëf 42 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), each provided with a border of white vine ornament or of a similar form of decoration to fit them to the late fifteenth-century Italian original.⁴¹ Neither of these Italian manuscripts had much decoration of its own, but two Flemish Books of Hours, purchased for Lord Aldenham's collection immediately after the Jarman sale and resold in 1937, were already provided with some miniatures.⁴² The additions were recognized as the work of Wing and have since been removed. The first had been given nine extra miniatures, some of which are hard to tell apart from genuine work of the period, and these were later sold off separately. Three have been lost sight of, one is in the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁴³ and the remainder in private hands.⁴⁴ Their models embrace four other manuscripts from the Jarman collection. The Adoration of the Magi is a direct copy, both miniature and border, from the same subject in a magnificent Flemish Hours recently owned by H. P. Kraus.⁴⁵ The Transfiguration is taken from the *Da Costa Hours*⁴⁶ and the Assumption from the French Mannerist Hours in Paris, adapted by the addition of a suitable border (Pl. xxviii a).⁴⁷ The Flight into Egypt is made up from no less than three of the models, the background coming from Add. MS. 25695 (French, mid-fifteenth century), the border and the figure of St. Joseph from the *Da Costa Hours*, and the Virgin and Child with the donkey from the Paris manuscript (Pl. xxviii b).⁴⁸ The other volume in the Aldenham sale, now MS. 287 in Yale University Library, has a total of seventeen additions, now bound up separately. Ten are derived from the *Da Costa Hours*, but all have been given new borders.⁴⁹

Wing's most ingenious embellishments are to be found in the so-called *Egmont Hours*, Add. MS. 35319, which formed part of Baron Ferdinand Rothschild's bequest to the Museum in 1899. These seem hitherto to have escaped detection and one of them has, indeed, twice been quoted with its original as exemplifying the degeneration of Flemish miniature painting in the early years of the sixteenth century!⁵⁰ Five full-page miniatures are added to the original

total of four. Two of them—the Annunciation at f. 45^b and Christ among His Disciples at f. 165^b—are amongst the most obviously Victorian of Wing's creations. The Elevation of the Host at f. 33^b is copied from f. 2 of Add. MS. 25698, and the Three Living and the Three Dead at f. 189^b (Pl. xxix) is yet another subject drawn from the *Da Costa Hours*.⁵¹ The portrait of the 'owner', Floris van Egmont, Count of Buren, at f. 32, and a smaller miniature of his wife, Margaret van Bergen, which fills a gap on f. 146^b, are both spurious. The source may have been lot 378 on the second day of the sale in 1864: a water-colour of 'Floris Count Egmont, from Ancient Glass Window at Liege, *emblazoned*'. The Count's arms are elaborately emblazoned on the verso of his 'portrait'. This manuscript has also been given twelve (or possibly thirteen) complete borders for existing pages of text, and sixteen pages which originally had borders on three sides only now enjoy four.⁵² These last additions in particular are so expertly matched to the earlier work that they are very difficult indeed to detect unless held to the light.

The *Egmont Hours* has one of the most elaborate of the surviving bindings ordered by Mr. Jarman for his collection. He paid a great deal of attention to the beauty of the coverings on his volumes and the sale catalogue describes a wealth of silver, gilt, enamelled, and even jewelled clasps and ornaments, set off by velvets of green, crimson, purple, blue, and black. He seems to have obtained the ornaments independently of the manuscripts, for loose clasps make up lots 164–6 in the sale and in one or two cases two manuscripts have identical ornaments.⁵³ The *Egmont Hours* has the 'owner's' arms engraved on the central ornament on each cover, framed by fairies and semi-classical figures which are paralleled on a seventeenth-century binding at Windsor.⁵⁴ Another Hours, lot 26 in the sale, had 'the arms of the former owners from the illumination on folio 42' engraved on the binding, but Madden noticed that the arms were those of Philip the Good and Isabel of Portugal, 'too early for the execution of the MS.'⁵⁵ The Jarman bindings which survive form a rich display of the sort of book covers familiar in the hands of saints in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings, but they are certainly pseudo and no reliance can be placed on any indications which they may seem to offer regarding a manuscript's origins (Pl. xxx).

One manuscript singled out for particular disapproval by Madden when he viewed the Jarman sale still presents a problem. After looking at lot 76 he wrote: 'The whole is *modern*, both the writing and the miniatures! This is really scandalous.'⁵⁶ The volume is now Lewis MS. 109 in the Free Library of Philadelphia⁵⁷ and its history, thanks to a colophon recording that it was written at St. Amand in 1537 which is always quoted in sale catalogues, can be traced both before and after its appearance in Mr. Jarman's collection. There is apparently no foundation for Madden's assertion that the text is a fabrication, but the eleven miniatures, all bearing the arms of a Duke of Orleans, are certainly additions and

seem to be after a model some years later than 1537. When this manuscript was sold in 1852 it was said to have four miniatures; when it reappeared in 1859, five years before the Jarman sale, it had already acquired eleven. From photographs they certainly seem to be the work of Wing and, furthermore, he used the identical model for the Crucifixion again in the addition to lot 59 (the manuscript recently at Sotheby's). He also reproduced the entire series, Orleans arms and all, for Mr. Jarman.⁵⁸ It may be that Mr. Jarman himself, knowingly or unknowingly, purchased a modern facsimile. Certainly his judgement was not infallible, for he told Madden a story against himself in 1851:

A portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, stated to be an original, was bought by [him] of Foster for 25£. and on his taking it home to a man named Peter (employed by him to copy old portraits) the latter burst out laughing, and said he had *painted it himself*, and had disposed of it to Foster not an hour beforehand! It was afterwards purchased of Jarman by the Duke of Buckingham for 50£. and at the Stowe sale was again sold to Lord Spencer as an *original*, although (as Jarman states) an inscription at the back of the portrait states its history! Sharp work this for portrait fanciers!⁵⁹

On another occasion Madden was shown:

... a beautiful copy (recently made) of the celebrated picture of St Catherine by Memling, lately purchased by him for 70£. It is an extraordinary specimen of ancient painting reproduced by modern art!⁶⁰

It sounds as if modern copies of medieval and Renaissance works of art were handled regularly by Mr. Jarman in the course of his business.

He was certainly still in business during the 1850s, and there is some evidence to suggest that he did deal in manuscripts. It was at this time that he sold the three volumes to Ruskin⁶¹ and he also seems to have been willing to consider the transaction proposed by Dr. Rock. Annotated copies of sale catalogues from these years show him as a purchaser and some of his acquisitions are definitely not to be identified in the sale catalogue of his own collection.⁶² The part which he played in the rather dubious transaction through which the *Bedford Hours* and its companion volumes eventually came to the Museum in 1852⁶³ suggests that he was regarded by other booksellers as a possible rival. Apparently he had to go to Liverpool on business and was so unwise as to mention to one of them, Mr. Boone, that he intended to utilize the trip to call upon Mr. Tobin, the owner of the manuscripts. This intimation threw Boone into such a panic that he at once dashed off to Liverpool himself and persuaded Tobin to sell all his manuscripts to him on the spot, for £1,500, before Mr. Jarman had time to get there. They were subsequently offered to the Museum for £3,000 and duly purchased, although Madden viewed the whole transaction with suspicion from the outset, and was scandalized when he discovered, a year too late, the size of Boone's profit. Mr. Jarman himself contrived to give the impression that he had never had any

thought of making Tobin an offer and responded to Madden's annoyance with 'Well, after all, business is business'!⁶⁴

After viewing the collection at Sotheby's in 1864, Madden was in no doubt that:

This [the addition of copies] has certainly been done in some cases (if not in all) to deceive the unwary or ignorant, and it reflects but small credit on the auctioneers that in the Sale Catalogue no mention whatever is made of these modern insertions.⁶⁵

If, however, the sum of £40 mentioned in the Gardner sale catalogue of 1880⁶⁶ was really paid to Wing for one set of thirteen miniatures, their resale would not have been a commercial proposition. Original miniatures and even whole manuscripts were available for smaller sums. This figure is probably a fair one, for Madden was told in 1855 that it would cost him £50 to have a facsimile made of Hereford Cathedral's *Mappa mundi*,⁶⁷ and we have already seen some picture prices. The Jarman collection was made up almost entirely of the lavishly decorated personal prayer-books, produced in such numbers at the very end of the Middle Ages, which were most fashionable with small private collectors in the nineteenth century. All the Wing miniatures so far identified are copies and adaptations of precisely similar material, most of it already in the collection, and all the insertions into existing manuscripts have been made with the aim of rendering the 'host' book as sumptuous and as historically interesting as possible. It is important to recall Dibdin's impression of the manuscript which Mr. Jarman showed him in 1817. Anyone familiar with the *Bibliographical Decameron* will be aware that Dibdin was inclined to be impressed by the more exotic products of the late Middle Ages, yet he said:

... a second examination shewed me the fallacy of the first impression. There is more of gaudiness than of grandeur, more of obtrusive and sometimes even coarse decoration, than of delicate and accurate composition, throughout this volume. The pages are, as it were, overcharged with embellishment, and *quantity* has been too often mistaken for *quality*, of colouring.⁶⁸

Does not this throw light on Mr. Jarman's personal tastes as a collector of manuscripts?

It must be remembered that the nineteenth-century attitude towards the use of copies was very different from the one current today. It was perfectly respectable to have damaged miniatures repainted. A fourteenth-century copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, Add. MS. 31840, contains a list detailing the restoration work done on it by Horatio W. Lonsdale to the order of the donor, William Burges, after he acquired it in 1874.⁶⁹ It was even permissible to complete unfinished work. Describing the *Breviary of Queen Isabella of Spain*, Dibdin noticed:

On the recto of folio 368 ... the space, which ought to be filled by a representation of *St. Catherine*, is left blank. Mr. Dent, I trust, will endeavour to get it supplied by a copy from some other clever figure, of the same character, executed about the same time.⁷⁰

Mr. Dent, or a subsequent owner, took this advice. The space is today filled with a miniature of a simpering St. Catherine of Siena, surrounded by woodlands, quite unlike anything to be found in Flemish painting about 1500. This work is by no means in the same class as the work of Mr. Wing.

Mr. Jarman ceased to figure among the inhabitants of Grosvenor Street after 1858. He was over seventy-five and had perhaps decided that it was time to give up active business. Christie's held a sale of historical portraits and miniatures, and other ornamental items, collected 'with great judgment and skill by that well-known Connoisseur, J. B. Jarman, Esq., (late of Grosvenor St.)' in May 1859.⁷¹ He died, according to the Probate Registry, at York Place, Windsor, leaving no will, and the administration of his estate, valued in the region of £25,000, devolved upon his son and unmarried daughter.⁷² Whether they were aware of the fact that their father's collection could be considered fraudulent is not recorded, though Miss Jarman seems to have had some interest in it and bought in a few lots, including the 'Giulio Clovio' miniatures, at the sale.⁷³

Many a collector of an earlier age had employed his own miniaturist to perfect or to embellish the contents of his library. In the fifteenth century Wing could well have been a Jean Colombe, completing manuscripts begun by the Limbourg brothers and by Jean Fouquet. To find such a practice actively pursued by a middle-class collector in Victorian Mayfair comes as a surprise, but I am sure that Mr. Jarman would have liked to consider himself as a humble follower in the footsteps of the Duke of Berry.

JANET BACKHOUSE

MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE JARMAN COLLECTION

The following manuscripts belonged at one time or another to John Boykett Jarman. Those sold in 1864 can often be identified by the colour and ornament of their binding, which is described in the catalogue. In some cases the lot number is pencilled on the verso of a flyleaf. Water stains are found in a number of the manuscripts (see note 11), and any connection with the work of Wing usually indicates a link with this collection. The leading buyer at the 1864 sale was the bookseller Joseph Lilly, whose catalogue of [? November] 1864 includes a number of lots not now traceable.

- Lot 7 Book of Hours, Flemish, about 1490.
C. W. Traylen's *Catalogue of Fine Books and Manuscripts 1300-1966* (1966), no. 2,
pl. iia. Also illustrated in Hodgson's sale-cat., 16 December 1965, lot 179.
- Lot 19 'Oraisons des saintes Peres', French, 1544.
British Museum, Add. MS. 25709.
See Pl. xxx.

- Lot 21 Book of Hours, French, mid-fifteenth century.
British Museum, Add. MS. 25695.
See *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, ii, pls. xxxi, xxxii.
- Lot 24 Breviary, use of Vallombrosa, fifteenth century.
British Museum, Egerton MS. 2973.
- Lot 36 Book of Hours, French Mannerist School, about 1525.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Smith Lesouëf 42.
- Lot 37 Book of Hours, French, late fifteenth century.
British Museum, Add. MS. 25696.
See Pl. xxx.
- Lot 41 Book of Hours, studio of the Rohan Master, early fifteenth century.
?Princeton University Library, Garrett Collection, MS. 48.
See *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: an Exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art* (Baltimore, 1949), no. 97.
- Lot 55 Book of Hours, written by Marco di Vicenza, about 1470-80.
London, University College Library, MS. lat. 25.
See note 40; and Pl. xxviii b.
- Lot 56 Twenty-six miniatures cut from a Book of Hours, French, fifteenth century.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Smith Lesouëf 28.
- Lot 57 Breviary, Florence, fifteenth century.
British Museum, Add. MS. 25697.
See P. d'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina*, ii (Florence, 1914), pp. 429-30; and Pl. xxx.
- Lot 59 Book of Hours, Italian, late fifteenth century.
Turin, collection of Sion Segre Amar.
See note 41.
- Lot 65 The *Da Costa Hours*, Flemish, about 1500.
Present whereabouts unknown.
See note 34.
- Lot 66 Eleven miniatures from a prayer-book, Flemish, about 1490.
British Museum, Add. MS. 25698.
See *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, ii, pl. xxxvii; F. Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 177; and note 5.
- Lot 72 Book of Hours, Flemish, early sixteenth century.
Yale University Library, MS. 287.
See note 49.
- Lot 76 Book of Hours, written at St. Amand, 1537.
Philadelphia Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, MS. 109.
See note 57.

- Lot 77 Nine miniatures after Giulio Clovio, painted by Wing.
San Marino, Henry Huntington Library, HM 1175.
See note 36; and Pl. xxvib.
- Lot 78 Seventeen miniatures after a fifteenth-century French Hours, by Wing.
Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. 140.
See notes 32, 33.
- Lot 94 Book of Hours, Flemish, early sixteenth century.
New York, H. P. Kraus.
See note 45.
- Lot 95 The *Egmont Hours*, Flemish, about 1500.
British Museum, Add. MS. 35319 (Rothschild Bequest, vol. x)
See note 50; and Pls. xxix and xxx.
- Lot 96 The *Esdaile Missal*, Italian, late fifteenth century.
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 306.
See note 4.
- Lot 137 Book of Hours, French, about 1500.
British Museum, Add. MS. 25710.
- Lot 140 Book of Hours, French, about 1515.
British Museum, Add. MS. 35214.
See note 40; and Pls. xxviii and xxx.
- The *Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France*, about 1260–70.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 300.
See F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1966), no. 45; and note 61.
- The *Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, illuminated by Jean Pucelle, about 1353.
British Museum, Yates Thompson MS. 27 and Oxford, Bodleian Library,
Deposit a. 1.
See K. Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (1961), p. 41, pls. xx, xxii, xxiii; and note 8.
- Book of Hours, French, about 1430.
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 919.
See *Fourteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1965 and 1966* (New York, 1967), pp. 18–19, with plate; and note 61.
- Book of Hours, Flemish, early sixteenth century.
Devon, Pennsylvania, Boies Penrose collection.
See note 49. For Wing's insertions, now dispersed, see notes 43 and 44; Pls. xxviii a and b.
- Leaves from a Book of Hours, French, mid-fifteenth century.
British Museum, Add. MS. 44023.
Sixty-eight leaves from lot 21, apparently considered too badly water-stained to be

rebound with the rest of the manuscript. See F. Wormald, 'A re-united Book of Hours', *British Museum Quarterly*, x (1935-6), pp. 98-9.

- Book of Hours, Florence, fifteenth century.
British Museum, Add. MS. 15528.
See P. d'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina*, ii (Florence, 1914), p. 429.
This manuscript was lot 162 in Jarman's sale at Stanley's, 10 June 1845.
- 'La Vie des Sains', attributed to Jean Belet, French, early fourteenth century.
British Museum, Add. MS. 17275.
See P. Meyer, 'Notice sur trois légendiers français attribués à J. Belet', *Notices et Extraits*, xxxvi (1901), pp. 409-86.
Stanley's sale-cat., 10 June 1845, lot 168.
- Four leaves from a Book of Hours, French, about 1520.
Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. 137.
See S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, i (New York, 1935), p. 638.
- One leaf from a Book of Hours, French, about 1530.
Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. 138.
See De Ricci, *ibid.*, p. 638.
- Eleven miniatures by Wing, in various styles.
Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. 139.
See De Ricci, *ibid.*, p. 638.

¹ Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 13-14 June 1864. Sir Frederic Madden's own copy of the catalogue, with his notes, is kept by the Department of Manuscripts.

² Sir Frederic Madden bequeathed his personal journals to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where they are numbered MSS. Eng. Hist. C. 140-82. References in this article will be to 'Journal' with the date of the entry. His official diaries, drafts of reports to the Trustees, copies of Trustees Minutes, etc., are in the archives of the Department of Manuscripts.

³ Vol. i, p. clxxv.

⁴ Now M. 306 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. See S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, ii (1937), p. 1424; and M. Harrsen and G. K. Boyce, *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1953), no. 60. This manuscript had changed hands in 1804 for £231 and in 1816 for £317. At the Jarman sale (lot 96) it fetched £141. 15s. although severely damaged.

⁵ Vol. ii, pls. 66 and 67 reproduce Add. MS. 25698 (Jarman lot 66), ff. 3 and 2. Add. MS.

25698 was regarded as the work of 'Mrs.' Wing in O. Kurz, *Fakes: a Handbook for Collectors and Students* (1948), pp. 86-7, and exhibited as such in the *Exhibition of Forgeries and Deceptive Copies* in the Museum in 1961. It is in fact genuine and such fragments of its text as can be read through the nineteenth-century vellum on which the miniatures are laid down support the interpretation in J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (1911), pp. 316-17.

⁶ A catalogue of this sale listed in the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* is now missing. More Jarman sales appear in F. Lugt, *Répertoire des Catalogues de Ventes*, ii (Hague, 1953).

⁷ Stanley's sale-cat., 10 June 1845. Madden purchased lots 32 and 33 (Add. MSS. 15526, 15527, both oriental), and lots 155 and 162 (Add. MSS. 15529, 15528, respectively). Lot 168 was acquired in 1847 (Add. MS. 17275).

⁸ See S. C. Cockerell, *The Book of Hours of Yolande of Flanders* (1905), pp. 4, 5; and *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. Cook and A. Wedderburn, xxi (1906), p. 270.

9 Add. MS. 25698, f. 9, reproduced in Rock, iii, pt. ii (1852), p. 224.

10 Journal (18 Feb. 1851).

11 Lots 21, 30, 33, 37, 38, 47, 86, 96, 135, 136, 137, 140 in the catalogue. Madden added lots 11, 24, 31, 36, 40, 43, 44, 101. Lots 19 (Add. MS. 25709), 36 (Paris, MS. Smith Lesouëf 42), and 57 (Add. MS. 25697) plus Ruskin's three volumes (see note 61 below) have visible damage.

12 See J. S. Dearden, 'John Ruskin, the Collector', *The Library* (June 1966), pp. 134-5.

13 Journal (18 Feb. 1851).

14 Journal (18 Oct. 1852) (8 June 1864).

15 Journal (1 Aug. 1846): 'A heavy thunderstorm passed over Worthing in the night, which rather alarmed us, on account of the children.'

16 *The Times* (3 Aug. 1846), p. 8. *The Illustrated London News* (8 Aug. 1846), pp. 85-6, with engravings.

17 I am very grateful to Mr. S. Nelson, of the G.L.C. Public Health Department, for his assistance in investigating this point. See also references to the Tyburn in N. Barton, *The Lost Rivers of London* (1962).

18 Journal (18 Feb. 1851), quoted below.

19 See A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 140-1, with further references.

20 Entries relating to five persons called Wing appear in A. Graves, *A Dictionary of Artists* (1895 edition), p. 307.

21 Obituary in the *Proceedings of the Linnean Society*, ii (1855), pp. 417-18. His work may be found in *Transactions of the Entomological Society of London*, v, and n.s. i-iii. It was probably he who exhibited insect drawings at the Royal Academy in 1844 and 1847. Both Westwood and Humphreys appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

22 He exhibited a self-portrait at the Academy in 1848.

23 Minutes of the Trustees of the British Museum, 13 Oct. 1855 and 14 July 1860.

24 D. O'Brien, *Miniatures in the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries* (1951), p. 149, pl. 37, fig. 3.

25 Journal (2 Apr. 1852). The portraits were reproduced in the magazine on 7 May 1853, unsigned.

26 F. H. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (1861). Here too the illustrations are not signed.

27 Madden's report to the Trustees, 13 July 1860.

28 I am indebted to Dr. J. Plummer for information on this point.

29 Lot 83 comprised four miniatures copied from the 'large Paintings' in lot 43.

30 Madden picked out lots 55, 72, 73, 76, 77, 81, 93, 94, and 151 for mention in his journal (8 June 1864).

31 Cecil Dunn Gardner's sale, Sotheby's, 21 June 1880, lots 821-3 (Jarman sale lots 52, 53, and 78); W. H. Crawford's sale, Sotheby's, 12 Mar. 1891, lots 1661, 1662 (Jarman sale lots 78 and 64). Lot 822 from the Gardner sale is described subsequently on p. 131 of the Robert Hoe catalogue (see note 36).

32 De Ricci, *ibid.* i, p. 638. In the description of MS. 140 Wing's initials are given correctly, but the manuscript is not the source.

33 The miniatures were lot 78 in the Jarman sale, the model lot 21. The artist is called 'Mrs.' Wing in the catalogue of the Crawford sale (see note 31) and this mistake recurs in O. Kurz, *Fakes: a Handbook for Collectors and Students* (1948), pp. 86-7.

34 The so-called *Da Costa Hours* was owned in 1924 by M. Th. Belin of Paris and published by J. Destrée and P. Bautier, *Les Heures dites Da Costa* (Brussels, 1924). The miniature copied in this instance is the Pentecost at f. 223^b.

35 HM 1175.

36 *A Catalogue of Manuscripts forming a Portion of the Library of Robert Hoe*, compiled by C. Shipman (New York, 1909), p. 193; De Ricci, *ibid.* i, p. 103.

37 Sotheby's sale-cat., 31 May-16 June 1855, lot 2706.

38 Madden's report to the Trustees, 10 Oct. 1855. The minute approving the request is dated 13 Oct.

39 Journal (31 Dec. 1855).

40 Presented by Professor L. S. Penrose in 1949, formerly in the collection of Lord Peckover of Wisbech (see a note by Cockerell in *The Book Collector*, i (1952), pp. 80f.). Lot 55 in the Jarman sale; Lilly's cat. (Nov. 1864), no. 18; collection of William Bragge, Sotheby's sale-cat., 7 June 1876, lot 353; Sotheby's sale-cat., 26 Apr. 1881, lot 317. Exhibited in the National Exhibition of Works of Art, Leeds, 1868. Another part of the same manuscript, in the Phillipps collection in 1837, is now in the collection of Brian Cron (see his *Handlist of Western Manuscripts*, 1965, no. 25). The model was lot 140 in the Jarman sale, lot 222 in the Bragge sale, and was also exhibited at Leeds in 1868.

⁴¹ Sotheby's sale-cat., 12 December 1967, lot 59, with illustrations. Another of Wing's additions to this manuscript is illustrated in Sotheby's sale-cat., 6 May 1909, lot 59.

⁴² Lord Aldenham's sale, Sotheby's, 23 Mar. 1937, lots 174, 175. The former was lot 72 in the Jarman sale.

⁴³ Print Room, E 681/1937. It depicts the Descent from the Cross. The model has not been identified.

⁴⁴ Two, the Assumption and the Virgin and Child with a donor, are owned by Dr. C. E. Wright; the other three, the Transfiguration, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt, were in the collection of the late Dr. E. G. Millar, but are now Add. MS. 54247. I am very grateful to both owners for the loan of their miniatures and for permission to photograph and publish them.

⁴⁵ See H. P. Kraus, *Catalogue Ninety-five* (Vaduz, 1961), pp. 79-90. This manuscript was lot 94 in the Jarman sale. The miniature of the Adoration is reproduced in Sotheby's sale-cat., 10 Nov. 1952 (library of Sir Julius Wernher), lot 78.

⁴⁶ Reproduced in Destrée and Bautier, pl. xxiv.

⁴⁷ MS. Smith Lesouëf 42, f. 72. This manuscript was lot 36 in the Jarman sale.

⁴⁸ Add. MS. 25695, f. 114; Destrée and Bautier, pl. xiv; MS. Smith Lesouëf 42, f. 65^b.

⁴⁹ C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 50. The first of the Aldenham manuscripts is now in the collection of Boies Penrose in Pennsylvania, *ibid.*, p. 439.

⁵⁰ J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (1911), p. 317; D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book* (1958), p. 449.

⁵¹ Destrée and Bautier, pl. xvi.

⁵² Complete borders by Wing are on ff. 68^b, 82^b, 93^b, 98^b, 103^b, 113^b, 146^b, 147, 164, 167^b, 171, 172, 187^b. A fourth side has been added to borders on ff. 69, 83, 94, 99, 104, 114, 160^b-2^b, 167^b, 168^b, 169, 170^b, 171^b.

⁵³ Some ornaments on the *Da Costa Hours* (see Destrée and Bautier, pp. 3, 4) are paralleled on Add. MS. 35219, and the clasp on Add. MS. 25697 is the same as that on the manuscript at Sotheby's, now in the collection of Sion Segre Amar.

⁵⁴ R. R. Holmes, *Specimens of Royal, Fine and Historical Bookbinding selected from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (1893), no. 36.

⁵⁵ Note in his copy of the sale catalogue.

⁵⁶ Journal (8 June 1864).

⁵⁷ *European Manuscripts in the John Frederick Lewis Collection*, compiled by E. Wolf, ii (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 119-21, pls. xxi, xxii. See also *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: an Exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art* (Baltimore, 1949), no. 223. I am indebted to Miss Ellen Shaffer for photographs of this manuscript and for information about it.

⁵⁸ Lot 64 in the Jarman sale. Purchased by Lilly, who listed the miniatures in his catalogue (Nov. 1864), no. 29. Four evangelist miniatures had been added to the series. Later in the Crawford collection, Sotheby's sale-cat., 12 Mar. 1891, lot 1662 (see note 32).

⁵⁹ Journal (18 Feb. 1851).

⁶⁰ Journal (22 Apr. 1853).

⁶¹ *The Hours of Yolande of Flanders* (British Museum, Yates Thompson MS. 27); the *Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 300); an *Hours of the use of Paris* (Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 919). See J. S. Dearden, 'John Ruskin, the Collector', *The Library* (June 1966), nos. 40, 16, and 54.

⁶² For example, he purchased lot 489 at Sotheby's, 5 Apr. 1852; several at the sale of the Uttersson library, Sotheby's, 19 Apr. 1852; and about a dozen at Sotheby's, 5 July 1852.

⁶³ Add. MSS. 18850-7.

⁶⁴ Journal (22 Apr. 1853).

⁶⁵ Journal (8 June 1864).

⁶⁶ Sotheby's, 21 June 1880, lot 821 (Jarman sale lot 52).

⁶⁷ Journal (9 Aug. 1855).

⁶⁸ Vol. i, p. clxxv.

⁶⁹ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum*, i (1883), p. 884.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* i, p. clxvi.

⁷¹ Christie's sale-cat., 17 May 1859.

⁷² He is described as a widower. His son was Joseph Charles Jarman of 20 York Buildings, Adelphi, and his daughter Ann Elizabeth Jarman of 17 Lowndes Street. No other children are mentioned.

⁷³ Lots 54, 77, 81, 86, 129, all series of individual miniatures.

EMINENT VICTORIANS

BERTRAND RUSSELL, who read the newly published *Eminent Victorians* in Brixton Jail where he was imprisoned for pacifist activities, said: 'It caused me to laugh so loud that the officer came to my cell, saying I must remember that prison is a place of punishment.'¹ Fifty years have now passed since *Eminent Victorians* made Lytton Strachey's reputation. It was one of the most successful books of the decade, admired for its originality, for the break it marked with the pedestrian 'life and works' style of biography, for the wit, colour, and irreverence which characterize the four portraits. *The Times Literary Supplement*, in an admiring notice, criticized it adversely only for being 'too amusing'.² Today *Eminent Victorians* is still widely read and enjoyed for the qualities which ensured its original success—an enjoyment undiminished by the detection of the much-discussed biographical distortions.

Until last December Lytton Strachey was rather poorly represented in the Museum's collections.³ The very generous gift by Mrs. A. Strachey⁴ of the autograph drafts of *Eminent Victorians* has added the prize among his literary manuscripts.⁵ The drafts, together with four working notebooks and miscellaneous papers, have been numbered Add. MSS. 54219-23.

This new acquisition has coincided happily with the recent revival of interest in Lytton Strachey upon the publication of Mr. Michael Holroyd's outspoken and massive two-volume biography. Detailed information from unpublished letters and papers may be found in his pages, including the history of the genesis, writing, and launching of *Eminent Victorians*.⁶

The first idea of the book came in autumn 1912, in the shape of a projected collection of about a dozen brief Victorian lives. A tentative list among Lytton Strachey's papers proposes Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, General Gordon, Professor Sidgwick, Watts, the Duke of Devonshire, Charles Darwin, J. S. Mill, Jowett, Jarrett, Carlyle, Lord Dalhousie, and Thomas Arnold. Some—mainly the men of science—were to be treated favourably. By the time 'Cardinal Manning' was in hand, it was evident that the contents would have to be drastically reduced. The four lives eventually chosen were written in the order in which they now appear. 'Cardinal Manning' was completed just before Christmas 1914; 'Florence Nightingale' by June 1915; 'Dr. Arnold' by October 1916; 'The End of General Gordon' by August 1917. In early December 1917, the manuscript was revised for the last time before being sent to be typed. On 3 March 1918 Lytton Strachey wrote to Lady Ottoline Morrell: 'my life passes almost entirely among proof sheets, which now flow in upon me daily . . .'. *Eminent Victorians* appeared on 9 May 1918.

In spite of Lytton Strachey's original intentions, the book had developed into an attack upon established Victorian heroes. The tone of 'Cardinal Manning' was

of course partly determined by the indiscreet revelations of the principal source, Purcell's *Life*. Nevertheless it was as early as 17 October 1912 that he wrote to Lady Ottoline Morrell:

I am . . . beginning . . . a short condensed biography of Cardinal Manning—written from a slightly lyrical stand-point. My notion is to do a series of short lives of eminent persons of that kind . . .

A contributory fire was added by the fact that *Eminent Victorians* was written against the background of the First World War, which Lytton Strachey regarded as the natural consequence of dangerously misguided nineteenth-century attitudes.

The title now seems indivisible from the scope of the book, but originally it was to be 'Victorian Silhouettes'. Exactly when this was discarded is not clear, but a folio sheet among the notes now in the Museum establishes that it was in fact after the contents had taken shape. Eight possibilities are set out in order:

Victorian Silhouettes.
Some Victorian Silhouettes.
Four Victorian Silhouettes.

Short Lives of Eminent Victorians.
Four Victorians.
Four Victorian Lives.

Four Eminent Victorians.
Eminent Victorians.

A lengthy period of reading preceded each of the studies. Four slim, blue exercise books, together with a few loose sheets, are all the notes that now exist. Besides scattered bibliographies, brief references to source material, and chronologies, they consist mainly of quotations. The great majority of them were used, and they show a clear thread of intention guiding the original choice. Two 'Dr. Arnold' association items deserve special mention. One is a page torn from the sale-catalogue of P. M. Barnard, Tunbridge Wells. It offers at four guineas the copy of Arnold's *Sermons*, formerly owned and marked by Queen Victoria, referred to in the finished essay, without, however, the bookseller's comment that 'a long passage referring to the difficulties of boys at public schools is doubly scored and marked "N.B."'.⁷ The other is a postcard, sent on 14 June 1916 by Marjorie Strachey, of the portrait of Arnold which was eventually used as one of the illustrations.⁸

The autograph drafts themselves are heavily corrected to read virtually as the printed text. In other words they represent the final stage of the manuscript as it was sent to be typed. The sheets were carefully numbered and renumbered by

Lytton Strachey as he wrote and polished. 'Cardinal Manning' is the longest draft with 205 ff., quarto, of completed text, and a further 24 ff. of discarded material. 'Florence Nightingale' and 'Dr. Arnold', both also quarto, are much shorter, and reach 101 ff. and 58 ff. respectively. 'The End of General Gordon' is again very long. It consists of 94 ff., large folio, except for ten flimsy quarto sheets at the end, together with 5 ff. of discarded drafts and final corrections.

Almost every page of the manuscript shows corrections. They involve the rearrangement of sentences, the pruning of excrescent detail, the excision of the florid metaphors to which he was prone.⁹ Page by page, the mandarin style is shaped, a cliché or a rhetorical pause inserted, an alliterative or antithetical word added to smooth a sentence, the particular substituted for the general ('dances and dinner-parties' for 'seasons'; 'embers of resistance' for 'remnants of resistance'), all to achieve the sharp focus and vivid colour which is the instrument of his purpose.

The most substantial modification of content in the manuscript is in the long central section of 'Cardinal Manning' of which an earlier draft survives. The changes confirm expectations about the workings of Lytton Strachey's historical method. Originally the presentation of events which led up to Manning's appointment as archbishop was much less damaging to him. His opponent, Dr. Errington, appeared as almost an equal in the struggle. Detailed discussion of the representations in Rome of the English bishops blurred the outlines of Manning's machinations. The result of the changes is to throw Manning into greater and more sinister relief. He becomes the manipulator of events, not merely the man who exploited them.

In writing *Eminent Victorians* Lytton Strachey had perfected his idiosyncratic method of writing history. Again and again his book reviews and other short essays describe this method, never perhaps more clearly than in a piece written some ten years later about Macaulay:

What are the qualities that make a historian? Obviously these three—a capacity for absorbing facts, a capacity for stating them, and a point of view. . . . But a point of view, it must be remembered, by no means implies sympathy. One might almost say it implies the reverse.¹⁰

JENNY STRATFORD

¹ Letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell quoted in Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey*, i (Heinemann, 1967), p. 127.

² *T.L.S.* (16 May 1918) carried a 1½-column review and commented: 'Here we touch the only fault which one can really find with this book—a fault which in almost any other author would be a virtue: it is too amusing. Mr. Strachey's air of malicious detachment, his mock solemnity, and his Gibbonian style lend themselves so naturally to comic effect that the whole thing becomes really

more diverting than any such book ought to be; for, after all, the Victorian age was something more than a joke.'

³ There were the following autograph letters: Add. MS. 52556, one, 8 Dec. 1926, to Christabel, Lady Aberconway; Add. 53788, a group of thirty autograph letters to Mrs. F. L. (Topsy) Lucas, 18 Dec. 1925 to 4 Nov. 1931. Extracts from the Lucas series are published in Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey*, ii (Heinemann, 1968).

⁴ Mrs. Strachey is the widow of Mr. James

Strachey, Lytton's youngest brother. It was their joint intention that the manuscript should come to the Museum.

⁵ The manuscripts of his other two full-length biographical studies are both in the United States. *Elizabeth and Essex* is at Duke University, North Carolina. *Queen Victoria* was sold for £1,800 at the sale in aid of the London Library (Christie's sale-cat., 22 June 1960, lot 135). It consists of the autograph manuscript, the typescript with autograph corrections, nine notebooks, etc., and corrected proofs, and is now at the University of Texas.

⁶ For the information about the writing of *Eminent Victorians* summarized in the next two paragraphs, and for the quotations from Lytton Strachey's correspondence with Lady Ottoline Morrell, I am indebted to Mr. Michael Holroyd. I am also extremely grateful to him, and to Messrs.

Heinemann for making the second volume available to me before its publication this February.

⁷ See *Eminent Victorians* (Chatto & Windus, 1960), p. 205.

⁸ Identified in *Eminent Victorians* only as the portrait from Dean Stanley's *Life*, it is the engraving (head and shoulders only), by B. Holl 1844, from Thomas Phillips's 1839 three-quarter length oil-portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery.

⁹ See, for example, this discarded description of Wiseman's dependence on Manning: 'To the Cardinal's thirsty soul he was like a bottle of whiskey on the shelf—ready to provide at any moment a golden draft of spiritual stimulation and intimate encouragement.'

¹⁰ First published in *The Nation and Athenaeum*, xlii (21 Jan. 1928). Reprinted in *Portraits in Miniature* (1931), and *Literary Essays* (1948).

THE BINDING OF THE SHERBORNE CHARTULARY

THE twelfth-century chartulary of the Benedictine abbey of Sherborne (Add. MS. 46487) is one of the most splendid manuscripts of its kind in the British Museum's collections. Its unique combination of functions as part chartulary, part liturgical book, the historical importance of its contents, its stately script, and its ponderous medieval wooden covers have excited the interest of scholars ever since it came to the notice of Thomas Hearne in the early eighteenth century. Hearne was particularly intrigued by the covers: 'Tho' I have seen a vast number of old books and oftentimes examin'd their covers, yet I do not remember that I ever saw Boards upon any of them of so great thickness as these.'¹ They are indeed of remarkable dimensions for a manuscript of only ninety-two folios.² The front cover (Pl. xxxi) measures 281 × 192 × 23 mm., and the back cover 281 × 191 × 17 mm. On the front cover a recess 8 mm. deep with sloping sides has been carved out measuring 210 × 130 mm. at the lip and 190 × 112 mm. at the base. This was evidently to take decoration in the form of an enamel or ivory plaque. A quantity of silver nails embedded in the front cover bears witness to the sumptuous manner in which it must have been decorated, but the only parts of the ornament which now survive are a small Limoges enamel figure of an angel, perhaps of the early thirteenth century, upside down at the top of the recess, and two small pieces of gilded copper on the lower edge of the front cover. The enamel does not unfortunately provide any guide to the date

of the binding, as its connection with the original scheme for the decoration of the cover seems doubtful for a number of reasons. It appears to be the extremity of a cross, and three other comparable extremities in the recess would leave no room for a Christ-figure. A pattern of nail-holes at the bottom of the recess suggests that there was once a piece of metalwork similar in size to the Limoges angel directly opposite it, but there are no comparable patterns of holes at the sides of the recess. It is clear, however, from other nail-holes and two fragments of nail (one of silver) in the recess that the space between the enamel and the lower pattern of nail-holes once had applied decoration. It is difficult to visualize how the missing decoration was related to the enamel angel and this suggests at least the possibility that it was not, i.e. that the angel was fixed on the cover after the original decoration was lost. The enamel was in its present position when Hearne saw the manuscript.³

The position of the decorated cover is an unusual feature of the binding. English and French medieval binders almost invariably applied the more ornate decoration to the back covers of books.⁴ In the case of the Sherborne Chartulary it is the front cover that has the principal decoration. The question immediately arises, are the covers correctly positioned or have they been reversed in a previous rebinding? Certain features suggested that this might have been so. The Limoges enamel angel is upside down and the space between the lower edges of the covers and the lower thong-holes is smaller than the space between the upper edges and the upper holes. Moreover, the clasp which locked the manuscript was attached to the (present) back cover and the lock itself was inset in the decorated cover. This is the arrangement one would expect if the decorated cover had been at the back of the manuscript. There are also disused thong-holes in the covers below the upper and centre holes used in the last binding (Pls. xxxiia, xxxiii), which reinforced the suggestion that the covers might have been reversed. Finally, the thickness of the covers in relation to the manuscript, and the existence of older thong-holes, suggested yet another possibility, that they may not have been made for the Sherborne Chartulary at all, but belonged originally to another book.

An opportunity to answer these questions occurred recently when it was decided to pull the manuscript and arrange the leaves in their correct order, which had been disarranged when a former owner, Thomas Lloyd, had it resewn in the early nineteenth century. It was also decided to remove and preserve separately the unsightly paper interleaving which Lloyd inserted in the manuscript. When the manuscript was in loose leaves it could be seen how many sewing holes there were, and how these could be aligned with the thong-holes in the covers.

It was discovered that there were two sets of sewing-holes, with eleven holes altogether (numbered 1-11 for reference: see Pl. xxxiii b). When the manuscript

was resewn in the early nineteenth century it was sewn through three pairs of holes (nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9) on to leather thongs passed through holes in the inner edges of the covers through to the outsides of the covers (Pls. xxxii, xxxiii). Head and tail stitches were taken through holes I and II. The manuscript appeared to have been sewn only once before the nineteenth century, through single holes (nos. 5, 7, and 8) on to split thongs.⁵ The upper two thongs, corresponding with sewing-holes 5 and 7, were taken through the older holes in the covers below the holes used, and presumably made, by Lloyd's binder. The remains of a split thong can be clearly seen in one hole in the front cover (Pl. xxxiii a). The lowest holes in the covers were common to both sewings, though they appear to have been enlarged slightly. In the earlier sewing, head and tail stitches were taken through holes nos. 2 and 10 on to thongs passed through the corners of the covers, where their remains can be clearly seen (Pls. xxxii, xxxiii).

The examination of the sewing-holes led to two conclusions. The original sewing-holes could only be aligned with the older holes in the covers when the covers were in their present position, and they could not be aligned with any thong-holes, old or new, when the covers were reversed. The present position of the covers is therefore correct. Moreover, since there is evidence of only one sewing before the nineteenth century, and the alignment of the older thong- and sewing-holes is exact, it may be safely concluded that the covers are those made for the Sherborne Chartulary when it was first bound: in medieval bindings the thong-holes were made to take the already sewn manuscript, and not vice-versa. This is not, of course, evidence that the covers are strictly contemporary with the manuscript, as there is no means of knowing how much time elapsed between writing and binding; but such an important book is unlikely to have remained unbound for long.

The manuscript has been rebound in the original way, by sewing the leaves through single holes on to split thongs passed through the old thong-holes in the covers.

M. A. F. BORRIE

¹ *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, ed. Thomas Hearne, ii (1744), pp. 57-9. For a full account of the manuscript see F. Wormald, 'The Sherborne "Chartulary"', *Fritz Saxl Memorial Essays*, ed. D. J. Gordon, 1957, pp. 101-19.

² The original number of leaves in the volume; seven leaves are now missing.

³ There is a drawing of the front cover in *The Itinerary of John Leland*, loc. cit.

⁴ See Berthe van Regemorter, 'Évolution de la technique de la reliure du VIII^e au XII^e siècle', *Scriptorium*, ii (1948), pp. 275-85, esp. pp. 284-5.

⁵ I am grateful to Mr. H. M. Nixon, Mr. Roger Powell, and the staff of H.M. Stationery Office Bindery, at the British Museum, for advice about the previous binding state.

DATING THE MASQUE DANCES IN BRITISH MUSEUM ADDITIONAL MS. 10444

AN article by Miss P. J. Willetts, appearing in the *B.M.Q.* in 1965,¹ summed up nearly half a century of investigation and speculation on the 138 masque dances contained in the British Museum Additional Manuscript 10444. This article cited the work done by W. J. Lawrence, John P. Cutts, and Andrew J. Sabol, and added conclusions drawn from a study of the handwriting in the manuscript. The central problem in all the studies is that of dating the 138 masque dances with a view to assigning each to its probable place in the known masques (and possibly the plays) of the period. No one doubts that this theatrical dance music belongs to the Stuart period before the Commonwealth, and no one doubts that some of it comes from the time of James I (1603-25). The question is whether all 138 masque dances are Jacobean or whether some of them date from the reign of Charles I (1625-49).

Valuable evidence for the dating of this music may be found in printed music collections of the early seventeenth century. Payroll accounts for the court masques make it clear that composers were commissioned to write new music for each masque, just as poets were commissioned to write new texts and dancing masters were commissioned to devise and teach new stage dances. Second-hand or pre-existent music was not used for the stage dancing of the early Stuart masques. It is a fair assumption, then, that when a printed source reproduces these masque dances, the masque for which the music was written must have been presented before the date of publication.

The 1607 publication of Thomas Campion's masque to celebrate the marriage of Lord James Hay² includes music for two songs and three dances used in the masque. Two of these three dances, both by Thomas Lupo, are found also in Add. 10444. The dance published with the text 'Shewes and nightly reuels' corresponds to No. 54, 'The Lord Hays his Masque', and the published dance with the text 'Time, that leads the fatall round' corresponds to No. 28, titled simply 'A Masque'. Since the 1607 publication prints all of the dance music for this particular masque, the other dances in Add. 10444 that are titled for Lord Hay (Nos. 68-70) must be assigned to some other masque. The marginal date of 1607 opposite No. 68 in the manuscript is certainly in error.

A collection of lute music printed in 1610 supplies another identification and helps to rule out some of the unsupported speculation concerning the assignment of Nos. 1-3, 'The Queenes Masque', in Add. 10444. Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*³ includes 'The Witches Daunce in the Queenes Maske', which corresponds to No. 25, 'The first Witches dance', in Add. 10444. All commentators agree that this dance belongs to the antimasque of witches or hags

in *The Masque of Queens* (1609), by Ben Jonson. Dowland adds three dances specifically labelled for the Queen's masque and attached to the witches' dance. These three do not correspond to any music in Add. 10444, so Nos. 1-3 in that manuscript must be assigned to some other masque.

Parthenia In-Violata,⁴ a printed collection of music for keyboard and bass viol, bears no publication date. It is undoubtedly Jacobean and is usually assigned to 1614, although there are arguments for dating it as late as 1624. A dance it labels 'Almain' appears in Add. 10444 as No. 47, 'The Saylers Masque'. It apparently belongs to the antimasque of sailors or skippers in *The Masque of Squires* (1613), by Thomas Campion. The incipit of the dance closely resembles that of the sailors' song, 'Come ashore, come, merry mates', in the same masque. The printed dance called 'The Lords' Masque' corresponds to No. 50, 'Cuperaree or Graysin'. It probably belongs either to *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613), by Francis Beaumont, or to *The Masque of Flowers* (1614), an anonymous masque. Both masques were danced by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn and both had music by Giovanni Coperario ('Cuperaree'). The dance labelled 'The King's Morisk' in *Parthenia In-Violata* corresponds to No. 70, 'The May-pole', in Add. 10444.

The most comprehensive of the printed sources available for dating is William Brade's *Neuwe ausserlesene liebliche Branden . . .*⁵ of 1617. Eighteen of these dances are found also in Add. 10444. One of the eighteen, 'Ballet', contains the music for what appears in Add. 10444 as two separate dances: No. 138 (untitled), followed by No. 22, 'The first of the Lords'.

Add. 10444, Number and title

22. The first of the Lords
23. The second of the Lords
25. The first Witches dance
27. The Babboons Dance
36. A Masque in Flowers
39. The first of the Temple
40. The second of the Temple
41. The third of the Temple
50. Cuperaree or Graysin
51. The Second [of Cuperaree or Graysin]
53. The Nymphes Dance
70. The May-pole
73. The Cuckolds Masque
106. The second [of the Princes Masques]
133. Grayes Inne Masque
135. The first of the Prince his

Brade, Number and title

- XIX Ballet (last half)
- VII Der Königinnen Intrada
- XLIX Der Hexen Tanz
- IX Intrada der jungen Princessinen
- III Brand
- XXI Aufzug der Kauffleute
- XXVI Der Iriender Tanz
- XXII Aufzug vor Grienwitsch
- XXVIII Des Rothschencken Tanz
- XXXVII Comoedianten Tanz
- X Mascharad der Edel Frawen
- XVIII Der Satyrn Tanz
- XLV Rosen im Frühlinge oder Prim Rosen
- VIII Des jungen Printzen Intrada
- XXXVIII Hepnen sein Tantz
- XXXI Der erste Mascharada des Pfaltz-graffen

<i>Add. 10444, Number and title</i>	<i>Brade, Number and title</i>
136. The second	xxxii Der ander Mascharada
137. (untitled)	xxxiii Der dritte Mascharada
138. (untitled)	xix Ballet (first half)

Scarcely less valuable is John Adson's 1621 publication, *Courtly Masquing Ayres*,⁶ which includes fifteen dances found also in Add. 10444. The attempt to date this publication to 1611 rather than 1621 can be explained by the fact that the date on the title-page of the Cantus part book is slightly blurred and the third digit could be taken for '1'. The date is blurred also on the title-page of the Bassus part book, although the curve forming the top of the '2' is visible. On the other four part books (Medius, Altus, Tenor, Sextus) the date is clearly '1621'. The evidence of this printed source definitely disallows Sabol's supposition that No. 110, 'Williams his Love', might be assigned to a masque of 1631.

<i>Add. 10444, Number and title</i>	<i>Adson, Number (all dances a 5)</i>
4. Broxboorn berry Maske	12
5. Broxboorn berry Masque	11
9. Adsonns Maske	1
64. van-weelby	15
81. The Bull Masque	19 for cornets and sagbuts
83. Mr. Adsons Masque	2
84. Adsons Masque	3
85. The Divells dance	10
92. Essex Anticke Masque	4
93. The first of my Lord of Essex	5
94. The second	6
95. The Third	7
110. Williams his Love	13
122. The first of the Temple Anticke	9
123. The second	8

A second publication of 1621, Thomas Simpson's *Taffel Consort*,⁷ establishes a dating for four dances from Add. 10444 and names a composer for two of them.

<i>Add. 10444, Number and title</i>	<i>Simpson, Number, title, composer</i>
32. The Cadua	Aria L, by Robert Bateman
40. The second of the Temple	Mascarada xxxii
41. The third of the Temple	Ballet xlii
56. The Satyres Masque	xxiv, by Robert Johnson

Some mention should be made of the fact that many of the masque dances in Add. 10444 appear in manuscript collections of the period as well as in printed

collections. These masque dances may be found in lute collections (especially British Museum Additional Manuscript 38539, which contains eight of them), in vocal collections (one in British Museum Additional Manuscript 29481), and in keyboard collections (Fitzwilliam Virginal Book; New York Public Library, Drexel 5612; Paris Conservatoire, MSS. Rés 1184, 1185, and 1186 *bis*). The manuscripts cannot be cited as evidence for precise dating but do bear witness to the widespread popularity of the masque dance music.

Forty of the 138 masque dances in Add. 10444 can be securely assigned to the Jacobean period by the evidence of parallel printed sources. Together with the evidence supplied by Miss Willetts, these provable dates tend to support the assumption that the entire collection is Jacobean and does not include dances from the Caroline masques.

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¹ P. J. Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas Le Strange's Collection of Masque Music', *B.M.Q.* xxix (1965), pp. 79-81.

² Thomas Campion, *The Discription of a Maske*, Presented before the Kinges Maiestie at White-Hall, on Twelfth Night last, in honour of the Lord Hayes, and his Bride, Daughter and Heire to the Honourable the Lord Denny, their Marriage hauing been the same Day at Court solemnized. Printed in London, 1607.

³ Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*, viz. Fantasies, Pavins, Galliards, Almains, Corantoes, and Volts: Selected out of the Best Approved Authors, As Well Beyond the Seas as of Our Owne Country. Transcribed for keyboard by Edgar Hunt (New York: Associated Music Publishers Inc., 1956).

⁴ *Parthenia In-Violata, or Mayden-Musicke for*

the Virginals and Bass-Viol. Modern edition edited by Thurston Dart (New York: C. F. Peters Co., 1961).

⁵ William Brade, *Neuwe ausserlesene liebliche Branden*, Intraden, Mascharaden, Balletten, All'manden, Couranten, Volten, Auffzüge und frembde Tantz sampt schönen lieblichen Frühlings und Sommersblümlein mit fünff Stimmen: auff allerley Musicalischen Instrumenten Insonderheit auff Violen zu gebrauchen. Zuvor in Druck niemals aussgangen (Hamburg, 1617).

⁶ John Adson, *Courtly Masquing Ayres*, Composed to 5. and 6. Parts, for Violins, Consorts, and Cornets. London: Printed by T. S. for Iohn Browne (1621).

⁷ Thomas Simpson, *Taffel Consort*. Erster Theil (Hamburg, 1621).

FATHER BESCHI AND HIS GRAMMAR OF HIGH-TAMIL

THE Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts has recently acquired a handwritten copy (Or. 13044, size 17 × 21 cm., fol. 124) of Beschi's grammar of High-Tamil. The title-page of the work reads *Grammatica Latino Tamulica ubi de elegantiori linguae Tamulicae dialecto [Centamir] dictâ, cui adduntur Tamulicae poesëos rudimenta. Autore R. R. C. J. Beschio Soc. is Jesu. Missionario in Regno Madurensi*. The copy was made in 1814, about eighty years after the composition of the original.

Constanzo Gioseffo Eusebio Beschi is one of the earliest and most distinguished pioneers in the field of Tamil studies. His fame rests partly on brilliant linguistic achievements, partly on a rare poetic sensitiveness that enabled him to penetrate the complex thoughts and ornate techniques of Tamil poetry and produce some highly original works in so alien a medium.

The post of honour [writes Caldwell] not only in the beginning of the 18th century . . . but throughout the entire modern period, is to be assigned to two contemporary poets, one a native, the other a foreigner . . . whose poems occupy a still higher place in literature . . . the celebrated Beschi . . . an Italian who acquired such a mastery over Tamil, especially over its classical dialect, as no other European seems ever to have acquired over that or any other Indian language.¹

Little is known about Beschi's early life. He was born in 1680 in Castiglione delle Stiviere in the province of Venice. In 1710 he began his work at the Madura mission and from then on we can gain some information about his activities from the *litterae annuae* which every mission had to send to the General of the Society in Rome.²

The Madura mission was one of the most successful Jesuit ventures in the East. It had been established in 1606 by Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656) as a first attempt to penetrate the interior of India; *aperire portam* to the new faith. Up to then the Jesuits had made their converts along the coastline of the sub-continent and on the surrounding islands, well within the protective reach of Portuguese guns. Nobili too had been a brilliant linguist, he knew Tamil and Telugu, he had studied Sanskrit in the south Indian *grantha* script, and even been introduced to the *Vedas* by his Brahmin teacher. Before Nobili's arrival a priest, Gonçalo Fernandez, had been in Madura for eleven years without winning any new converts for the mission. This was partly the result of a basic misunderstanding; the behaviour of the Portuguese had convinced the Indians that they were *Parangis*, beef-eating outcastes in a foreign dress, whose company brought loss of caste-status and ritual pollution and who were therefore hardly fit to teach or even discuss matters of religion and philosophy. Nobili had realized

this quickly and decided to follow the example of Matteo Ricci who, a generation earlier, had won success for the Society in China by adopting dress and manner of the educated Mandarins. Thus it became a tradition for the Madura missionaries to dress like caste Hindus, become strict vegetarians partaking in the manner of Indian *sannayāsīs* of only one meal a day, employ Brahmin servants, and adopt Tamil names. In India, especially in the south, where matters of dress, food, and social behaviour determine a person's place on the scale of the all-decisive caste hierarchy this was to become one of the most successful enticements of the Madura Jesuits; though at times this seems to have worried their superiors in Rome who might well have wondered who was actually converting whom.

Beschi adapted himself quickly to the peculiarities of the mission, and later when he rose to worldly prominence as *divan* of a Moghul ruler he seems to have enlarged on some of the traditions laid down by the *Rājā sannayāsi* Nobili.³

Whilst in that office [writes one of his Indian biographers with truly Oriental flourishes] he retained the habit of a religious devotee; and on his circuits, assumed all the pomp and pageantry with which Hindu gurus usually travel along, with the civil Muhammadan honours, such as chobadars, horsemen, drums, fifes, caparisoned state horses, hussarrah, dalayets, nowbuts, tents etc. When the magnificent Dewan [i.e. Beschi] set out for a journey, his palanquin was preceded by 12 flag-bearers, four peon with silver sticks, 30 guards of honour on horseback, a horse carrying the tanga and nagasoura, two caparisoned horses . . . to carry him, and finally a multitude of heralds, who ran in front, shouting and making a noise in proportion to the dignity of the person . . .⁴

This pagan pomp horrified the austere Lutherans in the neighbouring Tranquebar who fluctuated between writing caustic letters and pamphlets against the un-Christian behaviour of the papist and making half-hearted attempts to imitate these obviously successful methods.

Beschi spent almost four decades in the service of the Madura mission. Between 1736 and 1740 he seems to have reached the height of his influence. Chandā Śāhib, the chief of the Moghul army, had become ruler of Trichinopoly and subsequently master of the Madura kingdom, and he and Beschi were on most friendly terms. It is said that for their first meeting Beschi learned Persian in the short space of only three months, and this so impressed the Moghul that he conferred the title *Ismatī Sannayāsi* on the missionary⁵ and later made him his *divan*, adding, as some reports insist, the revenue of four villages.⁶ This seems so out of keeping with the Societies strict insistence on the vow of poverty that some Catholic sources deny it. Beschi's position, however, whatever its exact nature might have been, proved a great asset to the local Christians who could now rely on Chandā Śāhib's army to protect them and their churches whenever the need arose. But it compromised the missionary's position to such an extent that after Chandā Śāhib's defeat by the Mahrattas in 1741 he was relieved of the charge of the Trichinopoly Residency and transferred to a much humbler post

amongst the pearl-fishing Paravas on the Comorin coast. The last definite news about Beschi's activities comes from the year 1746 when, shortly before his death,⁷ he was made Visitor to the College of Ambalacat, an institution known for its Syriac seminar established in 1585.

As had become a tradition amongst the Jesuit Fathers, Beschi started to learn Tamil soon after his arrival in India, but the real opportunity to perfect his knowledge came during the 1714-15 wave of Christian persecution which prevented him from travelling between the various mission outposts in the usual manner.

Availing himself of the leisure enforced upon him [writes Fr. de Bourzès in his annual letter from Kāmaiyānāyakanpaṭṭi] Father Beschi gave himself to the study of Tamil poetry; for nothing in the country is esteemed more than this study. In the space of a few months he made more progress in it than any other missionary since the foundation of the Mission. The result is that he writes Tamil verse most elegantly, and what is more difficult, he has read the ancient poets with much profit . . .⁸

The work on which Beschi's fame rests is the *Tempāvaṇi*, an epic poem of the life of St. Joseph written in the ornate style of classical Tamil literature full of intricate similes and, for the European taste, often far-fetched allusion. Besides some shorter poetical works Beschi wrote a number of compositions in Tamil prose. These prose works were essential to the success of the Jesuits because the Protestant Mission established by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg in 1706 in the Danish port of Tranquebar was gaining in influence. Under Ziegenbalg's guidance the Danes were busily translating the Bible into Tamil, producing, at the same time, a large number of pamphlets and religious tracts. In addition Ziegenbalg, hard-working though less brilliant than Beschi, had succeeded in establishing a printing press at Tranquebar and this, as Father Calmette writes in a letter of 28 September in 1713, 'puts them [i.e. the Protestant missionaries] at a clear advantage because the difficulties of multiplying books by handwriting is no small obstacle in our zeal'.⁹ Encouraged by his superiors Beschi produced a number of short compositions in Tamil prose to counteract the Danish propaganda.

Beschi's linguistic works comprise two dictionaries; *Caturakarāṇi*, a Tamil-Tamil dictionary dealing mainly with the peculiarities of the literary dialect, and *Vulgaris Tamulicae linguae dictionarium Tamulico-Latinum*.¹⁰ His grammatical works include a *Grammar of Common Tamil* [*Koṭutamiz*] completed in 1728, a *Grammar of High-Tamil* [*Centamiz*], and a treatise called *Tonṇūl viḷakkam*.

The *Grammar of High-Tamil*, written in 1730, was more or less an addition to his grammar of the lesser dialect. Whereas *Koṭutamiz* enabled the student to speak the language, *Centamiz* gave him an introduction to the mysteries of classical literature.

... ex indigenis ipsis vix aliquot jam invenies qui elegantiorē hanc linguam perfectē calleant, [writes Beschi in his introduction] qui prima ejus rudimenta alligerit, suspicantur caeteri; et siquid ex reconditis eorum voluminibus in medium proferas, pendent ab ore omnes. Si vero quae ipsi vix a longe attigere potuerunt, exterum hominem exhausisse viderint, quibus laudibus non extollent? Facile Magistrum audient quem doctissimum admirantur...¹¹

Beschi's grammar of the lesser dialect deals with all the traditional aspects of Tamil grammar like *eruttu* (orthography), *col* (etymology and syntax), *poruḷ* (interior and exterior matter), *yāppu* (prosody), and *aṇi* (rhetoric). In the introduction to his grammar of the literary dialect Beschi explains that he has omitted *poruḷ* and *aṇi* because rhetoric would be well known to European students and *eruttu* had been exhaustively treated in his grammar of *Koṭutamiṟ*. The work is thus divided into only two parts; the first part deals with letters and words and the second part, entitled *De Poësi Tamulicā*, with prosody including, at the same time, a few notes on Tamil poetry.

Whereas Beschi's *Grammar of Common-Tamil* was already printed during his lifetime (ironically by his old adversaries the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar), his grammar of the literary dialect reached the public very much later. In 1822 Benjamin Guy Babington brought out an English translation, and in 1917 L. Besse published Babington's translation together with the Latin text. By the time Babington produced his translation 'nearly a century had elapsed since this treatise was written, and as it has never been printed, the copies now extant have, by frequent transcription, become very erroneous, and even obscure. This', Babington continues in his introduction, 'was the case with the copy from which the version was made; and it was only by the collation of several texts, that the faulty passages have been amended or explained.'¹²

Two manuscript copies of the *Grammar of High-Tamil* are kept in the collection of the National Library at Paris. They differ considerably from each other. One, more complete but less exact, seems almost identical with the copy Babington used for his translation; the second Paris copy is shorter but a good deal more correct.¹³ Besse's edition was made from a manuscript he found in the Residency of the Jesuits at Trichinopoly. It was a booklet of only 103 pages, worn by time, usage, and the Indian climate, without title, preface, or tables. After 'having compared it with Babington's translation we are convinced that it was substantially the same work... a friend in Paris copied out for us the Preface, on one of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the delapidated manuscript was transcribed for the Press by a young Religious of the Society'.¹⁴

The copy recently acquired by the British Museum is in excellent condition. It seems, however, to be the work of two different copyists. The first part up to fol. 76 shows a round, generous writing; the second part is written in a thin, pointed, and somewhat crowded hand. The first copyist seems to have been more

careful. There are throughout the manuscript a number of spelling mistakes, occasional omissions of words and short passages, interpolations or changes of words in the sentences.

Some of the actual mistakes have been corrected in black ink, and additional corrections have been made with pencil. The person who made the latter must have had a thorough knowledge of classical Tamil literature, for Babington had written in the introduction to his translation that 'Beschi, in his preface, tells us, that he has not quoted authorities for his examples, because the names of the authors even of the most celebrated works are unknown'.¹⁵ In the Museum copy most of the quotations from Tamil classics bear footnotes in pencil giving chapter and verse of the work from which they have been taken.

The Latin text of the manuscript seems to be almost identical with the one given in the Besse edition. There are the same number of chapters (145), though in the Museum copy they have occasionally been numbered wrongly, and in a few cases the copyist forgot to mark the chapters. Beschi's Latin preface appears in full, corresponding more or less to the one Besse's friend copied from the Paris manuscript, although a short passage towards the end of the preface is missing and the very last part of it is slightly different. There are also differences in punctuation throughout the manuscript and some words given in Tamil characters in Besse's version are written in Roman script and vice versa. In chapter iii, paragraph 5, no. 69, a short passage which appears in the Besse edition is given but has later been crossed out with black ink. Paragraph 1, in chapter iv (*De Arte Tamulica Poeseos*) of part ii, which in the Besse editions is entitled *De Dictione poetica* is here called *De Phrasi poetica*.

The importance of the manuscript acquired by the British Museum lies in the fact that it is dated and that it appears to be more complete than the copies on which the two printed editions are based. A detailed critical examination of the text, however, might reveal many other interesting factors and help towards establishing the correct version of Beschi's original *Grammar of High-Tamil*.

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MANUSCRIPTS

Or. 13044 (manuscript copy of Beschi's *Grammar of High-Tamil*).
 Add. 26100 (Beschi's Tamil-Latin dictionary).

¹ Robert Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, p. 149.

² L. Besse, *Father Beschi and the Society of Jesus; his time and his writings*, pp. 3, 13.

³ Vincent Cronin, *A Pearl to India*, pp. 50-72.

⁴ A. Muttusami Pillai, *Sketch of the Life of Father Beschi*. From an extract reproduced in *Chanda Sahib and Beschi*, p. 14.

⁵ Beschi is also known under the two Tamil names of *Tairiyānāta Svāmi* and *Virama Muzivar*.

⁶ Robert Caldwell, *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely*, pp. 238-9.

⁷ L. Besse, *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus; his time and his writings*, pp. 168, 173.

⁸ Ibid., p. 67.

⁹ Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁰ Add. 26100. British Museum [manuscript].

¹¹ Or. 13044. fols. 2 and 4 British Museum [manuscript].

¹² C. J. Beschi, *A Grammar of the Higher Dialect of the Tamil Language termed Shen-Tamil*, p. ii.

¹³ J. Vinson, *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie comparée*, vol. 33, p. 15.

¹⁴ L. Besse, *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus; his time and his writings*, p. 217.

¹⁵ C. J. Beschi, *A Grammar of the Higher Dialect of the Tamil Language termed Shen-Tamil*, p. iii.

INDO-GREEK TETRADRACHMS

THE existence of Hellenistic Greek kingdoms in Bactria (northern Afghanistan) and north-west India during the third to first centuries B.C. constitutes a phase of history, stemming indirectly from the conquests of Alexander the Great, that has inspired a great deal of research and which never fails to capture the imagination. The outlines of this history, however, remain shadowy and much of the essential evidence is still lacking, though the recent exploration by the French Archaeological Mission of the site at Ai Khanoum has for the first time revealed tangible traces of a Greek city.¹ This naturally arouses great hopes for future discovery. Meanwhile, one prime category of evidence which we do have consists of the brilliant series of coins minted by the Greeks in these lands. The earlier kings, with their capital at Bactra (Balkh), minted coins of purely Greek style and inscribed with Greek legends; in the later phase, after the conquest of north-west India, bilingual coins were minted, with the Greek

names and titles of the kings repeated on the reverse in the Indian Kharosthi script; the principal mints operating south of the Hindu Kush were Alexandria-sub-Caucaso (near Begram), Puskalavati (near Peshawar), and Taxila.² A whole new dimension was given to this class of evidence by the discovery in 1946 of a great hoard of coins at a site known as Khisht Tépe on the river Oxus (Amu-Darya) near Qunduz in northern Afghanistan. It contained for the most part a large number of the purely Greek coins of the earlier Bactrian kings, Demetrius, Eukratides, Heliokles, and others; but together with these were found a smaller number of purely Greek-style and Greek-inscribed coins issued by the later kings, for whom in almost every case only bilingual coins had hitherto been known and who, it was thought, reigned only to the south of the Hindu Kush.³

Concurrently, it is fortunate that the British Museum has been able to add to its unsurpassed collection of Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins several specimens of these purely Greek coins of the later period, and it is these which are briefly described and illustrated here.

The first is a silver tetradrachm of Menander, acquired in 1966 (Pl. xxiii, 1). This king, one of the few of his line whose mere name was preserved in the ancient historical tradition, probably reigned about the middle of the second century B.C. over a comparatively large kingdom covering for a time most of northern India. The tradition seems to hint that he had a certain sympathy towards Buddhism. But we really know almost nothing of Menander, whose appearance, however, is vividly rendered on this coin by a fine portrait in very high relief which is of exceptional quality even among the masterpieces executed by other artists on Bactrian coins. As portrayed, Menander seems to be purely Greek, and this is emphasized by the reverse showing Athena, copied from the archaistic statue of Athena Alkidemos which stood at Pella in Macedonia, as if to hint at the connection, however remote, with the homeland of Alexander the Great. Menander's bilingual coins are among the commonest of all those minted in the Indo-Greek kingdom, but this Greek tetradrachm is a unique specimen, originally found in Iran and not paralleled even in the Qunduz hoard.

The second coin illustrated is a Greek tetradrachm of Antialkidas (Pl. xxiii, 2). This is not a new acquisition, having been in the Museum's collection for nearly a hundred years.⁴ It had always seemed something of an isolated anomaly as the only Greek coin of a king whose normal coinage, like that of Menander, was entirely of the bilingual variety. Now, however, this coin does not stand alone, as the Qunduz hoard furnishes parallels, of similar type but showing the king wearing a helmet or kausia instead of bareheaded. The reverse is an interesting type showing Zeus enthroned with a victory on his hand; however, the presence of an elephant making obeisance in front of him seems to point to a syncretistic blend of a purely Greek deity with an Indian elephant-god. The date of Antialkidas, whose name is mentioned in an inscription from Besnagar, is clearly later than

that of Menander and may be towards 100 B.C. At all events, his normal bilingual coins furnish indications that he must have been more or less of the same epoch as Lysias, whose Greek tetradrachm is next illustrated (Pl. xxiii, 3), and which was acquired by the Museum in 1966. The portrait is of exceptional interest as the king is here shown wearing an elephant scalp on his head: this feature, paralleled on the earlier Bactrian coins of Demetrios, seems intended to recall Alexander the Great, who within a few years of his death had been depicted on coins in just the same way, wearing the emblem of a conqueror of India. The reverse of the Lysias coin shows Herakles placing a crown on his own head, another reminiscence of the Bactrian Demetrios, who was possibly a forebear of Lysias. The Qunduz hoard contained several specimens of a similar type.

The fourth coin illustrated is a tetradrachm of Archebios (Pl. xxiii, 4), certainly to be identified with the king of that name who seems to have been one of the latest in the Indo-Greek dynasty, possibly after 100 B.C.⁵ The reverse type is a dramatic figure of Zeus wielding thunderbolt and sceptre. Scarcely less dramatic, however, is the shoulder-length portrait of the king; wearing a helmet decorated with the horn and ear of a bull, he is portrayed grasping a spear in his right hand, and across his left shoulder is shown the aegis, while the ends of the royal diadem are seen against the back. This exceptionally interesting mode of portraiture occurs nowhere among the coins of the Hellenistic kingdoms except in Bactria and India; yet it seems not to have been a merely isolated invention, as there are examples of a similar kind from other parts of the Greek world, such as a gem probably portraying Philip V of Macedonia,⁶ and it makes a later appearance on coins and gems in the Roman world. Once again, the Qunduz hoard contained specimens which are closely parallel.

Finally, we have a tetradrachm of a king named Theophilos, acquired in 1965 (Pl. xxiii, 5). The relative position of this ruler in the Indo-Greek dynasty is very hard to discern, and it seems to remain an open question whether he can be identified with a king of the same name who is known to us from his bilingual coins;⁷ a specimen of the latter (Pl. xxiii, 8) shows that the type and titles are different, and above all the portrait seems to be of another man. However that may be, the portrait of Theophilos on the Greek tetradrachm gives a vivid impression of a vigorous personality; a specimen in the Qunduz hoard was evidently struck from the same die. The reverse shows Athena enthroned with a victory on her right hand.

Having described the specimens of this class of coin which are now to be found in the Museum's collection, we may indicate briefly some of the questions of historical interpretation which have to be considered. The Qunduz hoard has now been fully published and illustrated, with a discussion of the circumstances of the find and its probable date of burial. It has been pointed out justly that coinage of Greek type was designed for use originally in the region to the north of

the Hindu Kush, whereas the bilingual coins (none of which were included in the Qunduz hoard) were for use only in the region to the south. A possible occasion for the concealment of this great hoard, it has been suggested, was perhaps the conquest of Bactria by the Yueh-Chi, an event which may have taken place about 127 B.C., though some writers have thought that it might be near to 100 B.C. Some uncertainties remain with regard to the coins. If the Qunduz hoard was buried as early as 100 B.C., then Hermaios, generally agreed to have been the last of the Indo-Greek kings, and who is represented in the hoard by a Greek tetradrachm, must have ruled not later than that date; and if so we are compelled to adopt a very compressed chronology for the whole dynasty. Previous views had envisaged that Hermaios would be nearer to 50 B.C. But the basic question is, whether the Greek tetradrachms of the later kings, such as those we have been discussing here, were in fact minted north of the Hindu Kush, as it seems at first sight natural to assume; if not, then of course the dating of the Qunduz hoard would not need to be tied closely to the events of 127 or 100 B.C. Now it so happens that the monograms which occur on the reverses of the Greek tetradrachms are invariably—except in the case of Theophilos—identical with monograms which occur on the bilingual coins of the same kings (Pl. XXIII, A-D). Whatever the precise significance of these monograms, usually thought to stand for the name of a mint-magistrate or other official, it is normally thought reasonable to suppose that coins bearing the same monogram were minted at the same mint. On this showing, we should be justified in suggesting that the Greek tetradrachms in question were after all minted at the same places as the corresponding bilingual coins, and in several cases this would indicate the mint of Alexandria-sub-Caucaso. We could well envisage that the Greek-style issues of the later kings perhaps represented a special or 'occasional' issue (as surely must the double-decadrachms of Amyntas), perhaps made for presentation or commemorative purposes rather than for normal currency, which south of the Hindu Kush consisted of the bilingual coins on a different weight standard. It is also perhaps rather difficult to explain why, if the late tetradrachms of Greek style we are discussing were really minted in Bactria as currency for that country, so very few were minted as compared with the copious issues made by the earlier kings.

We cannot yet be sure, then, in my view, whether Menander, Antialcidas, and the other kings whose coins we have been discussing here really held sway on both sides of the Hindu Kush, as the Qunduz hoard and the new coins seem at first to suggest. It seems arguable, at least, that perhaps the coins in question were actually minted south of the Hindu Kush. But in that case, of course, we still have to find some convincing explanation of how it was that these rare specimens came to be buried away together with the numerous earlier coins at a site on the river Oxus. Much more remains to be done before we can arrive at a final interpretation of the new coins and the problems bound up with them; at

least it is certain that the evidence provided by the coins will remain a factor of the greatest importance in any attempts to reconstruct the course of history in Hellenistic Bactria and India.

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¹ D. Schlumberger, P. Bernard in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, lxxxix (1965), 590 ff.

² A. D. H. Bivar, *Numismatic Chronicle* (1965), 69 ff.

³ R. Curiel, G. Fussmann, *Le Trésor monétaire de Qunduz* (Paris, 1965). The Greek-style coins of the later period were of the following kings: Lysias, Theophilos, Antialkidas, Philoxenos, Hermaios (all tetradrachms), and Amyntas (double-decadrachms). An earlier publication of the hoard by A. D. H. Bivar appeared in *Numismatic*

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⁴ P. Gardner, B.M. Catalogue of Indian Coins, *Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. 25, no. 1.

⁵ Cf. *B.M.Q.* xxii (1960), pl. xxiii. 11 and p. 73 f.

⁶ Furtwängler, *Die Antike Gemmen*, iii. 159, Abb. 113. Cf. recently, H. Möbius, *Alexandria und Rom* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge, Heft 59) (1964), p. 21 and pl. iv. 2.

⁷ Cf. *Numismatic Chronicle* (1965), pl. vi. 7; *B.M.Q.* xxix (1965), pl. xxii. 15.

ETRUSCAN BRONZES FROM THE SPENCER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION

THE Greek and Roman Department has recently acquired five Etruscan bronzes of exceptional quality and preservation from the collection of the late Captain Spencer-Churchill.

The earliest of these is the figure of a naked youth bought by Captain Spencer-Churchill at the Fairfax Murray Sale at Spinks in March 1920 (1966, 3-28, 14. Ht. 9.3 cm. Pl. xxxiv a-d). Although the base on which it stands is now fragmentary, it was clearly once circular; and the figure probably comes from the top of a candelabrum.

The youth has put his left foot slightly forward, but the weight of the body rests evenly on both legs so that the hips are level and the torso rigidly frontal. His broad shoulders are pulled well back and he holds in his right hand a wine-jug with a trefoil mouth and in his left a strainer with a loop handle. Both utensils are richly decorated with engraved spirals and have beaded rims and handles.¹ The boy's head is turned a little to the right on its short, strong neck; and the closely cropped hair is treated in rows of concentric circles of small, bead-like curls.

He must be one of the attendants responsible for filling the wine cups at Etruscan banquets.² Before being drunk the wine had to be both strained and diluted with water. Sometimes it was strained while being poured into the mixing-bowl; sometimes, as here, while being poured from the serving-jug into the cup. To replenish the jug from the mixing-bowl a ladle was used. Our young

attendant's wide open eyes, the eager expression of his face, and the ready gesture of his bent arms charmingly convey his willingness to serve his feasting masters.

The pose, which is not altogether free of archaic stiffness, and the formal treatment of his hair suggest a date early in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. Stylistically the bronze is closely related to a number of bronzes which were either found at Vulci itself or have been assigned to a Vulcian workshop on the strength of their likeness to bronzes known to come from that town. A figure of Heracles decorating a rod-tripod from Vulci, now in the British Museum,³ has the same bead-like locks of hair framing the forehead as our boy, and the features are similar: strongly arched eyebrows, wide open eyes, a short straight nose, a small mouth slightly pulled up at the corners, and a firm little chin. We meet the same type of face and hair in a bronze group of a woman and a child in the Louvre⁴ which has been listed amongst Vulcian candelabra by P. J. Riis.⁵ And finally we may compare our bronze boy with the figure of a youth holding a patera from Monteguragazza in the Museo Civico of Bologna, which is also considered by Riis to have been made at Vulci.⁶ Both share the same physical type and there is a strong family likeness in the face. Both are of meticulous workmanship with carefully engraved decoration; but the sparkling freshness and charm of our little bronze surpasses the slightly earlier and somewhat wooden votive statuette from Monteguragazza. That both were made in a Vulcian workshop seems to me highly probable.

The next bronze is the figure of a reclining young man on a gently curved strip-like base (1966, 3-28, 17. Length 7.8 cm; Ht. 4.8 cm. Pl. xxxv a-d). This figure once belonged to Alessandro Castellani⁷ and was acquired by Captain Spencer-Churchill at Sotheby's Sale of Sir H. Weber's collection on 23 May 1919 for £17. So far as one can tell from the not very clear drawing in *Notizie degli scavi*, 1878, tav. II, 5, it appears to be the bronze excavated shortly before 1878 in a tomb at Ancarano near Norcia.

The young man lies on his left side, propping himself up on two cushions under his left elbow and turning his chest and head towards the spectator. His legs, which are entirely wrapped in a smooth cloak, are crossed and he supports his right elbow on his thigh. His left hand holds a five-stringed lyre close to his body; the hemispherical soundbox is decorated with small engraved circles.⁸ In his relaxed right hand he holds a plectrum. The cloak, which has a turned-over upper border incised with a decorative row of circles, is draped over the young man's left arm and shoulder, leaving most of his chest bare. He has raised his head and turned it slightly to his left as if something had diverted his attention from the instrument. A thick cross-hatched wreath composed of two halves which meet in front encircles his straight, finely grooved hair, which falls on his forehead in a short fringe. Level brows, large almond-shaped eyes, a big nose, heavy cheeks, and an unsmiling mouth with full lips, all combine to impart a

serious, almost puzzled expression to the youthful face. The lower border of his cloak and the edges of the two small cushions on which he leans are emphasized by engraved double lines with a row of small dots above.

The curved shape of the bronze's flat base, which can be compared with other figures of this type,⁹ makes it fairly certain that our young man once decorated the rim of a bronze vessel.¹⁰ The companion figures were probably other reclining musicians or banqueters,¹¹ and the bowl they embellished must have had a considerable diameter, judging from the fairly shallow curve of the base of our bronze. Such vessels of sumptuous size were sometimes made as royal presents, more often they were dedicated as votive offerings in sanctuaries,¹² and many of a smaller kind were used as cinerary urns¹³ or funerary gifts.¹⁴ Some of these, at least, will have served for a long time as precious table-ware during feasts before being deposited in the tomb of their former owners. The subject of a lyre player would suit both the profane and the sacred use of such a bronze vessel.

We can only make conjectures as to the date of our figure: since Etruscan art of the later fifth and much of the fourth century remained conservatively indebted to Greek prototypes of the Classical period, the dating of our bronze within that space of time cannot be very precise. The closest stylistic parallel to it is provided by a figure of Hermes in the British Museum,¹⁵ said to have been found at Civita Castellana. The two bronzes are strikingly similar in the simplified modelling of the body, in the draping of the cloak—completely devoid of folds—which smoothly follows the spherical planes of the underlying limbs, and in the decoration of their turned-over upper border with small incised circles. There is a likeness, too, in the way the hair frames the forehead in a finely grooved fringe, but the face of the Hermes is more delicate and animated in expression than the somewhat inert features of the heavy-jowled lyre player. Riis thought that the Hermes might be Vulcian,¹⁶ which seems to me more probable on stylistic grounds than that it was made in the Faliscan territory in which it was found. But in default of other evidence, the likeness of our two bronzes is hardly enough to prove conclusively that the reclining figure is a Vulcian work too. The difference in the face and the slightly opaque, unlively quality of the whole figure¹⁷ point to a date in the fourth century B.C. for the lyre player, whereas the Hermes must still date from the fifth.

We must next consider the beautifully engraved and well-preserved bronze mirror with a turned bone handle which Captain Spencer-Churchill acquired in February 1927 through Messrs. Spink from a Mr. Weightman. There can be little doubt that it is the same mirror as the one published in Perugia by G. B. Vermiglioli,¹⁸ mentioned by E. Braun¹⁹ and traced to England by E. Gerhard.²⁰

The mirror is covered by a fine olive and blueish-green patina which has stained the upper part of the handle (1966, 3-28, 13. Width 17 cm. across the disc; total height 30.8 cm. excluding the protruding modern pin at the bottom of

the handle. Pl. xxxvi a, b). Vermiglioli did not include this handle in his drawing of the mirror, but Gerhard did. It may well be that when discovered the two parts had become separated and that a drawing of the disc was made before some restorer fitted them together again. In fact, the thin bronze disc which now rests on top of the bone handle where the bronze tang of the mirror is let into it, shows a curious pattern of hatched lines and seems to have been cut out of a piece of modern sheet metal. Modern too is the pin which now holds in place the ancient bronze disc with an indented, up-turned edge and the decorative bronze cone in which the lower end of the handle terminates. However, the stained bone is so close in colour to the patina of the bronze that it is virtually certain that handle and disc originally belonged together.

The disc is cast and its reflecting surface is plain except for a beaded border and an engraved floral motif at the point where the circle is extended to form a tang: a palmette looped at the bottom and tied together with a ribbon from either side of which issue a stylized acanthus leaf and a bell-flower. The edge of the disc, which is raised with respect to the back, is decorated with a cast egg-and-dart moulding. The incised scene on the back is framed by a wreath of two ivy branches springing from a double palmette at the bottom and meeting at the centre of the top. Inside this circle and flanked by a formalized wave-pattern a young man pursues a winged girl. She runs towards the left, arms and wings spread out, and hair flying loose as she turns her head back towards the man, who grasps her by her left wrist and upper arm. Her transparent chiton, buttoned on both shoulders and decorated with a dotted border on the overfold, flutters in swirling folds and reveals her strong, agile body. She wears thonged sandals, drop-earrings, and a wide diadem or wreath decorated with lines of dots made in two parts which meet over her forehead. Her attacker is naked save for a brief cloak held round his shoulders by a brooch; a pointed hat or *pilos* covers his wavy hair. Four letters running from his mouth down towards her arm give his name ΓΕΛΕ = Peleus, and the girl is identified as Thetis by the inscription ΘΕΤΙΣ above her head and left wing. The scene is a lively representation of the struggle between the two which ensued when the gods decreed that the Nereid Thetis should be married to the mortal hero Peleus and the bridegroom has to win an unwilling bride. To escape Peleus, Thetis transformed herself into fire, water, and various kinds of wild beast, but was overcome in the end.²¹ Her divine nature and powers of transformation are here hinted at by her wings, while her element is indicated by the stylized wave-pattern surrounding the pair.

The subject seems to have been a popular one for the decoration of Etruscan mirrors: almost identical representations occur on a number of other engraved mirrors of inferior quality. B. Nogara gives a list in his publication of two examples in the Vatican,²² and we may add a further specimen in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh.²³ The myth of Peleus and Thetis was also a

favourite subject of Greek painted pottery,²⁴ from which the Etruscan artists no doubt derived their inspiration. A Polygnotan hydria from Spina shows Peleus in a brief cloak and a *pilos*-like helmet pursuing Thetis to the left.²⁵ But the mirror is later in style and was probably inspired by south Italian vase-painting of the fourth century B.C., in which young heroes wear the *pilos* and short cloak fastened at the throat more frequently than they do in Attic vase-painting.²⁶ Thetis is a less obviously Greek figure: her wings, the somewhat exaggerated size of her hands, and the shape of her diadem²⁷ are characteristically Etruscan. Etruscan, too, is the urge of the artist to fill the available space to the utmost. If we compare it with the economy with which a Greek artist would decorate the interior of a cup, for example, this circular space will strike us as busy and almost overcrowded.²⁶ But considered on its own merits the engraving is lively, vigorous, and successfully adapted to the shape of the disc.

The fact that several inferior versions of the same scene occur on mirrors which have come to light in Perugia²⁹ suggests the existence of a local workshop there. Our mirror probably represents the masterpiece of a series of designs taken from a pattern book and executed by engravers of varying ability. The presumption of a Perugian origin for our mirror receives some support if we compare it with another Etruscan mirror, also in the British Museum (*B.M.C. Bronzes*, No. 620), which is known to have been found at Perugia. It, too, has a turned bone handle and the scene on its back—framed by an ivy wreath—shows Perseus, Hermes, and Athena engraved in a similar style and likewise typologically related to south Italian vase-painting.³⁰ Perugia was a flourishing local centre from the fourth century B.C. onwards³¹ where one would expect the existence of a bronze-working industry. I would therefore suggest that our mirror was made there after the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Latest but most important of the figured bronzes is an exquisitely decorated incense-burner³² (1966, 3–28, 12, total height 51.4 cm.; height of satyr 12.6 cm. Pls. xxxvii–xxxix b). The history of this bronze in England can be traced back to 1857, in which year it was sent for sale at Sotheby's by F. Böcke and acquired for £157. 10s. by W. A. Forman.³³ When the Forman Collection was in turn sold at Sotheby's in June 1899 the bronze was acquired for £130³⁴ by an unrecorded buyer, presumably J. E. Taylor, who was its owner when in 1903 it was shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in an exhibition of ancient Greek Art.³⁵ Finally, at the sale of the Taylor Collection at Christie's in 1912 it was bought by Captain Spencer-Churchill for £150.

The censer is composed of a three-legged foot, a shaft, and a bowl on top of it which served to hold the burning incense. The foot is formed by three lion's hind legs which rest on circular mouldings rising from square bases. The upper parts of the legs disappear into the gaping beaks of three griffin's heads, whose elongated necks unite to form a raised central platform, their juncture being

strengthened by three projecting palmettes of seven petals each. On top of the neck of each griffin lies a tailless feline facing outwards, its head turned to the right and its left forepaw placed on a dead bird. Above this composite foot a youthful naked satyr stands on a circular base and balances the fluted shaft of the censer on his head. His weight rests on his left leg and his right foot is set well back; the resulting tilt of the hips gives a pronounced curve to the muscular torso with its masterfully rendered anatomical detail. In his right hand the satyr grasped an object which is broken off at the top and can no longer be identified; in his raised left hand he holds up a fruit, perhaps a bunch of grapes. His pointed horse's ears are the only vestiges of his semi-bestial nature. His finely engraved hair is encircled by a cord which is visible at the back only, but to which the small knob above the forehead is presumably attached; the knob perhaps represents an ivy fruit, a plant frequently associated with satyrs in ancient art. The sullen features with fleshy lips and upward-pointing nose are dominated by the deeply furrowed brows. As a satyr, the figure may have had a small horse's or goat's tail, but this seems to have been broken off and the place of its attachment filed smooth.³⁶ Half-way up the shaft of the censer a fourth tailless feline crouches to pounce on a pigeon which turns its head as if to look round at its pursuer. The shaft terminates above in a naked female figure whose twisted legs end in two snake's heads glaring down at the approaching bird. The body of the girl is well proportioned, her smoothly rounded forms contrasting with the emphatic musculature of the satyr. With both her raised hands she steadies the bowl of the censer which rests on her head. Her calm, regular face is framed by carefully dressed and beribboned hair which hangs down in finely incised tresses. She wears disc ear-rings and a bead necklace. The circular bowl above her has a square surround on each corner of which perches a pigeon, its plumage indicated by hatching and small semicircles. The birds are riveted in position but only one of the ancient rivets survives.

There appear to be only two passing mentions of our censer in archaeological literature: Ludwig Curtius refers to it in an article³⁷ in which he suggests that this type of utensil was derived from Assyrian prototypes; and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt lists it amongst many other examples of ancient censers and candelabra with 'zoomorpher Junktur', claiming that feet of this kind were an invention of Chaldean art.³⁸ Our censer is, in fact, a particularly richly decorated example of a small class of Etruscan bronze utensils of which the foot in the form of three lion's hind legs emerging from griffin's beaks is the distinguishing characteristic. Feet of this kind occur most frequently in censers, but are also found in bronze candelabra and braziers.³⁹ The shafts of the censers of this class vary considerably in form and decoration. Many are plain except for the animals attached to them (snakes, felines, dogs (?) chasing cocks and other birds); others are supported by single human figures;⁴⁰ while a very few are, like that of our censer, supported and

surmounted by human or semi-human figures. The nearest parallel for our censer is one formerly in the collection of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, and therefore presumably from his excavations at Vulci. Unfortunately the Canino censer is known only from small drawings of poor quality⁴¹ and a stylistic comparison of the two bronzes would be impossible; nevertheless they seem to me so closely related in their motifs as to suggest a common workshop for both. The Canino bronze had lost its foot and bowl. The shaft was supported by a standing naked satyr with powerfully modelled torso and frowning face; in his left hand he held a staff with which he impaled a snake writhing at his feet, while in his right hand he raised a stone ready to hurl it at the creature. The shaft itself, up which a dog (?) ran, was twisted and ended at the top in a mermaid with intertwined legs and uplifted arms and wearing a brief belted chiton.⁴² Since this lost Canino censer is only one of several with lion-and-griffin feet known to come from Vulci,⁴³ this was probably the centre where such bronzes were produced.

The date of our censer must be late in the fourth century B.C., close to that of the Cista Ficoroni in the Villa Giulia at Rome.⁴⁴ We may compare our satyr with the two satyrs supporting Dionysus on the lid of the cista, whose poise, modelling, and facial expression are equally typical of the late classical phase of Etruscan art. The hair-style and face of the girl-monster on the censer point to the same date.⁴⁵

We know too little about the religious and mythological beliefs of the Etruscans to determine the significance of the figures of the censer. Much of the Etruscan pantheon was borrowed from the Greeks, but the Greek names and types are often strangely changed; and inexplicable divinities occur, as well as a host of demons and hybrid creatures whom we cannot even name.⁴⁶ Such a one is the girl-monster. The Greek *Echidna*, half woman, half snake, and mother of monsters, seems to me too savage and repulsive to have served as the inspiration for our gentle and elegant creature. The snake as such often has a chthonic and funerary significance in ancient art,⁴⁷ and it is therefore possible that the girl represents a genius of death.⁴⁸ The satyr, too, may allude to death and the after-life, since he is a follower of Dionysus, the god of wine and vegetation, whom the Greeks associated with the underworld and life in the beyond.⁴⁹ And in Hellenistic and Roman Imperial times the Bacchic *thiasos* became a favourite symbol of immortality and a blissful life in the other world.⁵⁰ Even the birds on censers like ours have been interpreted as 'Seelenvögel'⁵¹ and therefore suitable for incense-burners used in the cult of the dead. But that is all conjecture; and it may well be that the censer was made for use in everyday life, and that the motifs incorporated in it have no funerary significance at all.⁵²

The last of the new bronzes is a small bowl with a long detachable handle. (1966, 3-28, 16. Ht. of bowl 7 cm., width across mouth 7.5 cm., length of handle 36.7 cm. Pls. xxxixc-xlc). The bowl has an ovoid body with two

lathe-turned circles at the bottom, a low concave neck, and a lathe-turned rim. The handle which is cast, ends in a fork of two springy wires which are bent round the neck of the bowl and hooked together. Next to the fork comes a faceted rod with a bead-like moulding at each end and above this again a flat oar-shaped part forming a grip and finally a suspension-loop turned round in the same plane as the flat grip and ending in a duck's head with carefully incised eyes and bill. The utensil has a fine olive-green patina.

It is not easy to determine the name and use of the implement. Similar vessels with detachable horizontal handles have been called '*cyathi*',⁵³ but the Greek word *cyathos* means a ladle or measure for drawing liquid from a large container, especially wine from a mixing-bowl;⁵⁴ and the utensils properly identified as such have open, neckless bowls, usually shallow⁵⁵ but sometimes deeper and ovoid,⁵⁶ and handles which rise vertically from the rim. It would, however, be difficult to use the present utensil with its nearly horizontal handle as a dipper, particularly when ladling liquid from a tall container with a narrow opening such as a wine jar. Moreover, the detachable handle would be quite pointless in an ordinary ladle. Evidently the vessel was meant to be used both with and without its handle; and presumably served for cooking either directly over a fire, or by partial immersion in boiling water. The handle would be of just the right shape and length to perform these operations comfortably and safely. After the contents were cooked, the handle could be readily removed and the bowl brought to table.

This type of utensil is not nearly as common as the ordinary ladle. There are two very similar examples in the Antiquario of the Villa Giulia in Rome, both handles ending in duck's heads,⁵⁷ and another of the same shape in the Bomford Collection.⁵⁸ Smaller and less elaborate specimens exist in the British Museum⁵⁹ and in the Louvre.⁶⁰ In these simpler pieces the handle ends in a highly stylized duck's head turned over backwards like a hook, a form of suspension already represented in frescoes of the sixth century B.C.⁶¹ But fresco-painting affords no illustration of our type of utensil with its horizontal loop and to date it we must turn to other kinds of utensils having similar handles. The earliest example known to me comes from a tumulus on Selenskaya hill in the Taman peninsula, which has yielded a collection of silver plate dated to the late fourth century B.C. by a gold stater of Alexander the Great. It is a small silver sieve⁶² with a handle very similar to that of our piece, having a flat oar-shaped plate as a grip and a horizontal suspension loop in the form of a swan's neck. Slightly later is a silver sieve in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore which has a loop of this type on either side, the plates from which they project being shorter but rather more elaborate.⁶³ The longer form of the handle is also found on Etruscan bronze strainers from tombs of the fourth and third centuries B.C. at Populonia and Porano.⁶⁴ Thus this shape of handle seems to make its appearance in the early Hellenistic period, a date which would also suit the form of the bowl of our vessel,

which is closely related to a small silver bowl in the British Museum⁶⁵ assigned to the later third century B.C.⁶⁶ The taller neck and squatter, less pointed form of the body of the silver bowl point, however, to a somewhat later stage in the development of the type. I would, therefore, tentatively suggest a date in the first half of the third century B.C. for our utensil.

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¹ For the shape of the jug cf. an engraved bronze oinochoe in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. G. M. A. Richter, *Cat. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, no. 492. The strainer (colum, ῥθμός) with a single loop handle is a very rare form, the usual type being provided with a long handle hooked at the end to serve for suspension when not in use. Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. colum, and Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. colum.

² Such youths are frequently represented in banqueting scenes on Etruscan tomb-paintings. Cf. *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia*, Sez. Prima, *La pittura etrusca*. Tarquinia, fasc. i, *Le pitture delle Tombe delle Leonesse e dei Vasi Dipinti*, by P. Ducati, tav. iv, v, vi, 1 right. Tarquinia, fasc. ii, *Le pitture della Tomba della Caccia e Pesca*, by P. Romanelli, tav. c, figure on right in pediment. Clusium, fasc. i, *Le pitture delle tombe arcaiche*, by R. Bianchi-Bandinelli. Tomba del Colle, tav. c and vi, G figure on left.

³ *B.M.C. Greek, Roman and Etruscan Bronzes*, no. 587.

⁴ de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, i, no. 245.

⁵ *Tyrrhenika* (Copenhagen, 1941), p. 82, no. 8.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 90, pl. 18, 2.

⁷ Sale Catalogue No. 323 (Rome, 14-16 Mar. 1884).

⁸ I am unable to decide whether this is meant to represent a tortoise-shell.

⁹ Cf. a reclining girl with a five-string lyre with tortoise-shell sound-box in the British Museum, *B.M.C. Greek, Roman and Etruscan Bronzes*, no. 609, pl. xiii, and a similar girl with castanets in the Museo del Teatro Romano at Verona: O. W. v. Vaccano, *Die Etrusker*, taf. 73b; a banqueter in the British Museum, *B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 556.

¹⁰ For Etruscan bronze vessels with figures on their rim cf. K. A. Neugebauer, *R.M.* 51 (1936), pl. 23/4, p. 181, 'Kohlenbecken aus Clusium und Verwandtes'. For Greek figures and vessels of this type see E. Kunze, *Olympiabericht*, vii, pp. 173 ff. and viii, p. 241; U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifen-*

kessel (Berlin, 1955), n. 146; D. E. L. Haynes, *B.M.Q.* 20 (1955), pp. 36-7.

¹¹ Such as the figures mentioned above in note 9, the reclining youth in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, Acc. 21. 122. 22, v. Vaccano op. cit., pl. 73a, and D. G. Mitten-S. F. Doeringer, *Masterbronzes from the Classical World*, Fogg Art Museum (1967), nos. 43, 44, 45, and 95.

¹² Herodotus, i, 70. The bowl sent by the Spartans to Croesus was intercepted at sea by the Samians, who made an offering of it to Hera.

¹³ Cf. the Capuan urns in the British Museum, *B.M.C. Bronzes*, nos. 558-61.

¹⁴ For example, the so-called Loeb tripod and cauldron. A. Minto, *Studi etruschi*, 9 (1935), pp. 401 ff. Pallottino-Jucker-Hürlimann, *Art of the Etruscans* (London, 1955), nos. 48, 49.

¹⁵ *B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 641.

¹⁶ *Tyrrhenika*, p. 168. Closely related to the Hermes in style and detail is the statuette of a youth wrapped in a cloak which crowns a candelabrum found in a fifth-century B.C. tomb at Todi. *Mon. Ant.* xxiv. (1916), pp. 865/6, figs. 20-2.

¹⁷ The liveliness in movement and expression of the late-archaic bronze figure of a reclining girl with a lyre in the British Museum (*B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 609) provides an illuminating contrast and underlines the lack of vigour and inventive power of much of Etruscan art of the later fifth and of some of the fourth century B.C., which frequently copies earlier prototypes without capturing their spiritedness.

¹⁸ *La favola di Peleo e Tetide* (Perugia, 1846), 12, p. 8. Articolo estratto dal *Giornale scientifico-letterario di Perugia*, 1845 (inaccessible to me).

¹⁹ *Archäol. Zeitung*, iv, p. 260.

²⁰ *Etruskische Spiegel*, iv, pl. cccxxxvi, p. 35. The engraving, of course, reverses the scene.

²¹ Roscher, *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Myth.*, vol. iii, abt. ii, col. 1833. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* xix, s.v. Peleus. Cf. D. E. L. Haynes, *The Portland Vase* (British Museum, 1964), pp. 16 ff.

²² *St. etr.* viii (1934), pp. 131 f. and pl. xxxiii.

Nogara seems to have assumed that the mirror published by Vermiglioli and that which de Witte found in London in 1844 were two different ones; but Gerhard (op. cit., p. 35 n. 89) clearly states that he thinks the Perugia mirror must be the same as the London one.

²³ *St. etr.* xi, tav. I, 1.

²⁴ Cf. the list given by B. Graef, *JdI*, i, p. 201. Cf. also s.v. Peleo in *Enc. dell'arte ant.* vi (Rome, 1965), pp. 9 ff.

²⁵ S. Aurigemma, *Spina*, i, pl. 183-6. Professor C. M. Robertson kindly pointed this vase out to me.

²⁶ Cf. H. Sichtermann, *Griech. Vasen in Unteritalien aus d. Sammlg. Jatta in Ruvo*, Bilderhefte d. Deut. Arch. Inst. in Rom. 3 u. 4. Heft: K. 70, p. 118; K. 40, p. 62, 63; K. 11, p. 18. A. D. Trendall, *South Italian Vase Painting* (Brit. Mus., 1966), pl. 2; pl. 3b; pl. 12a; pl. 3 and *Frühitaliotische Vasen (Bilder Griech. Vasen)* pl. 12, 16. B. Neusch, 11. *Ergänzungsheft der Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst. in Rom., Herakleia-Studien*, pl. 65, 1.

²⁷ Cf. the diadems of the bronze figures from Spina in the Museo Archeologico in Ferrara: M. Santangelo, *Musei e monumenti etruschi*, p. 61; on a cup from Vulci in the Vatican: L. Banti, *Il mondo degli etruschi*, pl. 87b; and the actual gold wreaths in the British Museum, F. H. Marshall, *Cat. of Jewellery*, pl. xlviii, nos. 2294, 2292, 2302; pl. xlix, nos. 2296, 2293.

²⁸ Cf. S. Haynes, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, vi (1953), p. 41 ff.

²⁹ Cf. Nogara, *St. etr.* viii, p. 132.

³⁰ Cf. K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst d. Altertums* (Bonn, 1960), pp. 77 ff.

³¹ L. Banti, *Il mondo degli etruschi*, p. 118.

³² Cf. Helbig, *Führer durch die Sammlgn. klass. Altertümer in Rom*, i³, pp. 355 f., for the use of such utensils as lamps as well as censers.

³³ Sotheby's Sale Catalogue 12 June 1857, p. 6, No. 51. I am indebted to Mr. D. M. Bailey for this reference.

³⁴ No. 143, pl. v, *Cat. of the Forman Coll.*, by C. H. Smith.

³⁵ *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1903), p. 43, no. 28, and pl. xlix, no. A28 in the *Illustrated Cat. Burlington F.A.C. Exh. of Anc. Gr. Art* (London, 1904).

³⁶ Cf. text in the *Cat. of the Forman Coll.*, C. H. Smith (London, 1899), p. 25, no. 143.

³⁷ *Münchener Fb. d. bildenden Kunst*, viii (1913), fig. 14, pp. 19 ff.

³⁸ *Festschr. z. 400 Jahrfeier d. Gelehrtschule d. Johanneum zu Hamburg* (1929), pp. 226 f., pl. vii, and in *Armenien einst und jetzt*, ii, 2, pp. 514 f.

³⁹ To a list of such utensils given by F. Magi in *La raccolta B. Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, parte II Bronzi e Ogetti Vari, p. 210, we may add: (1) a censer in the Antiquarium of the Villa Giulia in Rome: K. 7786, formerly in the Museo Kircheriano (Buono Nr. 388); (2) the lower part of a censer in the Greek and Roman Department of the B.M. (marked K) which has the usual plinths, bases, lion's legs, and griffin's heads, but instead of the more usual palmette or floral motif at their juncture, the necks of the griffins are elongated to form rippling leaf-like excrescences meeting at an angle; (3) a candelabrum in the Metropol. Mus. N.Y., G. M. A. Richter, *Cat. of Gk. Etr. and Roman bronzes*, 1299; (4) a set of three feet of the composite lion-griffin type belonging to an Etruscan brazier recently acquired by a private collector in England: *Antiquities from the Bomford Coll.*, Ashmolean Mus., 1966, 366 bis; (5) a censer with the typical composite foot, the shaft being a floral scroll balanced by a group of a naked youth and a girl and terminating in a bowl on which two pigeons and four pendants are preserved, is described as no. 284 in the *Catalogue of the A. Castellani Coll.* (Rome, 1884); it is now in the R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, 8-3406; no. 221 in D. G. Mitten-S. F. Doeringer, *Masterbronzes from the Classical World* (1967); (6) a censer in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: Babelon-Blanchet no. 1482; (7) a censer in the Museo Nazionale in Naples: the shaft balanced by a boy holding a cloak, a cock on the shaft, and four birds on corners of bowl, Inv. no. 72196.

⁴⁰ *B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 772, and 595, Villa Giulia, Antiquarium K. 7786, Vatican, *Mus. Greg. Cat.*, tav. lv, 5; Helbig, *Führer*, i³, no. 595; *Bibl. Nat.*, Babelon-Blanchet no. 1482; Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 72196.

⁴¹ S. Reinach, Rep. II, 140, 9, and Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, i, lix, p. 295.

⁴² A mermaid in the same position supporting an incense bowl in a square frame with four frogs at the corners appears on a censer with three horse's legs surmounted by a girl with a mirror who balances the shaft; it came from Telamone and is now in the Mus. Arch. at Florence: Inv. no. 70825.

⁴³ *B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 781; Vatican, Mus. Gregoriano: Giglioli, *A.E.* cclxxxii. 2, and *Racc. Guglielmi*, Magi 62, no. 18. Berlin: C. Friedrich's *Kleinere Kunst u. Industrie*, p. 761.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Encicl. dell'arte ant.* iii, Rome, 1960, p. 647, s.v. *Ficoroni*.

⁴⁵ Cf. *B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 659. S. Haynes, *Etruscan Bronze Utensils*, pl. 10, and *B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 650, *ibid.*, pl. 11, and the figure of a lasa from Perugia in the Museo Archeologico in Florence: R. Herbig, *Götter u. Dämonen der Etrusker*, pl. 43.

⁴⁶ A few names of Etruscan gods seem also taken over from Latin divinities, cf. G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (Münster, 1965).

⁴⁷ It occurs, for example, on Greek hero-reliefs: cf. K. Blümel, *Die archaisch-griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, p. 22, no. 16, pl. 42 and p. 25, no. 17, pl. 45, and on Etruscan sarcophagi: cf. R. Herbig, *Die jünger-etruskischen Steinsarkophage*, pl. 42b, and pl. 24, 25, figs. 2-4.

⁴⁸ Such a genius is probably the stern-faced bronze figure of a winged girl carrying two snakes in the British Museum: *B.M.C. Bronzes*, no. 1449. A more common type of female death-demon are the winged, booted, and torch-holding figures which frequently appear on Etruscan funerary urns; but even they are sometimes flanked by snakes: cf. *St. etr.* ii (1928), pl. xxvii, 1b and c. Male winged demons with legs ending in writhing snakes support the cornice on Hellenistic wall-paintings in the Tomba del Tifone in Tarquinia. Giglioli, *Arte etrusca*, cclxxxix. Earlier examples in the form of terracotta antefixes come from Conca (Satricum), and are now in the Villa Giulia at Rome: Giglioli, *op. cit.* clxxxiv.

⁴⁹ Cf. S. Haynes in *The Burlington Magazine* (Dec. 1966), p. 600 n. 15 for the relevant literature.

⁵⁰ Cf. E. Strong, *Apotheosis and Afterlife* (1915), pp. 197 ff. F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (1929), Appendix. K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (1942), pp. 23 ff.; M. P. Nilson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund, 1957); R. Turcan, *Les*

Sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques (Paris, 1966).

⁵¹ K. Wiegand, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 122 (1912), p. 36.

⁵² For the use of censers in antiquity cf. s.v. 'Incensiere' in *Encicl. dell'arte ant.* iv, pp. 126 ff., and Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* vi, A 1. XI Halbband, pp. 706 f., s.v. *Thymiaterion*.

⁵³ Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *cyathus*, fig. 2239.

⁵⁴ Cf. the scene on the red-figure stamnos in the Museo Nazionale in Naples: A. de Francisci, *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, fig. 37.

⁵⁵ Cf. the ladles shown in the banquet scenes of Etruscan frescoes referred to in note 2, and see the existing ladles in the Louvre: de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, ii, pl. 108, nos. 3069 and 3070, and in the Metropolitan Museum, New York: G. M. A. Richter, *Cat. of Gk. Etr. and Roman bronzes*, nos. 648 and 645.

⁵⁶ Cf. the ladle held by the cup-bearer on the skyphos by the Brygos Painter in Vienna, *F.R.*, pl. 84; W. Zschietzschmann, *Hellas and Rome*, pp. 262-3. This may correspond to the *ωάρια σιδηρέα* of Hesychius s.v. *κνύθους*. Surviving specimens are to be found in the Louvre: de Ridder, *op. cit.*, pl. 108, nos. 3060 and 3064; and in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 652.

⁵⁷ Nos. 51363 and 51364. I am much indebted to Dr. M. Torelli for photographs.

⁵⁸ Laines, Aldbourne, Marlborough, Wilts.

⁵⁹ Reg. No. 99, 2-18, 58 and K.

⁶⁰ de Ridder, *op. cit.*, pl. 108, no. 3073.

⁶¹ Cf. the ladle suspended near the large krater on the back wall of the Tomba delle Leonesse in Tarquinia: Skira-Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting*, p. 43.

⁶² *A.A.* (1913), p. 185, fig. 12.

⁶³ D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Methuen, 1966), p. 93, fig. 22a.

⁶⁴ *Notizie degli scavi*, 1961, pp. 101 f., fig. 41; 1932, p. 92, fig. 3.

⁶⁵ *B.M.C. Silver Plate*, pl. iii, no. 11.

⁶⁶ A. Kuthmann, 'Beiträge zur hellenist.-röm. Toreutik', *Jb. d. röm.-germ. Zentralmuseums* (Mainz, 1958), p. 127.

A MEDIEVAL JAPANESE PAINTING OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

IT has long been the hope that the Museum might be able to add to its extensive collection of Japanese painting some work which might worthily represent the great and classic age of Heian (810-1185). In the winter exhibition of Japanese painting, sculpture, and lacquer there is included a major work of this period depicting Fuku Kenzaku Kannon with two Guardians (Pl. xli), which has lately been acquired by the Trustees out of the fund bequeathed by Mr. P. T. Brooke-Sewell. This is undoubtedly one of the most important paintings to have left Japan since the close of the Second World War and the equal of anything which has gone to the United States during this period. It has long been well known in Japan, having indeed been reproduced in 1909 in the first volume of the *Toyo Bijutsu Taikan*, of which the English edition published at the same time entitled *Masterpieces selected from the Fine Arts of the Far East* has been for two generations a first introduction to the subject for many people. At that time this painting, which belonged to Baron Masuda, was attributed to the tenth century; a fact which can easily be explained, for it is painted in the style of the early Fujiwara period.

The two Guardian figures especially are in the rich colouring and plastic form emphasized by strong line which closely echoes the style of Chinese Buddhist painting under the T'ang Dynasty (618-906). This can be demonstrated convincingly by comparing the right-hand Guardian (Pl. xlii) with some of the banner paintings from Tun-huang in the Stein collection. For instance, the Vajrapani (B.M. Stein, no. 134; Ch. lv. 0018) shows a treatment of the head, including hair-dressing, moustache, and whiskers, strikingly parallel with the Heian Guardian. On a banner painting of Virupaksha, Guardian of the West in the Stein collection in New Delhi (*Serindia*, pl. lxxxiv; Ch. lv. 0046), the costume, armour, sash, legging, and boots are all close to those of our guardian. Indeed, all the features of this figure can be paralleled in the Stein banner paintings from Tun-huang, datable to the ninth or early tenth century, except for the military cloak tied round his shoulders. This also, however, is typical of the ninth or early tenth century and is not found in later figures in Japan. There is now preserved in a private collection in Japan a Heian period outline drawing of a military figure in similar pose, copied from one of six panels of doors formerly in the Tōdaiji temple at Nara and apparently of Tempyō date (729-48), but which must have perished long ago.

The left-hand Guardian (Pl. xliii) has an even more direct relationship with a famous work of the Tempyō period—the Shikkongōjin, kept as secret sculpture in a closed shrine in the Hokkedō at Tōdaiji. It there stands behind the main cult

figure of Fuku Kenzaku Kannon, to whom this Hall was dedicated in the Tempyō period and before A.D. 743, when it was incorporated in the newly founded Tōdaiji. This Kannon figure is of dry lacquer (*Kanshitsu*), but the Shikkongōjin is in clay, brilliantly painted. It is life-size (height 5 ft. 6 in.) and is known to have been in its present position in the Jogan era (859-76). A legend relates that Rōben, the famous priest and ascetic who founded the Tōdaiji, carried this figure about with him and that it was enshrined by the emperor at the newly built Hokkedō in the year 733. It is, however, more probably somewhat later. It represents Vajrapani brandishing in his right hand the thunderbolt (*vajra*) with which he is about to attack the enemies of Buddhism. His mouth is open as he shouts his war cry and his eyes blaze with anger. The whole stance, expression, and costume of the sculpture are closely copied in the painting, even down to the position of the floating streamers and the knotted ribbon in his hair. Moreover, the painted floral designs on the armour are repeated in our painting.¹

These comparisons establish a definite connection between this painting and the Tōdaiji, one of the most famous temples of Nara for its antiquity, size, and position. It suffered greatly during the wars of the twelfth century, most of its buildings being burnt in the winter of 1180.

It was in the later Heian period, when the authority of the central government was declining and the way was being prepared for the advent of feudal rule, that great damage was done to the buildings and treasures of sculpture and painting in the great monasteries of Kyoto and Nara. Usually this was due to the fierce rivalry between the monks and their lay warriors, who freely interfered in secular affairs in the capital and attacked the buildings of temples of the opposite faction. The heavy losses suffered by the temples produced, as a natural reaction, a deliberate policy of revival in the style of painting and sculpture. They sought to return to the most fervent period of Buddhist faith in Japan, early Heian of the tenth century. It is in this context that it is possible to date the painting between about 1170 and the final break with the Heian tradition, which was marked by the burning of Kyoto in 1221.

Dr. Akiyama, the greatest living authority on Heian painting, kindly allows me to quote his opinion that our Fuku Kenzaku Kannon is to be dated between 1170 and 1180. He had made a thorough scientific study of the kakemono in the laboratory of the Bijutsu Kenkyu in Ueno Park, Tokyo, which revealed a gold under-painting behind each of the three figures, painted on the reverse side of the silk to give depth and splendour to the pigments on the front of the silk. Where the silk has worn thin over the centuries some of this gold under-paint is now plainly visible. This remarkable technical feature has been found only in some Buddhist paintings of the Heian period. Otherwise the examination confirmed the first impression that the condition was on the whole very good and that there has been no over-painting. All three figures are provided with wide

flame-bordered haloes, and the main figure also with a mandorla surrounding the body, thus following T'ang practice (Pl. XLIV). The green pigment of these areas has rotted the silk, as is usually found where arsenic has been employed.² It is probably the same pigment which has been responsible for the decay of the silk on which the vase held in the right hand of Kannon was painted. At this point an ugly patch has been inserted.

Fuku Kenzaku (Sanskrit *Armoghapāśa*) Kannon, with never-empty net or lasso, who catches all sentient beings and carries them to the Bodhiland, enjoyed a special cult in Japan within the Kegon sect, which was favoured by the Imperial Court in the eighth century. Its teaching emphasizes the transcendental aspect of Buddhism, according to the Kegon or Avatamsaka sūtra, in which the Buddha is said to reveal himself everywhere in the world in millions of emanations, in every particle of dust. Tōdaiji was the principal temple of this sect. Fuku Kenzaku derives from the god Śiva in his aspect of saviour of souls, and here exhibits his attributes of the third eye in the forehead and the triple face, as well as the lasso. To these are added the marks of the Bodhisattva Kannon, the Amitabha Buddha in the crown, and the lotus vase in the lower right hand. The sculpture of Fuku Kenzaku Kannon in the Hokkedō has one head, three eyes, and eight arms, whereas our painted version, which seems to be unique in this form, has only four arms. He is enthroned on a lotus seat supported on a rocky base, as is appropriate to Kannon. The Bodhisattva is sexless but has distinctly feminine characteristics in feature and expression. The flesh is tinted to suggest plasticity in the convention of the Heian period, which in this continues the tradition of Buddhist painting in T'ang China. As with all early paintings, the silk is in three sections of which the central may be assumed to be the full width of the loom, measuring 48.3 centimetres. The complete width is 87.4 cm. and the height 123 cm. The mounting dates from the Meiji period, which is probably when it was sold by a temple directly or indirectly to Baron Masuda. Since his death it has been in the Hoshino collection in northern Japan.

BASIL GRAY

¹ See *Catalogue of Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples of Nara*, vol. 17, The Tōdaiji Temple, pt. 1 (1933), for excellent views of the Hokkedō and its contents.

² Similar damage has been caused to the

mandorla surrounding the Fugen of Heian date in the Feer Gallery, Washington: *Japanese Art in the West*, edited by J. Mayuyama (Tokyo, 1967), pl. 66.

A BRONZE SRINIVASA GROUP

IN the history of South Indian bronze-casting of the Cola Period (about A.D. 850 to 1250) the stylistic development of the Vishnu image is by no means as clear as that of the god Siva. The number of Vishnu images in bronze, particularly of complete groups of Vishnu and his two consorts, is fairly small both in museums and private collections. Though many splendid groups, up to four feet in height and certainly of early date, are preserved in numerous Vaishnavite temples, there is little opportunity of seeing them without their elaborate metal plating (*Kavaca*), which conceals all but face, hands, and feet, still less of studying or photographing them.

The Museum has recently acquired an important complete group of Vishnu as Srinivasa¹ and his two consorts Sridevi² and Bhudevi³ (Pls. XLV-XLVII). All three figures have been carefully cleaned and, apart from certain minor defects, are in excellent condition.

The three best-known bronze Vishnu groups of the Cola Period are in the collections of the Government Museum, Madras. The Srinivasa group from Sirupanaiyur, Tanjavur District, is dated by Srinivasan (his Figs. 99 and 100) to about A.D. 950-60; the Vishnu group from Peruntottam, Tanjavur District, to the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century A.D. (his Figs. 123 and 124); and the Srinivasa group from Vadakkuppanaiyur, Tanjavur District, to about A.D. 1030 (his Figs. 154 and 155). Though the details are now somewhat blurred, the Sirupanaiyur bronzes remain fine things. The style and iconography, especially of the two consorts, suggest a date fairly early within what I have called the Sembiyan Mahadevi Phase (about A.D. 970 to 1014) of the Early Cola Period (about A.D. 850 to 1014). The Vadakkuppanaiyur group, handsome and in fair condition, is certainly later than the reign of Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1014), but Srinivasan's attribution of it to the reign of Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-44) is perhaps rather too early. The style of the very end of Rajaraja I's reign is clearly established by the two outstanding bronzes, a Vrsvahana and consort, from Tiruvenkadu, Tanjavur District, dedicated in A.D. 1011 and 1012 respectively (Srinivasan, Figs. 128-9b). Two equally important pieces can be securely placed towards the end of the reign of Rajendra I's son and successor Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1018-54), who ruled conjointly with his father for over twenty-five years. The Bhikshatana from Tiruvenkadu (Srinivasan, Fig. 175) was dedicated in the 30th year (A.D. 1048) of Rajadhiraja I or perhaps a little earlier, and the Ardhanari from the same temple (Srinivasan, Fig. 131) in his 29th year (A.D. 1047) or a little earlier. When he wrote his book, Srinivasan was not aware that the Ardhanari was closely datable, and considered it contemporary with the Vrsvahana of A.D. 1011. The Vadakkuppanaiyur group can hardly be associated with these four great bronzes of the first half of the eleventh century A.D.

Unfortunately no dated or datable bronzes of the second half of the century have as yet been identified, nor are there dated architectural fabrics of any consequence containing stone sculpture with which comparisons might be made. Nevertheless, the Vadakkuppanaiyur group is earlier than the first half of the twelfth century A.D., of whose style, in stone sculpture at least, we have a fair idea. For the moment it may be given a formal date within the second half of the eleventh century A.D. The Peruntottam group seems to present a bigger problem. Sivaramamurti (his Pls. 42*a* and 95*a*) proposes the same date as Srinivasan, that is, about A.D. 1000 for the group as a whole. But, if the two consorts are placed beside the consorts of the Sirupanaiyur Vishnu or any of the great female figures of the Sembiyan Mahadevi Phase (e.g. Barrett, Pls. 4, 22, 25, 27, 33, 37, 38, and 44), they will be seen to belong to an altogether different world both in formal conception and in details of costume and jewellery. They are, indeed, later than the consorts of the Vadakkuppanaiyur group and may safely be placed in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. Now there is in the Tanjavur Art Gallery an excellent Vishnu, also from Peruntottam (Sivaramamurti, Pl. 71*b*), dated by Sivaramamurti, correctly in my opinion, to the early twelfth century A.D. Its style suggests the strong possibility that the Government Museum's Sridevi and Bhudevi were originally the consorts of the Tanjavur Art Gallery's Vishnu. In any case, once separated from its 'consorts' the Government Museum's Vishnu, one of the noblest bronze images of that deity, may be accepted as belonging to the Sembiyan Mahadevi Phase and dated, somewhat later than the Sirupanaiyur Srinivasa, in the last decade of the tenth century A.D.

A small group of Vishnu images unaccompanied by the two consorts has also survived from the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. They may be arranged in a fairly convincing series, though the progression of style is not as close as one could wish: there remain large gaps in our knowledge and, no doubt, several ateliers were at work.

- (a) The Vishnu in the Government Museum Madras (Srinivasan, Figs. 25 and 26). Usually called Pallava of the eighth to ninth century A.D., it may by comparison with the stone sculptures of the late Parantaka I temple at Gramam, South Arcot District, be securely dated about 940 A.D. at the end of Phase I of the Early Cola Period.
- (b) The seated Vishnu at the Sarnath Temple at Tiruchcherai, Tanjavur District (Barrett, Pls. 47 and 48). This important image, more representative of the metropolitan Cola style, may be dated about A.D. 940 to 950 within Phase II of the Early Cola Period.
- (c) The Vishnu at Kodumudi, Coimbatore District (Barrett, Pls. 89 and 90). Perhaps the finest-known bronze image of the deity and also to be dated about A.D. 940, it stands outside the metropolitan style and is presumably representative of the school of the province of Kongunadu.

- (d) The hitherto unpublished Vishnu in the Perumal Temple at Tirunagesvaram, Tanjavur District (Pl. XLVIII). This figure, 21½ inches in height, closely follows (a) above and may be dated to about A.D. 960 within Phase II of the Early Cola Period.
- (e) The Vishnu at Paruttiyur, Tanjavur District (Barrett, Pls. 73 and 74). This image, fully representative of the metropolitan style, may be dated about A.D. 970 at the very beginning of the Sembian Mahadevi Phase of the Early Cola Period.
- (f) The Vishnu from Vadakadu, Tanjavur District (Srinivasan, Fig. 109). Dated by Srinivasan to about A.D. 975, this fine image, though the surface on chest and face is badly eroded, should perhaps be placed a little later but still within the Sembian Mahadevi Phase.
- (g) The Vishnu in the famous Kalyanasundara or Marriage Group from Tiruvenkadu, Tanjavur District (Srinivasan, Figs. 126-7a). We know from two important inscriptions on the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur (Hultzsch, nos. 48 and 11) that a similar group was dedicated before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1014) by his queen Trailokya-Mahadevi. The Tiruvenkadu group is accepted by all students as either contemporary with or a little later than the Vrsvahana and consort dedicated at Tiruvenkadu in A.D. 1011 and A.D. 1012.
- (h) The Vishnu at the Apatsahayesvara Temple at Tiruppalanam, Tanjavur District (Barrett, Pls. 75 and 76). Closely paralleled by the stone sculpture at the Rajarajesvara Temple at Gangaikondacolapuram this image may be dated about A.D. 1030.
- (i) The hitherto unpublished Vishnu at Nemali, Chittor District (Pl. XLIX). This image, 26½ inches in height and a fine bronze apart from the grotesque recutting of the face, is roughly contemporary with the Tiruppalanam Vishnu.
- (j) The Vishnu in the Kalyanasundara group from the Umamahesvara Temple at Konerirajapuram, Tanjavur District (Srinivasan, Fig. 148). This group has been dated to about A.D. 1020 to 1030 by Srinivasan, but the Gautam Sarabhai Parvati, once recognized as not belonging to it (Barrett, pp. 22 and 23), may be placed in the second half of the eleventh century A.D. somewhat later than the Vadakkuppanaiyur group.

In style and iconography the place of the newly acquired Srinivasan group in this sequence is clear. The closest parallel is afforded by the Vishnu and Lakshmi of the Kalyanasundara group from Tiruvenkadu, to be dated about A.D. 1010 to 1020. Our group may be considered contemporary. The Tiruvenkadu group, magnificent though it is in scale and conception, is the final expression of the Early Cola style and is already moving towards the stolder, less taut forms of the

later Cola development. The style of our group, especially the precise modelling of the imperious face of the central deity, retains more of the formal ideals of the Sembayan Mahadevi Phase. Several iconographic details also suggest, if not an earlier date, at least a closer adherence to the earlier tradition. In the masterpieces of the Early Cola Period the splay of the dhoti pulled through the girdle above the buttocks is, when present, a beautiful feature, full and shaped like a shell. In the Tiruvenkadu group it has become a small, meaningless projection. In our group, more particularly on the Sridevi, this feature retains some significance. Again, the fan-like projection of the lower arm-bands is always an indication of Early Cola date. It is not found on the Tiruvenkadu group, or, I would suggest, on any later pieces except as a small, hardly recognizable excrescence. The Srivatsa mark on Vishnu's chest above the right nipple retains the outline of the true Srivatsa representing the goddess Lakshmi. That on the Tiruvenkadu Vishnu is in the form of an isosceles triangle. (It is inlaid with silver but there seems no reason to doubt this was original.) No doubt, the general tendency was to move from the true Srivatsa shape, more or less clearly depicted, to the triangular, but this movement cannot be used for precise dating in this period. The Srivatsa on the Peruntottam Vishnu (Srinivasan, Figs. 123 and 124), to be dated in the last decade of the tenth century A.D., is in the form of a triangle, while that on the Vishnu at Tiruppalanam (Barrett, Pls. 75 and 76), to be dated about A.D. 1030, comes very close to the true shape. The situation seems to be that the true Srivatsa shape persisted until well into the eleventh century A.D., when it was replaced, except on archaistic bronzes, by the triangular shape which had already been introduced before the close of the tenth century A.D. The problem is complicated by the fact that some of the earliest bronzes—(a) in the above series, for example, and the finest of the so-called Pallava Vishnu figures from Peruntottam (Srinivasan, Figs. 15 and 16)—do not carry the Srivatsa. A similar difficulty is presented by the lotus which canonically should appear in Vishnu's lower right hand. On the so-called Pallava bronzes the lotus is usually represented as a petal-enclosed boss on the palm. On Cola bronzes of any date the lotus is rarely represented, a notable exception being the Peruntottam Vishnu (Srinivasan, Figs. 123 and 124), where it is also shown as a boss, at the root of the first finger. On one so-called Pallava bronze, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Sivaramamurti, Pl. 14b), a lotus bud is held between first finger and thumb, the stalk extending across the palm of the hand to the wrist. Well-nigh identical treatment of the lotus appears in (a) of the above series. If it is thought that this argues for a very early date for the latter piece, it should be pointed out that the Nemali Vishnu ((i) of the above series), to be dated about A.D. 1030, carries a full-blown lotus between first finger and thumb, as does a twelfth-century A.D. bronze Vishnu in the Museum's collections (Museum No. 1955, 4-18, 1). Clearly, on available evidence, the absence of the lotus or its presence and form gives little

or no assistance to the dating of Early Cola bronzes. On our piece there is no lotus.

Something may be said about the attributes held in Vishnu's two upper hands. It is frequently debated whether the position of the cakra (wheel) and the decoration of both cakra and sankha (conch-shell) give a clear indication of date within the Cola Period. The various positions of the cakra can be traced in detail on stone images of dated fabrics during the Early Cola Period. In Phase I (about A.D. 850 to 940) the cakra is held either edge-on to the spectator or with the edge turned away from the deity either slightly or up to an angle of 45 degrees. At the same time the axis of the cakra may be vertical or tilted towards the deity. These positions continue to be employed during Phase II (about A.D. 940 to 970) and Phase III (about A.D. 970 to 1014). In Phase III, however, there is a preference for the position in which the edge of the cakra is turned away from the deity through an angle of 45 degrees. Moreover, a new position is introduced in which the cakra is presented face-on to the spectator, as in our Vishnu and that from Tiruvenkadu. This pattern seems to hold good for all dated or datable fabrics both in Colamandalam and Tondaimandalam and for all the bronzes claimed as Early Cola in this paper. (Those who support a Pallava date for a group of small bronze Vishnu figures may be persuaded to revise their views where the cakra is held face-on (e.g. Srinivasan, Fig. 30, and Sivaramamurti, Pl. 14*b*.) After the Early Cola Period all positions are employed, though that in which the cakra is edge-on to the spectator is comparatively rare. The number of flames which decorate the cakra and sankha and the number of tongues to each flame seem on the other hand to have little chronological significance. The Sirupanaaiyur Vishnu has three flames on cakra and sankha, the Peruntottam Vishnu four on each, the Tiruvenkadu Vishnu six on the cakra and four on the sankha, and our image five on the cakra and three on the sankha. But the images at Kodumudi and Paruttiyur have already four flames on both attributes and some so-called Pallava bronzes as many as five. Again the flames on our piece have a single tongue. Those on the Tiruvenkadu Vishnu are rather more elaborate and those on most earlier pieces much more so with multiple tongues.

In the context of the British Museum Srinivasa group the date of two of the finest south Indian bronzes to have survived in immaculate condition needs revision: the so-called Sita or Cola Queen (Pl. 1*a*) and Cola King (Pl. 1*b*) in the collection of Gautam Sarabhai. The former is dated by Srinivasan (his Figs. 202-3) to about A.D. 1130 and by Sivaramamurti (his Pl. 81*b*) to the twelfth century A.D.; the latter by Srinivasan (his Fig. 206) to about A.D. 1125 to 1150 and by Sivaramamurti (his Pl. 81*a*) to the early twelfth century A.D. It is difficult to understand why these two masterpieces have been placed in the Late Cola Period. The Sita or Cola Queen in particular can be closely paralleled, in style and the smallest details of ornament and drapery, by numerous bronzes of the

Sembiyan Mahadevi Phase of the Early Cola Period. One need only quote—to adduce examples where there is no controversy—the Sita of the Rama group at Paruttiiyur, dated by Srinivasan (his Fig. 90) to about A.D. 950 and by me (Barrett, p. 25) to about A.D. 975; or the Sita of the Rama group from Vadakkuppanaiyur, dated by Srinivasan (his Fig. 96–8) to about A.D. 975 and by Sivaramamurti (his Pls. 40–1) to about A.D. 1000. The unpublished reverse of the Paruttiiyur figure is well-nigh identical with the reverse of the Gautam Sarabhai Sita or Cola Queen. A comparison with other typical Sembiyan Mahadevi Phase female figures (e.g. Sivaramamurti, Pls. 17–19, and Barrett, Pls. 4, 25, 27, 37–8) makes it necessary to place the Sita or Cola Queen late in the tenth century A.D., twenty years or so earlier than the consorts of the British Museum Vishnu. It should be added that the well-known Parvati from Okkur, Tanjavur District, dated by Srinivasan (his Fig. 193) to the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., is also typical of the style of the Sembiyan Mahadevi Phase, as is the Okkur Candesvara (Srinivasan, Figs. 112–13). The Cola King is also somewhat earlier than the British Museum Vishnu, the treatment of the face, especially of eyes and mouth, suggesting perhaps a common atelier.

We know that portrait bronzes, no doubt idealized, were dedicated in south Indian temples during this period and worshipped. A bronze image, now lost, of Sembiyan Mahadevi herself is mentioned in an inscription of the 8th year of Parakesarivarman Rajendra I (481 of 1925) at the Kailasanatha Temple in the village she founded and which was named after her. Before the close of the 29th year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1013–14) bronze images of Periya-Perumal (the 'Great King') and his consort Olagamahadeviyar were set up in the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur (Hultzsch, nos. 38 and 41). It has been plausibly suggested by Hultzsch that these images were of Rajaraja I himself and his queen Lokamahadevi. The two bronzes, like most of the original dedications, are no longer in the temple, and it might be found tempting to hazard the suggestion that the Gautam Sarabhai Cola King and Queen are the Periya-Perumal and Olagamahadeviyar of the Rajarajesvara Temple. The height of the Gautam Sarabhai Cola Queen or Sita does correspond with that of the Olagamahadeviyar (a little over 20 inches), assuming the length of the ancient muram to be 18 inches. But the height of the Cola King (29 inches) does not agree with that of the Periya-Perumal, which, again taking the length of the ancient muram as 18 inches, would measure, together with its lotus base, only a little more than 24 inches. In any case, if Hultzsch's suggestion is correct, the images of Rajaraja I and his queen would hardly have been set up earlier than A.D. 1014, the year of the King's death. This would be a rather late date for the Gautam Sarabhai masterpieces, if the Tiruvenkadu Vrsvahana and consort of A.D. 1011 and A.D. 1012 are fully representative of one of the imperial ateliers.

DOUGLAS BARRETT

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

Barrett	Douglas Barrett, <i>Early Cola Bronzes</i> (Bombay, 1965).
Hultsch	E. Hultsch, <i>South Indian Inscriptions</i> , ii (Madras, 1891-1917).
Sivaramamurti	C. Sivaramamurti, <i>South Indian Bronzes</i> (New Delhi, 1963).
Srinivasan	P. R. Srinivasan, <i>Bronzes of South India</i> (Madras, 1963).

¹ B.M. No. 1965, 10-17, 3. Height: 1 ft. 5½ in.

³ B.M. No. 1965, 12-13, 1. Height: 1 ft. 2 in.

² B.M. No. 1965, 10-17, 4. Height: 1 ft. 2 in.

KOREAN INLAID LACQUER OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE Chinese ambassador Hsü Ching, who visited Korea in A.D. 1123 and left an account of his mission under the title *Hsüan-ho Fêng-shih Kao-li T'u-ching*, reported in chapter 23 that 'they are not very good at lacquer-work, but that inlaid with mother-of-pearl, which is minutely executed, ought to be valued'.¹ This report was the subject of an extended paper delivered to the Oriental Ceramic Society of London in 1960 by Mr. G. St. G. M. Gompertz and subsequently printed in volume 33 of the *Transactions* of the Society and published in 1963 (pp. 1-21). Hsü Ching spent one month at Kaesŏng, the Korean capital, in the summer of 1123 and had completed his illustrated account of Korea by September of the following year. It consists of forty chapters and contains a thorough summary of Korean affairs, religion, people, customs, and products. The two original manuscript copies of this work perished soon afterwards, but it was printed in 1167, though without illustrations, under the editorship of the author's nephew Hsü Ch'an. A facsimile of this Sung edition was produced by the Peking Palace Museum in 1931. In his appreciative account of Korean ceramics and especially of the celadons with their 'kingfisher coloured' glaze, Hsü Ching makes no mention of the inlaid designs which are believed to be a Korean invention. This has been held to be a proof that this technique was only introduced after 1123, in view of the keen powers of observations shown by Hsü Ching and his evident interest in the subject of ceramic production.

This point is of some consequence in connection with the subject of this note, since a close connection between the mother-of-pearl and wire inlay on lacquer ware and the inlaid slip designs on the celadons has been pointed out by Mr. Sensaku Nakagawa.² He points to resemblances in the shapes of some of the decorated objects in both media and also to parallels in the style of decoration. It is generally stated that inlaid celadon started in the second part of the Koryu period, which altogether lasted for 475 years, A.D. 918-1392. This second period began with the reign of the eighteenth emperor, Ui Jong (1147-70), but there is

an unfortunate lack of closely datable surviving examples. Two pieces were found in a Korean grave with a tablet dated A.D. 1159, one a bowl with a highly developed all-over floral design inside against a white slip background.³ On the outside are five inlaid chrysanthemum sprays in black and white slip inlaid in the body before receiving the celadon glaze. More closely resembling the mother-of-pearl inlaid lacquer pieces are, however, some cosmetic boxes (*Transactions*, vol. 33, Pl. 40; Gompertz, *Korean Celadon*, 1963, Pl. 49) of lobed shape.

At this point we should turn to examine the surviving examples of inlaid lacquer ware of Korea. Attention was first called to them in 1929, when the Japanese archaeological service in Korea published some pieces excavated from tombs of the Koryu period.⁴ It was there noticed that they resembled closely in technique and design some pieces long preserved in Japan but hitherto not identified as Korean. Among these is a lacquered rosary box, owned by the Taima-dera at Nara, which is inlaid not only with mother-of-pearl inside but also with tortoise-shell;⁵ and a sūtra box in the National Museum, Tokyo, which bears an inscription in six characters on the lid indicating that it was made to contain a copy of the *Mahāvaiṣṭava Avatamska Sūtra* (Chinese: *Ta-fang-kuang Hua-yen-ching*; Japanese: *Dai-Hōkō-butsu Keron-kyō*).⁶ The purpose for which the box was made is thus quite clear: and that it was part of a large set of boxes intended to contain the Buddhist scriptures, for below the handles at the end of the box are inlaid two characters which have been identified as numerals. Now it is recorded in the history of the Koryu dynasty that a superintendent was appointed in A.D. 1272 for making mother-of-pearl inlaid boxes to contain the famous printed text of the Buddhist Tripitaka, commissioned by the Empress of the emperor Won Jong. It is rash to identify this box, or the similar boxes to be mentioned below, as having actually formed part of this commission of 1272, particularly as it has been pointed out that the pages of the printed text, which measure 48 × 32 cm., are just too big to fit into them.⁷ It does, however, establish the background in Korea for the production of such boxes under royal patronage and confirms a thirteenth-century date for the type.

Mr. Yoshino described and reproduced two other similar inlaid lacquer sūtra boxes in Japanese collections, one in the Reimei-kai foundation, Tokyo, and the other described as formerly in the collection of Mr. Nakamura at Nara. This is now in the Tokugawa Museum.^{7a} Mr. Fontein was able to add, in the article cited above,¹ references to two further boxes in Western collections, one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the other in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The former is unfortunately a good deal damaged and the edges have all been sheathed in copper. The box in Amsterdam formerly belonged to a well-known German collector, Dr. A. Breuer of Berlin, who published it in 1914 as Chinese work of the Sung dynasty.⁸ It differs from the others in having a podium and in having the front panel hinged so as to open downwards. These are probably later

modifications, but Mr. Fontein has pointed out that the decoration on the podium resembles that used on one of the other sūtra boxes in Japan. The box in the Tokugawa collection is said to have been brought back from Korea by the Taiko Hideyoshi from his ill-fated campaign of 1592,⁷ and it may well be that the other boxes reached Japan at the same time. So far as is known, no sūtra box of this type has been preserved in Korea, but the style of decoration on the last four sūtra boxes is closely analogous with that found on some of the smaller lacquer pieces excavated in Korea.⁹ The same decoration is also found on some other shaped boxes which have been preserved in temples in Japan and not excavated, including the rosary box in the Taima-dera and one in the Keishun-in at Kyoto.¹⁰ Mr. Fontein also published a lobed box from the Charles Hoyt collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in which tortoise-shell is used, in addition to mother-of-pearl and wire, in the inlay.¹¹

This decorative scheme consists of flowers in mother-of-pearl enclosed by a continuous running scroll of foliage. On all the boxes, except that in the Tokugawa museum, where peonies are found, the flowers are chrysanthemums.

The British Museum has recently acquired a hitherto unpublished sūtra box closely resembling that in the Tokugawa collection and clearly of similar origin and date. It is in an excellent state of preservation, much superior to that of the other two boxes in Western collections (Pl. L1a: size 18 × 10 × 10 inches). Only the lock and handles are later additions. As in the original work on the Amsterdam box, the main field is filled with nine-petalled stylized chrysanthemums, while the border design is formed of a running double strand of foliage with peony flowers in free variety (Pl. L1b, detail). Hitherto the only example of Korean lacquer in the museum was a small cosmetic box from the Eumorphopoulos collection (1937-4-16-217; width, 2.9 inches), which is obviously an excavated piece. It closely resembles the box in the Korean National Museum, which has also lost all the mother-of-pearl inlay. The similar but well-preserved box in the Keishunin referred to above has tortoise-shell as well as mother-of-pearl inlay.

In the accounts of these inlaid lacquer pieces from Korea it is generally stated that the wire employed in the decoration is brass: it has been found, however, that on the box now acquired by the Museum the wire used is silver. There are double wires with reverse twist framing the border patterns, while the stems of the main design are of mother-of-pearl set in the black lacquer ground. The petals of the flowers are sometimes lightly engraved to enhance their shape. The whole technique is extremely sophisticated and accomplished and worthy of a royal workshop.

It is not easy to give a close dating for our box and its fellows. Mr. Yoshino assigns the sūtra box in the National Museum, Tokyo, to about 1272, because of the connection with the commission of the Empress in that year. He dates the

rosary box in the Taima-dera 'from the twelfth century at the latest', but without giving any specific reason. Mr. Fontein on the other hand believes that the National Museum sūtra box is 'without any doubt the oldest known'. However, he believes that the boxes at Amsterdam and Boston may belong to the same set, because each bears a character inlaid on the right end which can be given a numerical interpretation. There is no trace of any inlaid character on the British Museum box either on the top or at the ends.

The only other criterion for dating which has been suggested has been by relation to the inlaid Koryu celadons. It has been shown above that this technique must have been used well before A.D. 1159. According to Mr. Nakagawa, examples with chrysanthemum spray designs are found under the emperors Ui Jong (1147-70) and Kyōng Jong (1171-97). He finds that the small widely separated chrysanthemum sprays which decorate the National Museum sūtra box are related to the best period of the inlaid celadon, but that this was already past by 1272. The running floral scrolls on the other sūtra boxes and the cosmetic boxes resemble the decoration on a well-known multiple inlaid celadon box in a Korean collection which is assigned by Mr. Gompertz to the late twelfth century.¹² The peony flowers on these boxes rather resemble those inlaid on a larger round celadon box in the Hoyt collection at Boston, which is also dated to be twelfth century.¹³

The Koreans in the Koryu period seem to have had a special liking for inlay, and they employed the technique of silver inlay on bronze as well as slip inlay on pottery and of shell on lacquer. Dated examples of this practice range between 1178 to 1397.¹⁴ Floral arabesque is common in the decoration of these bronzes but not on the small scale found in lacquer inlay. The date of thirteenth century here adopted for the British Museum sūtra box and its fellows is a conservative one. There seems no need to assign them with Mr. Fontein to the first half of the fourteenth century, which was a period of decadence in the arts of Korea.

It is evident, however, that inlay in lacquer is earlier in Korea than inlay in ceramics or in metalwork. It has been pointed out that the progress of the arts in Korea in the early twelfth century, at the time of Hsü-ching's visit, was aided by the influx of refugees from the declining neighbour state of the Khitan people under their Liao Dynasty. It is well known that the Liao kept alive many of the techniques of T'ang and were in general more conservative in taste than the contemporary Sung in China. It is therefore justifiable to presuppose a continuing tradition of inlay in lacquer from T'ang China through Liao to Koryu Korea. In this connection it is worth noting that a wooden box (diam. 11.5 cm.) was discovered in a Yüan tomb at Ta-tung in Shansi province in 1958 decorated with mother-of-pearl inlaid in lacquer. The burial is dated 1265, and the report emphasizes its continuity with Liao-style burials.¹⁵

There are not many examples surviving from the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906) to witness to the practice of inlay in lacquer, but they are enough to demonstrate the extreme refinement and accomplishment with which it was practised. Both gold and silver as well as shell were employed, but apparently not together, in T'ang lacquer inlay. Gold and Silver ornaments were cut out of thin sheets and fixed in lacquer, apparently already in the Warring States period in China.¹⁶ This technique of inlay is known as *p'ing t'o* (Japanese, *heidatsu*), and some notable T'ang examples are preserved in the Shōsōin repository at Nara. Especially notable are black lacquered mirror cases with diaper designs of floral ornament and birds in gold and silver inlay.¹⁷ Another notable example in the Shōsōin is the ewer of Persian–Sassanian metal shape, constructed of plaited bamboo, coated in lacquer, and inlaid with designs in silver plate of mountains, birds, animals, and plants.¹⁸

The most elaborate and beautiful example of this technique in the Shōsōin, however, is the Chinese lute (*ch'in*) which is inlaid with both gold and silver pictorial designs and a poem. This lute was added to the collection in the year 814, and can be attributed confidently to the eighth century.¹⁹ Finally, mention should be made of four small round boxes, intended to hold counters for a game, with silver inlay in black lacquer on top and sides. All these examples of the technique should be attributed to the earlier part of the T'ang Dynasty. Attributed to middle T'ang is a very large (diam. 32 cm.) and splendid mirror excavated in 1952 in Cheng-chou and decorated with a pair of phoenixes in gold and a pair of apsaras in silver, inlaid in lacquer. A much smaller mirror (diam. c. 3 cm.), inlaid with mother-of-pearl figures in a lacquer ground with the addition of some gem stone, also recently excavated, is in the Hsian Provincial Museum.

Mother-of-pearl inlay is used to decorate some of the most beautiful objects in the Shōsōin, particularly the musical instruments, on which it is associated with tortoise-shell and rare woods. On these instruments shell is never set in lacquer; and the shell decoration on the bronze mirrors in the Shōsōin is held in place by a mastic and is not set in lacquer.²⁰

In the Museum collection is a large and splendid T'ang-style mirror, the back of which is decorated with a pair of phoenixes in mother-of-pearl inlaid in a reddish-brown lacquer ground (1933-10-27-1).²¹

The only example of shell inlay in lacquer in the Shōsōin is on a round box in the middle section which contained a belt with lapis lazuli mounts. The decoration of the box is further enhanced with rock crystal.²²

The combination of mother-of-pearl with other precious and colourful materials in inlay was thus well established in T'ang China not later than the eighth century. What, however, is new in the Koryu practice is the use of silver wire in combination with shell inlay in lacquer, and most notably the characteristically Korean style of decoration. The admirable sense of design, the liking

for colour, and a certain freedom in execution are among the most obvious features of Korean art. It is to be hoped that further examples of inlaid lacquer of the Koryu period may come to light. Recently there has been a tendency to attribute some lacquers in which silver wire is combined with mother-of-pearl in pictorial designs to Sung dynasty China. The only evidence for this attribution is contained in a passage in the first edition of the *Ko Ku Yao Lun* (1388) (v, Section VI) that some mother-of-pearl inlaid pieces made for the Sung Imperial Court had copper thread inlays.

BASIL GRAY

¹ Quoted by J. Fontein in *Bulletin van Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst*, Derde Serie, no. 6 (Sept. 1956), pp. 88-93. I am much indebted to these 'Notes on Korean Lacquer' in the preparation of this article.

² Nakagawa Sensaku, 'Korean Designs found on Koryŏ Nacre Inlays and Clay-inlaid Celadons', in *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, no. 175 (May 1954), pp. 2-4 (English summary) and pp. 14-21 (Japanese text).

³ Chewon Kim and G. St. G. M. Gompertz, *The Ceramic Art of Korea* (1961), pl. 32.

⁴ *Chŏsen Koseki Zufu*, vol. 9, pls. 251-6. They were, however, first published in *Taishō*, 7 (1918) in the Catalogue of the Prince Yi Museum, Seoul, vol. 1, figs. 687-92. They are republished by Tomio Yoshino in *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, no. 175 (May 1954), pp. 1-13, English summary pp. 1-2.

⁵ See the illustration on pl. 256 of *Chŏsen Koseki Zufu*, vol. ix; *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshu*, vol. 18, pl. 29 (in colour).

⁶ *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, no. 175, pl. ii.

⁷ Fontein, op. cit., p. 90.

^{7a} It is reproduced in colour in *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshu*, China, vol. 3, pl. 118.

⁸ *Transactions of the Japan Society*, London, vol. xii (1914), p. 160, pl. ii.

⁹ Cf. *Chŏsen Koseki Zufu*, vol. ix, pl. 255; *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, no. 175, (May 1954), fig. 3 on p. 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., fig. 7 on p. 10.

¹¹ Fontein, loc. cit., fig. 3 on p. 92.

¹² G. St. G. M. Gompertz, *Korean Celadon*, 1963, pl. 49.

¹³ Ibid., pl. 54.

¹⁴ Basil Gray, 'The Inlaid Metalwork of Korea', *B.M.Q.*, vol. xx, no. 4 (June 1956), pp. 92-6.

¹⁵ *Wen-wu* (1962), no. 10, pp. 34-43. The box is illustrated on p. 37, no. 27.

¹⁶ Bo Gyllenswärd: 'T'ang Gold and Silver', *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm, 1957), no. 29, pp. 37 and 169-70, pl. 18.

¹⁷ *Treasures of the Shōsōin: The South Section* (Tokyo, 1961), pls. 7-8 and 11-12; *Tōyō Shūko* (Tokyo, 1909), vol. i, pl. 27; *Shōsōin Gyōbutsu Zuroku*, vol. 8 (Tokyo, 1936), pls. 35-9.

¹⁸ *Treasures of the Shōsōin: The North Section* (Tokyo, 1962), pl. 71.

¹⁹ Ibid., *The North Section*, pls. 10-12. It bears a cyclical date generally equated with A.D. 795. R. H. Van Gulik, in *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* (Tokyo, 1940), pp. 184-9, prefers the dates 435 or 495; but the style of landscape and figures is decisively against so early a date.

²⁰ In the text accompanying vol. 2 of *Shōsōin Gyōbutsu Zuroku* (Tokyo, 1929), pls. 25 and 27, it is stated that the inlay is in lacquer; but this is corrected in *Treasures of the Shōsōin: The North Section*, pls. 63 and 66-7 (1962).

²¹ *B.M.Q.*, vol. viii, no. 3 (Feb. 1934), p. 113, pl. xxviii.

²² *Treasures of the Shōsōin: The Middle Section* (Tokyo, 1960), pls. 9 and 10; J. Harada, *English Catalogue of Treasures in the Imperial Repository* (Shōsōin, Tokyo, 1932), pl. lv.

THE TAHITIAN MOURNER'S DRESS A DISCOVERY AND A DESCRIPTION

THE partial rearrangement of the Polynesian exhibition in the Ethnographical Gallery which was begun towards the end of 1966 provided an opportunity for the inspection, cleaning, and, where necessary, restoration of some of the pieces exhibited. Among these was the Tahitian 'chief mourner's dress' (Pls. LII *a* and *b*). This, it was found, required extensive cleaning and a certain amount of repair and restoration, and it was decided that the best course would be to strip it right down, photographing it at every stage. The decision was a fortunate one, for it not only provided an opportunity for the examination and recording of portions normally invisible, it also led to the notable discovery described in the following sections of this report.

The mourner's dress was not registered until late in the last century, when it was numbered TAH. 78. Numbers of this type were then given to specimens known to have been in the Museum for a long time but which were apparently unregistered and unrecorded. It was traditionally believed to have been collected during Captain Cook's voyages. Although this cannot be proved by direct documentary evidence there is little doubt that the tradition is correct. Cook recorded in his journal of his second voyage that on 7 May 1774 a complete mourning dress was presented to him.¹ George Forster (the younger of the two naturalists, father and son, who accompanied Cook on this voyage) during his account of these dresses says, 'Captain Cook has given one to the British Museum, and my father has had the honour of presenting another to the University of Oxford, now deposited in the Ashmolean Museum.'² Forster also states that 'a number of complete mourning dresses, not less than ten, were purchased by different persons on board, and brought to England'.³ However, it seems most probable that Cook himself was the source of the Museum's example.

The great interest which these dresses aroused in Cook's companions and in the public at home is shown not only by the large number brought back but by the number and nature of the references in their surviving journals. Apart from Cook himself and George Forster, Joseph Banks has a lengthy and valuable account. Hawkesworth describes them and the ceremonies in some detail, basing his rendering substantially on Banks's journal.⁴ In the volumes of drawings and charts made during Cook's voyages now held in the Department of Manuscripts there are four drawings of different dresses, one by Webber.⁵ Hodges also made a fine drawing which was engraved by Woollett (Pl. LIII).

Banks showed an undaunted determination worthy of a modern anthropologist. His curiosity aroused by the extraordinary dress of the chief mourner (which he knew was used in a processional context), he was 'desirous of knowing what he

did during his walk'. He was told that he might attend only if he played a part. He therefore went to the place the next evening.

I was next prepared by stripping off my European cloths and putting me on a small strip of cloth round my waist, the only garment I was allowed to have, but I had no pretensions to be ashamed of my nakedness for neither of the women were a bit more covered than myself. They then began to smut me and themselves with charcoal and water, the Indian boy was completely black, the women and myself as low as our shoulders. We then set out . . . proceeded along shore towards a place where above 100 Indians were collected together. We the *Ninevehs* had orders from the *Heiva* to disperse them, we ran towards them but before we came within 100 yards of them they dispers'd every way, running to the first shelter, hiding themselves under grass or whatever else would conceal them . . .⁶

The early published prints, showing a chief mourner standing in statuesque dignity before the platform on which the body was exposed, give a false notion of this functionary's duties. It is only by collating these early accounts and the rather later ones of two pioneer missionaries, William Ellis⁷ and J. M. Orsmond, that a coherent account of this part of the mourning ritual can be put together. Orsmond's notes were prepared for publication by his granddaughter Teuira Henry,⁸ who indicates that the full dress was used only in honour of a 'sovereign or an heir apparent'.⁹ This is not corroborated by other accounts, but certainly the ceremony was performed only for notable people. The chief mourner seems to have been a close relative or a priest. According to Ellis 'the principal actor in this procession was a priest, or relative . . .'; Henry refers only to a 'priest of the gods of mourning'; Forster says 'commonly the nearest relation of the deceased wears this whimsical dress . . .'. Since many members of noble families performed priestly functions there is no necessary contradiction. There is agreement that the chief mourner, wearing the dress which concealed his whole body including his face and head down to the knees or ankles, led a group of youths (but women took part on the occasion described by Banks) in a sort of procession or perambulation. Banks states that the dress was kept in a house in which the chief male mourner resided near the place where the body was exposed. Teuira Henry says that the band of youths followed the priest to the *marae* (sacred place) of the 'gods of mourning' up the mountain side, where they erected sheds in which to live.

All agree that the band led by the chief mourner, painted and decorated to give them a wild appearance, behaved in a demented fashion (their name, *nevaneva*, has been translated 'bewildered'), attacking with clubs or spears anyone they met. The chief mourner himself used a fearsome staff edged with shark's teeth and carried a pair of pearl-shell clappers to give warning of his approach. People inside dwellings seem to have been safe. Anyone caught in the open had to hide or take refuge in a *marae*, and those unable to do so were sometimes even killed. These processions continued (according to Henry) for as long as a month.

Finally, when it was felt to have gone on long enough, people of other districts combined to meet and quell the *nevaneva*, and fighting resulted which sometimes led to fatal casualties before the chiefs intervened.

The only logical explanation offered is by Ellis (a careful and accurate observer, but not unprejudiced where superstitious beliefs are concerned), who says that the *nevaneva* 'were supposed to be inspired by the spirit of the deceased, to revenge any injury he might have received, or to punish those who had not shown due respect to his remains'.¹⁰ The last phrase suggests a connection with the mourners' practice of collecting their tears, and blood from gashes which they inflicted on themselves, in pieces of barkcloth which they deposited by the bier on which the body lay as tokens of their grief and respect.

* * *

It was apparent from the outset that little effective conservation could be carried out on the mourner's dress, which stands about 7 feet in height, without at least partial dismantling and, if the condition of the dress permitted, complete dismantling. After examination it was decided that removal of the surface components could be safely undertaken; later examinations proved that the dress was in good enough condition to permit its complete removal from the easel on which it had been assembled.

The first stage of the operation was to remove the decorative head-piece (the reverse side of which is shown in Pl. LIVA). It consists of four shaped pieces of pearl shell, drilled and bound at the edges with coconut-fibre cord. At the back of the uppermost shell is tied a band of coconut-fibre plait which is used to support a series of white feathers of the tropic bird (*Phaethontidae* sp.) arranged in the form of a fan. Additional strings of coconut fibre are tied to the head-piece for the purpose of attaching it to its support.

Next to be removed was the breast ornament (Pl. LIIA), consisting of a crescentic flat strip of wood on to which five large pieces of pearl shell are stitched with coconut-fibre cord through a series of holes drilled in their edges, and from which is suspended an extremely fine pendant formed of some 2,500 pieces of cut pearl shell of veneer thickness, each piece between $\frac{3}{8}$ inch and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by approximately $\frac{1}{16}$ inch in width, having a small hole drilled at either end and tied both horizontally and vertically to the pieces adjacent to it. A number of these pieces were either broken or missing and, during conservation and restoration, had to be repaired or replaced. From either end of the crescent are suspended a series of feather ornaments about 2 feet 6 inches long, rather similar to swans' necks in appearance but iridescent black in colour, and terminating in bunches of similar but larger feathers. These had suffered considerable damage from attack by moth and needed careful restorative treatment and rearrangement of some of the feathers to regain their original appearance.

The remaining part of the head-piece consists of a hood or cape of natural-coloured barkcloth which would have covered the head of the wearer, decorated by a design in the form of a band of darker (brown) barkcloth surmounting triangles of the same colour, and towards the edge of the cape, a line of darker cut-out triangles pasted on to the natural-coloured background. This is surmounted by a crown of feathers, while around the neck are large coils of string which were made by winding thin strips of natural and coloured barkcloth round a vegetable-fibre core (Pl. LIVb).

Removal of this barkcloth hood revealed that the solid support inside it was in fact a complete wooden human figure of considerable sculptural merit, carved in traditional Tahitian style, the existence of which had not hitherto been known (Pl. LV). Its discovery naturally caused some excitement since these figures are not common and the addition of one to the corpus of Cook material is not an everyday event.

At the back of the dress is a feather drape (Pl. LIIB). It consists of an open mesh of two-ply twisted vegetable-fibre string on to which black/brown feathers are tied in close proximity. The method of fixing was by bending the split quills of the feathers round the string of the mesh and tying them in position until complete coverage had been achieved (Pl. LVIA). The top strand of the mesh was extended to act as a tie which was taken round the chest and knotted at the back.

A length of loosely folded barkcloth at waist level, of natural colour and undecorated, the ends of which hung down nearly to the ground in front (Pl. LIIA), was next to be removed. The string used to position the wrap was of a European type of fibre twist. This was followed by the removal of a heavy, twisted rope made of barkcloth built round a vegetable-fibre core (Pl. LVIb). It tapered from a diameter of approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at one end to the thickness of a normal twisted string at the other, and was used simply as a belt which was carried round the back of the figure so that the thin end, on its return to the front, could be threaded through the loop formed by the first twist of the rope at its greatest diameter, and tied in position.

The main part of the dress was now exposed. It consists of a long strip of coarse barkcloth covering the front and upper back of the wearer, slit to make a head-opening, and held together at the sides by the barkcloth belt described in the preceding paragraph. The exposed front of this forms an apron of plain barkcloth ornamented with shaped pieces of polished coconut shell, some with incised designs upon them, sewn on to the barkcloth in parallel rows; but the upper part, hidden by some of the parts previously described, is backed by a piece of fine matting, similarly slit for a head opening (Pl. LVIb). This was the last part of the costume to be removed, leaving only a cut-down wooden easel to which the figure remained tied with both native and European strings, and a large piece of plain folded barkcloth attached to the easel which could only have been used as

padding material for the purpose of giving the figure its third dimension. The easel bears no maker's label or any other distinguishing mark.

A detailed account of the methods and materials used in the restoration and conservation of this specimen would not be appropriate here. It will suffice to say that the separated components of the specimen were individually cleaned using lissapol and water for the vegetable fibres, and ethylene dichloride in conjunction with lissapol and water for the feathers. Vegetable fibres were consolidated with 2½ to 5 per cent solutions of Soluble Nylon Polymer c/109.P in solution in methylated spirit. Pearl shell was repaired with Araldite adhesive and missing pieces from the pendant were replaced with pieces cut from shells of like nature and appearance.

The costume was reassembled on its easel when treatment was completed, using the same folded barkcloth as padding, but without the wooden figure which has been incorporated in the Departmental collections as a separate specimen.

* * *

The figure found inside the head covering (Pl. lv), which is male, has been registered as TAH. 78a. It is 18.3 inches (46.5 cm.) in height. In colour it is mainly light brown, with darker markings probably the result of abrasion or pressure from the materials covering it. With the exception of these marks, and some old damage to the feet and right leg, the latter probably caused by a defect in the wood, it is in good condition.

The carving is of high quality. In style it falls well within the range of variation shown by other known figures from Tahiti. Most of its distinctive features can be seen on other Tahitian figures in the Departmental collections, though the combination in which they appear here gives the figure a marked individual character. The general attitude, the facial features, the presence of a pronounced ledge across the shoulders below the nape of the neck, the relief carving of the nipples and navel, the rendering of the genitals—all these features can be seen in other Tahitian figures.¹¹ It differs, however, in a few respects. The head expands above the level of the ears, giving it a distinctive bulbous appearance. The hands, as is usual, rest on the front of the body; but the arms are shorter and the hands are higher than on most other figures, where they rest on the abdomen at about the level of the navel. Moreover, it is more common, except in much smaller figures, for the upper arms to be carved free of the body and for the hands to be more carefully represented. However, these peculiarities are present on a smaller figure in the Departmental collection numbered TAH. 63. Normally in Tahitian figure-carving the thigh is very short in relation to the lower leg, but it is usual for the knees and the muscles of the calf to be clearly distinguishable. Here the knees and the hips have almost fused and the lower legs, with only a minimal indication of the swelling of the calf, spring straight from the body (Pl. lvb).¹² The left foot,

damaged though it is, and the remaining part of the right one show that the feet were treated in typical Tahitian style.

The figure belongs to the category of sorcerer's images, representing minor spirits from which sorcerers derived their power to perform black magic. The major deities were represented in much more stylized forms.¹³

* * *

The discovery of the wooden figure naturally caused some excitement and led to speculation as to the circumstances in which the mourner's dress was mounted on the easel. But for the traditional connection with Captain Cook it might have seemed likely that this had been done at a mission station during the pioneering period in the Pacific. This would have explained the use of the wooden figure as a core for the head coverings, for the early missionaries mostly valued the images of the Polynesians only as items in fund-raising exhibitions, and many were destroyed in wholesale bonfires. A mission could also be expected to have possessed an easel. However, in view of the evidence set out above the probability that this mourner's dress is the one presented to Captain Cook and by him to the British Museum is very strong. There remain two possibilities: that the dress was brought home dismantled and was assembled on arrival in the British Museum, or that it was assembled in Tahiti, probably on board the *Resolution*.

Even at that time it seems very unlikely that British Museum staff would have used a wooden figure in this way. Moreover, the dismantling of the dress by the Departmental conservation staff revealed that only materials apparently of Tahitian origin had been employed in its assembly, with the exception of a small proportion of the considerable quantity of string used, most of which was typical coconut-fibre twist. If it had been assembled in the Museum it seems probable that more European materials would have been found, perhaps including sack-ing or cloth rather than the pad of barkcloth fastened to the easel to give the figure bulk. One would also expect to have seen nails or pins, which would have been simpler and more effective, in place of some of the lashings. None in fact were used. All these indications seem to point to assembly on board the *Resolution* by Cook's Tahitian friends, or at least with their help. There must have been easels on board, if not as standard naval equipment (perhaps for the instruction of midshipmen) then for the use of the artists accompanying the expedition. European string would have been available if sufficient native string was not to hand. The wooden figure was not only of the right proportions and size to serve as a base for the head covers; in the circumstances it would probably have seemed a relatively commonplace article which could have been replaced without difficulty. Conditions on a small ship of the time were certainly cramped, but if not fewer than ten of the dresses could be brought home by members of the party and the crew, it would seem that space could have been found to transport the

captain's own in the assembled state. If the legs of the easel were closed it could have been lashed flat against a wall or bulkhead, perhaps in Cook's own cabin.

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¹ *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, ii, *The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772-1775*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (Cambridge, 1961), p. 392.

² George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution . . .* (London, 1777), ii, p. 72. The Ashmolean Museum one is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. It is incomplete, but closely resembles the British Museum example.

³ A third surviving example is probably one of these. It was presented to Trinity College, Dublin, probably by James Patten who was surgeon on the *Resolution*, and is now in the National Museum of Ireland (no. 3906). See J. D. Freeman, 'The Polynesian Collection of Trinity College, Dublin; and the National Museum of Ireland', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 58, no. 1 (1949), pp. 1-18. A fourth is in the collections of the Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen.

⁴ John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages*

undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere . . . (London, 1773), ii, pp. 143, 146-7, 236.

⁵ Add. MS. 15508, f. 9; 15513, f. 18; 23921, f. 31, f. 32.

⁶ *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (Sydney, London, etc., 1962), i, pp. 288-9.

⁷ William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (London, 1829), i, pp. 532-4.

⁸ Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 48 (Honolulu, 1928).

⁹ T. Henry, *ibid.*, p. 293.

¹⁰ W. Ellis, *op. cit.*, i, p. 534.

¹¹ See, for example, B. A. L. Cranstone, 'A Unique Tahitian Figure', *British Museum Quarterly*, xxvii (1963-64), pl. xix.

¹² Comparison of Pl. LV and Cranstone, *ibid.*, pl. xix will show the difference clearly.

¹³ Cranstone, *ibid.*

A NEW TECHNIQUE FOR REVEALING DECORATION IN CORRODED ANCIENT BRONZEWORk

THE need for new techniques to deal with the problems of metal corrosion constantly obtrudes itself on the minds of those who have to study and conserve the bronze antiquities of the ancient Near East. This is no doubt partly because that was an area where the ancient craftsmen in metalwork were particularly skilled in shaping and decorating their works of art; at the same time the soil of Mesopotamia, compared to the conditions of preservation, say, in Egypt, proved to them so very injurious that bronze objects suffer particularly extensive corrosion and special efforts are needed for their preservation. Furthermore, the increasing difficulty today in obtaining authentic antiquities at reasonable prices makes it worth while for museums to expend far greater effort and time on laboratory equipment and training in restoration and treatment than would perhaps have seemed reasonable two or three decades ago. Accordingly, any solution which can reduce the inevitable labour- and time-loss in such restoration and treatment is to be acclaimed with enthusiasm. Such a technique has now

come to hand in the invention and application of industrial radiographic methods to ancient bronzes which have chased, engraved, or similarly executed decoration that is completely hidden by corrosion.

In July 1966 Miss M. E. McGregor, Conservation Officer in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, was engaged on restoring a bronze bowl. Finding that traces of a design were visible, she suggested that a radiograph might reveal details of pattern. The bowl was therefore subjected to X-ray by Miss Mavis Bimson (Senior Experimental Officer), and the entire pattern chased was clearly revealed and found to extend to an area where no pattern was before visible to the naked eye, owing to the corrosion. The interesting feature about this pattern, from the technical point of view, was that it was not an inlay, i.e. executed in a different metal. Radiography has been used as a routine aid for many years for revealing not only inlays but also engraved designs, but it now had been shown that radiography could be used to reveal patterns actually executed in the original metal, but only surviving in the corrosion products. In order to test this idea, it was decided to examine a group of badly corroded fragments of bronze bowls from the Near East that had been in the museum collection for a considerable number of years. In several cases traces of patterns and inscriptions were revealed, and in the case of a shallow bronze Phoenician bowl (no. 91420), 19.8 cm. in diameter and with walls about 1.75 mm. thick, which had been found by Layard at Nimrud in 1845, the result was particularly exciting. This bowl was corroded to such an extent that there was no indication to the naked eye of the existence of any decoration, as can be seen in Pl. LVII. Radiography, however, revealed a complete and elaborate system of decoration, as can be seen in Pl. LVIII, which shows the incised pattern of men, sphinxes, bulls, and papyrus reeds round the rim of the bowl, and in Pl. LIX, which shows the pattern in the centre of the bowl. A drawing of the entire decoration could then be easily made for publication (Pl. LX).

It will be noted that the radiograph of the lower portion of the bowl in Pl. LVIII shows much less detail. It was thought that this might be due to the nature of the corrosion which had taken place in this area, and it was therefore decided to carry out an examination of the actual structure of the corrosion layers. For this purpose small samples were taken and mounted for metallographic examination. Pl. LXI *a* and *b* show the structure of the corrosion products in cross-section at a magnification of $80\times$. In the first sample, five layers of corrosion can be recognized. A central layer consisting of small discrete particles of uncorroded metal in a matrix of nantokite (CuCl) and cassiterite (SnO_2) is sandwiched between two layers of red cuprite (Cu_2O) which in turn are covered by two layers of green paratacamite ($\text{CuCl}_2 \cdot 3\text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2$) on the surface. The interface between the cuprite layer and the matrix of nantokite and cassiterite indicates the position of the original metal surface. On the other hand, in the second sample (Pl. LXI *b*), two

main layers of corrosion consisting of cuprite and surface paratacamite are predominant; the matrix of nantokite and cassiterite present along the interface between the two main layers can still be seen in varying thickness at the two edges of the cross-section, but in the centre it has been reduced to microscopic dimensions and is merely visible as a line of demarcation between the main layers. The original surface of the metal appears to have been entirely lost. These samples show the extensive nature and the varying character of the corrosion structure in this portion of the bowl; this may be due to some factor which gave rise to non-uniform conditions in the immediate environment in which the bowl was buried. The precise chemical nature of the above-mentioned corrosion products was determined by X-ray diffraction analysis. The presence of paratacamite as the external layer of corrosion indicates that corrosion has proceeded in an environment rich in chlorides. This would also account for the very extensive nature of the corrosion.

The success of this radiographic technique in revealing designs in corroded metal does not depend upon differential absorption due to the presence of two different metals (as in the case of an inlay), but is probably due to the fact that originally there was a slight difference in the thickness of the metal in the incised lines of the design, which is still sufficient to cause a differential absorption, although the metal itself has been almost completely corroded. The equipment used was an A.E.I. Raymax 150 Industrial Radiographic Unit; the radiograph was taken at an anode distance of 70 cm., the exposure being 4 minutes at 80 kV and 10 mA. using a lead-screened Ilford Industrial F X-ray film. This film was chosen because it is a very high-contrast film with extremely fine grain, and it is thus possible to record very slight differences in density.

The same technique has been applied to many other bowls and bronze sheets such as the Balawat Gates in the British Museum (Western Asiatic Antiquities Department), and has proved valuable in revealing or elucidating ancient inscriptions, and in providing evidence which enables broken parts to be pieced together. It has even proved of unexpected interest in disclosing flaws in the metalwork of the Balawat Gates, where the craftsman had skilfully 'patched' the metal by riveting in a small piece of fresh metal over the flaw, thus making a repair which is invisible to the naked eye (Pl. LIXb).

It is obvious that this technique is of great importance, both to scholars faced with grave difficulties in preparing material for publication, and to conservators who have to repair more or less badly corroded bronze objects. In the majority of cases the objects are in fact corroded to such an extent that there is virtually no metallic core left, so that no chemical treatment could be used to uncover any hidden decoration or inscription, and any mechanical treatment would be extremely tedious and might not even be successful. This technique thus provides the only practical means of bringing to light information which may confer con-

siderable archaeological interest on objects which might otherwise be considered to have only a limited value.

The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance received from Miss M. Bimson, who carried out the radiography, and Miss V. E. Bird, who prepared the metallographic cross-sections, and to thank Mr. L. H. Bell for preparing photographs.

R. D. BARNETT and A. E. A. WERNER

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS

DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

Acquisitions, January to June 1967¹

- Wentworth Bequest: papers, mostly of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, author and politician, and of his wife, Lady Anne Blunt; 19th-20th cent. Add. MSS. 53817-54155. *Bequeathed by their daughter, Judith Anne Dorothea Blunt Lytton, Baroness Wentworth.* Chronique de Georges Chastellain, Book IV; late 15th cent. Add. MS. 54156. *Presented by Miss Minnie Callard.*
- Poems by John Betjeman, W. H. Davies, Christopher Logue, Walter de la Mare, Jon Silkin, and Vernon Watkins, acquired (except for a poem of W. H. Davies, Add. MS. 54168D) through the Arts Council; 20th cent. Add. MSS. 54157-69. *Presented by the Arts Council except for 54168A, 54168D (purchased), 54168B (presented by John Betjeman, Esq.), 54168C (presented by Mrs. A. J. Stratford), and 54169 (presented by Christopher Logue, Esq.).*
- Library catalogues, etc., mainly of collections sold by Messrs. Sotheby and Co.; late 18th-20th cent. Add. MSS. 54170-8.
- Psalter, in *Latin*, written and illuminated in the diocese of York; c. 1250. Add. MS. 54179. *Bequeathed by Dr. Eric George Millar, F.S.A.*
- 'La Somme le Roy', illuminated by the Parisian master Honoré; late 13th cent., probably before 1294. Add. MS. 54180. *Bequeathed by Dr. Eric George Millar, F.S.A.*
- Papers relating to the administration of Pendleton Colliery, co. Lancs., including correspondence of Robert Stephenson, manager of the colliery (brother of George Stephenson, the railway pioneer); 1832-7. Cf. Add. MS. 38781. Add. MS. 54181. *Presented by Sir Edward Humphrey Browne, C.B.E.*
- Collects from the Book of Common Prayer (Caradoc Press, Chiswick, 1901) and Communion Service from the Book of Common Prayer (Caradoc Press, 1904) illuminated by Francis Leonard Harding (d. 1935). Cf. Add. MSS. 45900, 45901 for other illuminations by Harding. Add. MSS. 54182, 54183. *Presented by Mrs. E. C. Mason, daughter of the illuminator.*
- Chronicles of Henry of Huntingdon, Nicholas Trivet, and Adam Murimuth, written at Ramsey Abbey; first half of the 14th cent. Add. MS. 54184.
- Notes by Joshua Sagar of sermons delivered at Richard Frankland's Nonconformist academy at Attercliffe, near Sheffield; 1686-8. Add. MS. 54185.
- Autograph music manuscripts of Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M., including his earliest composition, 'The Robin's Nest', 1878; 1878-1904. Add. MSS. 54186-91. *Presented by Mrs. Ursula Vaughan Williams.*
- Minutes of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee; 1914-16. Add. MS. 54192. *Presented by R. Humphrey Davies, Esq., former Clerk of the Committee.*

¹ The following list includes manuscripts incorporated into the collections between January and June 1967. The inclusion of a manuscript in

this list does not necessarily imply that it is available for study.

Letters from Francis Edward Bache (1833-58), the composer, to his parents; c. 1840-53. Add. MS. 54193.

Music Book of William Wordsworth, containing copies of songs, etc., by Arne, Handel, and others; 18th cent. Add. MS. 54194.

Papers from the collections of Henry Salt, Consul-General in Egypt 1812-27, including a journal of Ismail Pasha's expedition to Sennar, 1820-1. Add. MS. 54195. Presented by Mrs. Elizabeth Kathleen Mackenzie Holt.

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Selected acquisitions, January to June 1967

I. ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

Dalā'il al-hayrāt. Litanies and prayers, mostly in praise of the Prophet by al-Ġazālī, followed by various poems including the Qaṣīdat al-burdah. Each section is preceded by an *unwān*, and some folios at the beginning are splendidly ornamented in gold, red, blue, and green, inscribed with introductory formulas, etc. Mağribī. 18th-19th cent. (Or. 13057.)

Imdād al-Fattāh. A commentary by Ḥasan ibn 'Ammār ibn 'Alī aṣ-Ṣurunbulālī (d. 1069/1658) on the author's own treatise on the obligations of Islam according to the Ḥanafī school, Nūr al-idāh. Fine Nashī. Autograph, dated 1046/1636. (Or. 13058.)

Šarḥ at-Taḍkirat an-nāṣiriyyah. A commentary by 'Abd al-'Alī al-Barġandī (or al-Birġandī) on an astronomical treatise by Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, with many diagrams. Nashī. Copied at Qum in 1097/1686 by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad 'Alī. (Or. 13060.)

II. PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT

Ta'rīḥ-i Šafdariyyeh-i Manšūriyyeh. A history of Oudh between the reigns of Navvāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān and Navvāb

Muḥammad 'Alī compiled by Qāsim 'Alī ibn Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn Mīrzā Ja'far ibn Mīrzā Muḥammad Hamadānī. The history contains a brief history of England and some information about other European countries. Nasta'liq. Copied in 1254/1838-9. (Or. 13056.)

III. TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS

Tezkire-i Riyāzī. Biographies of Ottoman poets with examples of their verse. The author, Riyāzī (d. 1054/1644-5) completed this important work in 1018/1609 and dedicated it to Ahmed I. Neat Ta'liq. Copied from an important manuscript in the Vahid Paşa Library at Kütahya in 1337/1918-19. (Or. 13051.)

Divān-i Nazmī. The poetical works of Nazmī (d. 1112/1700-1). Ta'liq. Copied probably towards the end of the 17th cent. (Or. 13055.)

Garā'ib as-ṣīgar. The first of the four Divāns in Chaghatay Turkish of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī which correspond to the various periods of his life. With six miniatures in the Tabriz style and rich illumination. Neat small Ta'liq. Copied c. 1520. (Or. 13061.)

DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

Acquisitions, January to June 1967

I. AMERICAN SCHOOL

NORMAN R. EPPINK (b. 1906). *101 Prints 1967*. Various styles of traditional and more modern forms of print-making. *Presented by the artist.*

II. BRITISH SCHOOL INCLUDING FOREIGN ARTISTS WORKING IN ENGLAND

ANON. ENGLISH (c. 1728-32). *Two drawings of projects for a staircase*. Pen and wash. *Purchased.*

WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827). *View in a Garden*. (A. G. B. Russell, *The Graham Robertson Collection. The Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxxvii, 1920. List III.) Pen and grey ink. *Purchased.*

JOHN SELL COTMAN (1782-1842). *Window of the Greyfriars Church, Norwich*. Water-colour. *Presented by Miss Joan Evans, D.Litt., V.P.S.A.*

GEORG EHRLICH (1897-1966). *Portrait of Frau Camilla Popper*. Red chalk, with touches of black chalk. Signed and dated [19]65.

Studie zu einer Plastik. Monotype, with different coloured chalks. Signed and dated [19]27.

Presented by Mrs. Bettina Ehrlich, in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Hind.

STANLEY WILLIAM HAYTER (b. 1901). *Les Erinnyes*. 1957. Engraving printed in two colours.

Witches Sabbath. 1958. Engraving and etching printed in four colours.

Désirée. 1966. Soft ground etching on zinc printed in two colours.

Champ Magnétique. 1966. Etching on zinc printed in three colours.

Presented by the Shrimpton Giles Bequest.

CHARLES COOPER HENDERSON (1803-77). *London Sweeps on their May Day Holiday with the Jack O'Green*. Two water-colours of the same subject. *Purchased.*

WILLIAM HOGARTH (1697-1764). *Wooded Landscape with a Castle at the edge of a Lake*. Black chalk with stump, heightened with white, on blue-grey paper. *Purchased.*

III. FRENCH SCHOOL

LOUIS-HENRI FOREAU (1866-1914). *Porte de Sèvres*. Water-colour. *Purchased.*

CAMILLE PISSARRO (1830-1903). *Lucien Pissarro*. Purple ink. *Purchased.*

IV. GERMAN SCHOOL

HANS KULMBACH (c. 1480-1522). *A King (for an Adoration of the Magi)*. Pen and wash. Winkler, 71. *Purchased.*

JOHANN NEPOMUK NIEBERLEIN (fl. 17th cent.). *Faith, Hope and Charity*. Etching. *Purchased.*

V. ITALIAN SCHOOL

GIOVANNI LANFRANCO (1582-1647). *Lunette with the Calling of Peter and Peter Walking on the Water*: study for fresco in S. Martino, Naples. Pen and ink with brown wash. *Purchased.*

DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS

Notable Acquisitions, January to June 1967

- Twelve silver hemidrachms of Stratonicea, 2nd cent. B.C. *Reg. no.* 1967, 4, 2 and 5, 5. *Purchased.*
- A silver Cistophoric tetradrachm of Nysa, 2nd cent. B.C. *Reg. no.* 1967, 1, 1. *Given by Mr. H. von Aulock.*
- A silver drachm of the Sikeliotan, 3rd cent. B.C.; a gold coin of Cyzicus and one of Rhodes. *Reg. no.* 1967, 4, 8. *Acquired by exchange.*
- A silver tetradrachm of Camarina about 415 B.C. *Reg. no.* 1967, 7, 6. *Anonymous gift.*
- A gold solidus of Constantius II, 337-61, and another of Eudocia, c. 430. *Reg. no.* 1967, 7, 3. *Acquired by exchange.*
- A gold semissis of Anastasius, 491-518, and two gold solidi of Maurice Tiberius, 582-602. *Reg. no.* 1967, 7, 2.
- A gold solidus of Tiberius III, 698-705, and two others of Theophilus, 829-42. *Reg. no.* 1967, 1, 3. *Purchased.*
- A gold coin of Dagobert I, 623-39, by Eligius, Paris mint. *Reg. no.* 1967, 6, 3. *Purchased from the George and Mary Hill Fund.*
- A silver penny of Plegmund, 890-914, overstruck on types of Alfred. *Reg. no.* 1967, 4, 10. *Given by Messrs. B. A. Seaby Ltd.*
- A silver light half-groat of Edward IV struck from the dies for a heavy coin. *Reg. no.* 1967, 5, 6. *Anonymous gift.*
- An important collection of 999 Islamic silver and bronze coins mainly of the Timurids, the Mongols of Persia, the Shahs of Persia, and of the Ottoman dynasty, ranging from c. A.D. 1200 to 1850. *Reg. no.* 1967, 1, 12. *Purchased.*

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January to June 1967

1. Quartzite sandstone stela of a royal scribe, Setnakht from Serabit El-Khadim (1831, height 22½ in., Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasties, c. 1200 B.C.). Published by Gardiner Peet and Černý, 'The Inscriptions of Sinai' (*Forty-fifth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 1955), No. 295.
2. Limestone panel from the tomb of Neferseshem-Pepi, also called Seneni, from Dendera (1832, height 17½ in., Sixth Dynasty, c. 2250 B.C.). Published by W. M. F. Petrie, 'Denderah 1898. Extra Plates' (*Special Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1900), pl. viia, left.
3. Limestone relief from the tomb of an unnamed man at Dendera (1833, height 21 in., Sixth Dynasty, c. 2250 B.C.). Published by W. M. F. Petrie, op. cit., pl. xib, x.

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, June 1965 to December 1966

Clay kalathos with painted decoration of warriors, horses, birds, and rosettes. Made in Athens. Late Geometric, end of the 8th cent. B.C. Ht. 3.8 cm. 1965, 7-7, 1. *Given by Monsieur George Ortiz in memory of the late Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill.*

Eighteen glass vessels, apparently all made in the eastern Mediterranean area in the second to 4th cents. A.D. Included are two greenish trefoil-lipped jugs and a wine-coloured, two-handled, wide-mouthed jar, all with handles and decoration of blue, green, and white-coloured trail (nos. 2, 3, and 9). 1965, 7-28, 1-18. *From the Acworth Collection and bequeathed by Mrs. M. W. Acworth.*

Clay lamp modelled in the form of a musician seated at a water-organ. Probably made in North Africa in the 3rd cent. A.D. Ht. 18 cm. 1965, 10-11, 1.

A set of three topographical drawings: 1, the Bay of Eleusis; 2, the Large Harbour of Piraeus and the Harbour of Zea; 3, the Harbour of Zea and the Bay of Phaleron. The paper is dated by watermark 1802 and the drawings were probably made not much later. The third is particularly interesting for a temple in the foreground; the temple appears to be otherwise unrecorded. 1965, 10-14, 1-3.

Clay vase in red, polished ware with deeply fluted body and four lion protomae on the shoulders; a clay version of the Etruscan bronze lion-cauldrons of the 7th cent. B.C. Etruscan, 6th cent. B.C. Ht. 53.8 cm. 1965, 12-29, 1.

Three glass unguentaria. Roman, 1st to 3rd cents. A.D. 1965, 12-30, 1-3. *Given by Miss M. Veiyra.*

Part of the handle of a clay, coarse-ware wine-amphora with a stamped impression. Made on Thasos in the late 4th or early 3rd

cent. B.C. Found on Lesbos. Greatest dimensions 15.4 cm. x 5 cm. 1965, 12-31, 1.

Objects purchased from the collection of the late Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill. 1966, 3-28, 1-28.

1. Bronze statuette of a bull and toreador. Minoan, about 1600 B.C. Said to have been found near Rethymnon in Crete. L. 15.5 cm. Ht. 11.4 cm.

2. Bronze statuette of a marching satyr wearing an animal's skin. Greek; probably made in the Peloponnese, about 500 B.C. Ht. 8 cm.

3-6. Four bronze statuettes, each of a horse on a stand. Geometric Greek, 8th cent. B.C.

7. Bronze statuette of a bull with protruding tongue. Late Minoan, 1200-1100 B.C. Ht. 4.5 cm.

8-10. Bronze statuettes of two birds and a ram. Geometric Greek, 8th cent. B.C.

11. Bronze statuette of a bull. Geometric Greek, 8th cent. B.C. Ht. 3.8 cm.

12. Bronze incense burner. Etruscan, about 300 B.C. Ht. 51.1 cm.

13. Bronze mirror with its original ivory handle. The back is engraved with a representation of Peleus and Thetis. Etruscan, about 350 B.C. Diam. of disc 17 cm. L. 31.3 cm.

14. Bronze statuette of a boy holding an oenochoe in his right hand and a strainer in his left. Etruscan, about 460 B.C. Ht. 9.3 cm.

16. Bronze ladle with a handle-hook in the form of a duck's head. Etruscan, 3rd cent. B.C. Diam. of bowl at rim 7.6 cm. L. of handle 36 cm.

17. Bronze statuette of a banqueter, reclining with a lyre. The statuette comes

- from the rim of a vessel. Etruscan, 400–350 B.C. L. 8 cm.
18. Bronze weight with silver inscription. Roman Imperial period. Diam. 6 cm.
19. Clay figure of a goddess seated on a throne. Boeotian, about 500 B.C. Ht. 26.5 cm.
20. Clay figure of a seated goddess. Athenian, about 500 B.C. Ht. 24 cm.
21. Clay figure of a goddess. Boeotian, 6th cent. B.C. Ht. 17 cm.
22. Clay model of a woman baking. Boeotian. Early 5th cent. B.C. Greatest ht. 9.5 cm.
23. Steatite scarab, glazed and gilt. It is inscribed with characters of the Cretan Linear A script, but may be the work of an Egyptian craftsman. 1700–1600 B.C. L. 1.7 cm.
- 24–7. Four engraved lentoid gems. Minoan, about 1500 B.C.
28. Sardonyx cameo. Roman, 1st cent. A.D. Ht. 2.6 cm.
- For nos. 12–14, 16–17 see pp. 112–22 and Pls. xxxiv–xl.
- Clay aryballos decorated on the shoulder with three fish. Protocorinthian, about 700 B.C. Ht. 5.8 cm. 1966, 4–6, 1.
- Moulded clay lamp with two-horse chariot on the discus. Said to have been found at Petra, where it was made in the 1st cent. A.D. L. 8.9 cm. 1966, 4–18, 1.
- Clay statuette of an actor in the Mimes. Campanian, 1st cent. A.D. Ht. 16 cm. 1966, 7–25, 1.
- Clay aryballos decorated with a male siren on one side and a swan on the other. Corinthian, about 600–575 B.C. Ht. 14 cm. 1966, 7–25, 2.
- Clay figure of a negro bending over a dish containing a pig. A cock perches on the man's back. Greek, about 300 B.C. Ht. 13.5 cm. 1966, 7–26, 1.
- Agate scarab with gold mount, the intaglio representing the eagle pecking at Prometheus' liver. Etruscan, c. 480 B.C. 1966, 7–27, 1. See *B.M.Q.* vol. xxxii, pp. 6–8 and Pl. iv.
- Clay lamp, said to be from Sicily. Made in Athens in the 5th cent. B.C. L. 9.9 cm. 1966, 8–17, 1.
- Clay impression from an ancient seal. The heads are those of a Roman emperor and the goddess Athena. Probably 1st cent. A.D. W. 1.9 cm. 1966, 10–10, 1. *Given by Mr. R. Phippen.*
- Two examples of modern forgeries made recently at La Marsa near Carthage; a clay head of a young man; and a clay lamp of 'North African' shape. 1966, 10–11, 1–2. *Given by Mr. E. J. Chadwick.*
- Clay statuette of a young woman with the ancient painted decoration extensively preserved. From Alexandria. Hellenistic, late 4th or 3rd cent. B.C. Ht. 18.5 cm. 1966, 12–10, 1.
- A collection of seventeen clay lamps including ten fakes, five Roman lamps from Cyprus, Petra, and Italy, and a Hellenistic lamp of faience. 1966, 12–13, 1–17. *Given by Mr. D. M. Bailey.*
- Fragments of a bronze plaque with a Greek inscription of letters inlaid with silver. Said to come from Asia Minor. Roman period. 1966, 12–28, 1.

DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January to June 1967

PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES

Casts of North African flint implements. 1967, 4-6, 1 ff. *Purchased.*

Late-neolithic stone battle-axe dredged from the River Elbe at Hamburg. 1967, 4-5, 1. *Purchased.*

Contents of a Belgic burial from Welwyn Garden City, Herts., including a silver cup, bronze vessels, glass gaming pieces, iron objects, amphorae, and pots. Also the grave goods from at least four related cremation-burials, 1st cent. A.D. 1967, 2-2, 1 ff. *Given by Welwyn Garden City Development Corporation.*

The painted wall-plaster from the Roman villa at Lullingstone, Kent. 1967, 4-7, 1. *Given by Kent County Council.*

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES c. 400-c. 1100

An Anglo-Saxon decorated cross-shaft from Lowther, Westmorland, 8th or early 9th cent. 1967, 4-4, 1. *Purchased.*

A bronze key, 10th cent. 1967, 6-9, 1. *Purchased.*

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES c. 1100-1500

An ivory pendant Madonna and Child, in high relief, seated on a throne, inscribed in Lombardic characters AVE MARIA GRA. English, c. 1200. 1967, 4-1, 1. *Purchased.*

A series of sherds from the medieval pottery kiln at Hartley Manor Farm, Hermitage, Dorset, 14th cent. 1967, 6-7, 1. *Given by N. H. Field, Esq.*

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES c. 1500-c. 1900

Two latten candlesticks, 15th cent.; a mortar, and three cauldrons 17th cent. 1967, 6-3, 1-6. *Given by Mrs. St. John Willis.*

Four clocks from the Knowles-Brown collection: a chamber-clock with painted castellated dial-plate, made in north-west Europe, 16th cent.; a table-clock in copper-gilt case, engraved in the manner of Holbein's designs, perhaps German, mid-16th cent.; a wall clock with alarum and three-wheel train, South German, c. 1620; an alarum clock with revolving wooden dial, German, c. 1580. 1967, 6-1, 1-4. *Given by Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Edgar.*

Six clocks from the Knowles-Brown collection: a movement of a frame clock, probably Flemish, c. 1570; movement of quarter-striking alarum clock, c. 1680; movement of spring-drive clock, French, 19th cent.; quarter-striking weight-driven clock, South German, c. 1750; quarter-striking weight-driven clock with ceramic dial, south German, c. 1800; wall clock with painted iron dial, Black Forest, c. 1780. 1967, 6-2, 1-6. *Given by the three beneficiaries of the estate of the late Mr. F. H. Knowles-Brown.*

An English delftware tile decorated in blue with transfer-printed scene of a sailing-boat entering a harbour. Probably made at Liverpool, c. 1760. 1967, 6-4, 1. *Given by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Tilley.*

An ivory figure of the Christ-child. Probably German, 18th or early 19th cent. 1967, 6-8, 1. *Given by Miss Hilda M. Sayer.*

A collection of seventy assorted watch-papers. English, 18th and 19th cent. 1967, 6-5, 1-70. *Given by C. Mackmudie, Esq.*

Nine watch-keys made for the Chinese market. Swiss, late 19th cent. 1967, 4-3, 1-9. *Given by Paul Bass, Esq.*

An oil-lamp and clock with an octagonal bottle with two-hour scales. Probably German, late 19th cent. 1967, 2-1, 1. *Given by G. E. Planus, Esq.*

A keyless, lever pocket watch in nickle-

plated case with patent winding. Swiss, c. 1900. 1967, 4-2, 1. *Given by Richard A. Bates, Esq.*

A silver cased 'Rolex Prince' watch in the original fitted case, with two spare glasses and timing certificate. Swiss, 1932. 1967, 6-6, 1. *Purchased.*

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, January-June 1967

CHINA

Carved lacquer cup stand. Ht. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., w. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., Yüan Dynasty (1280-1368). 1967, 2-16, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Porcelain vase, Annamese, Ht. $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. 15th cent. 1967, 4-11, 1. *Coldwell Fund.*

Porcelain cover decorated with Arabic inscriptions. Diam. $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. 18th cent. 1967, 4-12, 1. *Given by Ernest Ohly.*

Hanging painting on paper—Bodhidharma—by Ch'ü Pai-shih (1863-1957). Ht. $26\frac{1}{2}$ in., w. $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. 1967, 2-13, 03. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Hanging painting on paper—Scholars suffering from hardship—by Fu Pao-shih (1904-65). Ht. $42\frac{1}{2}$ in., w. $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1967, 2-13, 04. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Hanging painting on paper—'Painting of a Summer Flower' by Ch'ü Pai-shih (1863-1957) and dated 1947. Ht. $39\frac{1}{2}$ in., w. $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. 1967, 2-13, 05. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

JAPAN

Carved and painted wooden temple canopy in the shape of a lotus. Diam. 61 cm. (24 in). Kamakura Period. 1967, 2-20, 1. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Hanging painting in colours on silk of Fuku Kenzaku Kannon with two guardians. Heian Period, about A.D. 1170-80. 123×87 cm. 1967, 2-13, 02. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Hanging painting in colours on silk of Jizō Bosatsu. Kamakura Period. 135×40 cm. 1967, 6-19, 05. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Pair of paintings in ink and slight colour on paper of cranes standing by water. School of Sōtatsu, first half of 17th cent. Mounted as two 2-fold screens, each 152×170 cm. 1967, 6-19, 06 (1-2). *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Hiroshige. Five sketchbooks of views on the Tōkaidō road in ink and light colours, dated 1835; and three sketchbooks in ink of views of Fuji, dated 1849. All about 18×13 cm. 1967, 19-6, 07 (1-5) and 08 (1-3). *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Triptych woodcut print of the British Legation at Yokohama, by Hiroshige II. A.D. 1867-9. 1967, 4-10, 01 (1-3).

Triptych woodcut print of seaweed gathering, by Sadatora. About A.D. 1830-45. 1967, 6-19, 01 (1-3).

One half of a diptych woodcut print of Taira no Tadamori, by Hiroshige. About A.D. 1823. 1967, 6-19, 04.

Woodcut print of a saké party, attributed to Mitsunobu. Second quarter of 18th cent. 1967, 2-13, 01.

'Omi Hakkei', a set of eight woodcut prints by Hiroshige. A.D. 1857. 1967, 6-19, 02 (1-8).

Eleven woodcut prints from the set 'Sōga Monogatari Zu-e' by Hiroshige. A.D. 1845. 1967, 6-19, 03 (1-11).

INDIA

A sandstone figure of a seated Avalokitesvara. Central India. Cedi: 11th cent. A.D. Ht. 2 ft. 9 in. 1967, 2-13, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Schist figure of standing Vishnu. Deccan. Rashtrakuta. About A.D. 900 Ht. 2 ft. 8 in. 1967, 2-14, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

The river-goddess Ganga and attendants in red sandstone. Central India. 10th cent. A.D. Ht. 1 ft. 4½ in. 1967, 2-15, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Sandstone relief carving of dancing girl and two musicians. Deccan. Early Western Calukya. About A.D. 750. Ht. 2 ft. 9 in. 1967, 4-13, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Frieze with Buddhist scene. Gandhara. 3rd-4th cent. A.D. L. 8 in. 1967, 2-21, 5. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Fragments of schist toilet dishes. Kushan.

1st-2nd cent. A.D. 1967, 2-21, 1-4. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

306 terracotta figures, seals, and plaques. Prehistoric period to 6th cent. A.D. 1967, 2-21, 6-30. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

ISLAMIC

Bronze finial in the form of a stylized lion's head with chased detail. Persia. 18th cent. Ht. 8½ in. 1967, 2-17, 1. *Given by J. C. Read in memory of his brother R. S. Read.*

Pottery dish decorated in underglaze blue and black. Diam. 17½ in. Persia. 17th cent. 1967, 4-10, 1.

Pottery tile painted in underglaze yellow, blue, green, and purple, with black outlines of composite flower spray and fleur-de-lis at each corner. Persia (Isfahan) late 17th-early 18th cent. 1967, 2-18, 1. *Given by Frau Dr. Ingeborg Luschey.*

DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Acquisitions, January-June 1967

AMERICA

A coin silver bracelet from the Navaho Indians. *Given by G. Miller, Esq.*

Archaeological specimens from three areas in Central America: Boca Chica, Dominican Republic; near El Macao, Eastern Dominican Republic; Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala. *Given by A. V. M. Campbell, Esq.*

A wooden pail with ivory inlay from the Angmassalik Eskimo, East Greenland. *Given by S. Petersen, Esq.*

Two silver spoons, probably Incaic. *Given by Mr. and Mrs. L. G. Cale.*

A collection of stone implements and pots from South America, including pots from the Mochica and Chimu cultures. *Given by Miss I. Firebrace.*

A carved bone pendant from the North West Coast of America.

AFRICA

A wooden stool and a wooden face mask carved recently in the traditional style by the Southern Bamileke of the Cameroon Grasslands. *Given by W. B. Fagg, Esq.*

A skin-covered wooden mask in the Anyang style, collected at Bamenda, West Cameroon.

A gold necklace from Ashanti, probably collected in Kumasi at the time of the last Ashanti war. *Given by Dr. F. Barry.*

ASIA

A collection of twenty-four items of Palestinian costume, and four albums of photographs of Palestine. *Given by the Jerusalem and the East Mission.*

A collection of thirty-one pottery objects and other ethnographical specimens from

various parts of South Arabia. *Given by Dr. M. J. Littlewood.*

A leather shadow puppet representing Hanuman, from Andhra Pradesh, India. *Given by Douglas Barrett, Esq.*

Six wax puppets from China. *Given by Mrs. C. R. Pugh.*

A kris from Java.

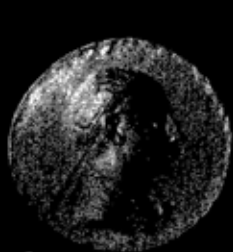
OCEANIA

A collection from various parts of New Guinea, comprising a bow and arrows

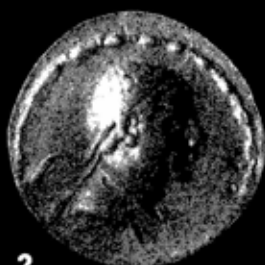
from the Eastern Highlands, two pieces of bark-cloth from the Northern District of Papua, and a wristlet and waist belt from the Managalase. *Given by Brother Alfred, S. S. F.*

A collection of nine modern wood carvings from Easter Island. *Given by Rear Admiral E. O'Reilly.*

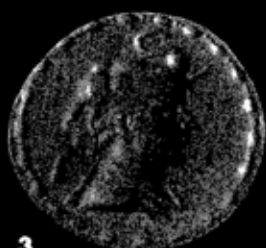
A small ethnographical collection from Bougainville, Solomon Islands. *Given by Mrs. H. Cropp.*



1



2



3



A



B



C



4



5

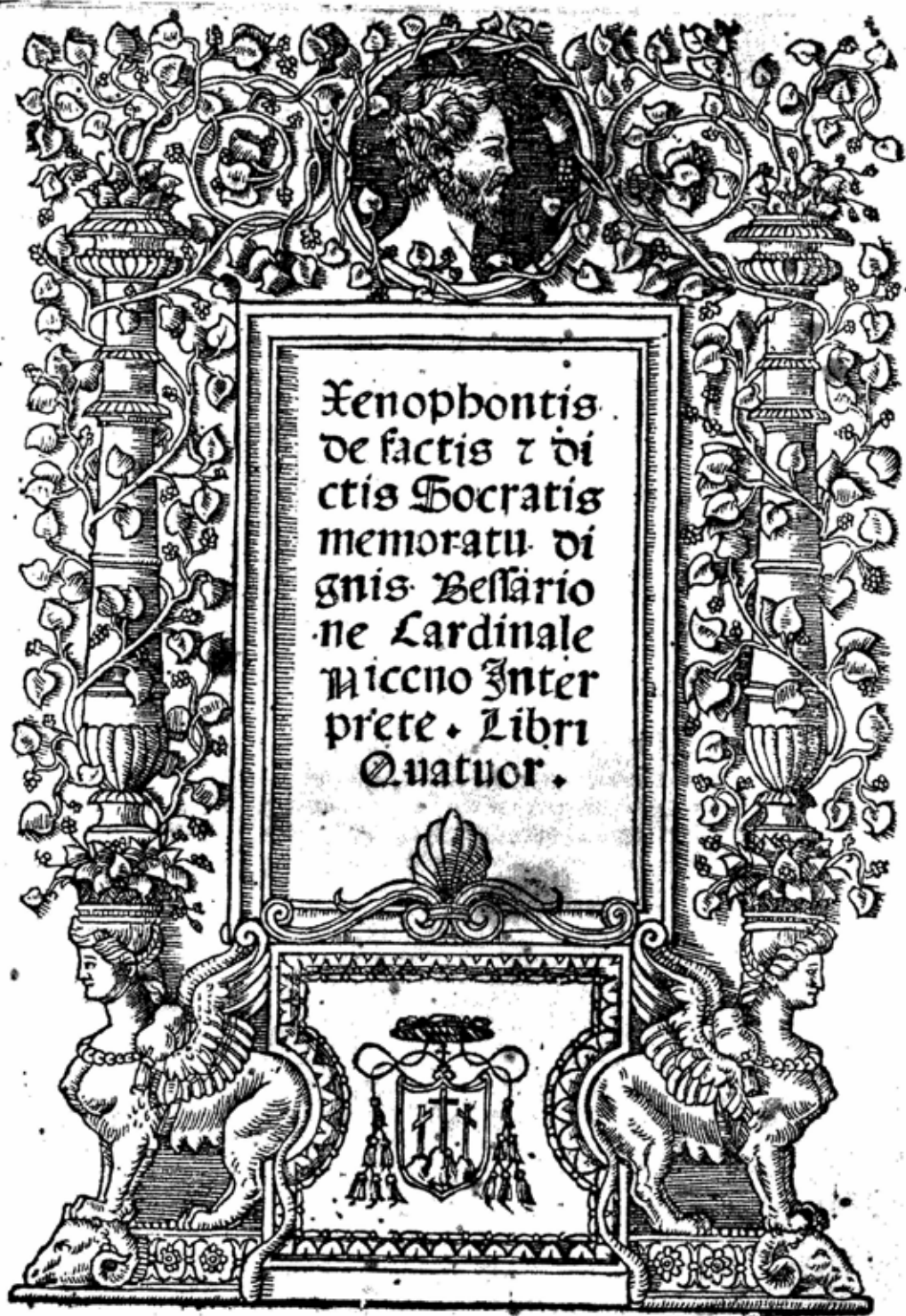


D



E





**XENOPHONTIS DE FACTIS, ET DICTIS
SOCRATIS MEMORATV DIGNIS.
LIBER PRIMVS.**



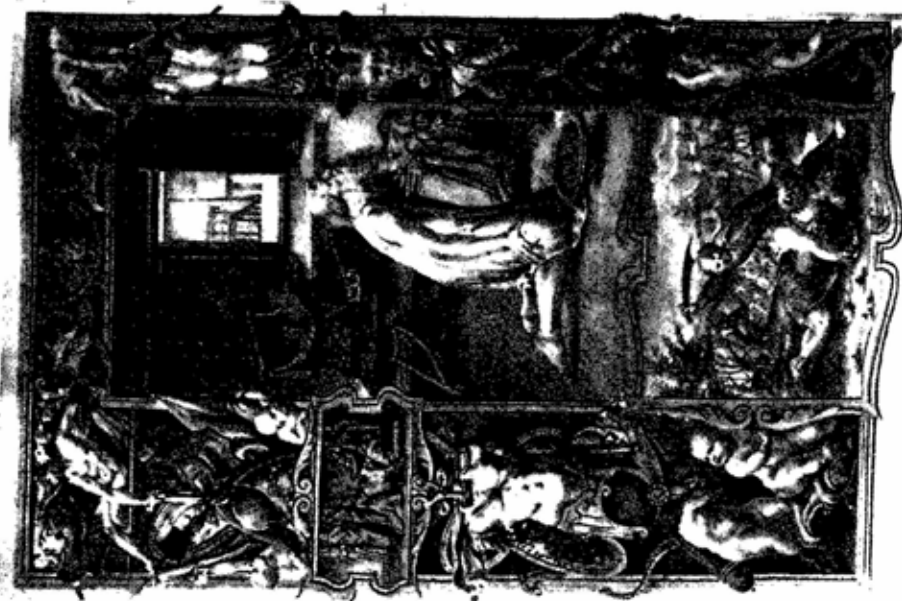
VM saepe numero cogi-
tē quibus de causis Athe-
nienſes commoti morte
Socratē uirum iuſtiſſimū
atq; ſapientiſſimum qdē
narunt ſatis admirari nō
queo q̄ſi nāq; priſcos nō
coletet deos, noua uero
demonia introduceret ac
iuuentutē corrūperet no-
mē eius aduerſarii, detu-
lerunt. Hoc igit̄ primū
qd non coletet Deos quos ēt ciuitas, quo argumēto oſtē-
derunt cu in multoties iū domi tum ēt in aris cōmunibus

**AEGIDIO VITERBIENSI, CARDINALI AMPLIS-
SIMO DOMINO SVO BENEFICENTISSIMO
IANVS VITALIS S.P.D.**



VIA extorſus uitae actionibus Pa-
ter ampliſſime, ad poſteros ea per-
ueniunt; quae aut honorifice, & pre-
clare facta, aut argute, & ſapienter
dicta uel Remp. ab impendenti ali-
quo periculo liberarint, uel Cinem
publico, uel priuato caſu oppreſſus
defenderint, uel mortale genus ad
bene, beateq; uiuendi rationem in-
ſtituerint. Operae pretiū eſſe mihi uideoz animum ita diſpo-
nere; mentem aſueſcere, corpus munire oportere, ut quo
omnem maiorū noſtrorum curam tendere animaduerti,
maius ad hunc finem





a

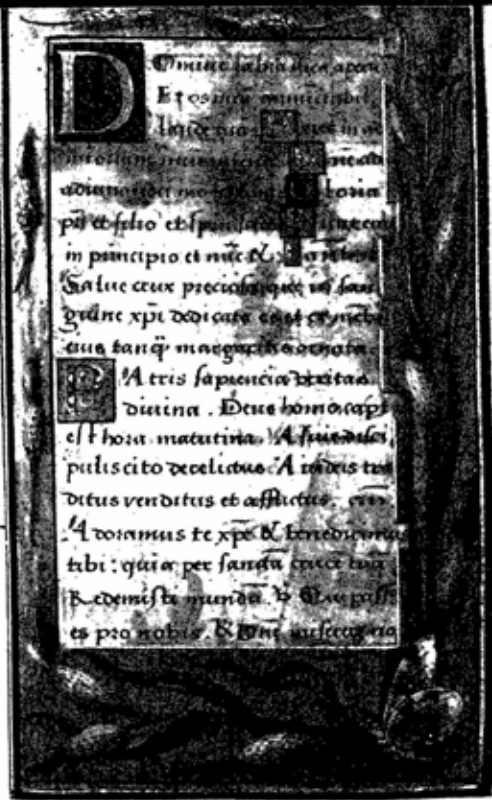
XXVI.

(a) GIULIO CLOVIO'S MINIATURE OF DAVID PENITENT, from the *STUART DE ROTHESAY HOURS*
Add. MS. 20927, f. 91 b



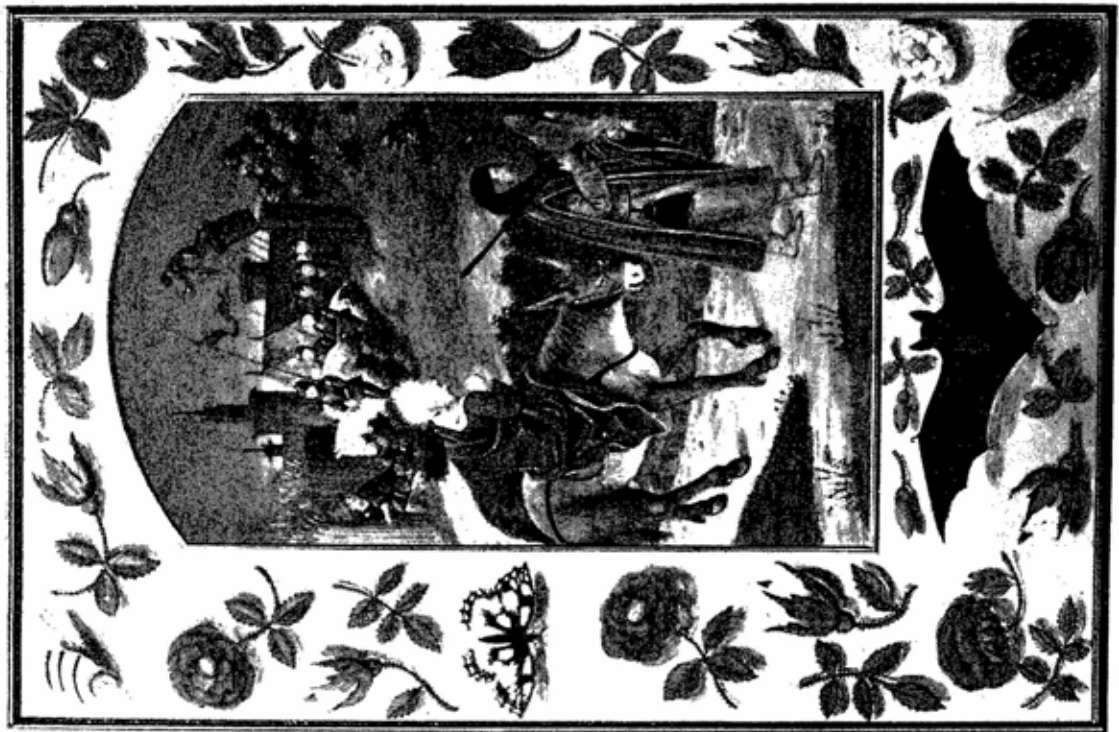
b

(b) WING'S MINIATURE OF DAVID PENITENT, AFTER CLOVIO. Henry Huntington Library, HM 1175, f. 9

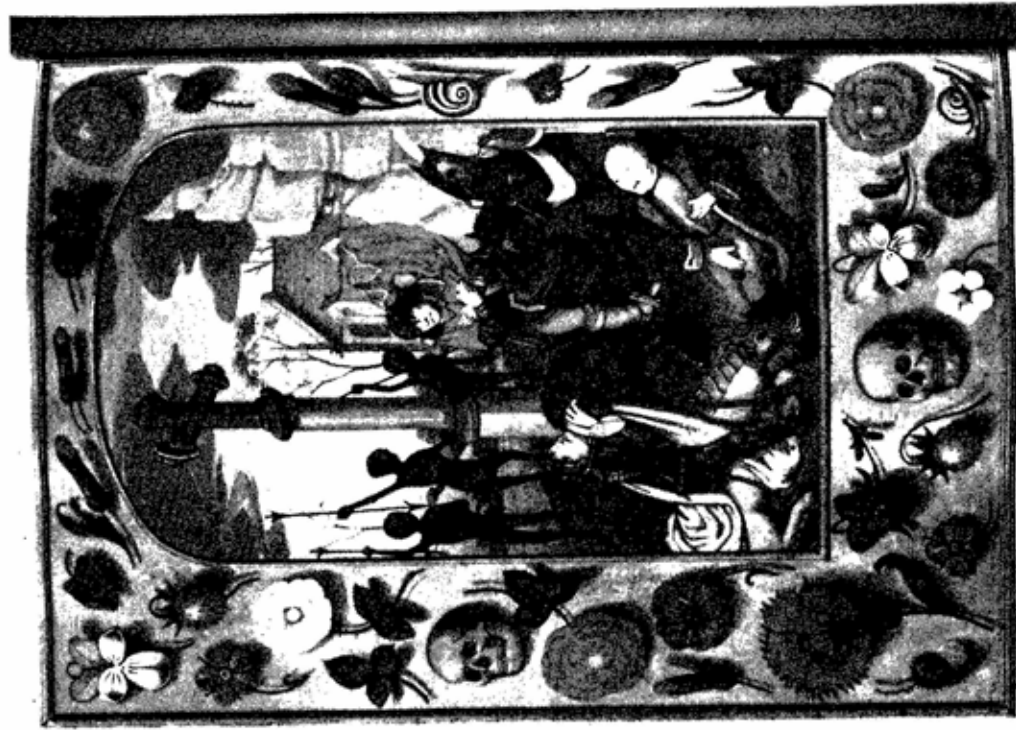




XXVIII. (a) THE ASSUMPTION, BY WING, AFTER A FRENCH MODEL OF ABOUT 1525. By permission of the owner, Dr. C. E. Wright, F.S.A.



(b) THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, BY WING, Add. MS. 54247, formerly in the collection of the late Dr. E. G. Millar, F.S.A.

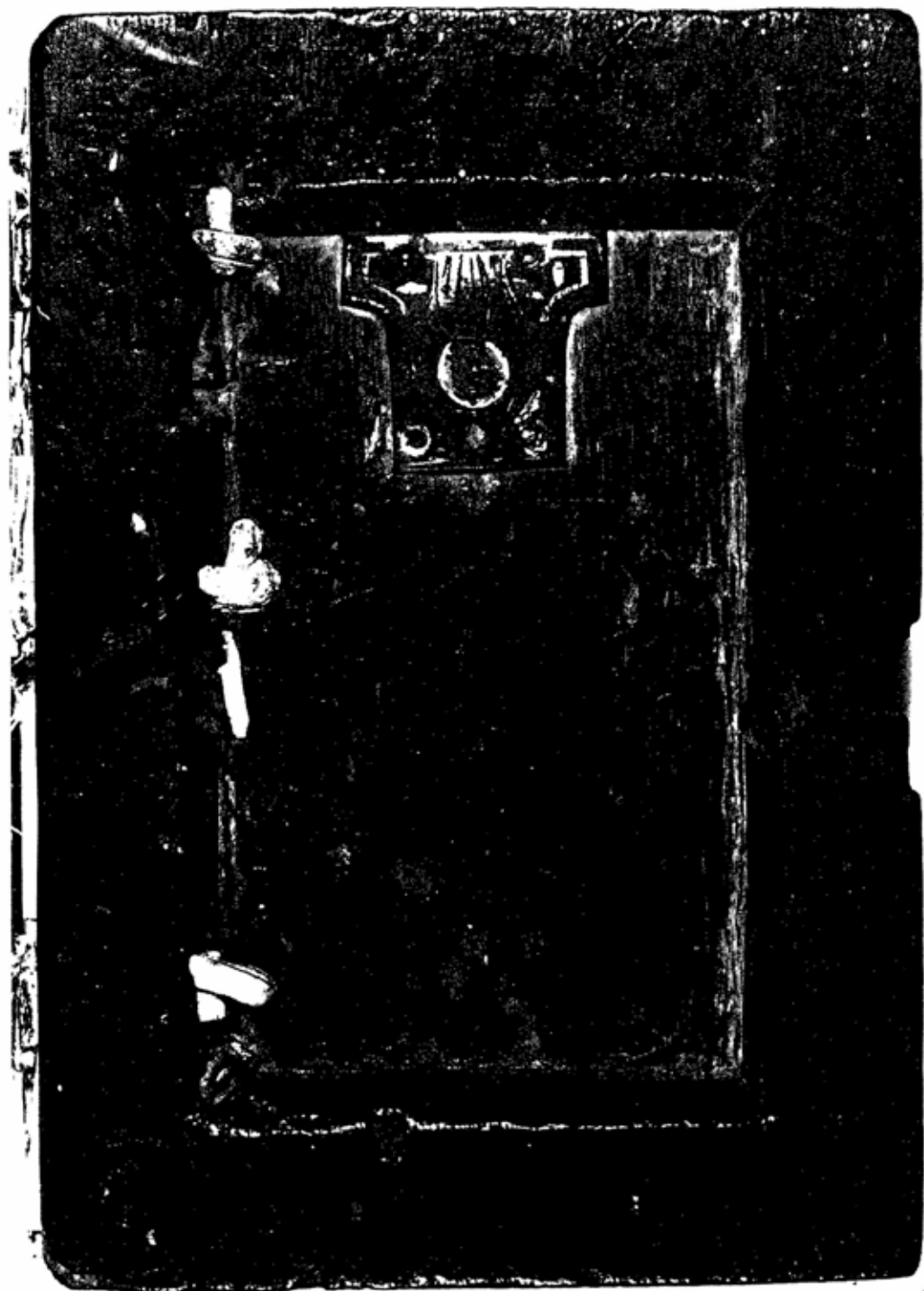


Hier legimus ad virginem.
 iii. Psalms.
 Hier legimus
 et dominus
 v. oratio
 me nec
 ut autem suam
 dicitur me
 Jurandorum
 coram me
 ferri me
 tribulationem
 coram et
 et nomen domini
 ut domine

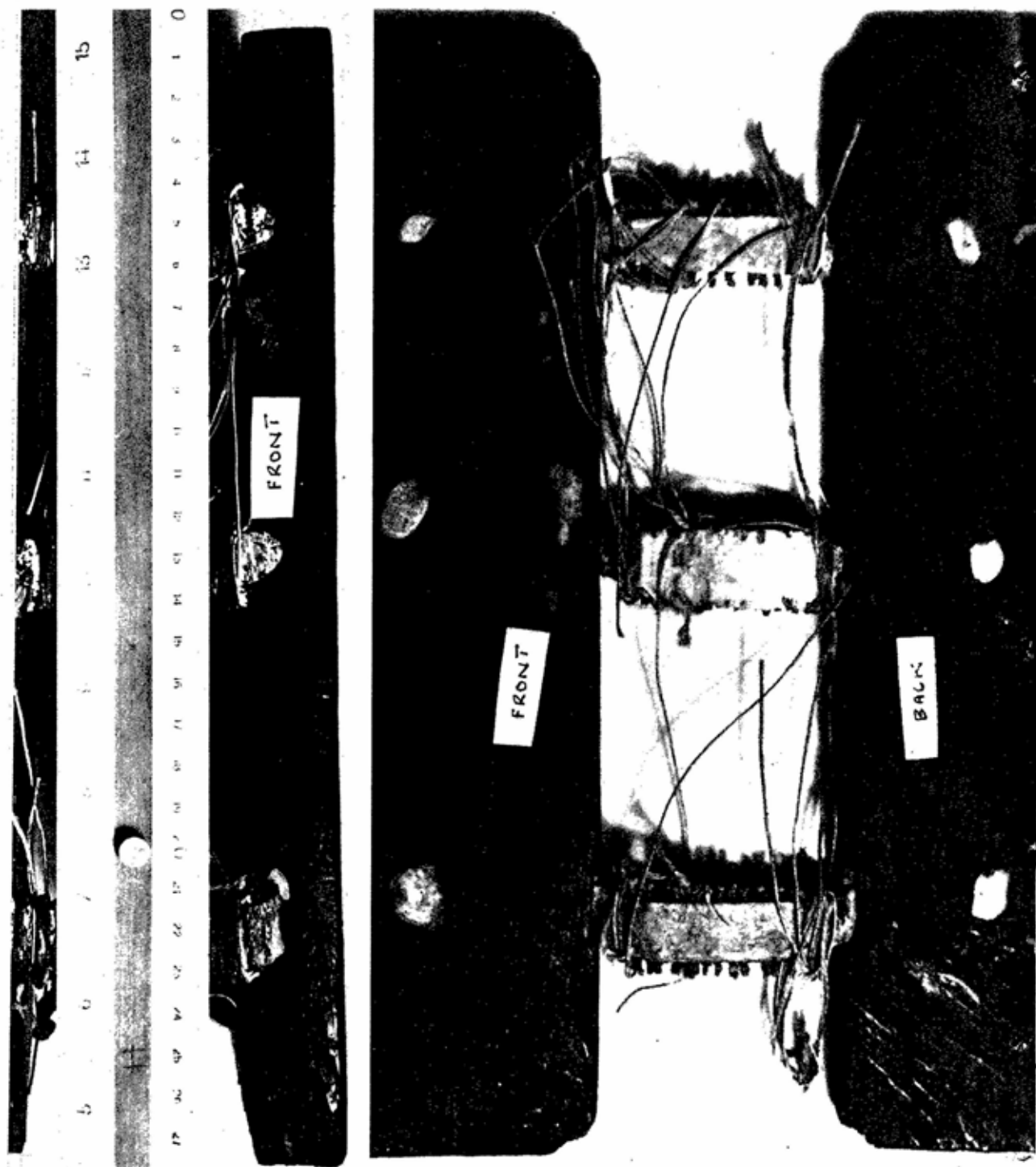


XXX. BINDINGS FROM THE JARMAN COLLECTION

left to right: Add. MSS. 35214 (green velvet with silver ornaments), 25709 (blue velvet with gilt clasps), 25696 (red velvet with gilt ornaments),
25697 (dark brown morocco with a silver-gilt clasp), and 35319 (green velvet with silver ornaments)

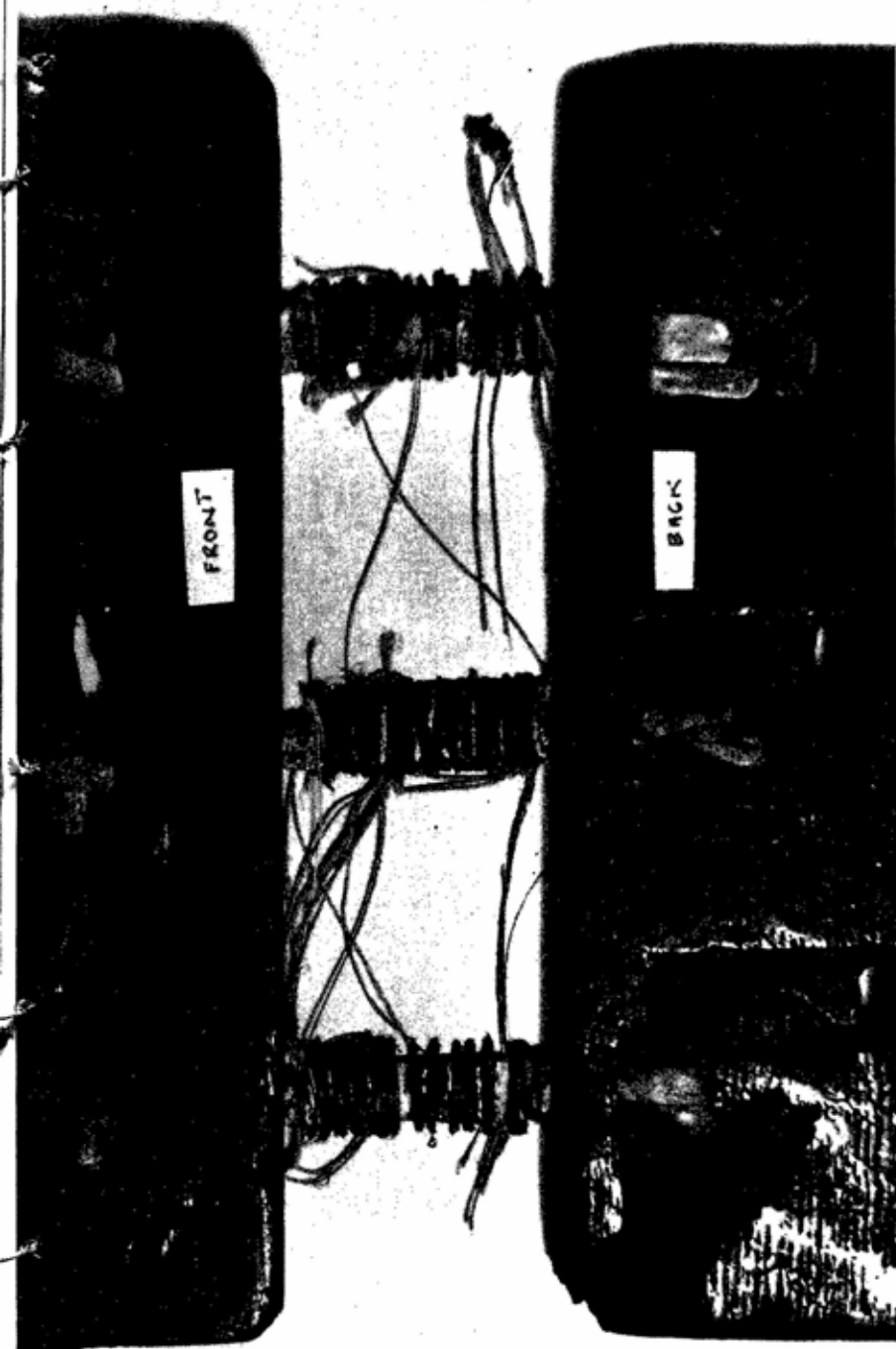


XXXI. THE SHERBORNE CHARTULARY, front cover. Add. MS. 46487



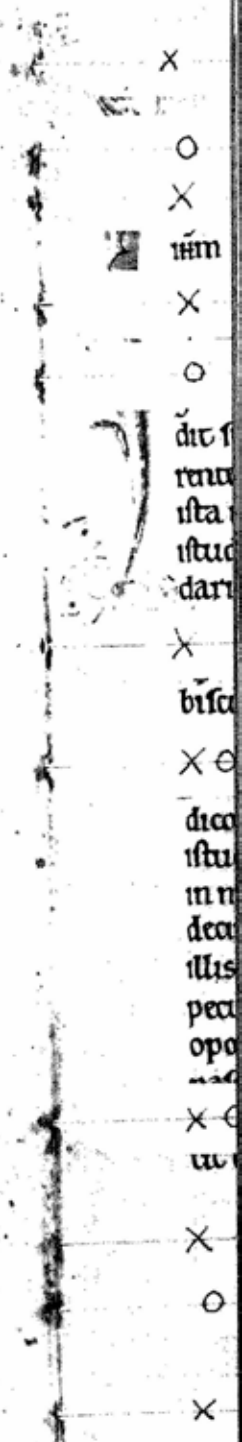
XXXII. THE SHERBORNE CHARTULARY

- (a) Edges of the covers showing disused thong-holes
 (b) Outsides of the covers showing disused thong-holes



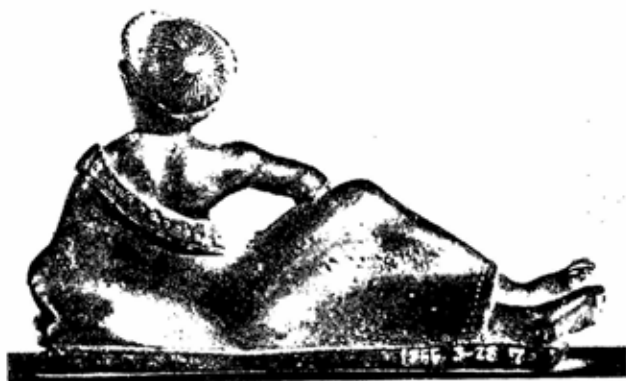
XXXIII. THE SHERBORNE CHARTULARY

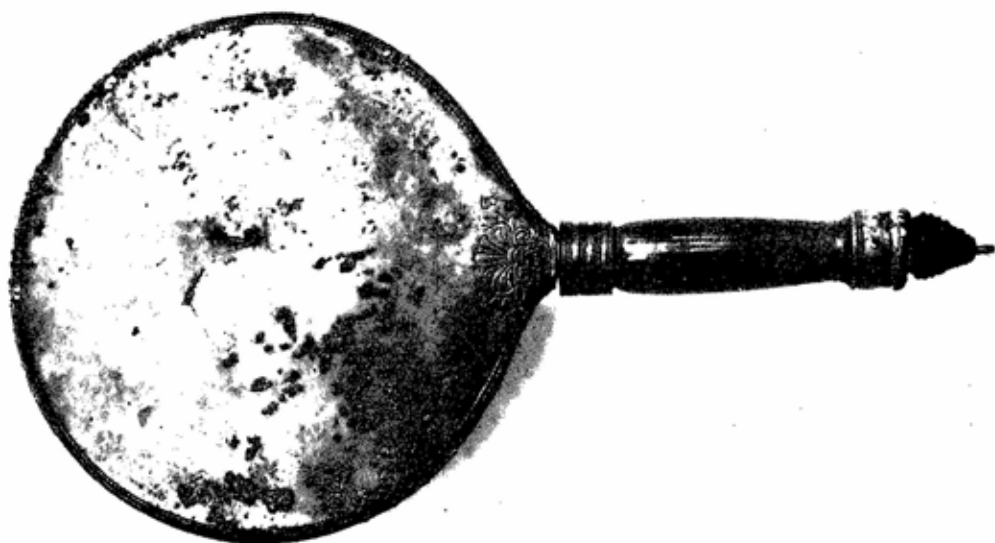
- (a) Insides of the covers showing disused thong-holes
 (b) A bifolium (ff. 4r b, 44) showing the old and new sewing-holes





XXXIV. ETRUSCAN BRONZES FROM THE SPENCER-CHURCHILL
COLLECTION



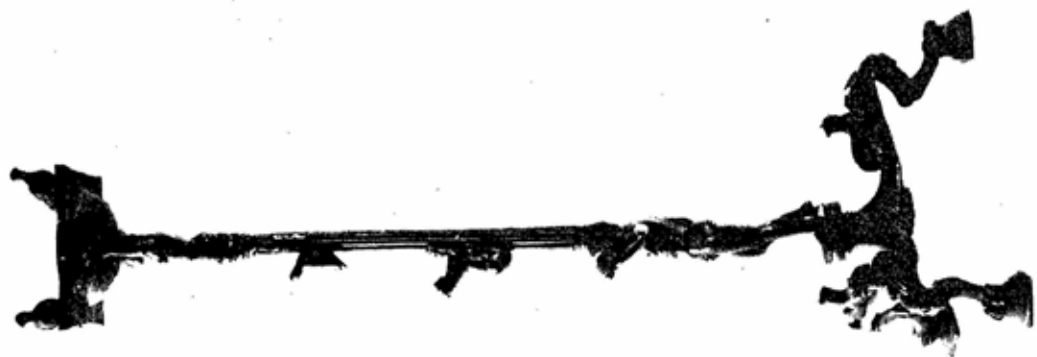


(b)

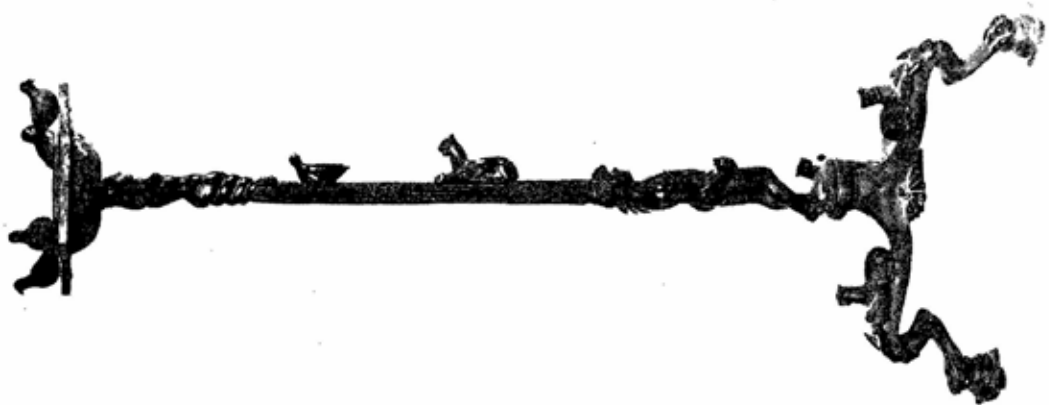


(a)

(d)



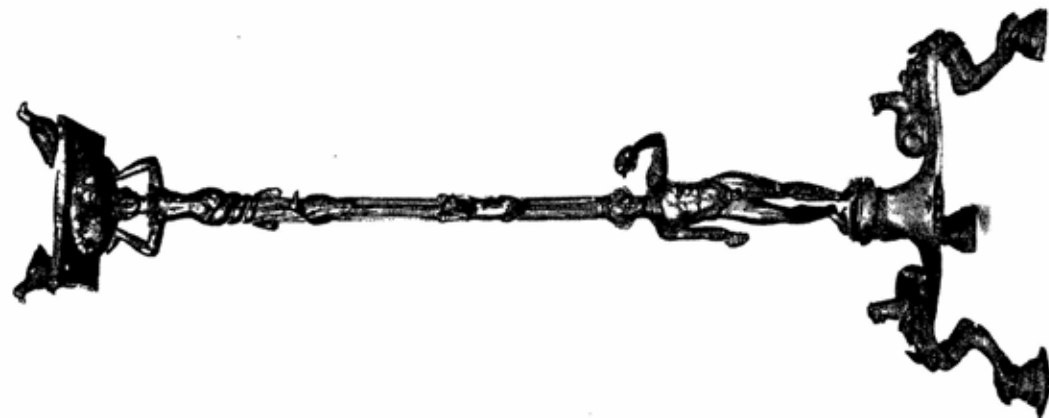
(c)



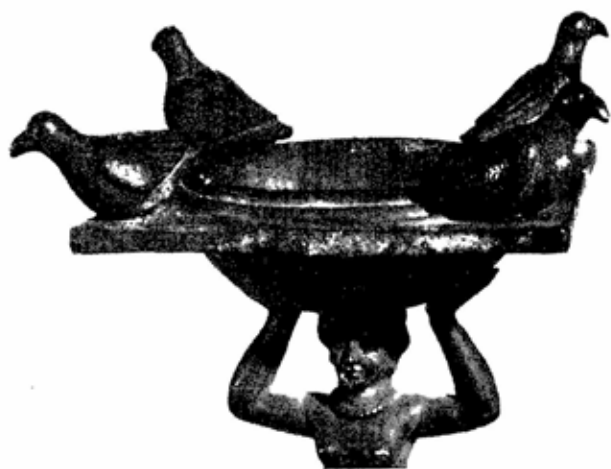
(b)

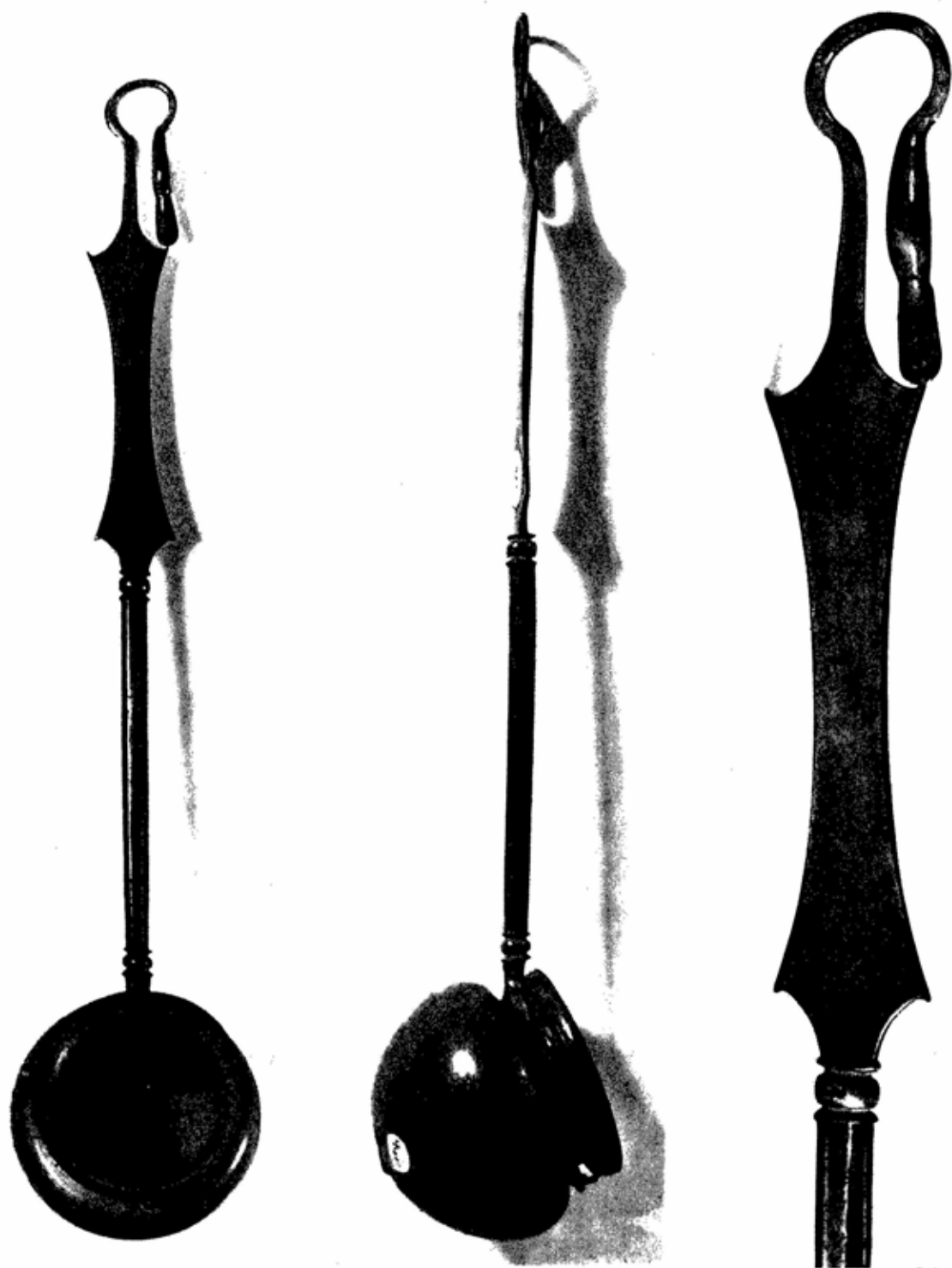


(a)









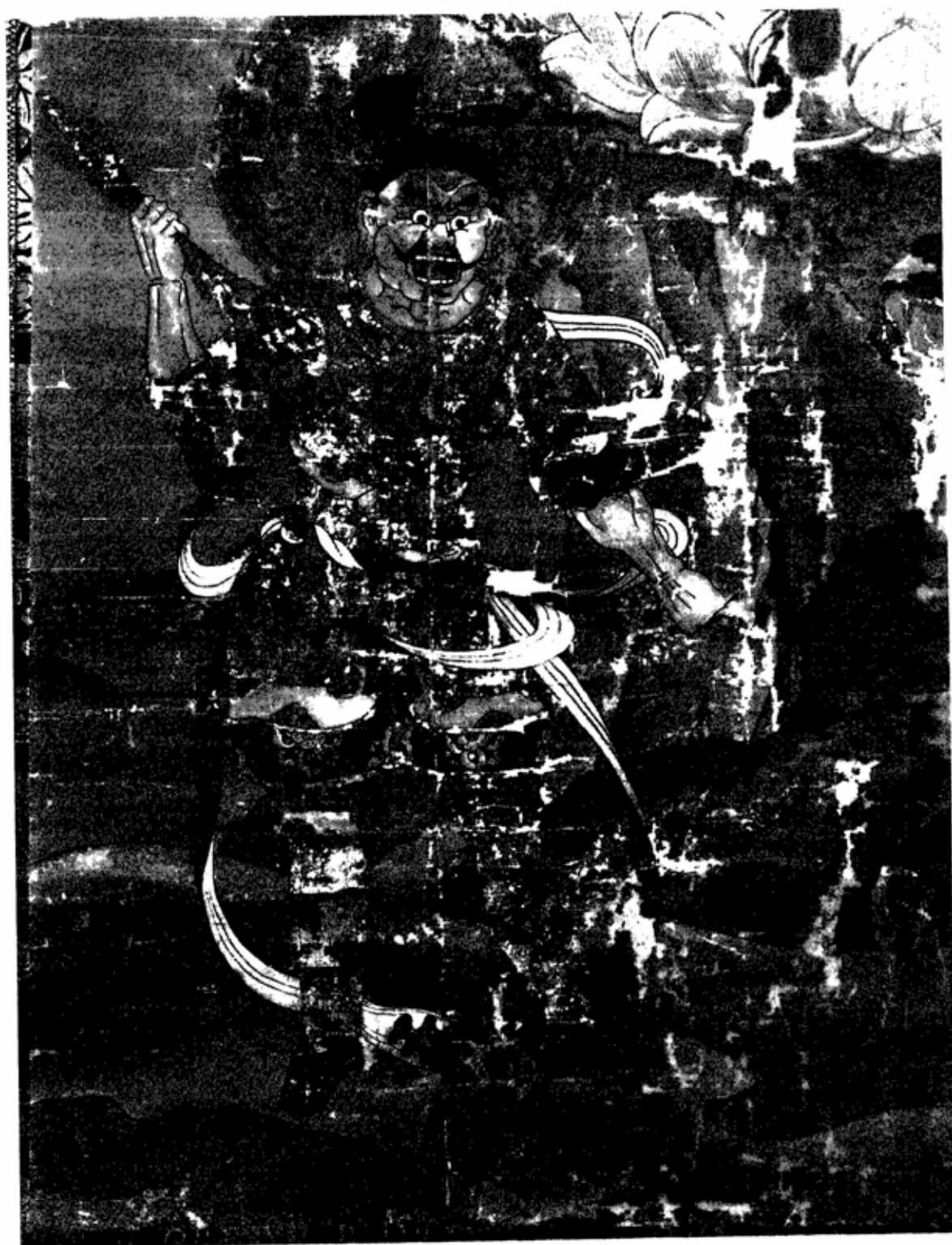
XL



XLI. FUKU KENZAKU KANNON, 1170-80



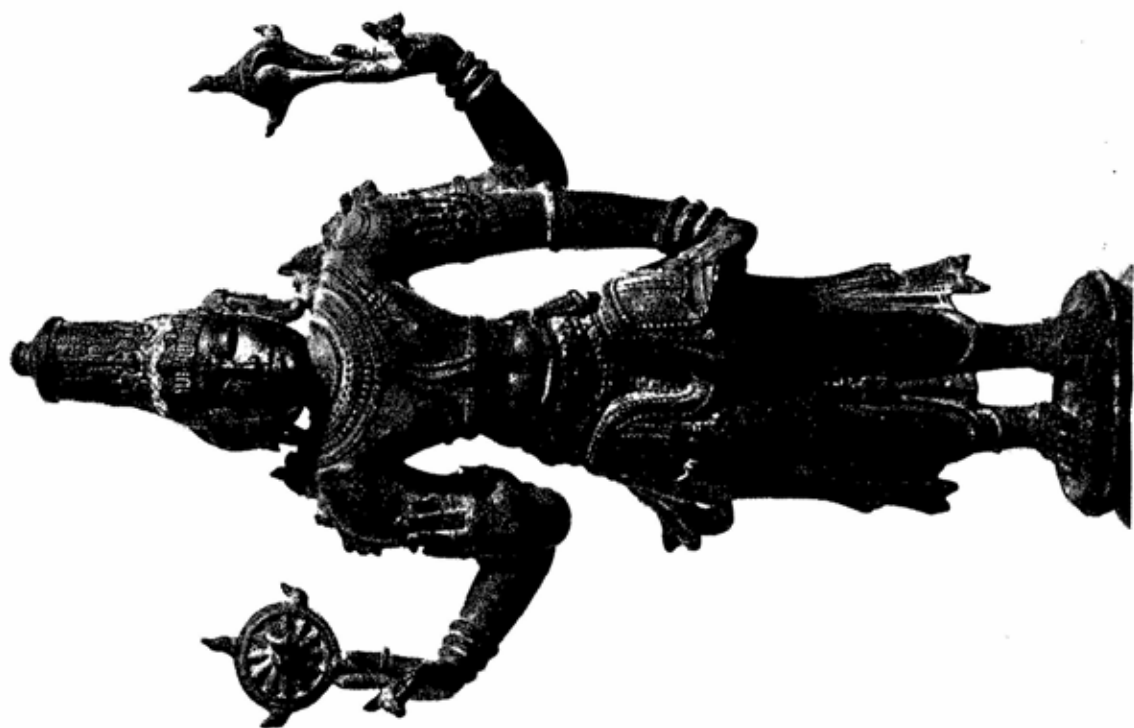
XLII. GUARDIAN, detail of Plate XLI



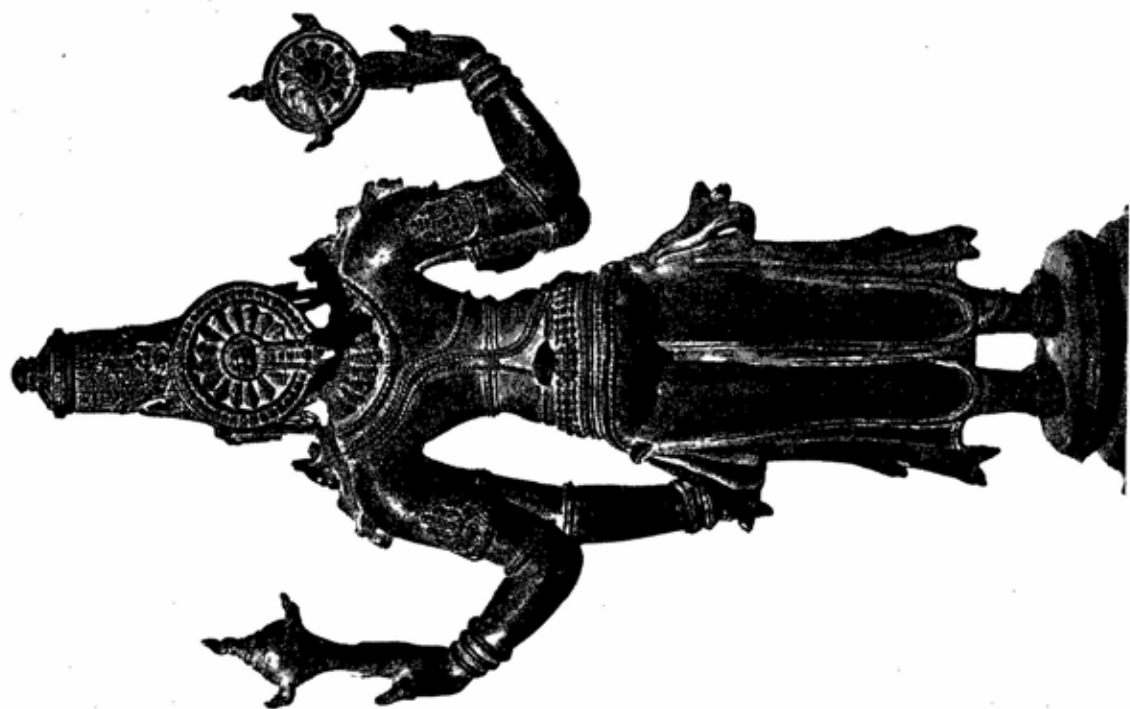
XLIH. SHIKKONGŌJIN, detail of Plate XLI



XLIV. FUKU KENZAKU KANNON ON LOTUS THRONE, detail of Plate XLI



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



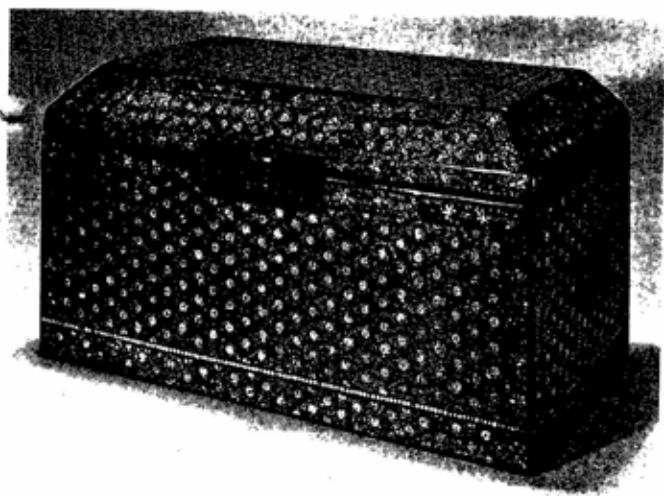




(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)

LI. (a) INLAID LACQUER SUTRA BOX, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and silver wire. Korean, 13th century
(b) Detail of lacquer sutra box, showing inlaid design. Korean, 13th century



(a)



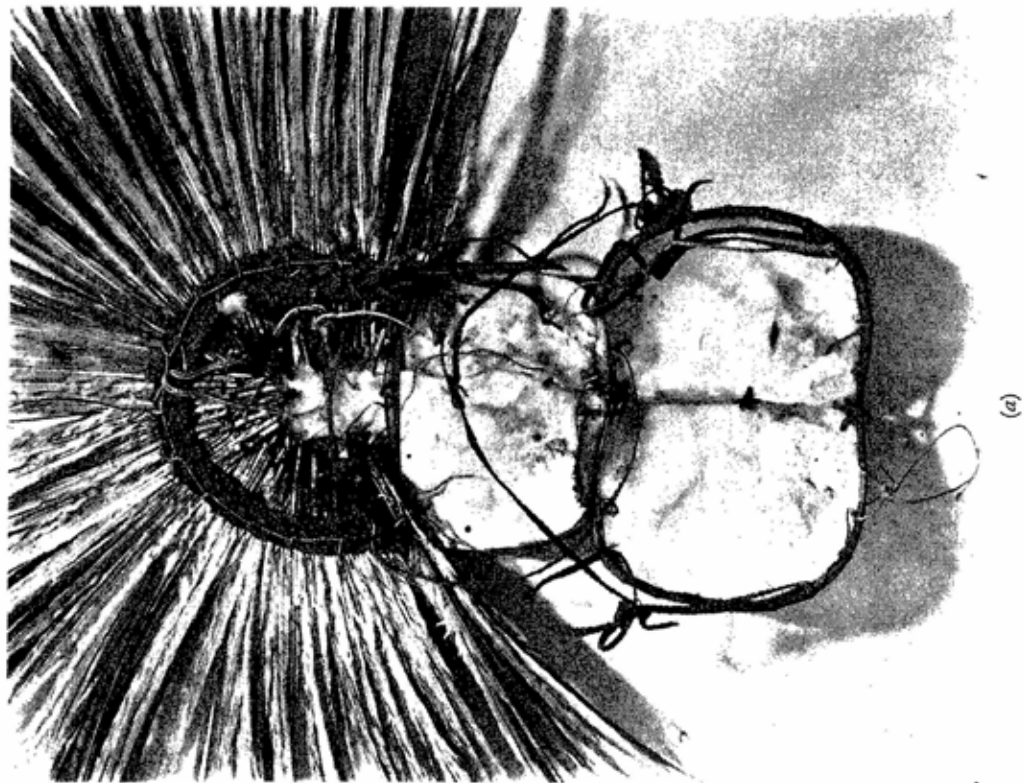
(b)

LII. THE TAHITIAN CHIEF MOURNER'S DRESS; (a) front, (b) back



A TOUTAPOW WITH A CORPSE ON IT
Attended by the Chief Mourner in his 'Moles of Ceremony'
Engraved from a drawing by W. Woollett from a drawing by W. Hodges

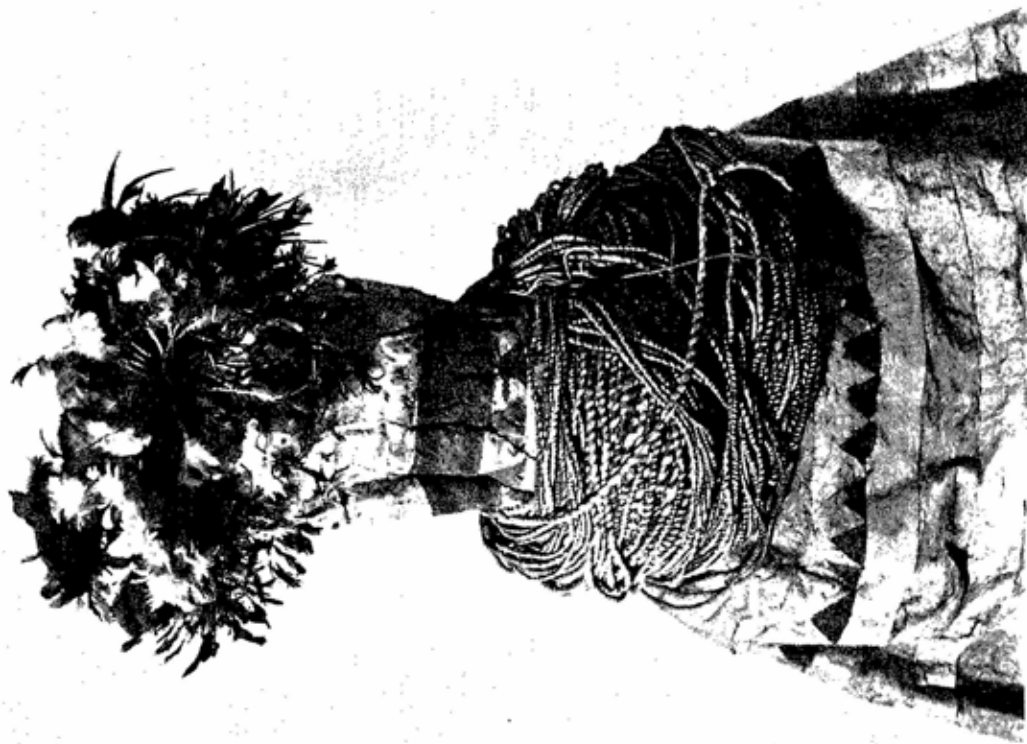
LIII. A BIER WITH MOURNERS, AND A CHIEF MOURNER WITH ONE OF HIS BAND
 Engraved by W. Woollett from a drawing by W. Hodges



(a)

LIV. (a) The back of the headpiece

(b) The head of the mourners' dress, partly dismantled



(b)



(a)

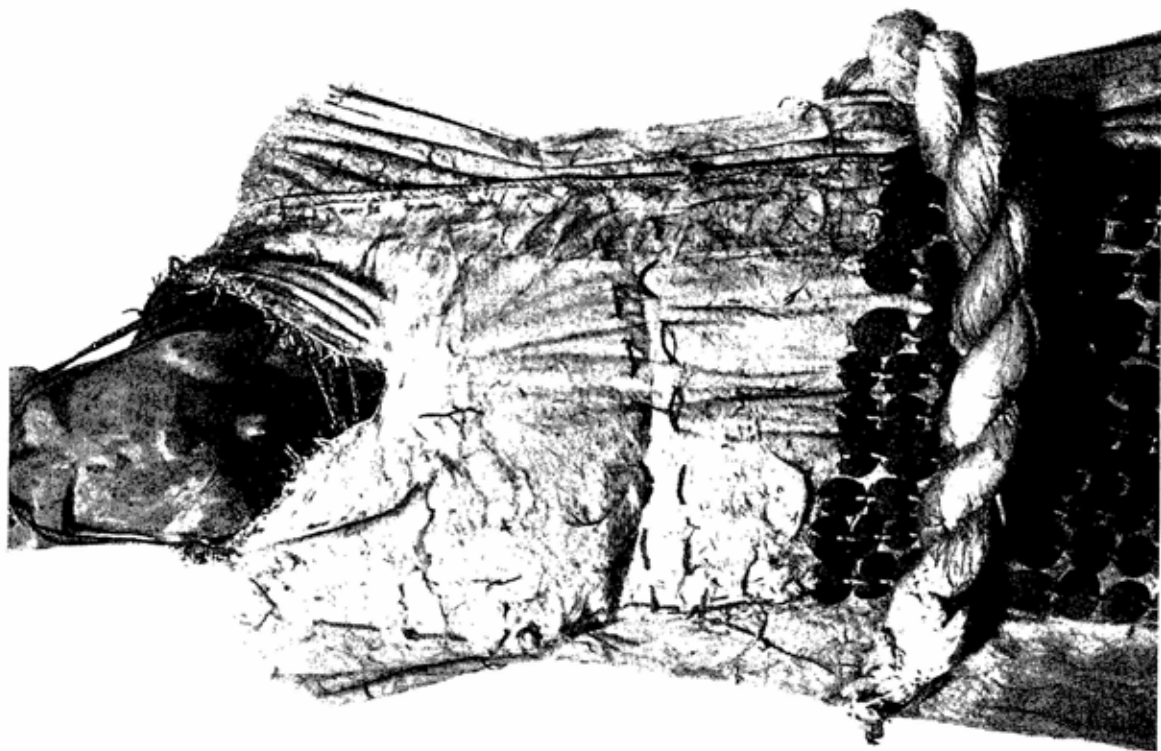


(b)

LV. THE WOODEN FIGURE, (a) front, (b) side view



(a)

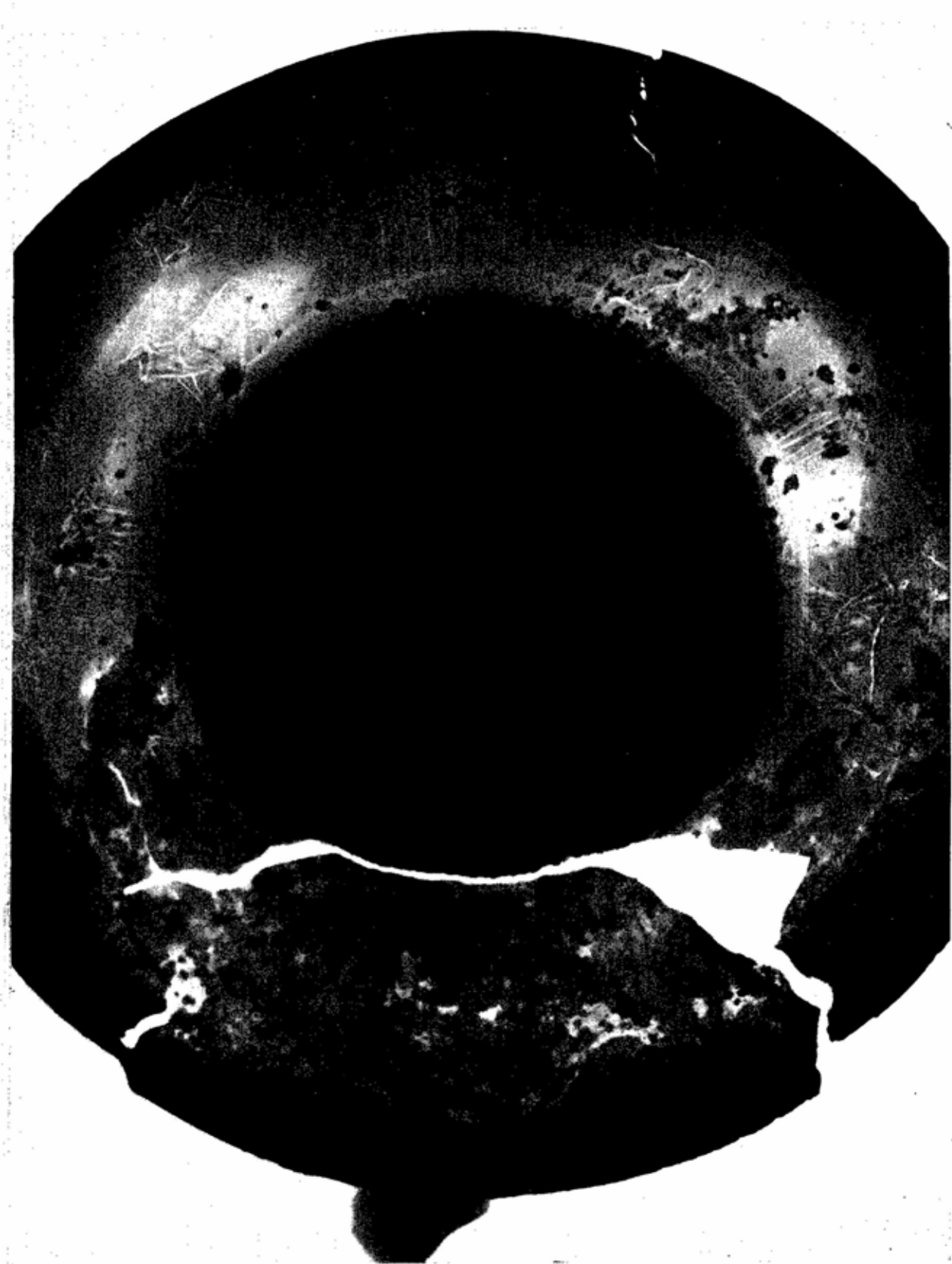


(b)

LVI. (a) THE FEATHER DRAPE (detail), (b) THE FOUNDATION LAYER OF THE DRESS (front)



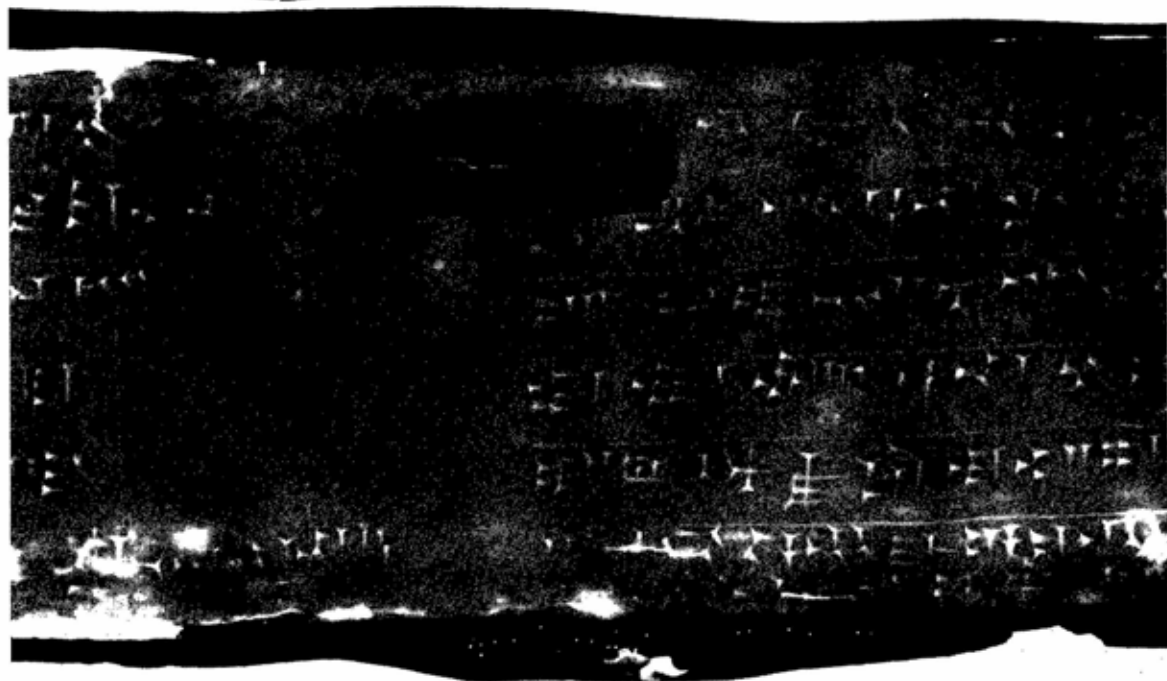
LVII. SHALLOW BRONZE PHOENICIAN BOWL (91420), the decoration hidden by corrosion



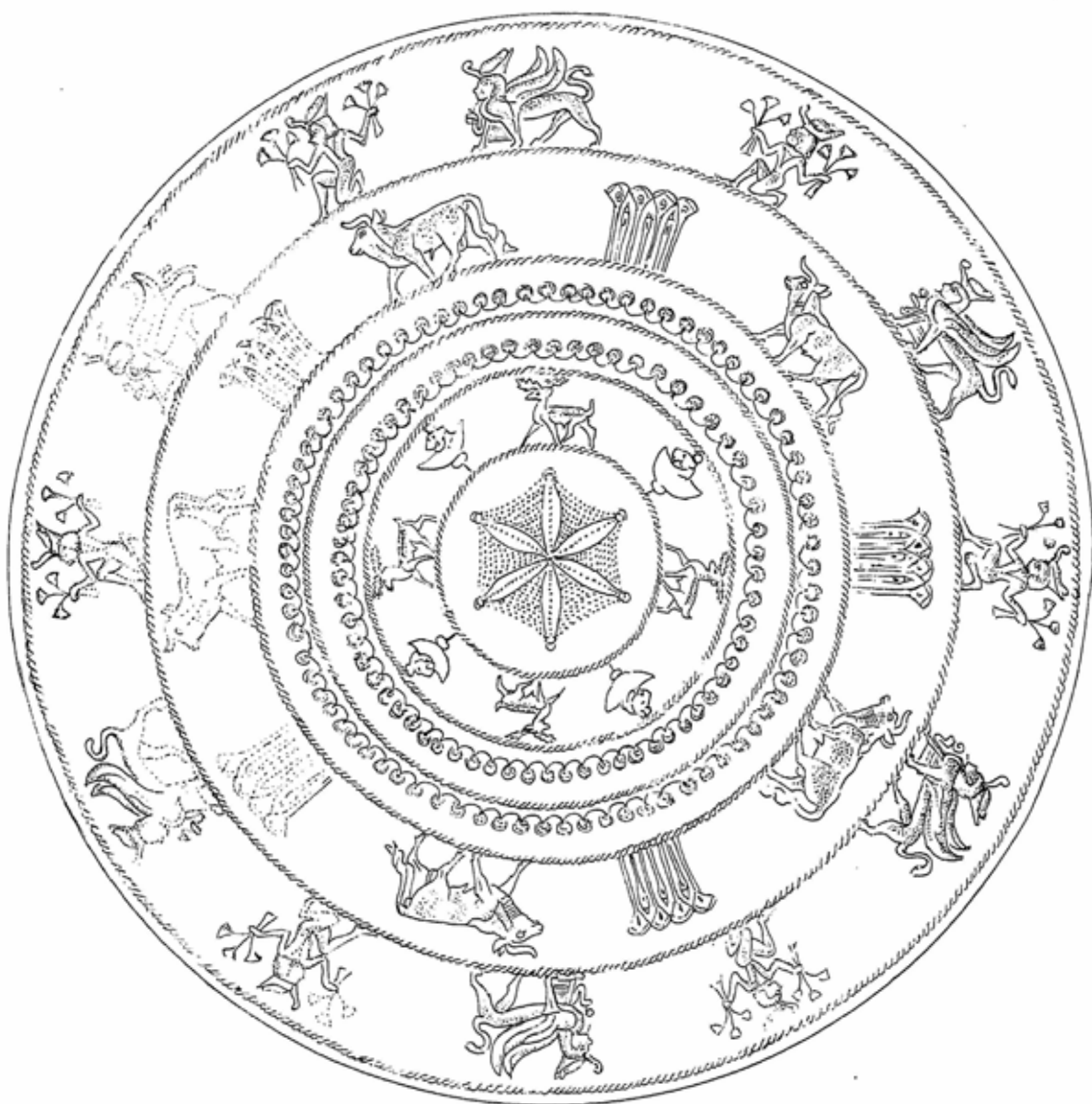
LVIII. RADIOGRAPH OF BOWL SHOWN IN PLATE LVII, taken to show decoration round the rim



LIX. (a) RADIOGRAPH OF BOWL SHOWN IN PLATE LVII
taken to show decoration in the centre

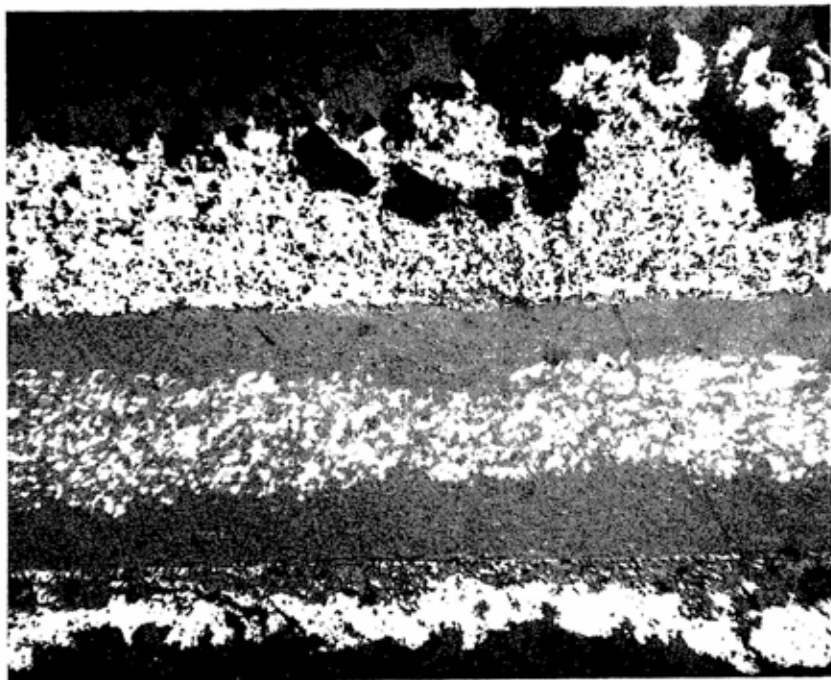


LIX. (b) RADIOGRAPH OF SECTION OF BOWL

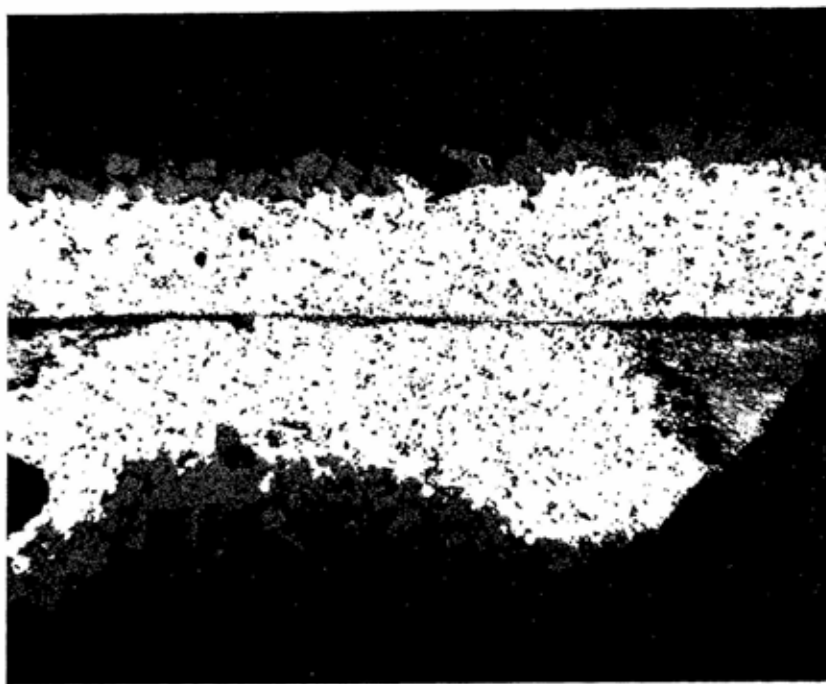


LX. DRAWING OF THE BOWL 91420 SHOWN IN PLATES LVII-LIX_a

(a) Cross-section of corroded metal from lower section of bowl. External layer (grey) is paratacamite, white layers are cuprite and central layer shows particulate copper (white spots) in matrix of nautokite and cassiterite (grey). Magnification eighty times. The black areas in the outer layers are due to pockets of porosity.



(b) Cross-section of corroded metal from lower section of bowl. External layer (grey) is paratacamite, white layers are cuprite and triangular areas (greyish) and thin line along centre is matrix of nautokite and cassiterite. Magnification eighty times. Black areas in the outer layers are due to pockets of porosity.





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