

Appendix 3: The Cambridge fragments of the earliest available copy of the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (*Cnd*) in the codex Σ .

Introduction

This appendix describes the available evidence about fragments of a copy of the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (*Cnd*) that are known to have existed in England since 1861, with the intention that the description of this evidence may assist in the location and identification of further fragments.¹

The Cnd in the codex Σ

The Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (*Cnd*) was contained in a codex, identified as Σ , that is known to have existed in the library of the Speyer cathedral chapter, at least between 1426/7 and 1550/1. This codex Σ (or Speyer codex, or codex Spirensis) contained a miscellany of documents that can be divided into 13 parts (hereafter referred to Σ 1- Σ 13)²: namely,

- < Σ 1 > 'Cosmographia' comprising
 - (a) (excerpt from Iulius Honorius)
 - (b) (excerpt from Orosius, *Historiae*, 1,2)
- < Σ 2 > 'Itineraria' comprising
 - (a) Itinerarium provinciarum antoni<ni> augusti
 - (b) Itinerarium maritimum imperatoris antonini augusti
- < Σ 3 > 'Montes urbis romae et aquae' comprising
 - (a) Septem montes urbis romae
 - (b) De aquarum ductibus romam rigantibus
- < Σ 4 > Dicuil, *Liber de mensura (provinciarum) orbis terrae*
- < Σ 5 > 'Notitia in provinciis galliarum'
- < Σ 6 > 'Enumeratio provinciarum romanarum' (from the almanac or *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius)
- < Σ 7 > 'De montibus portis et viis romae'
- < Σ 8 > 'De rebus bellicis'
- < Σ 9 > 'Disputatio hadriani augusti et epicteti philosophi'
- < Σ 10 > 'De regionibus urbis romae'
- < Σ 11 > 'Notitia urbis constantinopolitanae'
- < Σ 12 > 'De gradibus cognationum'
- < Σ 13 > Compilation 'Notitia dignitatum' (*Cnd*)

The last part of this miscellany, that is, Σ 13, the *Cnd*, was its largest part, occupying 164 pages, one of which contained no list or picture.

The documents that comprised parts Σ 1-13 were all copies of original documents created in different places, at various times, by different writers or compilers, but the coexistence of copies of all those original documents within a single miscellany, or in a single composite codex, is not known to have occurred for the first time in any codex earlier than the codex Σ .

*The Orsini codex*³

The production of the earliest known copy of documents contained within the codex Σ was completed in 1427. It was either produced for cardinal Giordano Orsini,⁴ who visited Speyer in July 1426 as papal legate in Germany, or it came into his possession soon afterwards. In his will, written at Bracciano and dated 26.Jul.1434, Orsini listed the books which he intended to bequeath to the basilica of St. Peter in Roma and which were, at that time, housed with custodians in both Nerula and Formello. Among the

¹ For their generous assistance, I thank colleagues at Holkham Hall, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge, the British Library, the Norfolk Record Office (Archive Centre), the Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery, and the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society and, especially, John Alban, Roger Bellinger, Barbara Green, Stella Panayotova, Suzanne Reynolds, Matthew Shaw, and Norma Watt.

² Other divisions have been made, as described in *Commentary* - §2: *The Speyer codex Σ* .

³ The evidence for the following two paragraphs is described in detail in the *Commentary* - §3: *The copies of the Cnd*.

⁴ Giordano Orsini (Iordanus Ursinus) (d. 29 July 1438), archbishop of Napoli from 1400, cardinal from 1405, cardinal bishop of Albano 1412, cardinal bishop of Sabina from 1431.



books in *Formello in domo Petracchini* there was listed a *Liber de armis et insignibus Romanorum antiquorum et de instrumentis bellicis in ipsis*. This descriptive title appears to refer to a copy of two documents of which the immediate common exemplar of all available copies existed in the codex Σ : namely, the '*de rebus bellicis*' or *Drb* ($\Sigma 8$) and the *Cnd* ($\Sigma 13$).

The codex produced in 1427 and belonging to Orsini is attested:

- (i) in the will of Orsini, dated 26.Jul.1434;
- (ii) in the royal library in Napoli, before 1481-1491;
- (iii) at Ferrara, in the possession of queen Isabella del Balzo, before 1527;
- (iv) in the Carthusian monastery of Aula Dei at Zaragoza (Cartuja de Aula Dei de Zaragoza), where it was used by Hieronymus Zurita (Jéronimo de Zurita y Castro) before his death in 1580;
- (v) in the library of Gaspar de Guzmán (1587-1645), *conde de Olivares, duque de Sanlúcar la Mayor*, near Sevilla (who obtained books from the Cartuja de Aula Dei de Zaragoza), in 1627; and
- (vi) in the monastery of the Discalced Augustinians at Lyon (Couvent des Augustins déchaussés de la Croix Rousse, established at Lyon in 1624) in about 1700.

In about 1700, these Augustinians at Lyon produced an undated printed catalogue of their manuscripts which listed some 231 items.⁵ This *Catalogue des livres manuscrits [...]* suggested that those interested in these books should contact *frère Éloy, augustin déchaussé*, who was *portier du co<u>vent*. Among the *Manuscrits Latins*, the catalogue included a *Cosmographia Ætici seu Mappa mundi et Itinerarium Antonini imp.*, and described its contents as containing a copy, not only of the *Drb* and of the *Cnd*, of which the immediate common exemplar of all known copies existed in the codex Σ as $\Sigma 8$ and $\Sigma 13$, but also of other documents of which copies existed in the codex Σ , in which they were arranged in the sequence listed in the *Catalogue*: namely, a copy of the *Cosmographia* or *Cho* ($\Sigma 1$), the *Itineraria* or *Ipm* ($\Sigma 2$), the *Disputatio Hadriani et Epicteti* or *Dhe* ($\Sigma 9$) and the *De regionibus urbis Romae* or *Rur* ($\Sigma 10$). The fact that this codex belonged to Orsini, instead of being a copy of the one that he owned, is demonstrated by the observation that the armorial emblem of Orsini existed on its first page (*les armes du cardinal Ursin sont au premier feuillet*).⁶ Only four copies of this *Catalogue* have been identified.⁷

⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Réserve m.Q.37:

CATALOGUE DES LIVRES MANUSCRITS, Tres Antiques & Curieux sur le Velin, & Papier; Dont plusieurs, sont Originaux, & ornés de Figures en Mignature, relevées d'Or, et bordées de tres belles Vignettes, qui sont la plusparts reliés en Velours, en Parchemin & carton d'oré, d'une tres grande propreté.

<pp.1-7> MANUSCRITS LATINS <p.7> MANUSCRITS GRECS <pp.8-16> MANUSCRITS FRANCOIS <pp.16-17> MANUSCRITS ESPAGNOL. PORTUGAIS & CATALANS <p.17> MANUSCRITS ITALIENS <p.17> MANUSCRITS TURCS ET ARABES

<all the items on pp. 1-17 are printed and the last 3 lines on p.17 have:> *Les Curieux qui desireront Voir les susdits Livres Manuscrits Anciens, s'adresseront au Frere Eloy Augustin Dechaussé, Portier du Convent <!\> de la Croix Rousse. A Lyon.* <followed by the hand-written note *Verte Folium*>. The 17 printed pages are followed by 12 further pages, un-numbered, of which the first 5 contain hand-written additions to the catalogue, and the remaining 7 are blank.

⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Réserve m.Q.37: <p.4> *Cosmographia Ætici seu Mappa mundi & Itinerarium Antonini imp. in-folio. manus. sur le Velin, d'un petit caractere rond. Æticus vivoit dans le quatrième Siécle, du temps de Theodose le Grand; il étoit Scite de nation et grand Philosophe, son Livre contient. Primò, la Description du Monde. Secundò, un Itineraire. Tertio, les Figures des anciennes Monoyes. Quartò, les Figures des machines de Guerre. Quintò, un Dialogue de l'Empereur Adrien, &t du Philosophe Epictette. Sextò, la Description particuliere des 14 Cartiers ou Regions de la Ville de Rome. Septimò, la liste & les marques des Dignités, tant Civiles, que Militaires de l'ancien Empire Romain, Enseignes des Legions, Cohortes et autres Corps, soit de Cavalerie et d'Infanterie. Le tout est representé en Figures de Mignature relevées d'Or. Ce Manus est tres rare et tres curieux, les Armes du Cardinal Ursin sont au premier feuillet.*

⁷ Henri Martin, *Histoire de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. (Paris, Plon & Nurrin, 1900), pp. 245-274 § III. *Bibliothèque des Augustins déchaussés de la Croix-Rousse de Lyon. Catalogue de leurs*

The fragments of a 1427 copy of the Cnd in England

There exist in Cambridge, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, as *ms. 86-1972*, five separate or disjointed parchment or vellum sheets, or folia, containing a copy of the following pictures and lists that existed in the *Cnd*: namely:⁸

1r	<i>Cnd.47 (picture) &</i>) <i>Vicarius dioceseos ponticae</i>	255 mm (H) x 190 mm (W) cut
1v	<i>Cnd.48 (list):</i>) <i>Vicarius dioceseos ponticae</i>	
2r	<i>Cnd.81 (picture and list):</i>	<i>Consularis palaestinae</i>	260 mm (H) x 205 mm (W)
2v	<i>Cnd.82 (picture and list):</i>	<i>Praeses thebaidos</i>	
3r	<i>Cnd.117 (picture and list):</i>	<i>Magistri scriniorum</i>	262 mm (H) x 195 mm (W) cut at side
3v	<i>Cnd.118 (picture and list,1-3):</i>	<i>Proconsul africae</i>	
4r	<i>Cnd.142 (picture &</i>) <i>Dux provinciae valeriae ripensis</i>	263 mm (H) x 202 mm (W)
4v	<i>Cnd.143 (list):</i>) <i>Dux provinciae valeriae ripensis</i>	
5r	<i>Cnd.163 (picture) &</i>) <i>Praeses dalmatiae</i>	250 mm (H) x 205 mm (W) cut at bottom
5v	<i>Cnd.164 (list):</i>) <i>Praeses dalmatiae</i>	

These folia are referred to as **C** (*for Cambridge*). The text in **C** is written in an Italian bookhand and the lists, where they occupied more than one column, as on f.4v, are arranged in 2 columns per page and 36 lines per column. All the picture captions, drawings captions and list items are written by the same scribe, who also wrote the following colophon in the lower half of f.5v: *Explicit Mappa Mundi scriptu(m) p(er) Antoniu(m) Angelj de Aquila. Sub Anno d(omi)nj Mill(es)i(m)o cccxxvij de m(en)se. Julij die xij(m)o eiusde(m) mensis etc /.*

On f.5v, an area of the parchment extending across the entire width of the page, commencing about 1 cm above the colophon and extending upwards to a height of about 3 cm, is scoured and marked, while about 1 cm below the colophon and to a depth of about 2.5 cm there are signs of scouring of the parchment and traces attesting to the erasure of at least four lines of text, none of which can now be deciphered. The scouring above the colophon was sufficiently substantial to create a large hole through the parchment causing the loss part of the drawing on f.5r. A vellum tag (c.40 mm H x c.125 mm W) was pasted onto f.5v to cover this hole, and this tag has the pencil note: *no.342 Libri Sale 1862*.

The four outer margins of each of the five folia comprising **C** show impressions and discolouration which together demonstrate that the four outer margins or sides of each folium were once enclosed within an open frame - that is, one in which both sides (the front and back) of each folium were visible. At the centre of the top of each folium, within the area previously covered by the frame, each folium has a hole consistent with the framed folium having been nailed to some object, or suspended from a nail or similar projection, or hung from a string looped through that central hole.

Every folium has the pencil notation *N 114* written on one of its sides: on 1v, 2v, 3r, 4v, within the area covered by the open frame and on 5v below the area covered by the open frame. In each case, therefore, except 5v, the notation *N 114* would have been covered by that frame if it had been written before the frame was added. In the case of the three folia (f.1, 4, 5) containing only a picture on one page and only a list on the other, the notation *N 114* occurs on the page containing the list (f.1v, 4v, 5v). On the remaining two folia, which combine picture and text on both their pages, the notation occurs on that side of the folium showing less physical damage. This suggests that the notation *N 114* occurred on the back of each of the five folia which, showing evidence of having been mounted within an open frame and pierced with

manuscripts. Apart from the copy cited above and used here, (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Réserve m.Q.37), Martin (p.247) found three other copies. All four copies differ in the hand-written additions following the printed text. He printed a transcript (pp.250-274) of the *Catalogue*, in which he assigned a number to each item. These numbers do not exist in the copy cited here.

In the numbers interpolated by Martin into his transcript of the *Catalogue*, the *Cosmographia Aetici seu Mappa mundi et Itinerarium Antonini imp.* is No.57.

⁸ The sheets, which do not have numbers consistent with those that they could have had in the codex from which they were removed, have been assigned two different series of pencil numbers since 1862. In the following list, the sequence of the sheets is arranged, and their sides or pages are numbered, in the order in which the corresponding pictures and lists occurred in the *Cnd*.

a hole through the top frame margin, was displayed to show that side of the folium that did not carry that notation. In other words, the folia comprising **C** were, at some time, framed and displayed to show: 1r (containing a copy of the picture *Cnd.47: vicarius dioceseos ponticae*), 2r (picture and list *Cnd.81: consularis palaestinae*), 3v (picture and list *Cnd.118: proconsul africae*), 4r (picture *Cnd.142: dux provinciae valeriae*) and 5r (picture *Cnd.163: praeses dalmatiae*). The occurrence of the notation *N 114* on the back, or non-displayed side of each folium, within the area previously covered by the frame, suggests that this notation would most probably have been added at the time when each frame was being, or had been, removed and when, therefore, it was still possible to distinguish between the front or displayed side of each folium and the back, to which the notation was added. The difference in wear or deterioration between the front or displayed side of each folium and the back, which carried the notation *N 114*, is sufficient to suggest that these framed folia were displayed for some considerable time before they were sold in 1861.

It is certain that:

- Giordano Orsini was in Speyer in July 1426;
- he owned a copy of documents that were derived from **Σ**; that his copy was produced in 1427; and that it existed in his library by 1434;
- his copy contained his armorial emblem;
- his copy existed in the Augustinian library at Lyon c.1700 because the codex described in the Augustinian *Catalogue* as containing a copy of documents from **Σ** contained his armorial emblem on its first page;
- the Augustinian *Catalogue* refers to the compilation in his copy as *Cosmographia Aetici seu Mappa mundi*.

The colophon contained in **C** on f.5v:

- is written by the scribe who wrote the picture captions, the drawing captions and the lists in **C**;
- identifies the home town of the scribe as L'Aquila, which was an important town in the Angevin kingdom of Napoli, of whose capital Orsini was the archbishop;
- dates the production of the codex from which it was removed to 1427.
- refers to the contents of the miscellany in that codex with two titles, one of which is *Mappa Mundi*.

It exists as a possibility that the colophon in **C** was copied from one in the Orsini codex, in the same way that the colophon by Pietro Donato in **O** was copied, or occasionally adapted, into most derivatives of **O**: that is, that **C** is a fragment of a copy of the Orsini codex and not a fragment of the latter itself.

But, there is circumstantial evidence that the colophon in **C** was not copied from its exemplar and that the five folia comprising **C** are actually fragments of the Orsini codex listed in the Augustinian *Catalogue* in Lyon, c.1700:

- among all the available and unavailable copies⁹ derived from the codex **Σ**, no copy is associated with the date 1427 other than the copy that is demonstrably the one containing the armorial emblem of Orsini, which was in the Augustinian library in Lyon, c.1700;
- the Orsini codex and the folia **C** are the only derivatives of **Σ** that are associated with both the date 1427 and with the title *Mappa mundi*;
- the Orsini codex was in the library of the Augustinians in Lyon from whom a considerable number of the manuscripts listed in their *Catalogue* were demonstrably bought in 1715 by visitors from England during their Grand Tour; and
- the folia **C** are known to have been in England at least since July 1861.

This circumstantial evidence is sufficient to conclude that the five folia comprising **C** were removed from the codex produced in 1427 that was owned by Orsini by 1434. This codex **Co** (for *Cambridge/Orsini*) was eventually located in the monastery of the Augustinians at Lyon.

Given the description of the Orsini manuscript in the Augustinian *Catalogue* as *tres rare et tres curieux* and containing *les Armes du Cardinal Ursin*, it is improbable that the folia **C** were removed from **Co** at Lyon. It is assumed, therefore, that the entire codex was brought to England. What is unknown, at present, is precisely when it was brought to England, by whom and to which location, and when and by

⁹ An *available* copy is one that is generally known to exist; an *unavailable* copy is one that is generally known to have existed previously but either no longer exists or is unidentified.

whom *Co* was dismembered. The following evidence may contribute to eventual answers to these questions and, perhaps, to the location or identification of further fragments.

The ownership of the folia C in England

(i) John W. Burgon, before 12 July 1861

The five folia C were sold by John William Burgon (1813-1888) at an auction held by Puttick and Simpson in London on 12.Jul.1861. It has not yet been possible to identify evidence indicating where, when or from whom Burgon obtained these folia.

John William Burgon was the son of Thomas Burgon (1787-1858) who was employed in his later years as an assistant in the coin room of the British Museum.¹⁰ In 1839, John Burgon published a biography of Sir Thomas Gresham,¹¹ partly based upon material he obtained from Dawson Turner (1775-1858) at Great Yarmouth.¹² Burgon entered Winchester College at Oxford in 1841; was elected fellow of Oriel College in 1846; obtained his M.A. and was ordained in 1848; was appointed Gresham professor of Divinity, 1867, and was made Dean of Chichester in 1876.

He had a particular interest and expertise in manuscripts (attending auctions and otherwise pursuing this interest)¹³, and was an accomplished draftsman, having drawn the antiquities collection his father had offered for sale to the British Museum. He had a special interest in art in antiquity, outlining some of his observations in his tract *Some remarks on art, with reference to the studies at the University* <of

¹⁰ Murphy, G.M., *Burgon, John William (1813-1888)*: in Matthew, H.C.G. & Harrison, B. (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, from the earliest times to the year 2000* (Oxford, University Press, 2004), vol.8, Brown-Burston pp.804-806.

¹¹ Burgon, J.W., *The life and times of Sir Thomas Gresham, Knt, founder of the Royal Exchange, including notices of many of his contemporaries, with illustrations*. (2 vols., London, Jennings, 1839).

¹² Burgon, *op.cit.*, 1839, in the preface (pp.xv-xvi) recorded his gratitude to *many kind friends [...]; and to no one more distinctly than to my kind friend Dawson Turner, Esq., of Yarmouth, not only in affording me opportunities of access to his valuable MS. library, but for the zealous manner in which, from the beginning, he has uniformly done every thing in his power to facilitate my researches*.

In 1838, while visiting places in Norfolk during his research for his biography of Thomas Gresham (see note 11), Burgon met Turner to use documents in his library. From this time there began a long friendship between the two and Turner provided financial support to Burgon to pursue his studies at Oxford. (Goulburn, E.M., *John William Burgon, late Dean of Chichester. A biography with extracts from his letters and early journals*. (2 vols., London, Murray, 1892), vol.1, p.71.

¹³ Goulburn, *op.cit.*, 1982, vol.1, pp.101-104, printed the following letter of Burgon to Turner: *Brunswick Square, April 2, 1840.*

My dear Sir, - [...] <p.102> On Thursday, in consequence of a catalogue I received from Sotheby, I went to see a small portion of the paper documents [...]. These autographs belonged as I discovered, to a binder named Mackenzie, living in Westminster, [...] his house was full of parchments, which he had bought at the rate of 9d per lb, and which he would sell <p.103> me for 1s.6d. I offered him 20 or 30 or 40 times that sum, if he would allow me to pick out a few pounds, but no multiple of 1s.6d. would induce him to accede to the proposition. It was very tempting <but> The following consideration made me resolve to refuse the entire collection. It would have cost £120; I examined one untouched bag to the depth of a foot or two, and it contained literally, rubbish: dusty, dirty fragments, about an inch or two square; and lastly, however agreeable it may be to possess a few choice specimens of parchment documents, it is not pleasant to turn parchment dealer. I must inform you that the proprietor of these documents had selected, out of a single bag, as he said, a dozen or two of documents which he showed me, and they were curious - very. One was a list of Queen Elizabeth's gentleman-pensioners, with their salaries, and so on. I wonder what you would have done if you had been there! [...]

Oxford>,¹⁴ which included references to the *distinctive types or modes of representation* of Greek deities and *other personages* (pp.23-23); the need to study ancient art to understand ancient literature (p.46); the *form* of depiction in antiquity; and the *subject of colour* (p.60). He emphasised the importance of the study of ancient and medieval art and also displayed an interest in heraldry.¹⁵

(ii) *Guglielmo Libri from 12 July 1861*

Guglielmo Libri Carucci dalla Sommaja (1803-1869) purchased the folia C from John William Burgon at the auction held by Puttick and Simpson in London on 12.Jul.1861,¹⁶ where they were advertised as lot 705.¹⁷ The identification of Burgon as the seller of C is attested in two annotated copies of the Sale Catalogue: namely, a copy annotated by the auctioneer,¹⁸ and another copy annotated by Sir Frederic Madden (1801-1873), Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum from 1837 until 1866.¹⁹ Both catalogues show that C was sold for £ 6-7-6; the auctioneer's copy records Burgon as the seller, while Madden's copy noted that the folia were purchased by Molini, the agent for Guglielmo Libri.

Burgon attended this auction, at which he attempted, unsuccessfully, to sell two other manuscripts: lot 686, *Almanac or Kalendar*, and lot 710, *Henry VIII [...] to Bonner*.²⁰ Burgon is not recorded as having either sold or purchased any other items during the four days of this auction.

¹⁴ printed in Oxford, by Francis Macpherson, 1846. (copy in the British Library, 7806.b.3).

¹⁵ Murphy, *op.cit.*, 2004, p.805.

¹⁶ Puttick and Simpson Sales Catalogue, Vol.76, No.688 (10.Jul.1861) (British Library - S.C. Puttick & Simpson Vol.76, Sale Catalogue 688 is the auctioneer's annotated copy)

<un-numb. titlepage> *Catalogue of an extraordinary collection of rare & interesting books chiefly in fine condition, some presenting fine examples of choice ancient Italian, English, German, and other bindings, and comprising [...]. Also some highly curious and interesting manuscripts. [...] Also above three hundred charters and deeds from the famous Surrenden collection, formed by Sir Edward Dering, [...] which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, auctioneers of literary property and works of art, at their new and very spacious premises, No. 47, Leicester Square, on Wednesday, July 10th, 1861, and three following days, at one o'clock most punctually. May be viewed two days before the sale.*

This catalogue comprises 108 pp and describes lots (not all of which were books) sold over four days: *First day's sale - Wednesday 10 July 1861* (pp.1-24 = lots 1-289), *Second day's sale* <Thursday 11 Jul> (pp.25-46 = lots 290-532), *Third day's sale* <Friday 12 Jul> (pp.46-80 = lots 533-774) *Fourth day's sale* <Saturday 13 Jul> (pp.81-108 = lots 794-1113).

¹⁷ Under the heading *Third day's sale - manuscripts*, there is listed, on p.67, lot: *705 Fragment of an illuminated Manuscript, consisting of five leaves, all containing drawings in colour, miniatures, etc. one representing a king seated in his throne, holding a banner inscribed "Provincia Palestina." One leaf concludes "Explicit Mappa Mundi Scriptum per Antonium Angeli de Aquila. Sub anno dñi Millio cccxxvij.*

¹⁸ In the auctioneer's annotated copy of the Puttick and Simpson Sale Catalogue No.688, 10.Jul.1861, (see note 16), the auctioneer wrote the following notation beside lot 705: *T eo Burg. so. Bol. ce. 705 Molini 6.7.6*, which indicates the name of the seller *Burg(on)*, the lot number *705*, the purchaser *Molini* and the price (£) *6.7.6*

¹⁹ In the copy of the Puttick and Simpson Sale Catalogue No.688, 10.Jul.1861, annotated by Madden (British Library - P.R.2.d.22 (3)), on p.67, he noted the purchase price | *6.7.6* | and the names of both the agent and the purchaser | *Molini* | *for Libri* |.

²⁰ The auctioneer's annotated copy of the Sale Catalogue (see note 16) records that, at the *Third day's sale* (comprising lots 533-767, sold on Friday 12.Jul.1861), Burgon was both the seller and purchaser of the following two lots (that is, they were passed in):

In the columns on the page opposite to the one to which is glued the printed catalogue description:
lot 686: Almanac or Kalendar, somewhat similar to the preceding, but more minute, beautifully written in red and black upon 12 leaves of fine thin vellum, the capitals illuminated; each leaf

Between 12.Jul.1861, when he purchased the folia C, and 26.Jul.1862, when he sold them, Libri produced a publication in which he described some items in his collection preparatory to their sale.²¹ In this publication, on page LIV, there are coloured facsimiles of five different items, one of which is an image of the page C (3r) *Magistri scriniorum* above a description in English and in French.²²

(iii) *Sir Thomas Phillipps, from 26 July 1862*

Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) purchased C from Guglielmo Libri at the auction held by Sotheby and Wilkinson in London on 26.Jul.1862, where they were advertised as lot 342.²³ Phillipps paid £ 21-0-0.

folded to a small size, and fastened to a brass pendant, with silken strings to attach to a lady's girdle. Curious and rare, a very fine and perfect specimen. Saec.XVI

there is the auctioneer's handwritten ink annotation: | *Burg ws/ FB lo/ | 86 | Burgon | 2 | 2 | |*

And, in the columns on the page opposite to the one to which is glued the printed catalogue description:

lot 710: Henry VIII; Sign manual to letters patent directed to Doctor Bonner, 1 page folio at o' Castell of Wyndessor the xvij day of August <1533>. A most important document. Directing Bonner to notify the Pope of the King's appeal from the sentence of excommunication on account of his divorce from Queen Catherine, or otherwise to "advise vs of yor mynd and opynyon in that behalf". Formerly in Thane's collection. Bishop Bonner was at this time the King's Chaplain, and had been sent to Rome to forward the King's views with respect to the divorce. He is said to have conducted himself so intemperately on this mission, that the pope threatened to have him thrown into a cauldron of molten lead.

there is the auctioneer's handwritten annotation: | *B cl/. Bur a/ co/ | 10 | Burgon | 5 | - | - |*

This second item, lot 710, is apparently the one which Burgon discussed with Madden at their meeting on 31.May.1861 (see note 32).

In the copy of the Puttick and Simpson Sale Catalogue annotated by Madden (see note 19) he noted the name of Burgon as the purchaser of only lot 686 and lot 710.

²¹ (British Library - 1758.c.22): MONUMENTS INÉDITS OU PEU CONNUS, FAISANT PARTIE DU CABINET DE GUILLAUME LIBRI, ET QUI RAPPORTENT À L'HISTOIRE DES ARTS DU DESSIN CONSIDÉRÉS DANS LEUR APPLICATION À L'ORNEMENT DES LIVRES. AVEC UND DESCRIPTION EN FRANÇAIS ET EN ANGLAIS. LONDRES: DULAU & CIE. ÉDITEURS, 37, SOHO SQUARE. 1862. (Introduction pp.3-14 and 60 pages of Plates numbered I-LX).

<p.4> *Although solely intended to reproduce objects drawn from a single collection, the selection now offered to the public embraces, generally, everything that appertains to the decoration of books. [...].* <footnote> *The bibliographic descriptions of the objects will be found at Messers. Dulau & Co., 37 Soho Square, in the Catalogue of the reserved portion of the Cabinet of M.Libri, London, 1862, in 8vo.*

<p.7> *In Plate LIV will be seen how the public Registers were preserved in the archives of the Byzantine Emperors, [...].*

²² *Page taken from a Mappa Mundi written in 1427 by Antonio Angeli d'Aquila, and representing the manner in which, at the Court of Constantinople, were preserved in various Registers, or Rolls, the State-Papers and the Correspondence in different languages, even those in cypher. and*
Page tirée d'une Mappemonde exécutée en 1427 par Antonio Angeli d'Aquila. Cette page représente la manière dont, à la cour de Constantinople, on gardait dans les registres, ou en rouleaux, les documents de l'état, les correspondances en différentes langues, et même en chiffre.

²³ Sotheby & Wilkinson Sales Catalogue 1862,
(British Library L - S.C. S. 519 is the auctioneer's annotated copy)
Catalogue of the reserved and most valuable portion of the Libri collection, containing one of the most extraordinary assemblages of ancient manuscripts and printed books ever submitted for sale, many with ornamented covers in ivory, metal, silver, gilt, &c. &c. executed from the sixth to the thirteenth century, and enriched with enamels, antique cameos and precious stones. Among the choicest manuscripts will be found: [...]. Among the printed books are: [...]; several unknown block-books; and a large collection of ancient drawings by the great masters; [...] together with the magnificent collection of historical ornamented bindings, [...]; the whole in the most perfect state of preservation, as may be seen in the facsimiles of the bindings executed in gold, silver, and colours,

Madden received the *Proof Sheets*²⁴ of the Catalogue for this sale on 1.Jul.1862 and noted this in his *Memoranda of Business*.²⁵ A subsequent entry in his *Memoranda*, and two entries in his *Journal*²⁶

given by M. Libri in his magnificent work entitled, "Inedited or scarcely known monuments relating to the history of art in its application to the ornamentation of books" - which will be sold by auction by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson, auctioneers of literary property and works illustrative of the fine arts, at their house, 13 (late 3), Wellington Street, Strand, W.C. On Friday, the 25th July, 1862, and three following days, (Sunday excepted), at one o'clock precisely each day. On view three days prior to the sale and catalogues may be had (in English or French) from the auctioneers, and the principal booksellers in England and on the Continent.

The printed notice, on un-numbered p.iii, lists the actual sale days and and relevant pages of the catalogue as follows: *First Day's Sale Friday July 25th 1862 Page 1* <lots 1-180> *Second Day's Sale Saturday July 26th 1862* <Page> 48 <lots 181-369> *Third Day's Sale Monday July 28th 1862* <Page> 101 <lots 370-524> *Fourth Day's Sale Tuesday July 29th 1862* <Page> 140 <lots 525-713>. The lots in the catalogue are not subdivided into these days and are listed alphabetically, by title or assigned title, from the beginning to the end of the catalogue.

On page 93, as one of the lots sold on Saturday 26 July 1862, there is listed lot: 342 *Mappa Mundi. Manuscript of the XVth century on vellum, with miniatures. folio. Sæc.XV. At the end of this interesting Manuscript is the following colophon: - "Explicit Mappa Mundi scriptum per Antonium Angeli de Aquila. Sub Anno domini Millesimo CCCXXVII de mense Julii die XIII eiusdem mensis." It is, without doubt, a copy of a more ancient manuscript, intended to convey details of the organisation of the Court of Constantinople, its great officers, the division and government of the provinces, the tributes payable, &c. &c. The whole is represented and symbolised in large paintings of divers monuments, churches, fortresses, &c. It also exhibits a great number of figures of women bearing tribute, consular personages seated on thrones, vessels, furniture, &c. &c. On several of the pages is figured a large horn, resting on a tripod, containing a man and a woman; this is a very singular object. The page most interesting to a philiblist is that bearing the title of Magister Scriniorum, in which are to be seen painted a large number of books and rolls, some open and others closed, which show their manner of preserving their books, the authentic deeds of government, the diplomatic correspondence, &c. &c. The bindings of them are also depicted and are very curious. With regard to the inscriptions, one sees clearly that the Magister Epistolarum not only wrote in Greek, Latin, and Arabic, but also that he used cyphers, one of which is figured on the side of a bundle of parchment rolls. In every respect this manuscript, composed of separate leaves, and which is probably not entire, is most worthy of the attention of the learned. See Libri's Inedited Monuments.*

- ²⁴ Before the publication of the 1862 *Catalogue* of the Libri manuscripts, a printed draft was produced titled *Proof Sheets* (in the top right margin of the title page) in a volume comprising 185 numbered pages. As indicated in the following note (note 25), Madden received a set of these proof sheets on 1.Jul.1862 and his copy exists in the British Library in a volume that has no shelf number but is shelved together with the printed sales catalogue identified as: British Library - Dept. of MSS. 98 A. During his visits to the auction rooms on the Saturday, Tuesday and Thursday before the sale, Madden made marginal and interlinear annotations within that volume of *Proof Sheets* on pp. 3, 21, 35, 38, 45, 61, 74, 75, 80, 94, 97, 113, 119, 135 (this last note is signed FM).
- ²⁵ The *Memoranda of Business* of Madden for the period 1862-1864 are in the British Library in Add(itional) Ms. 62015 (autograph of Madden, 1862-1864): f.1r | *Private Property* | FM | *Memoranda* | of business in the Department of Manuscripts | British Museum, | April 1862 - March 1864 | F Madden | Keeper of the | MSS | In this, Madden recorded: (f.14v): *Tuesday 1st July <1862> Mr. Bond showed me the proof sheets of Mr Libri's forthcoming sale Catalogue.*
- ²⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Eng. hist.C.140 - C.182 (for the years 1819-1872), of which there is a photocopy in the British Library, Manuscript Department, FACS. 1012/1-44, from which the extracts in this appendix have been transcribed and are published with the permission of the Bodleian Library.

indicate that Madden visited the auction rooms on at least three days before the sale.²⁷ During these three visits - Saturday 19 July, Monday 21, and Thursday 24 - Madden had seen the folia C and referred to them briefly in his *Proof Sheets* of the Catalogue.²⁸ Madden did not attend the first two days of the sale on Friday 25 July and Saturday 26, at which he was represented by his agent, William Boone (d.1869)²⁹.

Following the sale of C on Saturday, 26.Jul.1862, Madden referred to the auction in his *Journal*, and commented on some of the lots that had been sold:

<p.213> *Monday 28th July.[...] Boone called. Mr.Libri's sale proceeds quite in the manner his heart could wish, and will bring him 1000+ percent interest. The chief MS lots sold as follows: [...]*

<pp.213-216 contain brief descriptions of lots 183, 198, 204, 226, 227, 228, 229, 268, 269, 278, 279, 280, 285, 297, 299, 300, 303, 305, 317, 321, 342, 347, 349 and 356, among which, he described lot 342 as:>

<p.216> *342 "Mappamundi". This lot consists of five leaves, a fragment only of a copy of what may well have been a curious MS. These leaves were sold previously at Puttick's & belonged to J.W. Burgon, who offered them to me, & I valued them at £5. Sir T.P. gave £21.! ³⁰ [...]*

Madden intended to purchase the folia C (lot 342) for the British Museum, but was unsuccessful, as indicated in the continuation of his *Journal* entry:

<p.216> *Monday 28th July [...] In the two days sale that has taken place, I gave <p.217> Boone commissions for twenty lots, out of which I have only obtained two! Had I been present at the sale (which I was determined not to be, in consequence of the rascally conduct of Mr. Libri, in regard to the pretended MS. of Galileo) and had I authorized Boone to bid higher on the lots, the pieces could no doubt have been advanced considerably. As it is, Mr. Libri may have good reason to rejoice at the ignorance of those who buy MSS. on the faith of his Catalogue. Sir Thos. P. has behaved very ill, & almost dishonorably, for as a Trustee of the Museum, he must know that a certain sum of money was voted for purchases, yet without taking the trouble to ask me what lots I wished to buy, he goes into the Auction room, and bids madly for every lot that comes up, against the agents of Mr. Libri. In all*

²⁷ Madden, *Memoranda* (see note 25):

(f.18r): *Saturday 19th <July 1862> Went with Mr Bond to examine Mr Libri's MSS. at Sotheby's. Disappointed with many of them. Their bindings evidently made up.*

Madden, *Journal* (see note 26): Ms. Eng. Hist. C.175, p.204-205: (the first page of this volume was titled, by Madden, as *Journal from January 1st 1862 to December 31st 1862 F.Madden*)

<p.204> *Monday 21st. <July 1862> [...] Went with Mr. Bond to Sotheby's, to examine the MSS of Mr. Libri. Many of them are well known to me, from having been purchased at auctions in England, but others I had not seen, [...]. I was not surprised to find that the exaggerated and false <p.205> descriptions given in the Catalogue were not borne out by the MSS. [...]*

<p.209> *Thursday 24th. <July 1862> [...] In the afternoon I went again to Sotheby's to look at the rest of Libri's MSS. He <Guglielmo Libri> was there himself sitting in a corner, and pretending to read a book, while he listened to the remarks of every person near him. I was nearly entrapped myself by this dishonest conduct, for on Mr Slade asking me my opinion of the value of the bindings, I was about to give him my real opinion about them, but on looking up, I caught the half turned face of Mr. Libri, listening to what I said! He is a thorough scamp, and I only know one to <p.210> match him who is his countryman. <presumably Sir Anthony Panizzi> [...].*

²⁸ *Proof Sheets* annotated by Madden (see note 24). Beside the printed description of lot 342, on p.93, Madden wrote: *only four leaves. It was sold a year or two ago at Puttick's.*

It is not known why Madden described the folia C as consisting of only four leaves, or, if his number is correct, which leaf was missing when he looked at the fragment.

²⁹ Cowtan, R., *Memories of the British Museum*. (London, Bentley & Son, 1872), p.326: *[...] in 1854. At the death of Mr. Pickering, Mr. William Boon<e> became the Agent for the Museum at book-sales, and gave the Library the benefit of his valuable services till his death, which was also sudden, in November, 1869.*

³⁰ Madden, *Journal* (see note 26): Ms. Eng. Hist. C.175, pp.213-216.

*probability had Sir T<homas>. P<hillipps>. been out of the field, I should have obtained lots 10, 27, 73, 342 and 347. [...].*³¹

This *Journal* entry for 28.Jul.1862 leaves two questions unanswered.

Firstly, Madden does not state when Burgon had allegedly offered him the folia C. There appears to be only one entry in the *Journal* referring to a meeting between Madden and Burgon. This occurred on 31.May.1861 when Madden noted that Burgon had shown him a *note from Henry VIII to Bonner* which Madden then advised Burgon to sell at auction.³² Madden normally recorded offers of manuscripts either in his *Memoranda* or *Journal*, but there is no reference to C in either of these documents before July 1862. The offer was obviously made before 12.Jul.1861 when C was auctioned and sold to Libri.

Secondly, Madden does not explain why he did not accept the alleged offer by Burgon. If Burgon had considered Madden's valuation (£5) as insufficient, Madden could have placed a bid at the auction on 12.Jul.1861, where C was sold for only slightly more (£6-7-6), but he recorded neither an intention to place a bid, nor the unsuccessful entering of one at the auction. But, having rejected the offer by Burgon, and apparently ignored its auction on 12.Jul.1861, Madden then sought to purchase C when it was auctioned again on 26.Jul.1862, with no explanation as to the change in his interest during the intervening twelve months.

From the evidence identified so far, it is relatively certain that Burgon had not purchased the folia C at a previous auction. An inspection of Sales catalogues from the period c.1850-1860 in the British Library has revealed no reference to the folia C during that period. The silence of Madden appears to confirm this. The detailed knowledge that Madden had of manuscript auctions in London is attested by entries in his *Journal* (as, for example, his comment about the *MSS of Mr. Libri*. that *Many of them are well known to me, from having been purchased at auctions in England*), by notes in his *Memoranda of Business*, and by his annotations in sales catalogues. These documents indicate that he regularly perused the sales catalogues of Christie's, Hodgson & Co., Phillips, Puttick and Simpson, Sotheby, and Southgate. Consequently, the statement by Madden in his *Journal*, that the folia C *were sold previously at Puttick's & belonged to J.W.Burgon*, and his note in the *Proof Sheets*, that they were *sold a year or two ago at Puttick's*, with no reference to any other, previous sale, suggest that the folia C had not previously been publicly auctioned in London before 12.Jul.1861.

In the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham, C was catalogued as *ms 16397*.³³ In 1899, while C was in the library of Phillipps at Cheltenham, M.Labande made a transcript of the words in C and an outline of its drawings.³⁴ Henri Omont used this copy produced by Labande, supplemented by the

³¹ Madden, *Journal* (see note 26): Ms. Eng. Hist. C.175, pp.216-217.

³² Madden, *Journal* (see note 26, lot 710): Ms. Eng. Hist. C.175, p.119:
Friday 31st <May 1861> [...] Mr Burgon called & showed me an original note from Henry VIII to Bonner at Rome, renouncing obedience to the Pope (1533) and some Charters &c. I advised him to take them to Puttick's & sell them by auction. [...] <Edmund Bonner / Bonar / Boner was English ambassador at Rome until 8.Jan.1533>. Burgon acted on this advice and attempted to sell the note at the same auction at which he sold the folia C. (see note 20)

³³ The catalogue was begun in May 1837 (title page: *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum <in> bibliotheca d. Thomae Phillipps, Bart. A.D. 1837 - Impressus Typis Medio-Montanis, Mense Maio, 1837*) was augmented by the sequential addition of sectional instalments (fascicles), for several decades. On p.317, under the heading (in column 1) *Libri MS. bought 1862 (See Sale Catalogue)* the folia C are described, in column 2, as follows: *16397 <-> 342 Five leaves of the "Notitia Imperii". Copied from a more ancient one by Antonius Angeli de Aquila, in 1427 who calls it "Mappa Mundi". Pancirolus printed the whole work, but with different Figures.*

³⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. Lat. nouv.acq.1688. This consists of a prefatory sheet A followed by 10 sheets, each containing on one side only, a representation of the contents of the corresponding 10 pages comprising C. The note on the first side of A has:
Cheltenham ms. no. 16397 intitulé Notitia imperii. Ecriture italienne du XV^e siècle, 5 feuillets, qui semblent avoir été tirés d'une reliure, 260 x 205 millim. No.342, Libri Sale, 1862 (Sir Tho. Phillipps, £ 21 = 525 fr.). Catalogue Libri, 1862, p.93. Libri, Mon. inéd., 1862/64, pl.54.

facsimile of C (3r) published in London by Libri in 1862,³⁵ to produce the first publication of a copy of C in 1891.³⁶

(iv) *Professor Francis Wormald, from 1948/49*

Wormald purchased C in 1948 or 1949 from Messers Robinson who held the residual manuscripts from the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

(v) *Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, since 1972*

The five folia comprising C were bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Professor Francis Wormald (1904-1972). They were presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum by the executors of Professor Wormald, in accordance with his wishes, in October 1972.

In this description of the change of ownership of the folia C in England, there are two unexplained observations about the five folia C.

Firstly, there is yet no explanation for the pencil notation *N 114* written on one of the two sides, or pages, of each of the five folia. These notations, described above, are unrelated to any identification figures associated with C since 1861: such as, lot 705 (1861), plate/page LIV (1862), lot 342 (1862), ms.16397 (sometime after 1862). The notation was apparently added after the folia were removed from their open frames.

Secondly, the contents of the folia C remained initially unidentified by scholars and bibliophiles. When the folia were first sold, in 1861, Puttick & Simpson referred to lot 705 as a *Fragment of an illuminated Manuscript [...] 1427*; in 1862, Libri described them as a *Mappa Mundi written in 1427*; and Sotheby & Wilkinson listed lot 342 as a *Mappa Mundi. Manuscript of the XVth century [...] a copy of a more ancient manuscript*; while Madden, despite his extensive knowledge, referred to the five folia as: *a fragment only of a copy of what may well have been a curious MS*. None of these people or organisations, associated with C during 1861-1862, identified the contents of C as a copy of the *Cnd*, despite the existence of at least three different earlier printed copies³⁷ and a recent edition.³⁸ It was not

Copie de M. Labande (1889).

³⁵ See note 21.

³⁶ Omont, H., *Le plus ancien manuscrit de la 'Notitia Dignitatum'*: Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France (Ser.6 vol.1) 51 1891 pp.225-244, who referred (p.227) to its location (*Cheltenham*), and catalogue number there (*16397*).

³⁷ First, the copy edited by Beatus Rhenanus and printed by Froben, J., & Episcopius, N., (title-page) *Notitia utraque cum orientis tum occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique Caesarum tempora, [...]. Item ne quid de antiquo exemplari omitteretur Disputatio Adriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi*. (Basel, Froben, 1552). This copy has the title '*Notitia provinciarum imperii Romani*' printed as the header, divided across all facing pages, throughout the printed copy of the *Cnd*.

Second, the copy edited and printed by Guido Panciroli, (title-page) *Notitia utraque dignitatum cum orientis tum occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique tempora*. (Venezia 1593); in this copy the *Cnd* is regularly referred to as the *Dignitatum utriusque Romani imperii notitia* as, for example at the beginning of the *Praefatio* (f.1ra).

Third, the copy edited and printed by Philippe Labbé, (title-page) *Notitia dignitatum Imperii Romani, ex nova recensione Philippi Labbe Biturici Soc. Iesu Presbyteri. Cum pluribus aliis opusculis indicibus ac notis*. (Parisii, e typographia regia, 1651); in this copy the *Cnd* is regularly referred to as the *Notitia dignitatum imperii Romani* both on its title page and as the header, divided across all facing pages.

³⁸ Böcking, E., *Notitia dignitatum et administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus orientis et occidentis (ad codd. mss. Monachiensium, Romani, Parisiensium ac Vindobonensis editorumque fidem recensuit tabulis ad cod. ms. Biblioth. Reg. Palatin. Monachiens. depictis commentariis indicique illustravit Eduardus Böcking)*. (Bonnae, impensis Adolphi Marci, ab A. 1839 usque ad A. 1853). Vol.1 (1839), Vol.2 (1849), Vol.3 (1850), Vol.4 (1853).

until sometime later, when Phillipps added the sectional instalment containing the description of C (his ms 16397) to his printed *Catalogus librorum* that C was identified as *Five leaves of the "Notitia Imperii"*.

While it is not yet known where, or when, or from whom Burgon obtained the five folia C, the following evidence may provide some suggestions about the place in which they may have previously been.

The facsimiles of pages from the codex Co

In the Castle Museum and Art Gallery at Norwich, there is a large collection of several hundred drawings and watercolours that were assembled by the Rev. James Bulwer,³⁹ from 1839 onwards, to complement and illustrate his copy of *An Essay towards a topographical History of the County of Norfolk* begun by Francis Blomefield (1705-1752, who published vols.1-2 in 1739-1745) and completed by Charles Parkin (who published vols.3-5 1769-1775). The Bulwer collection was contained in a large number of portfolios⁴⁰ and in 1918 the contents of the collection were described in a typescript list which was copied from an earlier inventory written by James Bulwer. The typescript list identified about 23 local artists who produced watercolours and drawings for the "Norfolk Collection." One of these artists was Frederick Sandys⁴¹ who produced about 200 items for Bulwer between approximately 1845 and 1865.

After the death of Bulwer, most of his "Collection" was inherited by his brother Walter, who emigrated to Canada, and whose son Henry, after inheriting the "Collection" sent it back to England in 1918 to be sold. Some of the best items were sold individually and the remainder were purchased in 1936 by Russell James Colman (1861-1946), who bequeathed them to the Norwich Castle Museum, where they arrived in 1946.⁴²

The typescript list of the contents of the portfolios of the "Collection" indicated that *portfolio 20* contained items which were all related to Walsingham and were created by several artists.⁴³ Among these items, the typescript list attributed only four sheets to Sandys and these exist today at the Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery (although no longer in the original portfolios which ceased to exist when items from the "Collection" began to be sold).

Each of these four separate sheets consists of cream wove Whatman paper and contains drawings or watercolours on only one side or page. One of these sheets, now catalogued as *NWHCM 1954.138 FAW.326:F*, contains three pencil and brown wash drawings of architectural fragments - two sculptural and one inscriptional - each enclosed within its own ruled frame, while a fourth framed picture space remained blank. To the left of the first or uppermost image, there is the caption: *Fragments at Walsingham Abbey May 10 1852*.

Each of the remaining three sheets, now catalogued as *NWHCM: 1951. 235. 1223. B21 -B22 -B23:F*, contains a facsimile reproduction of one of three different folia of a manuscript copy of the *Cnd*. These

³⁹ James Bulwer (1794-1879), Rector of Stody with Hunworth, antiquary, topographical draughtsman, artist and collector. As indicated below, he was an active member of the committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society for several years..

⁴⁰ Elzea, B., *Frederick Sandys 1829-1904. A catalogue raisonné, with an introduction by Douglas E. Schoenherr*. (Antique Collectors' Club in association with Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, 2001), Appendix 2 Sandys and James Bulwer's "Norfolk Collection" pp.313-320 states (p.313) : *The <Bulwer> Collection eventually reached colossal proportions and was contained in 42 numbered portfolios, supplemented by a further 19 portfolios (A to N.18), and 8 parcels of unmounted material. Beyond the drawings and watercolours [...], there was a very large group of manuscripts, such as early charters, deeds, court rolls, ms. diaries and letters.*

⁴¹ Anthony (or Antonio) Frederick Augustus Sandys (1829-1904), artist and painter.

⁴² Elzea, *op.cit.*, 2001, pp.313-314.

⁴³ The items in portfolio 20, included those produced by Neale and Wallis Day, John Sell Cotman, his eldest son, Miles Edmund Cotman, Bradstrade & Van Gucht, Frederick Sandys, James Bulwer, and S. & N.Buck).

watercolours were discovered by Dr Barbara Green, formerly Keeper of Archaeology at the Castle Museum in Norwich, and were identified by Dr Stephen Johnson.

These facsimiles are referred to as **N** (*for Norwich*) and contain reproductions of a manuscript copy of the following pictures and lists in the *Cnd*:

- N1** *NWHCM: 1951. 235. 1223. B23:F* (pencil, watercolour and brown ink with gold paint) 43 x 27.1 cm⁴⁴
 (upper part) facsimile of a page containing a copy of *Cnd.45*) *Vicarius dioceseos asiana*
 (lower part) facsimile of a copy of the list items of *Cnd.46*) *Vicarius dioceseos asiana*
- N2** *NWHCM: 1951. 235. 1223. B21:F* (pencil, watercolour and ink) 43 x 25.2 cm
 (upper part) facsimile of a page containing a copy of *Cnd.106*) *Magister officiorum*
 (lower part) facsimile of a copy of the list items of *Cnd.102/5.202-260*) *Numeri / Vexillationes*
- N3** *NWHCM: 1951. 235. 1223. B22:F* (pencil, watercolour and brown ink with gold paint) 42.7 x 27.1 cm
 (upper part) facsimile of a page containing a copy of *Cnd.159*) *Consularis campaniae*
 (lower part) facsimile of a copy of the list items of *Cnd.160*) *Consularis campaniae*

On each sheet, all the facsimile images are enclosed within an outer border consisting of a single line drawn in red ink. Within this outer border:

- the upper part of each sheet contains a facsimile of one page of a manuscript folium (including a coloured representation of the parchment), and
- the lower part of each sheet contains a facsimile of all the lines of text on the other, or second, page of the same manuscript folium. These text facsimiles reproduce each of the lines of the text on the manuscript folium, but not their columnar distribution. Instead, the facsimile text lines are distributed, as evenly as possible, in either two (**N1**, **N3**) or three (**N2**) columns across the width of the lower part of the sheet. Each of these column spaces is bordered with a single line drawn in red ink and the facsimile text lines are written on pencil guidelines.

The dimensions of these elements are as follows:

	Sheet		Outer border (in red ink)		Upper part containing the Page facsimile		Lower part containing the List spaces					
	H	W	H	W	H	W	Left col.		Centre col.		Right col.	
	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm
N 1	430	271	376	210	248	171-185	88	76	-	-	87	77
N 2	430	252	413	243	241	171-183	140	67	140	66	140	68
N 3	427	271	377	217	253	190-199	80	67	<i>(note)</i>		80	71

On the sheet containing **N3**, immediately below the upper part containing the page facsimile, there is the note, written in a single line in light brown ink: *Portions of an Illustrated M.S. of the 'Notitia Imperii' found framed in Cottages in the neighbourhood of Walsingham* and, in the lower part, in the central column, between the two columns containing the facsimile of the manuscript text lines, the same writer has written: *This Index is written on the back of the Illumination.*

The second note *This [...] Illumination* indicates that the frames in which the sheets were found were open ones which permitted both sides of each folium to be displayed. The facsimiles suggest that either the frame or the front part of each frame may have been removed to enable Sandys to produce the three facsimiles that each represent an entire manuscript folium (including its four uneven edges). Furthermore, since the note states that each list or *index* was *on the back of the Illumination* and, therefore, that the picture was on the front, it must be concluded, not only that the picture was the object being displayed, rather than the text or list, but also that the framed folium must have been framed or displayed in a way that enabled Sandys to make the distinction between the front and the *back* of the framed object.

⁴⁴ The information in the first line of the following descriptions for **N1**, **N2** and **N3** is copied from the images displayed on the website of the Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery where:

N1 = www.sandys.norfolk.gov.uk/sand046.htm

N2 = www.sandys.norfolk.gov.uk/sand044.htm

N3 = www.sandys.norfolk.gov.uk/sand045.htm

Comparing the physical size of the five folia comprising **C**, with the three manuscript folium facsimiles in **N**; and comparing the style of the drawings in the pictures and of the script in **C** and in **N**; there is no doubt that the images in **N** are facsimile reproductions of three folia taken from the same manuscript book **Co** from which the five folia **C** were removed.

Moreover, two of the five folia comprising **C** and two of the three folia copied into **N**, were removed from contiguous parts of the same manuscript book and, therefore, probably at about the same time: that is, in the codex **Co**, the folium copied into **N1** occurred immediately before **C** fol.1, and the one copied into **N3** immediately preceded **C** fol.5. The relationships between the five folia comprising **C** and the three copied into **N** may be tabulated as follows:

<i>Cnd</i>	C	N	<i>fol. representations</i>		
45			1	r	<i>Vic. asiana</i> (pic.)
46				v	<i>Vic. asiana</i> (list)
47	1r	<i>Vic. ponticae</i> (pic.)			
48	1v	<i>Vic. ponticae</i> (list)			
81	2r	<i>Cons. palaestinae</i> (pic.+list)			
82	2v	<i>Praes. thebaidos</i> (pic.+ list)			
102/5.202-260			2	r	<i>Numeri / Vexillationes</i> (partial list)
106				v	<i>Mag. officiorum</i> (pic)
117	3r	<i>Magg. scriniorum</i> (pic.+list)			
118	3v	<i>Proc. africae</i> (pic.+list 1-3)			
142	4r	<i>Dux valeriae rip.</i> (pic.)			
143	4v	<i>Dux valeriae rip.</i> (list)			
159			3	r	<i>Cons. campaniae</i> (pic)
160				v	<i>Cons. campaniae</i> (list)
163	5r	<i>Praes. dalmatiae</i> (pic.)			
164	5v	<i>Praes. dalmatiae</i> (list)			

Significantly, the gilding used on the haloes and crowns, and in the internal drawing-space frames, in **C** fol.1r and **N** fol.1r, does not occur in the corresponding pictures in any other primary copy of the *Cnd*.

Finally, as described above, the sheets comprising **C**, and those copied into **N** were both framed in open frames (displaying both sides of the sheet), shown by the fact that:

- the *back* of the sheets copied into **N** could be distinguished from the front;
- the two sides of each sheet comprising **C** show a different degree of wear (consistent with one side being displayed, as also indicated by the central hole near the top of each sheet associated with its attachment to, or suspension from, some surface)

suggesting that these same frames were probably added to the sheets **C** and to those copied into **N** at about the same time and in the same location. That place, according to the note on **N3**, may have been *the neighbourhood of Walsingham*. And there is additional evidence that additional fragments of the codex **Co** existed in Norfolk.

Additional fragments of the manuscript codex Co in Norfolk

The evidence about additional fragments of the codex **Co** in Norfolk exists in the minutes, publications and correspondence of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (hereafter NNAS), which was founded in 1846.⁴⁵

Reports of the meetings of the NNAS were regularly printed in the local newspapers, notably the *Norwich Mercury* and *Norfolk Chronicle* and, commencing in 1847, in the NNAS journal *Norfolk*

⁴⁵ The Society was formed in 1845 and its first general meeting was held on Wednesday, 1.Apr.1846, when its members numbered 180 (as reported in the local newspaper, the *Norwich Mercury*, reported on *Saturday 4.Apr.1846*, p.2).

Archaeology.⁴⁶ The first volume recorded *Dawson Turner, Esq.* (Yarmouth)⁴⁷ as one of the Vice-Presidents and, among the eighteen members of the Committee,⁴⁸ were the *Rev. James Bulwer (Aylsham)*⁴⁹ and *S.W.Stevenson, Esq., F.S.A.*⁵⁰ (Norwich), while one of the two honorary Secretaries was *Henry Harrod, Esq. (Norwich)*.⁵¹ The second volume listed the members of the Society⁵² among whom was *Rev. James Lee Warner, (Walsingham)* - the only member from around that area.⁵³ John Burgon, incidentally, was never recorded in any list of the members of the NNAS.

⁴⁶ The title to the journal, used in volume 1 in 1847, and thereafter, is *Norfolk Archaeology, or miscellaneous tracts relating to the antiquities of the county of Norfolk, published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*.

⁴⁷ Dawson Turner (1775-1858), banker, botanist and antiquary. He made his library, eventually comprising more than 30,000 manuscripts and letters, available to John Burgon for his biography of Sir Thomas Gresham, published in 1839 (see notes 11 and 12).

⁴⁸ *Norfolk Archaeology*, 1 1847, un-numbered pp.i-iii.

⁴⁹ See note 39.

⁵⁰ Seth William Stevenson (1784-1853) was a printer in Norwich and proprietor of the newspaper *Norfolk Chronicle* during 1821-1853. He had literary and antiquarian interests, especially in Roman coins, leading to the posthumous publication of *A dictionary of Roman coins, republican and imperial* (London, Bell, 1889) which was partly revised by Charles Roach Smith and completed by Frederick William Madden (1839-1904), the son of Sir Frederic Madden. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (NS Vol.41) Jan-Jun 1854 pp.208-209 notes: *The book to which he devoted no inconsiderable portion of the last ten years [...] was the complete "Dictionary of Roman Coins". Half the work is already printed, and the MS. of the remainder is in a sufficiently forward state to warrant a hope that at no distant period the book may be completed.*

⁵¹ Henry Harrod (1807-1871), F.S.A. and antiquary.

⁵² *Norfolk Archaeology*, 2 1849, pp.5-8.

⁵³ The Rev. James Lee Warner (1802-1885), Vicar of Little Walsingham 1835-1859, was the nephew of the Rev. Daniel Henry Lee Warner (1775-1858), the proprietor of the Walsingham *demesne* in 1847, and is wrongly identified as the *son* of the latter in a report by the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, in its publication (*Memoirs illustrative of the history and antiquities of Norfolk and the city of Norwich, communicated to the Annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Norwich, July 1847*, London, Archaeological Institute, MDCCCLI (=1851) on:

p.vii: *Friday, July 30 <1847>: The following memoirs were read: [...] Notices of the structure of the Roman fortifications at Brancaster, Norwich. Illustrated by plans and sections. By the Rev. James Lee Warner, Incumbent of Old Walsingham.* followed by:

pp.viii-ix: *Saturday, July 31 <1847>: An excursion was arranged to [...] Walsingham [...] and were received [...] by the Rev. D. H. Lee Warner, in whose demesne the interesting ruins are preserved. His mansion and grounds were thrown open with very gratifying liberality, and the various remains surrounding this picturesque locality were visited under the guidance of his son, the Rev. James Lee Warner, who pointed out the vestiges of the monastic buildings. [...].*

This incorrect identification of the Rev. James Lee Warner as the *son* of the Rev. D.H.Lee Warner, instead of his *nephew*, was repeated by a member of the same Archaeological Institute in his report of the same visit to Walsingham in the *Gentleman's Magazine* N.S. 27, 1847, in his article *A pilgrimage to Walsingham 31 July 1847*, by a member of the Archaeological Institute (pp.257-268) on p.266: *they [...] were received by the present Mr. Lee Warner in his dining room. His son the Rev. James Lee Warner afterwards conducted them over the parish church [...].*

The correct relationship was given by the editor of the *Archaeological Journal* 13 1856 which contains a long and illustrated article titled: *Walsingham Priory, a memoir read at the meeting of the Institute in Cambridge, June 1854: with an account of recent discoveries, by the Rev. James Lee Warner* (pp.115-133) to which the editor has inserted the statement (p.119, note 8): *The Institute is indebted to the courteous liberality of the Rev. D.H.Lee Warner, the present possessor of the site,*

Each volume of the NNAS journal, *Norfolk Archaeology*, contains an *Appendix* which, in the first volume, is headed: *Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee, with reference to Antiquities found in, or relating to, the County of Norfolk*⁵⁴ but, in subsequent volumes, is simply titled: *Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee*. The journal was not an annual publication,⁵⁵ so that, from volume 2 onwards, each *Appendix* contained *Extracts* of the Proceedings from the intervening years between the current volume and the preceding one.

In the second volume, printed in 1849, the *Appendix* (pp.397-408) contains *Extracts from Proceedings of the Committee* from, and including, 3.Mar.1847 to 7.Dec.1848. For the meeting held on 15.Jul.1847, the *Extracts* include a notice, printed in two paragraphs <1-2> as follows:

<July 15th, 1847>,⁵⁶

<1> <p.401> *Mr. Stevenson exhibited four pieces of Vellum, portions of an ancient MS., which had been pasted on boards. They appeared to be part of a work of the fifteenth century, descriptive of the Military Arrangements of the Romans. Mr. Harrod stated that he had lately seen some other portions of apparently the same MS. in the possession of Mr. Lee Warner, of Walsingham, and that they were <p.402> thought to be fragments of a book originally belonging to the Abbey there.*

<2> *Mr. Lee Warner has since forwarded the latter to the Committee, and with them another portion which he had borrowed from a cottager in the neighbourhood. He at the same time stated that, from subsequent inquiry, his impression was, that they were taken about 100 years ago from Houghton Hall; and he supposes them to be illustrations of the Notitia Imperii. They all, like Mr. Stevenson's, had been mounted on boards.*

The first paragraph <1> is a copy of the entry in the *Minutes* of the NNAS from the meeting of 15.Jul.1847. The second paragraph <2> does not exist in the *Minutes*; it was added later, and only in the journal, to complement the entry from the minutes, <1>, for the benefit of readers of the journal. This addition was drafted between the time when the *Appendix* was compiled, at the beginning of 1849, and when volume 2 was published, towards the end of that year.

The information in this notice is augmented by letters sent by the honorary secretary of the NNAS, Henry Harrod, in Norwich, to one of the vice-presidents, Dawson Turner, in Yarmouth.⁵⁷

<Letter from Henry Harrod to Dawson Turner, 13.Feb.1849>⁵⁸

<letterhead> *Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society*

Norwich Feb^y 13 1849

My dear Sir

I have taken up so much time in Arch(aeology) today - getting off drawing of Horse Furniture to Cowell - that I have only time to thank you for the amended Appendix - Ours was a weak disjointed composition - yours - flows on in one unbroken stream to the end - I came almost to a deadlock

for the woodcut representing these remains of the fabric <of two piers>, which have been brought to light through the exertions of his nephew, the author of this memoir. - Ed.

⁵⁴ *Norfolk Archaeology* 1 1847, p.363.

⁵⁵ For example, volume 1=1847; 2=1849; 3=1852; 4=1855.

⁵⁶ In this volume, *Norfolk Archaeology* 2 1849, the *Extracts from Proceedings of the Committee* (pp.397-408) refer to the following meetings: 3.Mar.1847 (pp.397-398); 8 Apr.1847 (pp.398-402); 2.Sep.1847 (pp.402-404); 5.Feb.1848 (pp.404-405); 11.May.1848 (p.405); 10.Aug.1848 (p.406); 21.Sep.1848 (p.406); 12.Oct.1848 (pp.406-407); 7.Dec.1848 (p.407), followed by concluding remarks (pp.407-408).

The manuscript *Minutes* of the NNAS have the date *15th July 1847* immediately preceding the extract commencing on p.401 in *Norfolk Archaeology* 2 1849, indicating that this date was omitted from the printed version at the beginning of p.401.

⁵⁷ Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, has 82 bound volumes of the correspondence of Dawson Turner, among which are letters written by Henry Harrod to Dawson Turner.

Extracts from these letters, and others from the same volumes, are quoted with permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁵⁸ Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Dawson Correspondence, ms. O.14.46, item 37.

yesterday - I sent to Mr Stevenson for some portions of a MS. he exhibited at one of ^{<p.2>} the meetings & which no one could then in the hurry of the moment make anything of - & at the same time I wrote to Mr Lee Warner for some of a similar kind he shew me when I was at Walsingham - & which were supposed to be part of the Manuscripts of the Abbey. - I had a letter from Mr. Lee Warner to say I should have ~~them~~ his tomorrow - & Mr. Stevenson replies that he has looked everywhere and cannot find those on which ^{<p.3>} I wanted to remark !! [...]

^{<p.4>} [...] A subject I mean to take up for the next quarterly Meeting - occurred to me in the Museum yesterday - Discoveries of Antiquities in Norfolk, especially with reference to the objects deposited in the Norfolk Museum. [...] ^{<p.7>} I hope you like my notion.

Believe me

My dear Sir

Yours very faithfully

Henry Harrod

which was followed a week later by:

<Letter from Henry Harrod to Dawson Turner, 20.Feb.1849>⁵⁹

<letterhead> Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society

Norwich Feb^y 20th 1849

My dear Sir

I send you a second batch of appendix made by me - kneaded by Mr. Bulwer & now forwarded to you to make up into an edible shape. I think you will give an addition - & make more interesting the Yarmouth Church discovery.

What a nuisance it is Mr Stevenson has lost his fragments of vellum - those Mr Lee Warner has sent me are - exceedingly curious - I will bring them with me should I be able to get over to ^{<p.2>} Yarmouth before the Committee meeting.

Sir John Boileau will I fear be in London at the time of our next committee Meeting. I think I understood him to say he leaves Ketteringham this week. If I sho^d not be able to run over to Yarmouth I will send you a copy of the paper. [...]

^{<p.3>} I am

My dear Sir

Yours very faithfully

Henry Harrod.

Harrod had requested to borrow the folia that Stevenson had exhibited on 15.Jul.1847, and the ones that Lee Warner had shown him at Walsingham before that date, because he wanted to provide some details (*on which I wanted to remark*) about the fragments during his preparation of the second volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*, printed some time after August 1849.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Dawson Correspondence, ms. O.14.46, item 40.

⁶⁰ The preparation of volume 2 occupied most of 1849, as exemplified in the following letters from Henry Harrod to Dawson Turner:

Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Dawson Correspondence, ms. O.14.46, item 45:

1.Mar.1849: ^{<p.3>} [...] Shall we have a Table of Contents & List of Illustrations as in the Journal of the Institute? I have them all ready if you say Ay. Will you say a few words by way of Preface, or not? As soon as I get proofs of the Appendix - the Index shall be sent for your revisal & correction. I have advertised to be ready by the 10th, so if I have to sit up a night or two to finish - & make two or three Journies to Yarmouth per Electric Telegraph (!) it must be done - [...].

Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Dawson Correspondence, ms. O.14.47, item 32:

2.Aug.1849: ^{<p.1>} I have now your Letter & parcel of the 26th ult^o - but will you not be at our next Committee? We can then decide about the printing - but I certainly should do nothing with Muskett <who printed the journal Norfolk Archaeology for several years> until we have had a full explanation with him - he is outrageously dear - the Sussex Society pay but £4 a sheet for their 500 copies. [...]

At the general meeting of the NNAS held on 11.Apr.1849, antiquities were displayed, as usual, and some of these are described in the journal *Extracts* referring to this meeting.⁶¹ The *Extracts* do not mention manuscript fragments, but a notice sent to both Norwich newspapers by the NNAS notes that fragments had been exhibited at the meeting by the Rev. James Lee Warner. The notice in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, of which Seth Stevenson was proprietor and editor, included the following:⁶²

Saturday 14 April 1849

<p.3> *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.*

*The fourteenth general meeting of this Society was held on Wednesday last <11.Apr.>, at the Norwich Museum. In spite of the unfavourable state of the weather, there was a numerous attendance of members; many ladies also displayed their interest in the society's pursuits by their presence at the meeting. The tables were covered with antiquities, and the walls with drawings, etc, among which were:- [...]; portions of an Illustrated MS. of the "Notitia Imperii" found framed in Cottages in the neighbourhood of Walsingham - <exhibited > by the Rev.J. Lee Warner.*⁶³

The aforementioned statements in the journal *Norfolk Archaeology*, in the two letters by Henry Harrod, and in the notice in the Norwich newspapers provide the following information, arranged in the chronological sequence in which its existence was recorded in available documents:

- (1) 15.Jun.1847 - NNAS meeting, recorded in the *Minutes* from which an extract was printed in *Norfolk Archaeology* 2 1849, pp.401-2, paragraph <1> only (the extract printed in the journal omitted the date of the meeting, which is recorded in the *Minutes*):
 - S.W.Stevenson exhibited 4 vellum folia posted on boards, portions of an ancient MS;
 - H.Harrod had lately (before 15.Jun.1847) seen portions of the same MS in the possession of Mr. Lee Warner of Walsingham apparently originally belonging to the Abbey there.
- (2) 13.Feb.1849 - Letter by H.Harrod to D.Turner:
 - Harrod, preparing the *Extracts* to be printed in *Norfolk Archaeology* vol.2, had asked S.W.Stevenson to send the portions of a MS he exhibited at one of the meetings (the meeting of 15.Jun.1847) because Harrod wanted to remark on these portions in the journal; but Stevenson had written (before 13.Feb.1849) stating that, allegedly, he has looked everywhere and cannot find them; Harrod had written to Mr. Lee Warner for the similar portions he shew me when I was at Walsingham (before 15.Jun.1847) which were apparently part of the Manuscripts at the Abbey.
- (3) 20.Feb.1849 - Letter by H.Harrod to D.Turner:
 - Mr. Lee Warner has sent his fragments which are exceedingly curious and Harrod plans to show them to Turner if Harrod can get over to Yarmouth before the <next> Committee meeting. There is no reference to any further fragments sent by Mr.Lee Warner and no identification of the derived contents of the exceedingly curious fragments.
- (4) 11.Apr.1849: NNAS general meeting (reported in the local newspapers *Norwich Chronicle*, 14.Apr.1849 and *Norwich Mercury*, 14.Apr.1849):
The Rev. James Lee Warner exhibited: *Portions of an illustrated MS. of the "Notitia Imperii" found framed in the neighbourhood of Walsingham.*
- (5) Between 10.Apr.1849 and about August 1849

⁶¹ *Norfolk Archaeology* 3 1852 pp.420-423.

⁶² *Norfolk Chronicle*, Saturday 14 April 1849, p.3.

⁶³ Almost the same notice was printed in the *Norwich Mercury*, Saturday 14 April 1849, p.2:
Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological, Society.
Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, an interesting meeting of this Society took place on Wednesday morning, at the Museum. There was a fair attendance of Members, including many ladies, and in the absence of the Bishop, the Mayor was called to the chair. The tables were covered with objects of antiquity as usual, and among them the following:- [...]; Portions of an Illustrated MS. of the "Notitia Imperii" found framed in Cottages in the neighbourhood of Walsingham - <exhibited by> Rev. J. Lee Warner.

Harrod augmented his copy of the *Minutes* of the NNAS meeting of 15.Jun.1847 by adding the paragraph <2> later printed in *Norfolk Archaeology* vol.2 (p.402). In this paragraph Harrod stated that *Mr Lee Warner [...] of Walsingham*

- (a) *has [...] forwarded [...] portions of apparently the same MS in [...] his possession*
 - already noted by Harrod in his letter (3);
 - (b) *and <has forwarded> with them another portion which he had borrowed from a cottager*
 - not noted by Harrod in letter (3); and
 - (c) *supposes them to be illustrations of the Notitia Imperii;*
 - not noted by Harrod in letter (3); and
 - (d) *is under the impression they were taken about 100 years ago from Houghton Hall*
 - not noted by Harrod in letter (3) differing from the Abbey provenance stated in (1) and (2)
- and observed that the fragments belonging to Mr. Lee Warner; those belonging to the *cottager in the neighbourhood* and those exhibited by S.W.Stevenson had *all [...] had been mounted on boards* - (described as *framed* at the exhibit on 11.April.1849).

This information leads to the following observations.

Firstly, there is a contradictory statement about whether the fragments originated in the Abbey at Walsingham or in Houghton Hall.

Harrod described having seen all the fragments (i-iii): he saw (i) on 15.Jun.1847 at Norwich; (ii) before 15.Jun.1847 at Walsingham and again on 20.Feb.1849 at Norwich; (iii) on 11.Apr.1849 at Norwich. He described them as *all mounted on boards or framed* and identified (i) as being from the *same MS* as (ii).

Statements 5(b)(c) were not reported by Harrod in (3): that is, when Harrod wrote to Turner on 20.Feb.1849, he did not refer to the receipt of portions borrowed from a cottager; and he did not identify the contents as derived from the *Notitia Imperii* (he still referred to their contents as *exceedingly curious* and wanted to show them to Turner, presumably to try to identify their contents). Both statements (the identification and the borrowing of fragments *found framed in cottages*) appeared for the first time in the above-mentioned paragraph <2> when the journal was printed, and both statements were demonstrably derived from the exhibition of the borrowed fragments by the Rev. James Lee Warner on 11.Apr.1849. And it is clear, from the statement by Harrod in (3), that the identification had not been made by Mr. Lee Warner, but was made later by his nephew James Lee Warner, who was demonstrably conversant with the *Cnd* and referred to it by two titles, one of which was *Notitia Imperii*,⁶⁴ and who, on 11.Apr.1849, exhibited the fragments he had borrowed from a cottager.

⁶⁴ The Rev. James Lee Warner was a regular contributor of notices and exhibits to the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society and the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (as noted in *Archaeological Journal*: for example, vol.8 1851 p.328; vol.10 1853 p.274; vol.11 1854 p.397; vol.14 1857 p.93f; and especially vol.13 1856 (see also note 53).

At the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Norwich in July 1847, it was noted (*Memoirs illustrative of the history and antiquities of Norfolk and the city of Norwich, communicated to the Annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Norwich, July 1847*, London, Archaeological Institute, MDCCCLI (=1851), p.vii: *Friday, July 30 <1847>*), that there was presented a paper titled: *[...] Notices of the structure of the Roman fortifications at Brancaster, Norwich. Illustrated by plans and sections. By the Rev. James Lee Warner, Incumbent of Old Walsingham.* (see note 53).

The *Notices* referred to are printed in this same volume on pp.9-16 under the title *Notices of the original structure of the Roman fortifications at Brancaster, (the ancient Branodunum,) Norfolk* and is signed (p.16) *James Lee Warner*. Among its contents, it notes that: *[...] all distinct information concerning it <Brancaster=Branodunum> begins and ends with the fifty-second section of the Notitia. The "Notitia Imperii", so called, were certainly published subsequently to the year A.D.425, being entitled "Notitia utraque dignitatum cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora". They are merely a dry catalogue of the distribution of the imperial officers, military as well as civil, throughout the Roman world.*

The copy of the *Cnd* printed by Labbé in 1651 is the only copy of the *Cnd* that assigns the number *Sectio LII* (pp.98-99) - as did Lee Warner - to the copy of the list *Cnd.132*. In his printed copy,

Statement 5(d), ascribing the provenance of the fragments to Houghton Hall, contradicted (1) and (2) in which Mr. Lee Warner ascribed the provenance of fragments (i) to Walsingham Abbey. Houghton Hall, which was built during 1722-1735 for Sir Robert Walpole, is improbably related to fragments (i-iii), since no evidence has yet been identified that would indicate any connection between the library of the Augustinians at Lyon and the library at Houghton Hall. But there is such a demonstrable and significant connection between the Augustinian library and the one at Holkham Hall, whose construction was commenced in 1734 for Sir Thomas Coke and completed by his widow in 1764. The first possibility, therefore, is that either Harrod, or someone else connected with the writing of paragraph <2> in the journal entry, confused the two Halls, whose first names can be phonetically similar. A second possibility is that the fragments really did come from Houghton,⁶⁵ where the Lee Warner family from Walsingham resided during the construction, in the 1720s, of their mansion (the "Abbey") at Walsingham and into which elements of the priory ruins were incorporated. But this Houghton (referred to by different names at different times - from the earliest to the current name - as Houghton, Houghton next Walsingham, Houghton-in-the-hole, Houghton-in-the-dale, Houghton St.Giles) refers to the locality about 2 km south-west of Little Walsingham, and not to Houghton Hall. If the fragments did come from the Lee Warner residence at Houghton, Harrod or someone connected with the journal entry incorrectly assumed that the reference was to the Hall.

Secondly, it will be noted that either Harrod, or the member of the NNAS committee who forwarded the news release of the meeting of 11.Apr.1849 to the two newspapers, used exactly the same words for the exhibit by James Lee Warner (*Portions of an Illustrated MS. of the "Notitia Imperii" found framed in Cottages in the neighbourhood of Walsingham*) as those that were written in the middle of the facsimile sheet N3. Given this verbatim repetition, and the fact that Lee Warner exhibited *portions of an illustrated MS* and not facsimiles of them, the caption accompanying the facsimiles in N must have been derived from those accompanying the exhibited folia and were written, either by Bulwer or by Sandys, either at the time of the exhibition on 11.Apr.1849 or later. This suggests that, at the time when James Lee Warner exhibited the fragments that he had borrowed from a cottager, Bulwer (who was a prominent member of the NNAS committee, and who assisted Harrod in producing the journal *Appendix* comprising the *Extracts of Committee Proceedings*)⁶⁶ employed Sandys to produce the facsimiles N.⁶⁷ It is also certain

Labbé used the title *Notitia dignitatum imperii Romani* on both the title-page and in the page-headers in the copy of the *Cnd*. On the title *Notitia imperii*, see also note 34 and note 37.

⁶⁵ Armstrong, M.J., *History and antiquities of the county of Norfolk, volume VI*. (Norwich, Crouse, 1781), pp.78-79: *on July 3, 1666, there was a bargain and sale of the abbey, [...] lands and livings in Walsingham and Houghton, from Henry Wynn and others, to Dr. John Lee, archdeacon of Rochester, for the use of bishop Warner. The manors of Walsingham, and mills, were separated from the abbey, and remained so till 1756, when they were purchased, with diverse lands, [...] by Henry Lee-Warner, esq. who also purchased divers other lands in Walsingham and Houghton, and the manors of Gaunts and Gurneys in Houghton; and died, [...] in 1760, aged 72, and left the whole to his son, Henry Lee-Warner, esq. [...], and has built here an agreeable seat, on the site of the priory.*

This is a verbatim copy of the entry published in Blomefield, F. (& Parkin, C.), *An essay towards a topographical history of the county of Norfolk [...]*, of which the 5-volume folio edition was published during 1739-1775. In the 11-volume quarto edition reprint (London, 1805-1810), the date correctly reported by Armstrong as *July, 3 1666* was incorrectly printed (in vol. IX, London, 1808, p.274) as *July 3, 1766*.

⁶⁶ As mentioned by Harrod, in his letter to Dawson Turner, on 20.Feb.1848 (cited above, p.17): *I send you a second batch of appendix made by me - kneaded by Mr. Bulwer [...]*.

⁶⁷ Sandys was also engaged in other work at the suggestion of Bulwer. Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Dawson Correspondence, ms. O.14.14, item 44: Letter from W.C.Ewing <Editor of "Norfolk Portraits"> to Dawson Turner, 16.Feb.1848. *My dear Sir,*
I had just received your letter when Mr Bulwer came in, to whom I shewed it. He has another Plan, which perhaps may be better than the Anastatic one. He has seen young Sands, <!> who is very

that the *portions of the same MS in the possession of Mr Lee Warner*, which Harrod had received shortly after 20.Feb.1849, had either been sent back to Mr. Lee Warner before the meeting on 11.Apr.1849, or were not displayed there once the fragments borrowed from the cottager became available, because Sandys copied only these borrowed fragments into N. If the fragments sent by Mr. Lee Warner had still been available when those from the cottager were obtained, there is little doubt that Bulwer would have had those from Mr. Lee Warner copied too.

Thirdly, it will be noted that the described evidence refers to three sets of fragments of the codex *C* that existed in the Walsingham and Norwich areas at least between 1847-1849: namely, those:

- (i) in the possession of S.W.Stevenson, Norwich:
four vellum folia, which he exhibited to the Committee on 15.Jul.1847 and allegedly could not find for Harrod by 20.Feb.1849;
- (ii) owned by Mr. Lee Warner, Walsingham:
a portion of a manuscript, which he showed to Harrod in Walsingham before 15.Jul.1847, and sent to him at Norwich, between 13-20.Feb.1849;
- (iii) borrowed from a cottager, Walsingham:
another portion [...] borrowed from a cottager in the neighbourhood or found framed in cottages in the neighbourhood of Walsingham and exhibited at a general meeting of the NNAS on 11.Apr.1849 and copied into N.

If any of these fragments still exist, they are not yet generally known.

Fourthly, it has been noted that fragments (i-iii) were all framed in open frames (displaying both sides of the sheet) - *all [...] been mounted on boards or found framed* - and that all folia *C* had been similarly framed, suggesting that these same frames were probably added to all the known fragments at about the same time and in the same location, which may have been in *the neighbourhood of Walsingham*. It is certain that fragments (iii) were those copied by Sandys for Bulwer in 1849 and, therefore, that these were not the folia *C*. And no evidence has yet been identified to suggest that the folia *C* are to be identified with either of the aforementioned fragments (i-ii). In fact, the available evidence strongly indicates that, from about June 1847 onwards, no person simultaneously had access to both *C* and to the fragments (i-iii); and that Burgon must have obtained the folia *C* before that date, as indicated by the following observation.

It is apparent, as concluded above, that no one who either owned or who came into contact with *C* in London in 1861-1862 (Burgon, Libri, Madden, the staff of Puttick and Simpson, or Sotheby and Wilkinson) identified the derived contents of *C* as being a copy of the *Cnd*. But they had the colophon, with a title (*Mappa mundi*), the date it was produced (1427) and the name of the scribe (*Antonio Angeli of L'Aquila*). None of these three facts is recorded as having been known by any owner of the fragments (i-iii) in Norfolk, or by any member of the NNAS to whose committee the fragments (i) were exhibited by Stevenson on 15.Jul.1847; or by the NNAS secretary to whom Lee Warner showed the fragments (ii); or by anyone who attended general meeting at which the fragments (iii) were exhibited on 11.Apr.1849.

Conversely, while members of the NNAS in Norfolk also did not initially identify the contents of fragments (i-iii) - which were referred to on 15.Jun.1847 as *portions of an ancient MS* and on 20.Feb.1849 as *exceedingly curious* - the fragments were identified, after 20.Feb.1849, by James Lee Warner. This identification was advertised to the viewers of the fragments (iii) that he exhibited at the general meeting on 11.Apr.1849; it was published in both the Norwich newspapers that week; and it was published again in the journal *Norfolk Archaeology* before the end of 1849. Yet this published identification remained apparently unknown in London more than ten years later, when Burgon sold *C* in July 1861, and when Libri re-sold them in 1862.

Since no one who saw any of the fragments (i-iii) from June 1847 onwards had also seen the folia *C*, it is improbable that the folia *C* were still in Norfolk after that date; and it is even more improbable that Burgon had shown or described the folia *C* to his friend and regular correspondent Dawson Turner, or to

anxious to learn to etch on copper, and exceedingly desirous to proceed with our Series of Portraits, which Mr Bulwer thinks very feasible, and worth trying - We have already waited a long time, but it may be advisable to delay still a little longer to see the results of his attempts at etching. [...] Yours very truly, W^m. C. Ewing, Norwich Feb^y 16th 1848.

any other members of the NNAS. And although Burgon was never a member of the NNAS, he was certainly interested in exhibitions and archaeological societies.⁶⁸

Fifth and finally, as already noted above, it has not yet been possible to identify any evidence indicating where, when or from whom Burgon obtained the folia C. In 1838, during his research for his biography of Sir Thomas Gresham, Burgon first met Dawson Turner, with whom he subsequently developed a long and close friendship. And, to familiarise himself with Thomas Gresham and his ancestors, Burgon visited their holdings in Norfolk. Burgon noted in his biography of Gresham, published in 1839, that the Gresham holdings in Norfolk included Holt, Intwood, Mileham, Little Walsingham and Thorpe Market,⁶⁹ and he gave detailed descriptions of the first two.⁷⁰ While the book contains no such detailed descriptions of the remaining four places, it is probable that these were also visited, particularly Walsingham which, unlike the other three, he mentioned in two further contexts.⁷¹ His travels through Norfolk may have provided the opportunity - and his interest in ancient art and literature the motive - to obtain the folia C.

⁶⁸ For example:

Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Dawson Correspondence, ms.O.14.44, item 108
Letter from John William Burgon to Dawson Turner, 9.May.1848

<p.1> *Oriel, May 9. 1848*

My dear Friend

Though it is so long since I have had the happiness of a few lines from you, I shall never believe, till you tell me so, that you have grown indifferent to my welfare - my pursuits - and my occupations. Even then, I shall only half believe it. But however that may be, I suppose I am destined at least twice a day, and a few times oftener, to think of you and all yours with much affection. [...]

<p.4> *I had a very pleasant week in town - from the 29th April to the 8th ... Inter alia, I was rash enough to go to the Exhibition, with all the dear people, on the day of opening - Monday. It is a very beautiful exhibition, although one misses your namesake so strangely! ... Just as I was leaving it, the managing Editor of the Guardian met me, and in a civil way forced me to promise I would write a notice of it against the morrow.[...]*

<p.5> *In the Museum, I was extremely interested with the discoveries which have recently been made at Nineveh - and I hope you will get my Father to show you them next time you are in London. They are certainly quite a lesson - a new thing to look at & ponder over. [...]*

<p.8>

My dear Mr Turner's obliged and affectionate Friend, John W. Burgon

Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, Dawson Correspondence, ms.O.14.50 item 117,
Letter from John W. Burgon to Dawson Turner

<p.1> *Houghton Conquest, Ampthill, Sep. 9 1851*

My dear Friend,

With nothing new to communicate, and scarcely with any provocation from any recent occurrence, I cannot help wishing to recal myself to your kind remembrance, once more [...]

<p.4> *We had a pleasant day's session at Leighton Buzzard on the 21st of last month, on the occasion of the meeting of 2 local archaeological societies. My friend Stevenson (whose literary labours you must be acquainted with) is the Rector of Leighton - & very pleasant it is to go over the noble old Church with him [...]*

<p.11> [...]
John W. Burgon

⁶⁹ Burgon, *op.cit.*, 1839, vol.1, p.445, quoted a pedigree, prefaced by a note referring to the: *family of Gresham of Gresham in the county of Norfolk, sometimes residing at Holte, Intwood, Myleham, Walsingham Parva, and Thorpe Market in the said county; [...]*.

⁷⁰ Burgon, *op.cit.*, 1839, vol.1, p.10f (Holt); pp.102-3 (Intwood).

⁷¹ Burgon, *op.cit.*, 1839, vol.1, p. 111: *Gresham probably alluded to Walsingham, and some other manors in Norfolk, granted him by an instrument [...]* <dated> *six days before King Edward's death.* and pp.189-190: *<From queen Mary> He <Gresham> received, besides, the manor and rectory of Langham and advowson of the vicarage; the manors of Walsingham and Narford, besides those of Merston and Combes and the advowson of their respective rectories.*

In addition to the fragments **C**, now in Cambridge, the fragments (i-ii), and the fragments (iii) copied into **N**, there are other parts of the codex **Co** that may also still exist. According to the Augustinian *Catalogue* at Lyon c.1700, the Orsini codex **Co** contained at least:

- < **Σ1** > 'Cosmographia' comprising
 - (a) (excerpt from Iulius Honorius)
 - (b) (excerpt from Orosius, *Historiae*, 1,2)
- < **Σ2** > 'Itineraria' comprising
 - (a) Itinerarium provinciarum antoni<ni> augusti
 - (b) Itinerarium maritimum imperatoris antonini augusti
- < **Σ8** > 'De rebus bellicis'
- < **Σ9** > 'Disputatio hadriani augusti et epicteti philosophi'
- < **Σ10** > 'De regionibus urbis romae'
- < **Σ13** > Compilation 'Notitia dignitatum' (*Cnd*).

But it probably contained a copy of the entire **Σ**-miscellany because some parts of this would not have been readily recognised as separate parts by the writer preparing the *Catalogue*. This is because, in **Σ**, the documents comprising parts **Σ1-7** (the unillustrated part of the miscellany) were written continuously: that is, each part did not begin on a new page, and they were not separated from each other by intervening blank lines - except in the case of **Σ1** and **Σ2** which were unintentionally separated by an intervening gap of 6 blank lines resulting from the omission of several words from the beginning of the copy of the *Itineraria* in **Σ2**. Similarly, by 1426/7, the picture and the first page of the text of the copy of the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* that both initially existed in the codex **Σ**, had been removed from **Σ** so that the remaining text of **Σ11** was not easily distinguishable from other regionary, **Σ10**, that preceded it.

The parts of the codex **Σ** that corresponded to the parts of the codex **Co** that are explicitly described in the Augustinian *Catalogue*, contained 103 pictures: namely, **Σ8** (=12 pictures), **Σ9** (=1), **Σ10** (=1), **Σ13** (=89). Given that the five folia **C** contain 7 pictures, and the facsimile of fragments (iii) in **N** contain 3, and speculating that the reason these fragments were framed and displayed was because of their pictures, there were potentially another 93 pictures in the codex **Co** that could have been removed in order to be framed and displayed in the same manner. It is possible, therefore, that other framed folia or parts of the rest of **Co** still exist.

The person who obtained the codex Co from the monastery in Lyon

It was noted above that the folia **C** and the fragments (i-iii) had all been enclosed in open frames and that it was probable, therefore, that these frames were added at the same time and in the same place. It was also apparent that the folia **C** had been displayed. Fragments (ii-iii) were located in Walsingham and (i) in Norwich. It was concluded, finally, that the folia **C** and the fragments (i-iii) were removed from the Orsini codex **Co** that existed in the Augustinian library at Lyon c.1700. In attempting to determine who may have brought **Co** from Lyon, either to somewhere in Norfolk, or to the area around Walsingham in particular, it is necessary to consider the available evidence associated with at least two tourists from Norfolk who are known to have obtained manuscripts from the Augustinians at Lyon after 1700; and evidence relating to a third tourist who, while not yet known to have obtained books from Lyon, was a collector of maps, pictures and prints, who passed through Lyon before returning to his residence, which was located in Walsingham.

Sir Thomas Coke (1697-1759)

Thomas Coke⁷² travelled extensively on the continent from August 1712 to May 1718, purchasing many manuscript and printed books in Lyon, Padova, Venezia, Basel, Mainz, Reims, Dijon, Berlin and a few in other places.

Coke was at Lyon from 6 to 25 October 1713 and again from 8 to 19 November 1715. During this second visit in 1715, he purchased at least 40 manuscript books from the library of the disalced Augustinians.

⁷² Born 17.Jun.1697, d.20.Apr.1759. Baron Lovel, of Minster Lovell in the County of Oxford, 28.May.1728; Viscount Coke, of Holkham in the county of Norfolk, and Earl of Leicester, 9.May.1744; Member of Parliament for Norfolk 1722-1728; Knight of the Bath, 1725; Grandmaster of English Freemasons, 1731-1732; Postmaster General, 1745 and 1758-1759.

This conclusion is based on the fact that about 40 of the manuscripts listed in the Augustinian *Catalogue des livres manuscrits* at Lyon c.1700, subsequently existed in the library of Thomas William Coke (1752-1842), Earl of Leicester, at Holkham.⁷³

The manuscript books purchased by Coke at Lyon for 3000 *livres* between 8-19 November 1715 were shipped in three cases from Lyon⁷⁴, via Paris to London.⁷⁵ and were apparently packed without any covers.⁷⁶ Coke probably imported most of the manuscript books without covers to avoid paying duty on them and they remained in this state until most of them were bound at Liverpool in the period 1815-1823.

Coke returned to England in May 1718 and, in that year, he commenced his residence at Thanet House in Great Russell Street. His library remained in London until after his death in 1759. When the library at Holkham was completed after 1760, his widow moved the books to Holkham: the manuscripts were brought from London to Holkham by land, and the printed books came by sea to Wells.⁷⁷

No explicit evidence has yet been identified to indicate that Coke purchased the codex *Co* at Lyon in 1715 because of the apparent absence of any reference to this codex (or to any fragments of it) in three catalogues of the Holkham library:

- the first catalogue was made in 1727 while the books were in London.⁷⁸ But this catalogue is incomplete. It is a '*continuation*' which begins with shelf 61. The earlier volume, listing and describing the books located on shelves 1-60, is not known to exist.

⁷³ In the transcript of the Augustinian *Catalogue* printed by Martin (see note 7), in which he numbered each listed item, the books obtained by Thomas Coke correspond to those that Martin numbered: 33-35, 49-50, 59, 62-64, 68-74, 86-93, 99-102, 104, 108-109, 112, 160, 167-169, 212, 234. (Hassall, W.O., *The Holkham Library: illuminations and illustrations in the manuscript library of the Earl of Leicester*. (Oxford, The Roxburghe Club, 1970), p.12, n.4). Within the item numbers interpolated by Martin, the *Cosmographia Aetici seu Mappa mundi* is number 57.

⁷⁴ Hassall, W.O., *op.cit.*, 1970, using the entries in Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Ms. 733 and Ms.734 (two of three account books detailing the expenses abroad of Thomas Coke 1712-1718) reports (pp.12-13) that: *on 18 November <1715: Ms 733, p.128 and Ms.734, p.55> Mr.Ozinda, [...] was paid for carriage of books and 'embalage of 3 boxes of books'. On 22 October 1716 payment was made for carriage of three chests of books from Lyons and the expenses in Paris <Ms.733, p.245 and Ms.734,p.179>, and finally <Ms.733, after p.175> we read of 'The 3000 livres Returned by Mr. Gibson to Mr.Gardiner [of Lyons] in the spring of 1716 for the Purchase of manuscripts at Lyons.'* This is not inserted in either the *Receipts or Disbursements*.

⁷⁵ James, C.W., *Some notes upon the manuscript library at Holkham: The Library Ser.4, 2 1922*, pp. 213-237, adds (p.222) that: *When he is 20 <1717>, there is a bill for books at Venice of 2,358 livres, and at Padua for 4,779. In Holland his purchases cost him 1,612 Dutch guilders, and on his return to England, aged 21, there is payment of 5,745 French livres for books. His early harvest brought him at least 400 manuscripts, and it must not be forgotten that he bought a great number of early printed books as well.*

⁷⁶ James, *op.cit.* 1922, p.229.

⁷⁷ Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Ms. 765: *Holkham Heirlooms (belonging to the late Thomas, Earl of Leicester); Inventory of furniture at Holkham Hall. Inventory of goods and pictures 1760*. This document contains no list of books, even though the library is mentioned in the room-by-room list, which mentions only furnishings. But there is a note, pasted in, to the effect that the printed books were sent by sea, and the manuscripts by land. (Microform Academic Publishers, Holkham, Reel 97110).

⁷⁸ Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Ms. Account Book E.8/2, fol.74r: *July 13 1727. A Continuation of the foul Draught of the Catalogue of Books belonging to Sr. Thomas Coke of Holkham Hall in Norff. in the Library in Lond^o Comencing at the 61 Shelf in the Large Room - where the other book Ended*. (Microform Academic Publishers, Holkham, Reel 97111). This *Catalogue* occupies ff.74r-106r and lists the books on shelves 61-75.

Hassall, W.O., *Portrait of a bibliophile II. Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, 1697-1759: Book Collector 8 1953*, pp.249-261 reports (p.252) that there were 151 shelves of books in the Large Room in Thanet House.

- the second catalogue was part of the general inventory of Holkham Hall compiled in 1775 which included the 1773 inventory of books.⁷⁹
- the third and most detailed catalogue of the library at Holkham was composed during 1815-1828 and consists of eight hand-written volumes. It was initially written by William Roscoe (1751-1829) and then revised and extended by Frederic Madden.⁸⁰

The catalogue of 1773 is virtually complete, except for later accessions, and everything in the 1829 catalogue is either still at Holkham, or was among the manuscripts sold to British Museum (Library) or to the Bodleian Library. The 1773 and 1829 catalogues do not contain any reference to the codex *Co*, nor does the catalogue from 1727, but this is incomplete. If Thomas Coke purchased the manuscript book *Co* at Lyon in November 1715, it could have been among the books on shelves 1-60 or on shelves 76 onwards, in the library at London in 1727 and then disappeared from the collection before the composition of the inventory of 1773. It may have been lent and not returned.⁸¹

Dr. Thomas Hobart (d.1728)

Thomas Hobart studied medicine at Leiden University from 1691, became a Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge in 1699 and took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Cambridge in 1700.⁸²

In 1712, Hobart was employed as tutor to Thomas Coke and accompanied him on his grand tour of Europe from 1712 to 1718. Since Coke was aged only 15 when the tour began, and since Hobart himself purchased manuscript books during the tour, it is probable that it was Hobart who both encouraged and influenced the nature and extent of the acquisitions of manuscript books by Coke, including the large purchase made at Lyon.

Hobart himself purchased several manuscripts (*plusieurs Mss*) at Lyon, and one of his purchases is significant. Philibert Papillon, in his publication *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne* in 1742,⁸³

⁷⁹ Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Ms. 749: This is a general inventory, dated 1775, which includes the earlier catalogue, titled: *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Some Early Printed books in the Library at Holkham in Norfolk, belonging to the Rt. Hon^{ble} The Countess Dowager of Leicester. Take in September 1773.* A copy of this catalogue existed in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps as Ms.13656. The account books show that the cataloguer was the Rev.Thomas Scott, assisted by Charles Franklin.

Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Ms. 769: *Catalogue of the library of the Countess Dowager of Leicester, 1772* (3 volumes) lists only printed books, not manuscripts.

⁸⁰ Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Ms. 770: *Catalogue of manuscripts in the library at Holkham in the county of Norfolk, belonging to Thomas William Coke, Esq., M.P. compiled and arranged by William Roscoe collated and enlarged by Frederic Madden* (in 8 volumes, 1815-1828). (Microform Academic Publishers, 3 reels or CD-ROM).

⁸¹ Stirling, A.M.W., *Coke of Norfolk and his friends [...]*. (2 vols., London, Lane / Bodley Head, 1908), v.1 p.35: <Thomas Coke, 1697-1759> *His return from abroad had been hailed with delight by the English scholars who had heard of his rare collection of books and MSS, and [...] he lent his most precious volumes with a generosity which seems to show the disinterested lover of literature rather than the mere virtuoso.*

⁸² Peile, J., *Biographical Register of Christ's College 1505-1905 and of the earlier foundation, God's House 1448-1505.* (2 vols, Cambridge, University Press, 1910-1913), vol.2: 1666-1905, p.127: *Hobart, Thomas: Not found before 27 March 1699 when he was admitted as Finch and Baines Fellow on the nomination of the Earl of Nottingham, [...]. M.D. 1700. [...] I cannot trace him till 23 Apr.1709 when he had leave to travel abroad for six months (probably as a private tutor) [...] On 3 May 1710 he had leave for another three months [...]. On 24 July he 1712 he had leave to travel out of England for three years "to go along with the Duke of Leeds' grandson Mr Cook": on 6 May 1715 this charge was prolonged for another three years at the request of the Earl of Nottingham. His last leave was on 1 Nov.1723 for three years. Before 27 April 1728 his earthly travel had ended.*

He is mentioned in a medical publication in 1702: Cole, W. (M.D.) *Consilium aetiologicum de casu quodam epileptico, quo respondetur epistolae doctissimi viri Thomae Hobart, MD [...]*. (London, Rhodes, 1702).

referred to the compositions by Samuel Guichenon (1607-1664) which included one titled: *Histoire de Christine de France, duchesse de Savoye* which Papillon described as follows:

<p.289> 10. *Histoire de Christine de France, Duchesse de Savoye*, Papillon wrote: *Cette Pièce est citée sous le nom de Guichenon, dans le Catalogue des Mss. de Frere Eloy, Augustin Déchaussé, pag. 12. Le P. le Long en fait aussi mention. M. Hobart, sçavant Gentilhomme Anglois, m'a écrit au mois de Janvier 1724. que parmi plusieurs Mss. qu'il a achetés à Lyon, il a trouvé l'Original de l'Histoire de la Princesse Christine de Savoye, par Guichenon.*

Papillon noted that this *Histoire* was mentioned by Jacques Le Long in his *Bibliothèque historique de la France* (Paris, Martin, 1719) who listed it as 10347 and stated that *Cette Histoire est rapportée dans le Catalogue des Manuscrits du Frere Eloy, Augustin Déchaussé*. What Papillon did not learn from the passage he cited from Le Long was that this *Histoire* was alleged to have been purchased by Thomas Hobart. This can only suggest that when Papillon attempted to obtain information from the discaled Augustinians at Lyon about the *Histoire* listed printed in their *Catalogue des livres manuscrits*, he was informed that this *Histoire* had been obtained by Hobart, with whom Papillon was then able to correspond. This strongly suggests the Augustinians at Lyon recorded at least some, if not all, the names and addresses of the purchasers of their manuscripts, either in their copy of the *Catalogue* or in some document listing information such as the payment received for each manuscript book as the items were sold. It would be of considerable interest to find such a record.

The printed books belonging to Hobart were sold on 23 April 1730 by Charles Davis, a bookseller in London.⁸⁴ The collection of manuscript books belonging to Thomas Hobart eventually passed into the library of the Mostyn family of Mostyn Hall.⁸⁵

Most of the manuscripts were sold by Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan (Lloyd-Mostyn), 3rd Baron Mostyn through Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge in 1920: some printed books on 16 April and the manuscripts on 13 July. In the annotated catalogue of the manuscripts sales,⁸⁶ several lots are marked as being 'from the Hobart collection'.⁸⁷ But none of the manuscripts sold in 1920 can be identified as fragments of the codex *Co*.

Henry Lee-Warner (1688-1760) of Walsingham Abbey

Henry Lee-Warner, accompanied by Hamon L'Estrange (1687-1715) of Hunstanton, who was a cousin of Thomas Coke, undertook a European tour which began in November 1713 and ended in April 1716. Lee-

⁸³ *Bibliothèque des auteurs de Bourgogne, par feu M. l'Abbè Papillon, Chanoine de la Chapelle au Riche de Dijon. Tome premier (A-L), A Dijon, Chez Philippe Marteret, Imprimeur & Libraire, place du Palais, MDCCXLII*. This reference to Hobart was discovered by Martin, *op.cit.*, 1900, p.261, n.1.

⁸⁴ British Library, S-C.378.(2): *A catalogue of the libraries of the late honourable William Hewer, of Clapham, Esq; The learned Thomas Hobart M.D. And the Reverend John Hancocke DD. and Prebendary of Canterbury: containing above eight thousand volumes in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English, [...] which will begin to be sold very Cheap (the lowest Price fix'd in each Book) on Thursday, April 23, 1730, by Charles Davis, Bookseller, in Pater-noster-Row, the corner shop next to Warwick-Lane, beginning at Eight in the Morning [...]*. The three libraries are not separated in the catalogue.

⁸⁵ James, *op.cit.*, 1922, p.222; Hassall, *op.cit.*, 1970, p.13.

⁸⁶ British Library, ZC.9.b.4605: *Catalogue of Very Important Illuminated and Other Manuscripts. The property of the Lord Mostyn, Mostyn 'Hall', Mostyn, Cheshire, [...] which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge [...] at their large galleries 34 & 35 New Bond Street, W.(1) on Tuesday, the 13th of July, 1920 at one o'clock precisely*. The annotations in this copy show the names of buyers and the prices paid.

⁸⁷ Lots 4 (*Catalogue* pp.3-4), 15 (p.6), 18 (p.6), 28 (p.8), 36 (p.10), 45 (p.12), 49 (p.13), 58 (p.15), 62 (pp.15-16), 81 (p.20), 90 (p.21) and 105 (p.23).

Warner and L'Estrange travelled through France and Italy before returning north in the middle of 1715.⁸⁸ During their travels, they were apparently interested in seeing significant collections,⁸⁹ and Henry indicated, not only that he bought pictures and prints in Italy, but expressed an interest in buying maps, books and prints elsewhere.⁹⁰

Writing from *Geneva July the 24th 1715* to his maternal uncle, Sir James Howe at Berwick, Henry described how he and Hamon had travelled north from Genoa, through Torino and Lyon to Genève and describing the town of Lyon as *very large and one of the most flourishing in France*. There was no mention of the purchase of books, but the letter continues: *we intend to go to Berne with Mr. Coke and from Basle down the Rhine with my Lord Essex*.⁹¹ At Genève, Henry and Hamon had joined Thomas Coke and Thomas Hobart.⁹² It is not certain where and when Henry and Thomas Coke parted company after Hamon died of small pox at Basel on 13.Aug.1715,⁹³ but Henry returned to London shortly before 5.Apr.1716.⁹⁴

As mentioned above, Coke and Hobart were at Lyon during 6-25.Oct.1713, but it was not until they returned there during 8-9.Nov.1715 that they bought manuscripts from the library of the Augustinians. It is possible that the second visit was inspired by Henry and it is also possible that he had purchased one or several manuscripts there before Coke and Hobart.

⁸⁸ Moore, A.W., *Norfolk and the grand tour. Eighteenth century travellers abroad and their souvenirs*. (Norwich, Norfolk Museums Service, 1985), pp.19-21.

⁸⁹ Norfolk Record Office, LEEW, Box 10 (Letters from Henry Lee Warner (1688-1760) when on the continent to his uncle Sir James Howe at Berwick), Letter 10/14: *Florence Oct. y^e 21 1714. Hon^{ed} Sr. [...] We had a letter from Sr Henry Bedingfield to y^e Great Duke <of Tuscany: Cosimo de Medici III, 1642-1723, G.D. from 1670> w^{ch} we presented him Monday last, he met us [...] and has given us particular orders for to see his Medalls and his Armory [...]. He has the greatest Collection of the best Pictures and Medalls I ever saw, and all Sorts of Precious Stones. The Chapel of the Medicis is the most extradionary <!> place certainly in the world. All the walls are lined with Marble inlaid with several figures of Lapis Lazuli and other such valuable stones. [...] Your Dutifull Nephew Lee Warner*

⁹⁰ Norfolk Record Office, LEEW, Box 10, Letter 10/28: *Aix la Chapelle Nov. y^e 11th 1715. Hon^{ed} Sr. I am ashamed that for so long a time as you mention in yours of y^e 17th of Oct (w^{ch} I have just rec^{ed}) you should know of my being alive only by my drawing bills <i.e. withdrawing money> [...] but if all my things get well home hope I have something to shew for it. In Italy I could not avoid buying some Pictures and Prints w^{ch} are the chief Manufactures of that country. I have spent nothing in Pockett money and bought less cloaths than when in England. [...] and so for Holland [...]. I must stock my self in Linnen, and would fain buy Maps books and Prints. I wish you dont think me extravagant [...]. Your Dutifull Nephew Lee Warner*

Norfolk Record Office, LEEW, Box 10, Letter 10/54: *Roterdam March y^e 24 1716 Hon^{ed} Sr. [...] Yesterday I came from Utrecht having finished my tour round Halland [...] I am sorry I had not your order about the Mapps before I went to Amsterdam for I fear I shall get no good ones here. [...]. Antwerp is the best place for Pictures but they are excessive dear, much dearer than at Rome, but since you are so kind to depend on my Poor skill if I find any I think tolerably Cheap will buy one of two for you. [...]. I am Hon^{ed} Sr. Your Most Dutifull Nephew Lee Warner*

⁹¹ Norfolk Record Office, LEEW, Box 10, Letter 10/23.

⁹² James, C.W., *Chief Justice Coke, his family and descendants at Holkham*. (London, Country Life, 1929), quotes from a letter from Thomas Coke to his grandfather Sir John Newton (1651-1734, 3rd Baronet of Barrs Court, Gloucester) p.191: *I passed one week at Geneve where I met my Lord Essex and several other English gentlement. My cozin Mr.L'Estrange and Mr.Coke of Norfolk are with me and we intend to travel to Switzerland together [...].*

⁹³ *Norfolk Archaeology* 5 1856 p.144: *Hamon L'Estrange was the eldest son and heir apparent of Sir Nicholas l'Estrange, of Hunstanton, Bart., [...]. He died, however, on his travels abroad, on the 13th of August, 1715, unmarried, in the 28th year of his age, after a fatal attack of small pox. [...].*

⁹⁴ Norfolk Record Office, LEEW, Box 10, Letter 10/52: *April y^e 5th 1716. Hon^{ed} Sir I believe you will be surprised to hear I am already in London [...].*

Henry Lee Warner and Thomas Coke remained in contact for many years. In 1755, Thomas Coke wrote to William Cavendish⁹⁵ successfully requesting a military commission for Thomas, one of the four sons⁹⁶ of Henry.⁹⁷ It is possible, therefore, that if Coke had the codex **C**, he could have lent it to Lee Warner.

No evidence has yet been identified to indicate that Lee-Warner obtained manuscripts when he was at Lyon in July 1715, or that he borrowed or acquired any manuscripts from Thomas Coke after the latter purchased his manuscripts at Lyon between 8-9.Nov.1715. But if he did obtain manuscripts for himself, or borrow some from Thomas Coke, the possessions of Henry were not well managed by his son, Henry Lee Warner (1722-1804) who reportedly allowed his neighbours to help themselves to his property.⁹⁸

It is probable that the codex **Co** was, at at some time in the 18thC, in Walsingham and was dismembered there. The fact that all the known fragments of the codex **Co** were framed, suggests that their excision from **Co** was done with a common purpose and, therefore, probably occurred in the same place and at about the same time. One *portion* of these fragments, (iii), belonged to a cottager in Walsingham and were copied into **N** after they were borrowed by the Rev. James Lee Warner who identified their contents; another *portion* was in the *possession* of Mr. Lee Warner of Walsingham who showed them twice to Harrod and stated that he believed these fragments had come from a manuscripts at the Abbey in Walsingham or possibly Houghton, both containing residences of the Lee Warner family. The same is probably also true of the framed fragments (i) that were with Stevenson in Norwich and which Harrod identified as coming from the same manuscript as the fragments (ii); and it is probably equally true of the

⁹⁵ William Cavendish (c.1720-1764, Marquess of Hartington, later fourth Duke of Devon and Governor-general Ireland 1755-1762).

⁹⁶ Handley, S.N., *Warner, Henry Lee (1688-1760)*: in Cruickshanks, E., Hayton, D. & Handley, S. (eds), *The House of Commons 1690-1715: Members O-Z*. (Cambridge, University Press, 2002), pp.804-805 notes that Henry had 4 sons and 1 daughter.

⁹⁷ James, *op.cit.*, 1929, p.257: *When the favourable answer comes* <from William Cavendish regarding the commission for Thomas Lee Warner, Thomas Coke thanks William> *assuring him that a more grateful and worthy man than Mr.Lee Warner no one can oblige, [...]*.

⁹⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 74 1804 Part2, <p.784> *Deaths [...]*
<p. 785> [...]*12. Aged 82, Henry Lee Warner, esq. at Walsingham abbey, c. Norfolk, [...]. He was a lineal descendant [...] of [...] John Warner, formerly bishop of Rochester (whose large estates he possessed, as well as those of Sir James Howe, bart. of Berwick, Wilts, and of Henry Lee, esq. of Dane Jon, in Kent) [...]. His character, as drawn by Mr. Pratt, in his "Gleanings," <Samuel Pratt, "Gleanings in England: descriptive of the countenance, mind and character of the country." 3 vols. 1799; 3rd edn. London 1801-1804> we shall extract, as we understand it is not exaggerated: "At the abbey here <i.e. Walsingham> resides a gentleman in the possession of a once finely-wooded domain, [...] who, nevertheless, has allowed almost every tree [...] to be deliberately cut down and carried away without [...] making any manner of enquiry after the offenders, or entering into any remonstrance as to their past, present, or future depredations, [...] whoever has a mind to it goes into his stable, saddles or harnesses a horse, and rides or ploughs with him, brings him home at night, or keeps him a week or a fortnight together, without so much as a question being asked by the 'Squire;" [...] Notwithstanding these deep drawbacks upon his property, Mr. Warner died extremely rich. [...]. <p.974> Additions and Corrections. [...]* p.785. *Had all the trees which he planted remained to the present time, they could not have been worth less than 40,000 £. His neighbours began their depredations upon the branches in the night; but, finding him so easy with them, they grew exceedingly bold, [...]. In the year 1795 they made most dreadful havock; having no restraint laid upon them, they laid the vicinity of Walsingham waste, so that it looked much like the seat of war. [...] Mr. W's extreme lenity is likely to prove injurious to the poor in his neighbourhood. Having been accustomed so long to plunder, they probably will not soon leave it off; perhaps not till some of them are made to suffer the penalty of the law.[...]*.

folia **C**, which had previously been framed and displayed. If all these fragments had been removed from the codex **Co** and had all been framed elsewhere than in the immediate vicinity of Walsingham, it is improbable that two separate portions of them would subsequently have existed with two different owners in Walsingham: one portion with Lee Warner, and the other with a cottager.

The catalogues of the sales of books and pictures from Walsingham Abbey, from 1911-1922,⁹⁹ contain no items that can be identified as fragments of the codex **Co**.

Several questions remain unanswered at this stage:

- Was it Thomas Coke or Thomas Hobart or Henry Lee-Warner who brought the Orsini codex **Co** from Lyon to England ?
- The answer to this question is probably contained in the document, yet to be identified, in which the discaled Augustinians at Lyon apparently recorded the names and origins of the purchasers of their manuscript books.
- Where, when and from whom did John Burgon obtain the folia **C** which he sold in London on 12.Jul.1861 ?;
- Do the fragments (i) briefly displayed in 1847 by S.W.Stevenson, (ii) owned by Lee Warner, and (iii) owned by a cottager in the vicinity of Walsingham (and later copied into **N**), still exist and, if so, where?
- And, most importantly, do any additional fragments of the codex **Co** still exist and, if so, where ?

This appendix invites collaboration from interested readers in the search for answers to these questions and, more importantly, for the unavailable fragments (i-iii), and for any other fragments of the Orsini codex **Co**, which contained the earliest known copy of the *Cnd* that existed in the codex **Σ** in the library of the Speyer cathedral chapter.

⁹⁹ Norfolk Record Office, LEEW Box 19 contains several catalogues, including:

- *Catalogue of [...] pictures by old masters, works of the early English school, the property of Henry Lee Warner, Esq. of Walsingham Abbey [...] will be sold by auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, [...] on Saturday, February 11, 1911 [...];*
- *Catalogue of books and manuscripts comprising books from the library at Walsingham Abbey, Norfolk, sold by Order of Henry Lee Warner, Esq. of Walsingham Abbey, [...] will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, [...] on Monday, 25th of November, 1912 [...];*
- *Catalogue of [...] Greek, Roman, English and Continental coins, medals and tokens [...] part of the heirlooms of the Walsingham Estate, sold by Order of Major C.B. Lee Warner and the Trustees [...] which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, [...] On Monday 21st November, 1921 and following Day [...];*
- *Catalogue of old pictures forming part of the Walsingham Abbey heirlooms sold by Order of Major C.B. Lee Warner and the Trustees of the Estate [...] will be sold by auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, [...] on Friday, November 25, 1921;*
- *Catalogue of engravings & drawings, framed and in the portfolio, including the properties of [...] and heirlooms from the Walsingham Estate (sold by Order of Major C.B. Lee Warner and the Trustees); [...] will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, [...] On Tuesday, 20th of December, 1921 and following day;*
- *Catalogue of printed books and a few illuminated and other manuscripts comprising part of the heirlooms of the Walsingham Estate (sold by Order of Major C.B. Lee Warner and the Trustees) [...] which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, [...] On Monday, February 20th, 1922 and three following days.*