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Professor Edwin Walter Kemmerer. Portrait by Orren Jack Turner. Courtesy of Donald L. Kemmerer.

Princeton's "Money Doctor"

Professor E. W. Kemmerer and the Gold Standard

BY DONALD L. KEMMERER

During his teaching career, Edwin Walter Kemmerer, a professor of economics at Princeton, was called upon to advise the governments of fourteen nations on their monetary standards and policies of fiscal reform and modernization. In addition, Professor Kemmerer's many books and articles had a significant influence on the nascent field of international finance. His own development is chronicled in the pages of his unpublished autobiography and diaries, and in the large collection of his papers, now housed in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton. This memoir has been adapted from "The Life and Times of Professor Edwin Walter Kemmerer, 1875 - 1945, and How He Became an International Money Doctor," written by Professor Kemmerer's son, who is also an economist.

In the autumn of 1926, Edwin Walter Kemmerer, Princeton's renowned Professor of Money, Banking, and International Finance, did not lecture to a class of juniors and seniors as scheduled. Instead, in mid-October, he, five other experts, two secretaries, and four wives were aboard the British liner *Ebro* off the northwest coast of South America. Professor Kemmerer wrote in his diary: "We arrived in La Libertad, Ecuador, after dark . . . Took launch to Salinas, transferred to a smaller launch, then to a dug-out canoe and were finally carried ashore on backs of natives."² Following a banquet and a night's rest at a local hotel on the banks of the steamy Bay of Guayaquil, they proceeded by auto to Guayaquil — once the port city, but now some twenty-five miles upriver — where the provincial governor served

¹ Privately printed; copyright 1993 by Dr. Donald L. Kemmerer, 1006 West Armory Avenue, Champaign, IL 61821-4536.

² E. W. Kemmerer diary, Ecuador, 1926, p. 290. Page numbers here and in subsequent citations refer to the typewritten version of the Kemmerer diaries, transcribed by the author.

them another banquet. Unhappily, the shrimp proved bad, and all but one of the party became quite ill, two of them dangerously so. When they reached Quito, perched two miles high in the Andes, almost on the equator, they were lodged in the “Residencia Presidencial,” which Professor Kemmerer characterized as “a splendid home.” On their first Sunday, Kemmerer wrote that he and his party had taken an extended drive “all over the City and were astonished to see the squalor and backwardness of the place. It is worse than . . . any other city I have visited.”

So began the work of a team of financial advisors, led by E. W. Kemmerer, in a hard-to-reach republic with grave economic and fiscal problems. Ecuador's currency, the sucre, had been depreciating for many years, and the government wanted to stabilize it. At the same time, the tax structure and the system of governmental accounting needed to be modernized. That explains the presence of the team of experts. But the Ecuadoran government also wanted to borrow money to improve railroads and build more public utilities. Professor Kemmerer was the best man for the job. By 1926, after missions in seven troubled nations, he had demonstrated his expertise in fiscal reform and, equally important, he had earned the respect of New York's investment bankers, the most likely lenders to modernizing countries like Ecuador.

How had Professor Kemmerer acquired his expertise, his eminence, and his influence? His life story, a Horatio Alger epic, is of a kind familiar to many Americans, and still worth telling.



Edwin Walter Kemmerer, the oldest child of Lorenzo Dow Kemmerer³ and Martha Hanna Courtright, was born on 29 June 1875 in Scranton, Pennsylvania.⁴ His father was “Pennsylvania

³ Lorenzo was named after a frontier evangelist, Lorenzo Dow (1777 – 1834), whose sermons had deeply impressed the boy's parents. On Dow, see *Dictionary of American Biography* (1930), vol. 5, p. 410.

⁴ Edwin Walter Kemmerer's unpublished and incomplete “Autobiography” and his diary of early 1896 are the sources of much of the information about the family's background and Professor Kemmerer's childhood and youth. Both are in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University. See also W. A. Backenstoe, *Kemmerer Family History, 1730 – 1929* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Searle & Bachman, 1929), pp.



Photo: John Blazejewski

The family of Lorenzo Dow Kemmerer and Martha Courtright Kemmerer in 1898. The children, standing, left to right: Frank, Roy, Jessie, Edwin Walter, and Arthur. Courtesy of Donald L. Kemmerer.

Dutch,” people of German ancestry who are known for their strict and pious ways, their large families,⁵ well-kept farms, sumptuous meals, and quaint ways of expressing themselves, as in the sign on a front door, “Bump, bell don't make,” or the adage, “Kissin' don't last, cookin' do.” Kemmerer is an anglicized version of the German word for chamberlain or treasurer, perhaps an augury of progeny to come.

The anthracite coal-mining city of Scranton was not a good place to raise a family, and so in 1890 the Kemmerers moved sixteen miles northwest to a quiet village called Factoryville. It never had a factory, just ambitions. Lorenzo Kemmerer, known as “Kem” or “Little Kem”

89–97; and J. H. Abbott, *Courtright Family* (New York: Tobias Wright, 1902), pp. 67, 76, 89.

⁵ Lorenzo Kemmerer's great-grandfather had fifteen children in three marriages; Lorenzo's grandparents had nine, and his parents had fifteen, of whom Lorenzo was the ninth child and the first son to survive babyhood. Only six of the children lived to adulthood.

to his peers, for he stood a scant five feet, four inches tall, was a model father, a companion to his four boys whom he taught to fish and enjoy a healthy outdoor life. The boys' mother, Martha or "Mat-tie," was an energetic, talkative woman, very supportive of her children but also with strong religious convictions. Nothing would have pleased her more than to have a son or grandson become a clergyman, and when Walter was in his early teens, she had him half-persuaded to become a missionary. The men of the family were equally devout. As Walter once wrote:

Both my grandfather and father [Kemmerer] were active in the Methodist Church. . . . Grace was regularly said at table and for a number of years it was the custom for father to lead us in family prayers at night before we retired. The moral code and the religion of the family made the Ten Commandments the law of our household and their sanctions were firm parental advice, occasional corporal punishment with a small but memorable raw-hide whip . . . and a menacing fire-and-brimstone hell in the hereafter, with its counterpart heaven of golden streets.⁶

Besides being a pleasant rural community, Factoryville had another attraction: Keystone Academy, a good private preparatory school. Walter attended Keystone for one term when he was fourteen, but then for financial reasons had to drop out. Determined to return, he went to work. Since he hoped to become a civil engineer, he took a job briefly as a backsight on the railroad's survey corps. Next he became a Union Newsboy, delivering papers up and down the Lackawanna line between Scranton and Hancock Junction, New York. That schedule left him with five hours of free time in Scranton, three in the morning and two in the afternoon. To make the most of this he built up an egg route: "I bought up eggs in and about Factoryville during the evenings, candled them to see that they were strictly fresh, and took them with me to Scranton on my morning run."⁷ He had enough regular customers to sell twenty-five dozen eggs a day, on which he made a profit of four cents a dozen.

He had yet to decide, however, what he would study when he re-

⁶ Kemmerer, "Autobiography," pp. 5-6, 22-24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

turned to Keystone to pursue his hard-won education. He chose the classical curriculum, since that was the surest preparation for college in that era. And because he now had some spare time, he became interested in debating and was also attracted to a brief course in political economy. Those were two important decisions; the economics course led him to his life's work. At graduation time in 1895 he was declared the winner of the Latin and the essay prizes and valedictorian of his class of sixteen.

Walter Kemmerer's next big decision was where to go to college. Most Keystone graduates chose Bucknell, Colgate, or Penn State. He believed that the best colleges were in New England and "decided that probably the best single criterion was the proportion of earned Ph.D. degrees held by members of the faculty."⁸ That led him to choose Wesleyan in Middletown, Connecticut. He was twenty years old when he enrolled as a freshman there, signed up again in the classical curriculum — no economics courses were available until his junior year — and joined the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity. At the fraternity he had his room and board free in exchange for serving as house manager. His new source of income was selling stereoscopic pictures published by Underwood and Underwood.⁹ That year, for the first time, he kept a diary of sorts. It does not reveal his inner thoughts, his likes and dislikes; instead it is a succinct record of how he spent his time, which was efficiently, and of the classes, church meetings, and other activities he attended.

During the summer of 1896, between Walter's freshman and sophomore years at Wesleyan, William Jennings Bryan campaigned for the first time against the Republican candidate for the presidency, William McKinley. The major issue was whether the United States should return to bimetalism, the 16-to-1 gold and silver standard, or remain on the gold standard. Few people today know the arguments pro and con and care less, but the issue fascinated Walter Kemmerer. Years later, he wrote that he "read avidly the political literature on both sides" and "early came to the conclusion that . . . the case for national bimetalism was untenable and the gold standard advocates had much the better of the argument. That summer I canvassed in

⁸ Kemmerer, "Autobiography," pp. 17-18.

⁹ Kemmerer, "Autobiography," pp. 13, 21-22. A fine collection of these pictures and viewers for them can be seen in the Graphic Arts Collection at the Princeton University Library.

the country districts of Chatauqua County, New York, where political opinion on the 16-to-1 ratio was strongly divided among the farmers. . . . My interest in the subject was keen and my debating propensities so pronounced that my stereoscopic-view business was materially sacrificed in my efforts, — usually unsuccessful — to convert Bryanites to the gold standard.”¹⁰

During his last two years at Wesleyan, Walter Kemmerer took seven courses in economics, all that were offered. “In all of them,” he wrote, “my teacher was Professor Willard Clarke Fisher, a liberal economist with high standards of scholarship.”¹¹ In his senior year he took a course for which the assignment was to write a term paper on a subject of his own choosing; he selected “The Quantity Theory of Money,” and later wrote that “this choice was largely responsible for my becoming a ‘money doctor.’ ”

The quantity theory of money lay at the root of the gold vs. silver debate of the 1896 election. Was it true, as the public appeared to believe and one of the candidates asserted, that a decrease in the money supply had lowered the price level and an increase would raise it proportionately? Some scholars were saying that such a belief rested on a very simplistic quantity theory, and that reality was much more complicated.¹² The Wesleyan term paper was Kemmerer’s first effort to determine the truth of the matter in a scholarly manner. Unfortunately, a copy has not survived.

At Cornell University, where Kemmerer was admitted for graduate study, he made economics his “major study and social science and American history” his two minors. His principal professors were Jeremiah W. Jenks in economics, Henry H. Powers in social science, and Moses Coit Tyler in history.¹³ His work under Professor Jenks was

¹⁰ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” pp. 19–21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19. He means “liberal” in the nineteenth-century sense, a conservative in today’s parlance.

¹² Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” p. 24. The complications included the definition of money. Was “money” only gold and silver coins? Were some \$346 million in U.S. notes (the Civil War “Greenbacks,” still in circulation) money? Were National bank-notes money? Were demand deposits against which the owners might write checks also money? Already most Americans were paying their monthly bills by check. And what about the rate of turnover, the “velocity” of money and demand deposits? Did increasing their velocity essentially increase the money supply? Modern economists say, “Yes, of course,” to all these questions, but in 1896 almost no one knew, and that included both presidential candidates.

¹³ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” p. 24. On the careers of Professors Jenks and Tyler, see *Dictionary of American Biography* (1930), and *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis, 1943).

especially fortunate. Jenks, blessed with a charming personality, was already nationally and internationally known and had friends in high places all over the world. He was more interested in the practical application of economics than he was in the finer aspects of economic theory. The United States government chose Jenks as its advisor on industrial combinations (usually called “trusts”) in 1899, and the next year the War Department consulted him on currency, taxation, and other problems in the recently acquired Philippine Islands.

In the spring of 1903, Walter Kemmerer received a telegram from Professor Jenks saying that if he would be interested in the position of financial advisor to the U.S.-Philippines Commission in Manila at \$3,000 a year, he should report at once to Colonel Clarence R. Edwards, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington, D.C. Kemmerer was there the next day. By then, Kemmerer had completed his graduate work at Cornell, written an article on “The Fiscal System of Egypt” published by the American Economic Association in 1901, and had written much of his doctoral dissertation — a more thorough exploration of the quantity theory of money than his senior paper at Wesleyan had been. Cornell awarded him his Ph.D. in June 1903. Meanwhile, Kemmerer had taught at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana, and had married Rachel Dickele of Middletown, Connecticut.

Colonel Edwards did not immediately offer Kemmerer the job in the Philippines. In a cable to the governor, William Howard Taft, Edwards said, “Dr. Kemmerer, who is strongly recommended, . . . is a clerical looking little chap who does not impress me very favorably. . . . We had better try further to get an older and more experienced man.” Much history, perhaps, hung in the balance while they searched, but two weeks later Edwards changed his mind. The Kemmerers sailed from San Francisco on 27 June 1903 and five weeks later arrived in Manila. En route Dr. Kemmerer, as he now was, concentrated on the preparatory reading that Edwards had sent him, most of it on the Philippine currency problem. Those papers included a copy of Edwards’ cable to Taft about the “clerical looking little chap.”¹⁴

In Manila Kemmerer was immediately thrust into the middle of a confusing situation involving a basic money principle, Gresham’s

¹⁴ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” pp. 23–32.

Law, which the public knows as “bad money drives out good money.” The Philippines under Spanish rule had been on a near-silver standard and used a variety of coins, chief of which was the Mexican peso (the “Mex”), the size of an American silver dollar. The Mex was worth the constantly fluctuating market value of its silver content, usually a trifle less than fifty cents.

The American government had already sought to improve the lot of the Filipinos in many ways, one of which was to give them a new, reliable money. President McKinley in 1901 appointed Charles A. Conant (1861 – 1916), a highly regarded journalist, economic advisor, and believer in the gold standard, to recommend reforms. Conant, with some help from Jenks, proposed a silver peso, slightly lighter than the Mex but redeemable always for fifty cents in U.S. dollars, and Congress enacted the proposal into law. The new pesos quickly came to be called “Conants.”¹⁵

The problem was that, while the Conants were at a premium over Mex at banks and in Chinese money-changers’ shops, the local merchants, in part to retain customers accustomed to the Mex, treated the two monies as equal. Gresham’s Law went into operation. Merchants and others used Conants to buy or import more than the same amount of goods that the Mex would buy in international markets, and the good money, the Conants, disappeared from everyday circulation. Faces in high places turned red.

Of the three currency experts deemed knowledgeable — Conant, Jenks, and the newly arrived Kemmerer — only Kemmerer was actually in Manila. On the evening of August 10th, Governor William Howard Taft called him in and directed him to devise a plan for solving the problem and report back the next morning. Kemmerer worked all night and expected that his oral report would be the basis of a discussion the next day. Instead, Governor Taft dictated a cable to Secretary of War Elihu Root, saying that Kemmerer recommends so and so, do you approve? The next day a reply came: “Kemmerer’s recommendations are disapproved in every respect.” As Kemmerer later wrote, “This was a rather cold reception for a young man beginning with trepidation a highly responsible job in a strange country. . . . My general plan of action was a sound one. . . . Considerably later

¹⁵ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” pp. 32–35. See also George S. Luthringer, *The Gold Exchange Standard in the Philippines* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934), pp. 1–47.

I learned that my recommendation had been misinterpreted by the War Department.”¹⁶

Despite the rebuff, Kemmerer continued with his other work. He drafted a bill to establish a gold-exchange-standard monetary system in the Philippines: “It provided the nearest approach to a ‘Simon pure’ gold exchange standard that the world had yet seen,” he wrote.¹⁷ Weeks later — 31 December 1903 — the Mex was to cease to be legal tender, but the merchants ignored the dictum. The Mex seemed to have more lives than a cat. On 7 January 1904, an editorial in the *Manila Times* expressed that paper’s disgust with the experts.

The Philippines Commission next enacted a law forbidding the importation into the country of any kind of metallic money not on a gold standard, and imposed heavy penalties for doing so. That was close to what Kemmerer had recommended in his August conference with Governor Taft. And further, after 30 September 1904, prohibitive taxes were to be imposed upon contracts in Mex or other old local currencies. Complaints were loud, but businesses had ample time to prepare for the new system. The law was a success. It was no doubt assisted by “an ordinance passed by the Municipal Board (effective March 1, 1904) on my recommendation, requiring all merchants in the city to post conspicuously . . . large placards in the English, Spanish, and Tagalog languages [stating] in what currencies their prices were (Mex, Conant, or U.S.) and at what value they received other currencies.” A merchant might choose any one and set any rates and later change them at will. Thus “a real currency was created with prices proportionately lower when payment was made in Conant pesos or United States dollars than in Mex.” By the end of 1905 the new gold standard currency was firmly established. Dr. Kemmerer had completed his major task.¹⁸

This was by no means Kemmerer’s only task, however. Although

¹⁶ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” pp. 35–39. Kemmerer’s friend and neighbor in Princeton, Dean Christian Gauss, later wrote “The Education of Edwin Walter Kemmerer” for the *Saturday Evening Post* (14 April 1934). It is a good account of Kemmerer’s early life and career.

¹⁷ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” p. 40. For a fuller explanation of the gold exchange standard, see E. W. Kemmerer, “The Gold Exchange Standard,” in *Economic Essays in Honor of Gustav Cassel* (London, 1933; reprinted New York: A. M. Kelley, 1967), pp. 311–326.

¹⁸ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” pp. 40–59. Also useful are *First Annual Report of the Chief of the Division of the Currency to the Treasurer of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905); and *Second Annual Report . . .* (1906).

his title was "Chief of the Division of Currency," he was also partly responsible for other financial reforms. He served as a bank examiner and as such "participated in the examination of all the banks in the Philippines." He also "drafted a proposal for establishing a postal savings system in the Islands." A third task was preparing for the establishment and maintenance of an agricultural bank with capital provided by the government.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the young couple's personal life was very different from what they had known at Purdue, where Kemmerer's salary had been a meager \$600 per year. Rachel Kemmerer wrote to a normal school classmate: "I wish you could come and see our . . . little home here . . . Large rooms, immense windows, great big porch on which we just about live most of the time, have our afternoon five o'clock tea there, read there or recline on the steamer chairs in the evening. . . . My houseboy is such a comfort to us. I don't know what I shall do without him when we go back to the States."²⁰

But this was not the sort of life that either of the Kemmerers would have been happy with in the long run, and it was time to head back to a university campus somewhere in the United States. Two questions arose. How could they pay for their trip home? The U.S. government did not yet feel obligated to do it so soon. Should they return over the Pacific or continue around the world? Complicating both decisions was the presence of a baby son, Donald, born on their fourth wedding anniversary, and of a much-cherished year-old Maltese poodle, Dulce. The decision was suddenly made easy: the Philippine government and the U.S. War Department hired Kemmerer as a special commissioner "to investigate and report on currency reforms then in process in the Straits Settlements and on the Agricultural Bank of Egypt."²¹

The Kemmerers left Manila early in February 1906. The trip home took about three months, during which Walter kept a diary. For financial reasons he and Rachel travelled a good part of the time in second class. They stayed two weeks each in Singapore and Cairo, but much of the rest of the time they were free to go sightseeing. Kem-

¹⁹ Kemmerer, "Autobiography," pp. 62–71; and "An Agricultural Bank for the Philippines," in *Yale Review*, November 1907, reprinted as a pamphlet (New Haven?, 1907?).

²⁰ Rachel Kemmerer to Sadie Lawton DeLong, June 1904.

²¹ Kemmerer diary, 8–10 February 1906.

merer's years of selling stereoscopic pictures of many of the great sights of the world had aroused his curiosity, and he wanted to see at least some of them with his own eyes. A serious problem was what he was to do to earn a living once they returned to the United States. To his immense relief, he received a cable from Professor Jenks offering him a position as assistant professor at Cornell, starting in September, at a salary only half what he had been earning in the Philippines. He accepted with enthusiasm.²²

Over the next ten years, from 1906 to 1916, there is scant evidence that Walter Kemmerer was aware that he was taking further important steps to prepare himself for the role of an international money doctor. He greatly increased his academic prestige, which was essential; he played a minor role in setting up the Federal Reserve System, and spent a sabbatical in Germany where he met other eminent economists. And he published three books: *Money and Credit Instruments and Their Relation to General Prices*, the first edition of his doctoral dissertation, and a second edition containing more statistical evidence.²³ The third book, entitled *Seasonal Variations in the Relative Demand for Money and Capital in the United States*, was his report for the National Monetary Commission, appointed to investigate central banking systems abroad and to advise Congress on how to improve the American system. Later, Kemmerer wrote:

This study had an important influence on the formulation of the provisions in the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 for obtaining bank notes and deposit currency elasticity. . . . I took an active part in the campaign for banking reform by writing, public speaking, and advisory work. I belonged to a small group of economists who were consulted by President Wilson and was employed and consulted by the New York State Banking Association.²⁴

²² Kemmerer, "Autobiography," p. 74.

²³ Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1907; the second edition was published in 1909. Among the first to revise thinking on the quantity theory of money were Irving Fisher in his Ph.D. dissertation in mathematics for Yale University in 1891, later developed in his *Purchasing Power of Money* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), and Kemmerer in his Ph.D. dissertation for Cornell in 1903. Kemmerer was one of the first to provide statistical proof of the revision. See Edmund Whittaker, *The History of Economic Ideas* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1940), pp. 604–605; and *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement*, vol. 4, pp. 272–273.

²⁴ Kemmerer, "Autobiography," pp. 83–86. See also his "American Banks in Times

His acquaintance with influential New York bankers was to serve him well when he became the money doctor to much of the underdeveloped world.



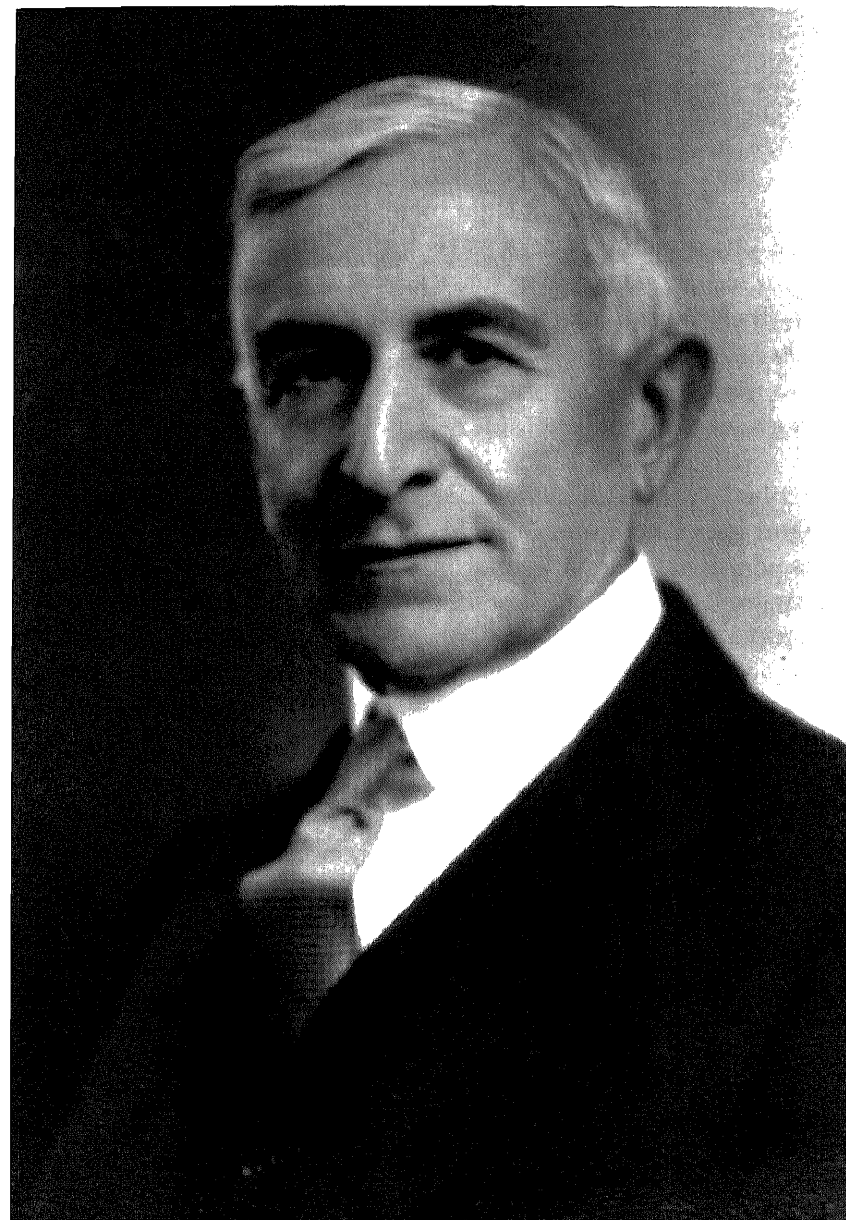
At the turn of the century Cornell University had a distinguished economics faculty, but it was paying them rather low salaries even for that time. The University's beautiful location on the hills overlooking Lake Cayuga, its gorges, waterfalls, and rolling countryside might have provided some "psychic income," but Ithaca's distance from any major Eastern seaboard city was, for economists anyway, a disadvantage. Not surprisingly, as their reputations rose, faculty were courted by other institutions. In 1911 Princeton University invited Professor Frank A. Fetter to leave Cornell and join its faculty as professor of economic theory. He accepted, telling his good friend Walter Kemmerer that he would try to persuade Princeton to hire him also.²⁵ True to his word, soon after Fetter arrived in Princeton he urged its administration to invite Kemmerer there, too. That same year, Professor Jeremiah Jenks left Cornell to take a position at New York University.²⁶

Princeton offered Kemmerer a professorship at \$4,000 a year, and promised to build a house to his specifications, not for purchase but for rent, in the Broadmead faculty housing area where many of the University's distinguished professors and administrators resided, and very close to Professor Fetter's house. In the fall of 1912, Kemmerer joined Princeton's Department of History, Politics, and Economics, which split into two departments two years later. Professor Fetter became chairman of the Economics Department, and Kemmerer eventually rose to become Princeton's renowned Professor of Money and Banking and International Finance.

of Crisis under the National Banking System," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 1, no. 2 (1911): 233-253; *Seasonal Variations in the Relative Demand for Currency and Capital in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910); "Some Public Aspects of the Aldrich Plan on Banking Reform," *Journal of Political Economy* 19, no. 11 (1911): 819-830; and "The Bank-Note Issue of the Proposed Federal Reserve Banks," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 4, no. 1 (1913): 160-168.

²⁵ Kemmerer, "Autobiography," pp. 87-89.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.



Professor Frank A. Fetter. Portrait by Clearose Studio. Courtesy of Donald L. Kemmerer.

After a sabbatical in Germany in 1914, Professor Kemmerer taught a course in money and banking that became increasingly popular. The number of students who took up banking after graduation increased notably. "For example," Kemmerer wrote, "between May and October 1916, the Economics Department placed twenty-one graduates of the Class of '16 in banking positions in New York City alone. One New York bank took eight men." Several years later, to his immense pleasure, the Class of 1916 made him an honorary member.²⁷ Meanwhile, he was making the acquaintance of many leading bankers—including Benjamin Strong, Carl Snyder, Leonard Ayres, James Alexander, Frank A. Vanderlip, and John E. Rovensky.²⁸ Some were hiring his students and others were seeking his advice with growing frequency.

In 1916, too, Kemmerer's book, *Modern Currency Reforms*,²⁹ was published. It was essentially a case history of several underdeveloped nations operating under the gold *exchange* standard, sometimes called "the poor nation's gold standard." Some research purists regard it as his major scholarly contribution to economics. It appeared at a time when the gold standard was at its apogee, although all nations had "temporarily" suspended it because of World War I.³⁰

Throughout his life, Edwin Walter Kemmerer was a staunch advocate of the gold standard in some form, the gold-coin standard when feasible. He believed that all he had learned about money in a lifetime of study indicated that adopting a gold standard was the wisest course of action for a nation if only because gold enjoyed well-nigh universal respect. After the end of World War I, finance ministers worldwide agreed in general. Delegates to two international monetary conferences (Brussels in 1920 and Genoa in 1922) declared that "the restoration of a gold standard is [the] ultimate object," and

²⁷ *Princeton University Alumni Directory, 1939–1942*, p. 119.

²⁸ See Donald L. Kemmerer, *Life of John E. Rovensky* (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes, 1977), pp. 100–127.

²⁹ New York: Macmillan, 1916.

³⁰ In 1873 nine nations had adopted a gold standard; by 1912 there were forty—almost all of the world's leading countries. Just prior to World War I the world had the nearest thing to a single money that it has ever had because every gold-standard nation's money unit was a fraction or a multiple of the money unit of the others, depending on their gold content. France's franc had 19.3 percent of the gold in the U.S. dollar, and England's pound sterling had 486 percent as much gold as the dollar. Gold ingots could be minted into any sized gold coin desired. See Donald L. Kemmerer, *Testimony before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Banking and Currency, Eighty-third Congress, second session (1954)*.

by 1930 more than forty nations had returned to it, as many as had been on it before the war, in 1912.³¹

In 1944, near the end of his life, Kemmerer published his testament, *Gold and the Gold Standard*,³² a brief history of gold as money, a description of various kinds of gold standards, and a discussion of the weakening of the gold standard that took place after World War I. It had been preceded by his *The ABC of Inflation: With Particular Reference to Present Day Conditions in the United States*,³³ which dealt with the causes of inflation, its effects on various segments of the economy, and governmental efforts to control it. Kemmerer thought of inflation as a burglar, robbing honest people of the fruits of their labor and creating the kind of chaos that could and did bring down governments.³⁴ Most of his life had been devoted to working with governments to help them adopt policies that would permit them to establish a stable currency and maintain an inflation-proof economy.

The cost of preventing inflation can be high, however, especially for underdeveloped nations. Money in the form of gold coins or gold bars earns no more interest income than if it were paper money. How, then, can poor countries afford the high-cost "insurance" against price inflation that a gold standard provides? Few persons can afford to own their own bank, but people of even limited means can have bank accounts. It is that way, too, with gold standards. A poor nation can place deposits in the central bank of a wealthier nation that is on the gold-coin standard. When the poor nation or its firms need to borrow, they may be able to arrange with the poor country's central bank to sell drafts on its account (essentially, cash a check) in the gold-coin-standard country's central bank. However, the poorer country on a gold *exchange* standard should take particular care to choose a trustworthy gold-coin-standard central bank.

At the Pan-American Financial Congress in 1916, Edwin Walter Kemmerer submitted a proposal for "Pan-American monetary unity on a gold-standard basis." The plan was widely discussed at the time both in the United States and in Latin America, but nothing came of it because the world was too shaken by World War I.³⁵ In view of Professor Kemmerer's many trips to Latin America between 1922

³¹ Melchior Palyi, *The Twilight of Gold* (Chicago: Regnery, 1972), pp. 116–117, 148.

³² New York: McGraw-Hill, 1944.

³³ New York: McGraw-Hill, 1942.

³⁴ See, for example, E. W. Kemmerer, *Inflation and Revolution: Mexico's Experience of 1912–1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940).

³⁵ Kemmerer, "Autobiography," p. 106.

and 1931, however, it may be looked upon as an idea that underlay the advice given by the “money doctor” to his patients. By 1916, he already believed that several Latin American countries were badly in need of a thorough-going reform of their currency systems.

In the summer of 1917 Professor Kemmerer served as an advisor to Mexico on her monetary and central-banking problems.³⁶ And in the summer of 1919 he did much the same for Guatemala, although a revolution shortly after his departure prevented most of his advice from being acted upon. These were his second and third “patients.”

In between, in 1918, he wrote a primer, *The ABC of the Federal Reserve System*, on the purposes, structure, and some of the operating procedures of his own country’s still-new central bank. The System’s officials liked the book so well that they bought and gave away many hundreds of copies.³⁷ Over the next twenty-five years, he revised the book ten times and came to be regarded as one of the country’s foremost experts on the Federal Reserve.

When the time came for Professor Kemmerer’s second sabbatical leave in 1922, he chose South America to visit and took his family along. The trip very nearly ended in disaster in Paraguay: New York newspapers later described the family’s traumatic escape from death when a ship on which they were travelling exploded (the *Villafranca*, on its way to Iguazu Falls, was illegally transporting 5,000 gallons of gasoline).³⁸ To assist him in gaining easy access to leading officials, Dr. Kemmerer arranged to have himself appointed a United States Trade Commissioner, a prestigious-sounding office with few duties and less pay. Unfortunately he did not keep a diary, but his sixteen-year-old son did. In it he recorded the social highlights of the family’s visit to Santiago, Chile, in July. “Dad and Mr. Soto-Hay called on President [Arturo] Alessandri this afternoon,” he wrote, and a week later, “Mother and Dad had dinner with the President, both of them having the seats of honor. There were about 20 people there.” Earlier that same day, the entire Kemmerer family lunched at the elegant home of Dr. Guillermo Subercasseaux, Chile’s best known economist.³⁹

³⁶ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” pp. 114–125. See also E. W. Kemmerer, *Monetary System of Mexico: Proposed Reforms* (Mexico City: Palacio Nacional, 1917).

³⁷ Kemmerer, “Autobiography,” p. 108.

³⁸ See Donald L. Kemmerer, *Life and Times*, pp. 39–43, and the album of press clippings on the *Villafranca* incident in the Mudd Library, Princeton University.

³⁹ Typescript of Donald Kemmerer’s diary for 1922, pp. 2, 6. See also Guillermo Subercasseaux, *Monetary and Banking Policy of Chile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922).



Photo: John Blaziejewski

The Kemmerer Commission in Chile, June 1925. Seated, from left to right: William Renwick, H. Jefferson, the Intendant of Antofogasta, E. W. Kemmerer, H. Lutz, and Joseph Byrne. The secretaries, standing, from left to right: Alvarez, Harry West, Whitson Fetter. Courtesy of Donald L. Kemmerer.

The trip proved useful to Kemmerer’s subsequent career as a “money doctor”; he had learned a great deal about the political and economic culture of the countries he visited. Over the next nine years, he would make eight more trips to six Latin American nations as a financial advisor: twice to Colombia (1923, 1930), a second time to Guatemala (1924),⁴⁰ twice to Chile (1925, 1927),⁴¹ to Ecuador and Bolivia (1926 – 1927), and finally to Peru (1931). Argentina and Bra-

⁴⁰ On a brief visit to Guatemala in the summer of 1919, Kemmerer and his assistant, John Henry Williams, had produced a feasible plan for stabilizing the peso; the plan was not implemented because, soon after the two Americans departed, the dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera was overthrown. Kemmerer returned to Guatemala in 1924 on a second mission, which Donald Kemmerer and Bruce Dalgaard described in their “Inflation, Intrigue, and Monetary Reform in Guatemala, 1919 – 1926,” *The Historian* 46, no. 1 (1983): 21–38. See also the 1924 diaries of F. W. Fetter, son of Kemmerer’s best friend, and of Donald L. Kemmerer. Copies of both are in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

⁴¹ For Kemmerer’s account of the Chilean case, see his “Chile Returns to the Gold Standard,” *Journal of Political Economy* 34, no. 3 (1926): 265–273, and Donald L. Kemmerer, “Central Bank of Chile, 1925 – 1950,” *Monetary Studies* 8 (1983): 15. See also F. W. Fetter, *Monetary Inflation in Chile* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931).

zil both considered inviting him, and Panama did so in 1927 but changed her mind at the last moment. As a result of the visits of groups of experts that came to be known as the Kemmerer Commissions,⁴² all of these countries established central banks.⁴³

The 1923 mission to Colombia was destined to enhance Professor Kemmerer's prestige as a financial adviser perhaps more than any subsequent one. In March 1923, just six months after returning from his sabbatical in South America, Kemmerer was in Bogotá, the capital of one of the few nations he had not visited. Colombia's leaders had asked the U.S. State Department to suggest someone who could advise them on modernization of their banking system, tax policies, and governmental accounting. State recommended that they invite Dr. E. W. Kemmerer to organize and lead a small commission of experts.⁴⁴ That summer there was a major financial crisis.

On 16 July 1823 the Banco Lopez, Colombia's most important private financial institution, had noticeable difficulties meeting its obligations. This is the kind of situation that has triggered serious panics. The failure of the Knickerbocker Trust Company in New York City in 1907, for example, allegedly set off the Panic of 1907 and that, in turn, led to a chain of events that concluded six years later with the passage of the law establishing the Federal Reserve System, the United States' equivalent of a central bank. A central bank is a bank for bankers; just as individuals or companies with good credit, but temporarily short of cash, may borrow from a bank, so may a bank in similar straits turn to its country's central bank for help. Unfortunately, Colombia had no central bank. One was in the making, the Bank of the Republic, on whose charter and by-laws Kemmerer had

⁴² For an account of the Kemmerer Commissions' work in South America, see Paul Drake, *The Money Doctor in the Andes: The Kemmerer Missions, 1923 - 1933* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1989).

⁴³ The International Finance Conference, held in Brussels in 1920, had added its voice to those of economists like Kemmerer who were advocating the creation of central banks in both the developed and the underdeveloped world. Kemmerer often maintained, however, that the gold standard was more efficient in conjunction with a central bank, but that a central bank unaccompanied by a gold standard could easily become a dangerous engine of inflation. Most World War I inflations, including the notorious German one (1914 - 1923), were carried out by the various nations' central banks.

According to Ben Primer, Curator of Public Policy Papers at Princeton's Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Latin American government officials frequently consult the Kemmerer Papers for information about the formation of their central banks.

⁴⁴ Kemmerer diary, Colombia, 1923. This diary is not very informative; Kemmerer was apparently too busy to record some of his activities.

been laboring since mid-March, but it was not scheduled to begin operations for another six months. Obviously, there was desperate need for it when the Banco Lopez faltered.

Under Professor Kemmerer's direction, the essential decisions were made and the key officials were appointed. The Banco Lopez sold its building to the newborn Bank of the Republic for 750,000 pesos, largely in gold coin. The Bank of the Republic began operations on 23 July 1923, only six days after the beginning of the crisis.⁴⁵ A major panic, and perhaps a serious depression, had been averted.

By the time Professor Kemmerer and his group of experts left in August 1923, Colombia was also on a gold standard, the tax system had been improved, and a better governmental accounting and fiscal system had been organized. All of these would become essential elements of the money doctor's medicine for ailing economies. The effect in Colombia, as later elsewhere, was to make governments more eligible for international loans. To quote Stephen Randall, "Initially hesitant to float bond issues, New York bankers by 1926 became the major source for financing Colombia's public works."⁴⁶ The news that loans could be negotiated spread rapidly to other Latin American capitals — and to Washington.



At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, government officials and others in Latin America became increasingly aware that their railroads, roads, telephone services, municipal public utilities, and many other services were antiquated compared to those of North America and Western Europe. If the Latin Americans were to catch up, they would have to borrow capital with which to build modern infrastructure. Unfortunately, they were not savers themselves, and some of their governments had such bad

⁴⁵ "The Bank of the Republic of Colombia," *Federal Reserve Bulletin* 9 (1923): 119-123.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Bruce Dalgaard, "Monetary Reform, 1923 - 30: A Prelude to Colombia's Economic Development," *Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 1 (1980): 98-104. For the unexpected consequences of the ease with which some Latin American governments were able to borrow abroad, see Carlos Marichal, *A Century of Debt Crises in Latin America from Independence to the Great Depression, 1820 - 1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

reputations for defaults and corruption⁴⁷ that few capitalists were willing to lend to them. No World Bank yet existed, and thus these countries had only two options: reform their currency, fiscal, and public accounting systems and hope thereby to improve their credit ratings; or continue to deal with the corrupt moneylenders with whom they were already familiar, whose terms were high and whose tactics were ruthless.⁴⁸

By the 1920s, some new relationships were evolving in the money-doctoring profession, itself a recent phenomenon. It had been the custom for heads of foreign countries to turn to the State Department for advice on stabilizing the currency, setting up a central bank, and reforming the fiscal practices of the government. The Secretary of State would recommend a competent person such as Professor Kemmerer. In many instances, however, what the inquiring official wanted most of all for his nation was a long-term loan arranged by a New York investment bank to build a nationally owned railroad line or erect a power plant for the capital city. Why bother with the State Department? Why not go directly to a big investment bank?

In the 1920s representatives of underdeveloped countries coming to New York seeking loans often went away angry and disappointed. After a few turn-downs, however, they began inquiring about ways to make their governments credit-worthy. Colonel Robert Hayward of Dillon, Read and Company handled many such negotiations, and through him, from about 1925 on, Professor Kemmerer often learned which government would next invite him to lead a financial mission. From Dillon, Read's point of view, the laws written by Kemmerer, when put into operation, made it more likely that the country would be managed honestly and efficiently, repaying its loan on schedule. And the professor's fame helped sell their bonds, for some customers also knew about him and his record; if not, they were assuredly told by the bond salesmen. There was yet another advantage to the association: Professor Kemmerer kept Dillon, Read informed about what was going on in some of their client nations, and for this they paid him a modest retainer.

⁴⁷ See Marichal, *Debt Crises*, for the history of defaults and governmental misbehavior.

⁴⁸ Guatemala under the dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera was a case in point. The government had been dealing with a firm named Schwartz and Co., exporters, importers, and bankers of New York. See Kemmerer's diary, Guatemala, 1924, pp. 193, 226.

Professor Kemmerer's first experience with arranging loans had been in Guatemala in 1924, and he was initially uneasy about it. Money and banking were his areas of expertise. What would be the attitude of the State Department towards this new activity? He reflected on this for well over a week. Then he went to Washington and talked it over with key persons there, saying he "would do nothing that was not approved by the State Department and nothing . . . not to the interest of Guatemala."⁴⁹



Early in 1924 Professor Kemmerer played a lesser role on a larger stage as a member of the Dawes Committee in Europe. Germany, defeated five years before and burdened by very heavy reparations payments, was in the final throes of the worst paper-money inflation the world had ever seen. In late 1923 the flow of Reichmarks from the printing presses finally ended, and they were made convertible at a rate of a trillion to one of the new Rentenmarks. Hardships caused by the war, the reparations, and that long and debilitating inflation threatened to make Germany another of Europe's revolutionary trouble spots (Erich Ludendorff and ex-Corporal Adolf Hitler had tried unsuccessfully to overthrow the Bavarian state government that fall). Finally, the Allies agreed to appoint a committee to investigate conditions and propose a more realistic program of reparations payments. General Charles G. Dawes would chair it and other Allied nations would have representatives on it. In addition, several eminent economists would be attached to the committee to do the real work. They would be known as the technical experts.⁵⁰

The State Department called Professor Kemmerer to Washington on 2 January 1924 to discuss the matter. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes offered him the position of "expert on currency matters to the American experts for the Reparations Commission." And, as Kemmerer recorded in his diary, Hughes also "got leave for me from Princeton on long-distance phone with President Hibben." Arrangements were made for Kemmerer to sail for Cherbourg on the

⁴⁹ Kemmerer diary, Guatemala, 1924, p. 137.

⁵⁰ Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1925, p. 36. General Dawes served as President Coolidge's vice-president, 1925 - 1929.

SS *Aquitania* three days later.⁵¹ The news caused considerable consternation both in his family and in the economics department.

This assignment was in some ways like his first job in the Philippines twenty years earlier. He had the technical knowledge, but others determined how it should be used. In Mexico, Guatemala, and Colombia, his advice on what action to take carried great weight, but that would be much less true in Paris in 1924, as his diary reveals. He did not, however, easily abandon what he regarded as sound economic practice, especially when he judged the alternative to be very unsound.

Two big questions occupied the members of the Dawes Committee of the Reparations Commission: How much in reparations per year was it reasonable and wise to ask Germany to pay? How much per year could be transferred without seriously destabilizing the exchange rates of the recipient nations?⁵² There were ancillary questions, too: How could Germany be protected from another damaging inflation? And where should reparations monies be held pending their delivery? The Committee decided early that no existing German bank could be entrusted with the responsibility; it would be necessary to set up a new central bank.⁵³

Professor Kemmerer was assigned much of the responsibility for drafting the charter and by-laws for Germany's central bank. An entry in his diary for 20 February 1924 records "a long conference with Owen D. Young⁵⁴ explaining and defending my revised bank bill." On reading Kemmerer's proposal, Young declared "It is a corking good bill." And the following day, Kemmerer noted:

Prepared a memorandum on [Emile] Francqui's proposed statutes of the bank.⁵⁵ Like his outlined bill, his statutes are

⁵¹ Kemmerer diary, Dawes Committee, 1924, p. 2.

⁵² See Kemmerer, "The Burden of Germany's Obligations Under the Dawes Plan," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 120 (July 1925): 7-10. This issue of the *Annals* is devoted to "American Policy and International Security," and Kemmerer's article is in "Part 1: The Operation of the Dawes Plan."

⁵³ *Federal Reserve Bulletin* 10 (1924): 326, 351-417.

⁵⁴ Owen D. Young (1874 - 1962), industrialist and diplomat, was the leader of the American delegation in Paris of the First Reparations (Dawes) Commission. In 1930 he chaired the Second Expert (Young) Commission on Reparations. See *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), vol. 7, pp. 808-811.

⁵⁵ Emile Francqui was Belgium's representative to the Dawes Committee. For more

a poor job and exhibit little knowledge of the subject. . . . Nonetheless it is understood that for political reasons my bill must go forth as the Francqui-Parmentier Plan and my name not be associated with it in any public way. The situation is bad in many ways and the power I have is out of all proportion to the responsibility. If it fails, I lose; if it wins the others gain.⁵⁶

The Kemmerer plan for a sound central bank also would have put Germany on a gold standard. At first, the plan had widespread support. Then, on returning from a day away, Kemmerer learned that "Governor [Montagu] Norman of the Bank of England had appeared before the sub-committee . . . and had thrown several monkey wrenches into the machinery including opposition to Germany's going at once to the gold standard."⁵⁷ Norman's reason — *not* cited — was that London's reputation as a world financial center would, by comparison, be damaged. Thenceforth the Committee ostensibly responsible for submitting the plan for Germany's central bank acted frequently without consulting their technical experts and used subterfuge (copy room omissions, alterations, etc.) to avoid any confrontations.⁵⁸ On 5 April all but the American "technical advisors" received final proofs of the Committee's Bank Report. The Americans had to wait two more days. Upon reading his copy, Kemmerer found a section on currency by Emile Francqui that he had never seen before. Kemmerer's diary reads: "The treatment is very poor and full of economic fallacies." He started to write corrections only to learn that the Report had by then gone to press.⁵⁹

The tactics employed by Francqui and, to a lesser extent, by Britain's Montagu Norman to prevent Germany from adopting the gold standard bothered Professor Kemmerer. It seemed a matter of pride stifling prudence: a gold standard would be a safeguard against another inflation. Soon after returning to the United States, Kemmerer had occasion to talk to members of President Coolidge's cabinet. On 17 May 1924 he recorded in his diary: "Long conference with Secre-

about him, see H. Shepherd, *Belgium, 1914 - 1936* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936), pp. 148-150.

⁵⁶ Kemmerer diary, Dawes Committee, 1924, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88, 91-92.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

tary [of Commerce] Herbert Hoover. Spoke on necessity of gold basis for new German [Central] Bank." And on 9 June: "Had about a half hour's conference with Secretary of State [Charles Evans] Hughes and put to him as strongly as possible case for gold standard for Germany and explained origin of non-gold clause in Dawes Report." Whether a 27 June entry is also pertinent is uncertain: "Received telegram from Secretary Hughes authorizing me to show to Owen Young my letter to him [i.e. Hughes] of June 24 re. German currency plan and then sent letter to Owen Young."⁶⁰ Later in 1924 Germany went on a gold-exchange standard.

One of Professor Kemmerer's favorite stories dates from his time as a member of the Dawes Committee. He and two others decided to conduct an informal survey and ask various Germans they met: "If you had to live through the great inflation again, what would you invest your savings in to conserve them as well as possible?" The answers ran like this: "Certainly not in bonds, any kind of bank accounts or life insurance. They just go up in smoke with the value of the mark. Stocks? They rose in price for a while but then levelled off or the companies went bankrupt. A few just may still recover. Real estate? That is like stocks, but it's hard to turn into cash when you most need cash. Antiques? Like real estate, plus storage and insurance expenses. Gold? It doesn't earn any interest at all. Nothing, really, does very well." With that reply the questioner reminded the German that "You didn't answer my question. What would have been the *best possible* investment to make?" To which the other always replied, "Oh, gold, of course."⁶¹



In spite of the machinations of British and European politicians, Professor Kemmerer's work on the Dawes Committee earned him still more respect. Early in May 1924, the day after he returned from Paris, the Guatemalan government asked him to spend the summer there to complete the work interrupted by a revolution in 1919. He accepted and went; when, on his advice, Guatemala adopted the gold standard, he suggested that the currency be named the quetzal after

⁶⁰ Kemmerer diary, Dawes Committee, pp. 128, 138, 161, 179.

⁶¹ Author's recollection.

the national bird which, it was said, represented liberty because it would not live in captivity.⁶² And, at the end of the summer, he returned to Princeton, fully expecting to resume his teaching duties. It was not to be.

On 9 October 1924, Dana Munro, then of the Central American desk of the State Department and later Princeton's Professor of Latin American Politics, inquired whether he would go immediately to Nicaragua as a financial expert. The next day Ecuador's ambassador in Washington "requested an option" on his time for the summer of 1925. Later that same day he received a cablegram from the High Commissioner of South Africa inviting him to spend a month or more there, with Gerhardt Vissering, president of the Bank of the Netherlands. The advisors' decision on whether South Africa should adopt a gold standard was desired before the Dominion Parliament met in January 1925.⁶³ President Hibben once again granted him a leave of absence, but the chairman of the Economics Department was unequivocally displeased. Professor Kemmerer booked passage on the SS *Mauretania*, leaving on 12 November for Southampton, England. South Africa wanted him to travel with Vissering from England to Cape Town.⁶⁴

The speedy *Mauretania* was delayed, and thus Dr. Kemmerer did not reach London until the early evening of 18 November. He was immediately whisked to the home of Sir Henry Strakosch for dinner with Dr. Vissering and other guests. Strakosch, a banker and gold expert, had been South Africa's delegate at the 1920 and 1922 monetary conferences in Brussels and Genoa.⁶⁵ Present also were Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England; a Mr. Miller who was financial editor of the *Times*; and Sir Otto E. Niemeyer, Under Secretary of the Treasury.⁶⁶

The Union of South Africa, then a British Dominion, was a federation of four states whose population in 1921 was about seven million, of whom 1.5 million were whites.⁶⁷ Not long before, from 1899

⁶² The quetzal was made equal to the U.S. dollar, to which the Guatemalan exchange standard was tied. See Kemmerer and Dalgaard, "Inflation, Intrigue and Monetary Reform"; E. W. Kemmerer diary, Guatemala, 1924, p. 226; and F. W. Fetter's diary in the Kemmerer Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

⁶³ Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1924, pp. 283-284, 290.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-287, 292, 304.

⁶⁵ *Who's Who* (London, 1925), pp. 2118, 2751.

⁶⁶ Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1924, p. 323.

⁶⁷ *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1922.

to 1902, the English and Afrikaner settlers had fought a bitter war, which had been won by the English. In 1924, however, the Afrikaner's Nationalist Party won the election; they intended to be as independent of Britain as possible. One more basic fact about South Africa: it was then, and still is, the world's major producer of gold.

The fiscal and financial condition of South Africa in 1924 was further complicated by England's deteriorating position in the world economy. Once the foremost industrial nation, by the end of the nineteenth century Britain's merchandise imports exceeded her merchandise exports. To pay the difference, Britain used the income received from so-called "invisible exports": the services of her large merchant marine, the accompanying freight insurance business, and the world's largest money market, based in London.⁶⁸

World War I had dealt Britain some harsh blows. German submarines torpedoed much of her merchant fleet. Her citizens had been forced to sell many overseas assets to raise funds to buy essential food and war matériel. Although inflation was less than in enemy or allied countries, the pound had lost a third of its buying power vis-à-vis the dollar, and the dollar, by 1920, had lost half of its 1914 value.⁶⁹ All nations had left the gold standard, but the United States was the first to return to it, in mid-1919. Thereafter New York threatened to replace London as the world's pre-eminent money market, and the British believed that the ability of London to attract and keep clients depended on an early return to the gold standard, with the pound at the pre-war level.

A devalued (smaller) gold pound would have been economically and politically more astute, but that was unthinkable.⁷⁰ The only way that Britain could maintain her position was by increasing the buying power of the pound until it exchanged for US\$4.86, the pre-war par. That meant lowering price and wage levels (deflating), always unpopular. The British had been plugging away at this for several years, and had managed to raise the pound's exchange rate from US\$3.25 to US\$4.60; they hoped to have it at US\$4.86 by the end of 1925, a year away. Meanwhile, the British were extremely sensitive to invidi-

⁶⁸ Englishmen also received substantial returns on their many overseas investments.

⁶⁹ John Parke Young, *European Currency and Finance* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1925), pp. 127-143.

⁷⁰ For more on the monetary problems of this period, see Palyi, *Twilight of Gold*, especially p. 75.

ous comparisons to a defeated enemy that had already returned to a gold standard, and to the Dominion of South Africa, which might return to a gold standard before it was possible for the Mother Country to do so.

Professor Kemmerer wrote in his diary about the gathering at Sir Henry Strakosch's home: "It was a delightful dinner, but everyone . . . was anti-gold and pro-sterling for South Africa and this was especially true of Strakosch and Mr. Norman." In other words, they did not want South Africa to sever its ties with sterling and go alone to gold. The next day Kemmerer had "conferences all day," including one with Montagu Norman: "Apparently [he] expects to get back to par soon, say within a year. Promised us hearty cooperation."⁷¹ Apparently the question of what was best for South Africa was never raised by Norman or his colleagues. South Africa's Nationalist Party administration had good reason to select as advisors, not one or two Englishmen, but a Hollander and an American.

After three days in London, Vissering and Kemmerer boarded the SS *Balmoral Castle* bound for Cape Town. The voyage took eighteen days, ample time for them to become well acquainted. On arrival they went to Johannesburg, then to Pretoria where they met Prime Minister James Herzog and inspected the world's largest gold mine.⁷² Next, they began taking testimony from persons presumed knowledgeable about the question they had come to answer. Fifty people were asked to appear; thirty-nine did so. The testimony filled 464 pages in fine print and required three weeks of interviews. Vissering fell ill, and the burden fell to Kemmerer.⁷³

The two experts concluded that South Africa might return to a gold standard if she wished: she had ample gold reserves and no serious price-level problem.⁷⁴ The Herzog government, pleased with the report, announced on 16 January 1925 that it would return to gold on or before 1 July.⁷⁵

Kemmerer and Vissering left for London on the SS *Windsor Castle*

⁷¹ Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1924, pp. 323-325. Before sailing for Cape Town, Kemmerer met with Norman once more.

⁷² Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1924, pp. 323-326, 343-351.

⁷³ Union of South Africa, *Report on Resumption of Gold Payments* (Pretoria: Government Printing Office, 1925), pp. ix-xxx, 1, 464. See also the review by W. O. Weyforth, *American Economic Review* 17, no. 1 (1927): 123-124.

⁷⁴ Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1924, p. 347.

⁷⁵ *New York Times*, 17 January 1925.

on 17 January and arrived on 2 February. Kemmerer called the next day at the Bank of England to see Montagu Norman, but the governor was "in conference." Kemmerer left word that he "would very much like to see him" while in London, and would come at any time that Mr. Norman wished. Norman did not respond.⁷⁶ On 18 April 1925 Britain returned to a gold bullion standard, a new kind of standard calling for smaller reserves than the gold coin standard.⁷⁷ South Africa then advanced her date for returning to gold to 18 May.⁷⁸

Great Britain had difficulty staying on her gold standard, and some said she had gone back to it prematurely. A few attributed that to what South Africa had done.⁷⁹ Six years later, in September 1931, Britain unexpectedly devalued her pound, and the repercussions were widespread. It triggered a world-wide departure from gold. One of the first central banks badly hurt by England's move was Dr. Vissering's Bank of the Netherlands.⁸⁰



After returning from South Africa in February 1925, Professor Kemmerer was finally able to teach two consecutive semesters at Princeton. Meanwhile, other countries were seeking his services, and 1926 promised to be a very full year. By June he had chosen the members of a Commission to go to Poland.⁸¹ After Poland he was scheduled to take a mission to Ecuador in October and one to Bolivia as soon as he had finished in Ecuador. As if all that were not enough, he had been elected president of the American Economic Association and was expected to deliver an address to the members meeting in St.

⁷⁶ Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1925, pp. 17, 33, 34.

⁷⁷ *New York Times*, 29 April 1925. The only "coin" of redemption was a 400-ounce ingot worth about US\$8,000.

⁷⁸ *New York Times*, 19 May 1925.

⁷⁹ See Bruce Dalgaard, *South Africa's Impact on Britain's Return to Gold* (New York: Arno, 1981).

⁸⁰ B. M. Anderson, *Economics and the Public Welfare* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1949), pp. 246-247.

⁸¹ On the mission to Poland, see E. W. Kemmerer, *Economic Poland Since 1914: Retrospect and Prospect* (New York, 1926), first printed as "Economic Poland Since 1914" in *Acceptance Bulletin* 8, no. 2 (27 February 1926); and Republic of Poland, *Reports . . . by E. W. Kemmerer* (Warsaw: Ministry of Finance, 1926).

Louis in late December. The title was, of course, "Economic Advisory Work for Governments."⁸²

In August 1927, Professor Kemmerer returned to Princeton. For the next three semesters he taught his courses, the longest teaching stint in six years. Since 1922 he had been either on a sabbatical or on special leave for more than half the time, and had served on or led eight foreign missions. While he felt honored and the University administration rejoiced at the prestige Princeton gained, the faculty or visiting professors who filled in for him in his absences sometimes felt unappreciated. Somewhere, there was a middle ground between the attitude of a colleague in political science, Philip M. Brown, who reassured him that most of the faculty and trustees had favored releasing him to go to South Africa in 1924, and that of the chairman of the economics department, who snapped that it was time for him to take a "permanent leave of absence." Probably that middle ground was Professor David McCabe's view that the University should "work out a policy on such matters."⁸³

Professor Kemmerer also hoped that Princeton would find a better solution. By 1928, it was agreed that an endowed chair showed promise of solving the problem. With interest rates at 3 percent, at most, on high-grade bonds and a salary of \$10,000 or so to pay (Kemmerer was at that time Princeton's highest paid professor), that would call for an endowment of more than \$400,000.⁸⁴ He and Luther Eisenhart, Dean of the Graduate College, devoted many hours to the problem and to interviewing potential donors. Kemmerer's personal efforts may have brought in close to \$75,000.⁸⁵ At one time in Ecuador, perhaps lightheaded from the altitude, he noted "Am dreaming over giving \$100,000 to help endow my chair at Princeton."⁸⁶ While he was in Bolivia, President Hibben wired him, "Committee determined to raise endowment for chair."⁸⁷

The solution to the problem was unexpected, and tragic. Right after graduating from Princeton in June of 1927, George Lambert and his first cousin, Ted Walker, also Class of 1927, elected to fly back to

⁸² Published in *American Economic Review* 17, no. 1 (1927): 1-12.

⁸³ Kemmerer diary, South Africa, 1924, pp. 285-287.

⁸⁴ Kemmerer diary, 1928, p. 185.

⁸⁵ Dillon, Read and Company contributed \$25,000. Kemmerer diary, 1928, pp. 257-278, 327.

⁸⁶ Kemmerer diary, Ecuador, 1927, p. 47.

⁸⁷ Kemmerer diary, Bolivia, 1927, p. 145.

their homes in St. Louis in George's airplane. It crashed, and Ted Walker died. The families were grief-stricken. The Lamberts were in the pharmaceutical business (Listerine mouthwash was one of their better known products). Gerard B. Lambert, Class of 1908 and uncle of the two boys, was a Princeton trustee, and agreed in 1928 to serve as chairman of a committee to raise the endowment for Professor Kemmerer's chair. At a meeting with Dean Eisenhart and Kemmerer, Lambert said that "confidentially he thought he knew where \$450,000 would come from, giving names, etc., i.e. himself and other beneficiaries of Ted Walker's will."⁸⁸ In due course the money was given to Princeton and the Walker Chair of International Finance was established in memory of James Theodore Walker.⁸⁹ Henceforth the endowment paid Professor Kemmerer's salary when he taught at Princeton, and was used to pay a temporary replacement whenever he was absent — only four times during the next fifteen years. Since 1943, when Kemmerer retired, the chair has been occupied by other distinguished scholars.



Almost any product or service, to have value, must have a market. Somebody has to want it enough to be willing to pay for it. The market for the services of a money doctor who prescribed a regimen of stable money — adopting the gold standard and administering the currency by means of a highly institutionalized central bank — had been very good in the 1920s. With the onset of the Great Depression, however, the picture changed, at first slowly, then, about 1931, rapidly. A new school of money doctors came into fashion who saw the hardships caused by the falling price level and thought some inflation to counteract it might be beneficial. These were all men with almost no field experience — John Maynard Keynes, Irving Fisher, George Warren, James Harvey Rogers, and others — yet all were distinguished scholars, the first two just mentioned eminently so. More-

⁸⁸ Kemmerer diaries, 1927, p. 334, and 1928, pp. 12, 24, 70.

⁸⁹ Not in honor of Francis Amassa Walker (1840–1897), a prominent economist and one of the founders of the American Economic Association, as stated in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 19, pp. 342–344. Nor is there any significance to the fact that Ted Walker and the author, in our sophomore year at Princeton, roomed in 95 and 93 Blair Hall, respectively; we barely knew one another.



Photo: John Blazjewski

Professor and Mrs. Kemmerer fly-fishing for trout in Canada, 1939. Courtesy of Donald L. Kemmerer.

over, they were advocating what the politicians, listening to the anguish of the people, wanted to undertake as soon as they came into office. In brief, the wants of the market had changed. It was calling for money doctors whose cures were alleged to be new. Actually, most of their medications were old panaceas that had previously been tried and found wanting.

Professor Kemmerer was out of sympathy with these beliefs. He quite agreed that the fall in prices, alias price deflation, was an evil to be avoided if possible. He had often said that.⁹⁰ But monetary inflation was not the solution. Inflation, he firmly believed, caused much social and economic harm, and a steady policy of purposeful inflation was downright immoral. Only the need to win a war of survival might justify it. Moreover, he believed, it is very difficult to inflate just a little.

The majority in Congress, however, held the unshakable idea that the underlying cause of the deepening depression was an insufficient money supply caused basically by the fact that the world's supply of

⁹⁰ See E. W. Kemmerer, *High Prices and Deflation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1920).

gold was not keeping pace with the need for it. Some thought the cure was again bolstering the waning gold with some help from its former companion, silver. Others favored putting more Federal Reserve notes into circulation for politically attractive purposes such as financing a bonus for World War I veterans.

Professor Kemmerer patiently explained to a House Committee in the spring of 1932 that their assumptions were false.⁹¹ He insisted that "there has been no worldwide scarcity of monetary gold up to this time." From 1921 to 1929 the world's stock of monetary gold and the world's production of basic commodities both increased by about 3.2 percent annually. Since then, gold production had grown but commodity output declined. The problem was elsewhere, he implied. "We have more money in circulation now than we did in the briskest times of 1929 . . . yet we are doing 40 percent less business than in 1929." He explained that money and demand deposits subject to checks were turning over much more slowly, people were hoarding, and many were reluctant to invest when they saw no likelihood of making a profit. "We are suffering from a lack of confidence. . . . The fellow with the money and the fellow with the bank deposits are afraid to use them." As for silver, "I think the silver now in the Treasury is inert and useless." Unfortunately, his testimony had only a limited audience, and too many persons remained unconvinced.

In the autumn of 1932 Professor Kemmerer told his family that if Franklin D. Roosevelt were elected president that November, as seemed likely, the United States would be off the gold standard within a year. That seemed unduly pessimistic, even to his own son, but his prophecy came true within six months. He believed that abandonment of the gold standard and the ensuing devaluation of the dollar were totally unnecessary, the result of poor judgment, and an ill omen of inflation that was being purposely brought on by the federal government. Kemmerer spoke out against the New Deal's monetary and banking policies at every opportunity,⁹² and in November 1933 took part in the formation of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, a group of leading monetary econo-

⁹¹ *Hearings on Resolution 72 by the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, 72nd Congress, 1st session* (25 March 1932), pp. 247-279. Note especially the charts provided.

⁹² Kemmerer diary, 1933, p. 115. For his views on monetary policy at this time, see a collection of his essays, *Kemmerer on Money: An Elementary Discussion of the Important Facts and Underlying Principles of the Money Problems Now Confronting the American People* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1934).

mists in the country's major universities, all of whom essentially shared his views. He served as its president from 1936 until his death on 16 December 1945.⁹³

The inflation that Professor Kemmerer foresaw did not appear as quickly as he anticipated, partly because of the effects of the Great Depression and partly — perhaps — because of the vigor of the massive American economy. Most of it took place after his death. Today, the price level is more than ten times what it was in 1933.⁹⁴ For Kemmerer himself, an important consequence of President Roosevelt's monetary policies was the professor's decision to alter drastically the character of his own investment portfolio. He had always been cautious, choosing mostly high-grade bonds and even savings accounts. These served him well when the stock market crashed in 1929. But inflation erodes the buying power of bonds and savings, or any form of debt. Accordingly, Professor Kemmerer sold his bonds, withdrew most of his savings, and bought a number of high-grade common stocks. "My sentiments are against this policy," he wrote, "but my reason says it is the safest thing to do. . . . The wild administration that we have in Washington is making it difficult for anyone to conserve his life savings."⁹⁵ After he died, the executors of his will discovered that he held 99 percent of his earning assets in common stocks.



Professor Kemmerer was a person to whom friends, admirers, and sometimes even new acquaintances immediately turned for advice. One such individual was a young banker named Henry T. Bodman, Princeton Class of 1928, who wrote in early January of 1936 to ask him what he foresaw the result would be of the Roosevelt administra-

⁹³ Kemmerer diary, 1933, p. 133. The papers of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy and of Professor Walter E. Spahr, its longtime secretary and later executive vice-president, are also in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

⁹⁴ See *Purchasing Power Conversion Factors* (Great Barrington, Massachusetts: American Institute for Economic Research, 1991). The 1989 dollar was worth 10.5 cents in terms of the 1933 dollar, and there has been further moderate inflation since 1989.

⁹⁵ Kemmerer diary, 1933, p. 139. For Kemmerer's earlier views on the problem, see Irving Fisher, E. W. Kemmerer, et al., *How to Invest When Prices are Rising: A Scientific Method of Providing for the Increasing Cost of Living* (Scranton, Pennsylvania: G. L. Sumner, 1912).

tion's economic policies. Kemmerer replied thoughtfully. What Mr. Bodman did as a result of the reply we do not know, but he kept the letter. Forty years later he came across it, marvelled at the professor's insight and foresight, showed it to friends, and finally had it published.⁹⁶ Here are some prophetic sentences from it:

Personally I can see nothing in sight that is likely to stop our drift in the inflation current. The politicians will not stop the present heavy expenditures because these expenditures have votes and it is with such votes they are most concerned. For the same reason they will not provide the revenue for meeting these expenditures through increasing taxation. Under such conditions the public will not buy government bonds at rates of interest that are politically possible and pay for those bonds out of their savings.

If these assumptions are true . . . the only course that is left is a continuation of our present extravagant financing policy under which funds are obtained by forcing government obligations down the throats of the banks and having the banks pay for them by credit secured by these obligations. That is inflation pure and simple and there can be only one end to such a policy.

There is an old saying that E. W. Kemmerer was fond of quoting: "We have gold because we cannot trust governments."⁹⁷

⁹⁶ "Barron's Mailbag," *Barron's Financial Weekly*, 5 January 1976.

⁹⁷ See Kemmerer's own copy of B. Stephenson's *Home Book of Quotations* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1934), p. 801. It is in the Seeley G. Mudd Library's Kemmerer Collection.

A Coptic Christmas Story, and More

BY CULLEN I K STORY

Four pages of a manuscript written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, the language of the Christian church of southern Egypt, have recently come to light in the Princeton University Library. The parchment bifolium, pages 35 to 38 of a much longer manuscript,¹ deals with the biblical accounts of the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth, and events of Jesus' infancy: the announcement to the shepherds, the worship of the Magi, and the slaughter of the innocents by King Herod. At the end of the Princeton manuscript, the writer shifts abruptly to an account of the affliction of the children of Israel in Egypt under Pharaoh (Exodus 1-2).

The manuscript was acquired by the Princeton University Library in 1957 from Edmund H. Kase, Jr. Kase had purchased it in Paris from a well-known dealer in Egyptian antiquities by the name of Maurice Nahman. Nahman suggested that other parts of the manuscript might be in the possession of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Upon inquiry, however, it was reported that "the piece did not answer the description of any manuscript in the Morgan collection."²

The Princeton manuscript was written between the seventh and ninth centuries A.D.,³ probably in Egypt. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius reports that Mark, companion of Paul and Peter, was the first to bring the gospel to Egypt,⁴ yet little is known of the church

¹ As a bifolium, the manuscript has two leaves only, written on both sides. Like many books today, each of the two recto pages of the manuscript bears its appropriate numeral in the upper right corner (i.e. pp. 35 and 37), while each of the two verso pages of the manuscript bears its numeral in the upper left corner (i.e. pp. 36 and 38). Although the manuscript is in Coptic, the numerals are given in their appropriate Greek forms, a common procedure.

² The Pierpont Morgan Library to William S. Dix, New York, 5 November 1957.

³ The forms of Greek letters such as the *alpha* (α), *delta* (δ), *theta* (θ), *mu* (μ), and *phi* (ϕ) as well as the form of the Coptic *shai* (*sh*), are quite characteristic of Coptic writings of the dates mentioned. The *lambda* (λ) is similar to the cursive *lambda* of the eighth century.

⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* trans. K. Lake, in *Loeb Classical Library* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), vol. 1, II.16.

there until the late second century, when it was active and had a school of philosophical learning attached to it. In addition to the *koiné* (common) Greek language, two Egyptian dialects played a significant role in the life and literature of Egypt: the Sahidic Coptic language, the dialect of Upper (southern) Egypt which extended its influence to Nubia and northern Ethiopia; and the Bohairic Coptic language, the dialect of Lower (northern) Egypt, which became the liturgical language of the Monophysite Coptic church, whose members believed that Christ's human nature had been subsumed by the divine.⁵ The fact that the Princeton manuscript is written in the Sahidic dialect suggests that it was intended for the laity.

Princeton's Coptic fragment raises some intriguing questions, none of which we can answer definitively here. We can, however, analyze the relationships between this text and other Christian writings circulating in North Africa at the time that it was written. The most important, of course, were the Old and New Testaments. The Coptic writer quotes passages in ways that suggest a standard understanding of biblical texts, but sometimes with unusual interpretations. In the passage in which Psalm 50:4 appears,⁶ for example, the writer is meditating on the perfection of Mary by quoting David, the temple-singer.⁷ By giving birth to the Son of God, Mary participated in "perfection" understood as the unity of divinity and humanity.⁸ Thus both heaven "above" and earth "from the height" (because the flesh of Jesus originally received through Mary, is now at God's right hand) are summoned to judge God's people.

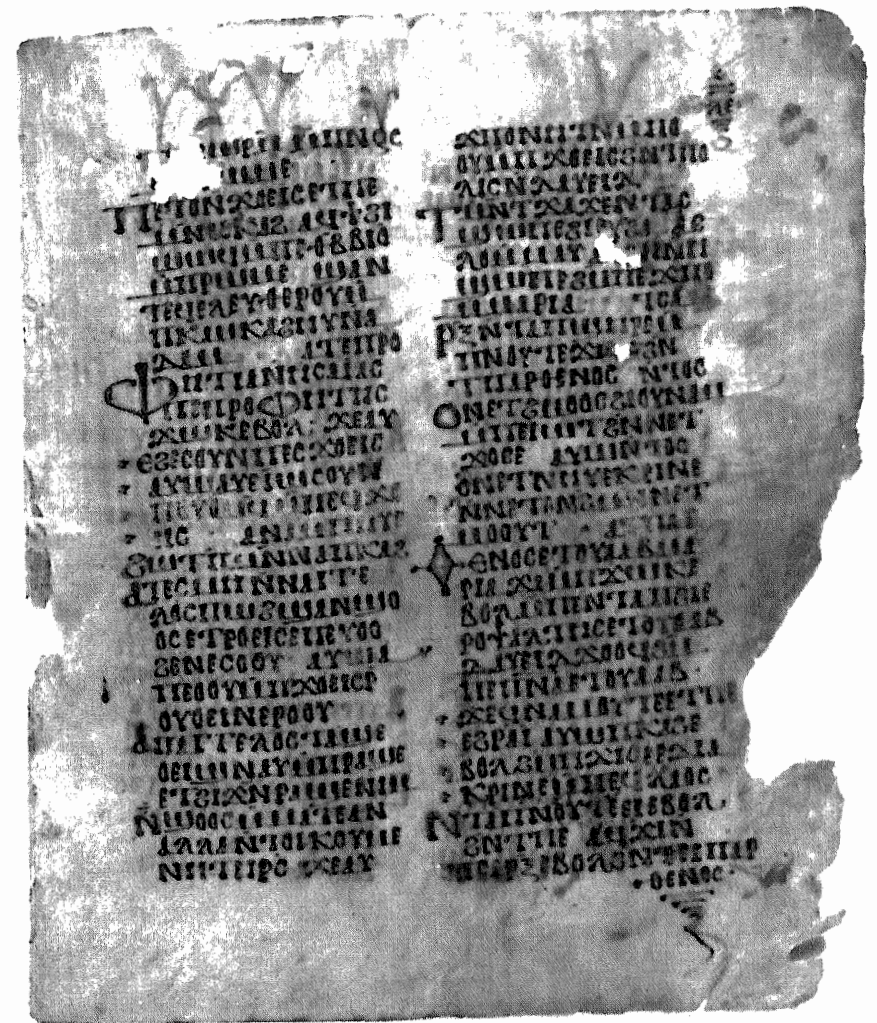
In some respects, the account of the coming of the Magi to worship Christ follows the Gospel accounts rather closely. The passage opens with a reference to the paradox of the Incarnation, the one who was "the light of the blind and the strength of the feet of the lame" laid

⁵ Monophysites rejected the doctrine of the Incarnation as defined by both the Western and the Eastern Orthodox churches, which held that Christ was both fully human and fully divine. See K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 319-320, 586-587, 1206-1207; and the monograph by W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

⁶ MS. p. 35b, lines 24-27.

⁷ The Greek noun *ἱεροψάλτης*, "temple-singer," referring to David, occurs in the Greek Bible only in the book of I Esdras, and always in the plural. (I Esdras 1:15; 5:27, 46; 8:5, 22; 9:24.) Its use in the singular in our manuscript is paralleled by a number of references to it in the singular in patristic writings. See G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

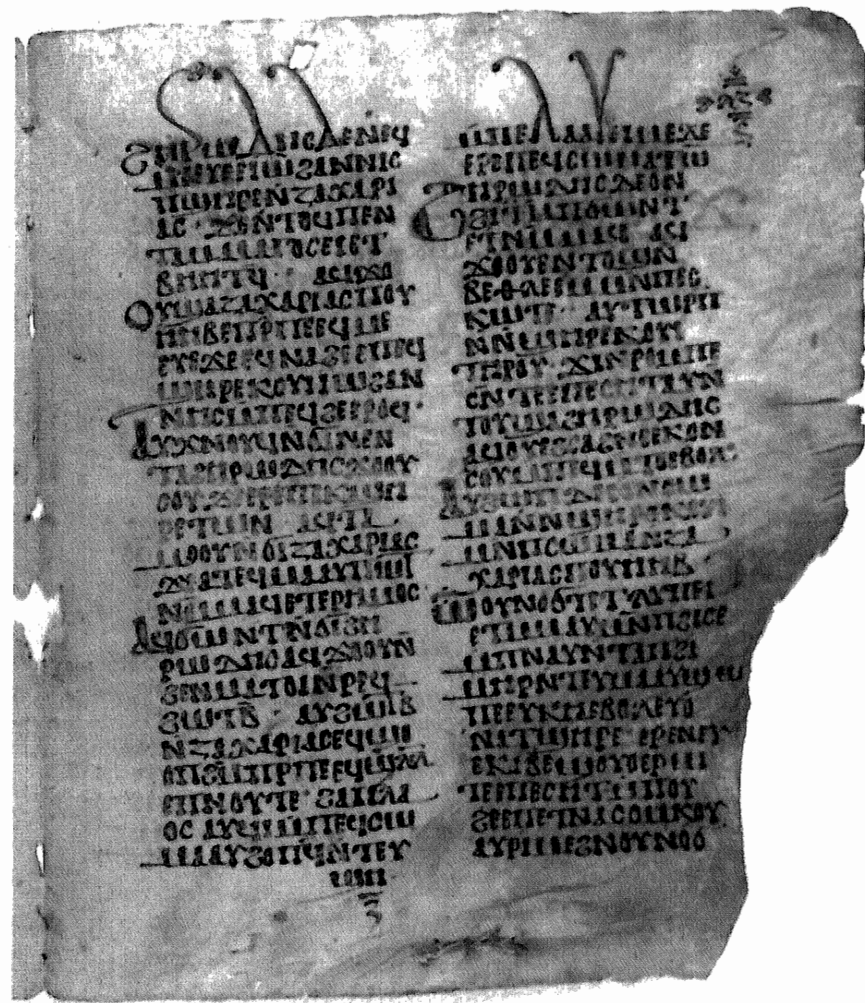
⁸ MS. p. 36a, lines 1-4.



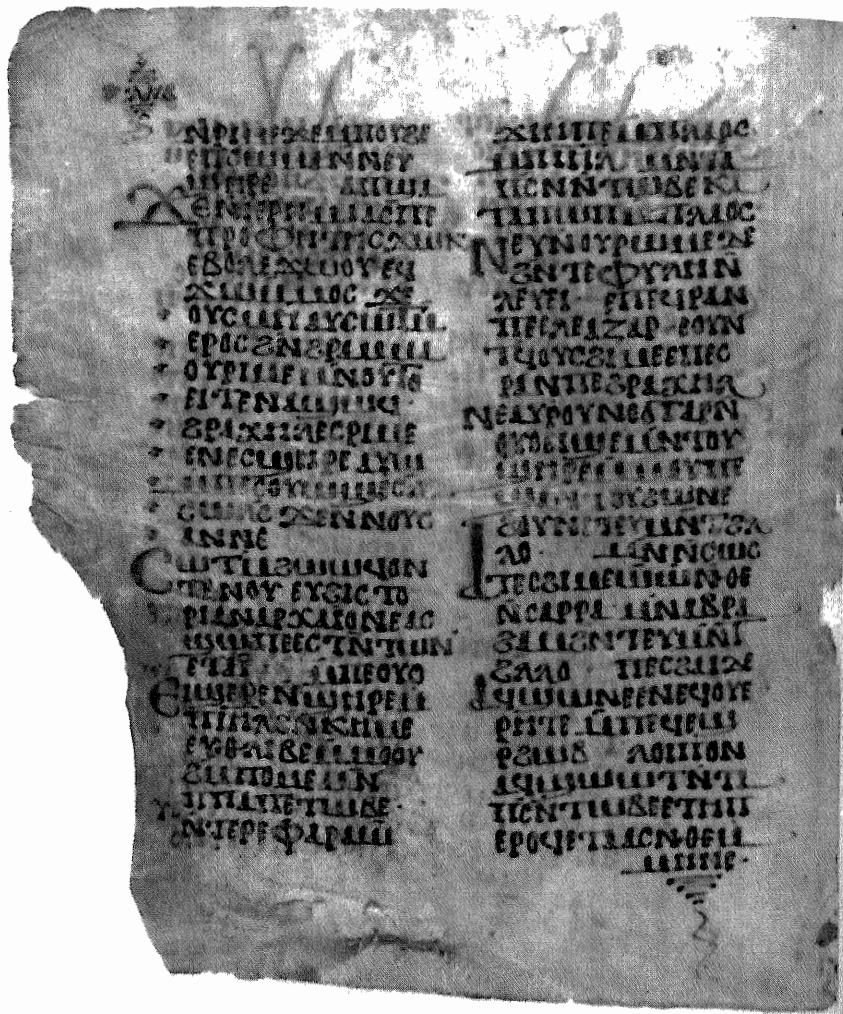
The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 35. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 36.



The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 37.



The Coptic bifolium manuscript, page 38.

Photo: John Blaszewski

humbly in a manger.⁹ Then, possibly alluding to Jesus' healing of the lame and the blind,¹⁰ the writer links those miracles with the story of the Magi. The Magi's blindness in spite of their magic (μαγία) is healed through the light of the star even as "strength of the feet" was given to them for their long journey from the East. The claim that the Magi left behind their magic or magical arts, once they had seen the Child in the manger, is an idea similar to Justin Martyr's claim that the power of Christ set the Magi free from the power of Satan.¹¹ As our text declares, "They came as Magi, they departed as confes- sors."¹²

The manuscript is also marked by a non-canonical variation on Matthew's account of the coming of the Magi followed by the massacre of the innocent children in Bethlehem and its surroundings. The writer states that Herod the Great believed that the Magi came to find John the Baptist, the son of Zechariah, not to find Jesus as in Mat- thew's account of Christ's birth.¹³ In this Coptic fragment, Herod sent to Zechariah, the priest of the temple, to find where his son John was. "His mother went with him to the desert" was Zechariah's response, which angered the king. Herod's henchmen then killed Zechariah "as he was in the temple praying to God on behalf of the people"¹⁴ and hid his body by night. Then the writer states that Herod sent to Beth- lehem and had all the little children two years old and under (this much from Matthew 2:16) brought to him, where they were slain in his presence. Their bodies were buried with the body of Zechariah,¹⁵ a tragedy followed by the pathetic picture of the mothers of the slaughtered children weeping profusely because they were unable to nurse although their breasts were overflowing with milk.¹⁶ All of this, says the writer of the Sahidic Coptic text, was in fulfillment of the prophecy of Jeremiah, at which point the text quotes from Jeremiah

⁹ MS. p. 36a, lines 17-21.
¹⁰ See John 5:5-15 and 9:1-41.
¹¹ See Justin Martyr, "Dialogue with Trypho," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: E. B. Erdmans Publishing Co., 1951 - 1956); vol. 1: *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, chapter 78, pp. 237-238. This is the American reprint of the Edinburgh edition of 1885.
¹² MS. p. 36b, lines 22-24.
¹³ Matthew 2:1-12. Note that the English Bible spells the priest's name with an *e*, whereas the Princeton Coptic manuscript spells it "Zacharias" (p. 37a, line 3).
¹⁴ MS. p. 37a, lines 19-26.
¹⁵ MS. p. 37b, lines 1-18.
¹⁶ MS. p. 37b, line 19, to p. 38a, line 3.

31:15 as it is given in the Coptic text of Matthew 2:18 — “A voice was heard in Rama, a weeping and mourning abundantly, Rachel weeping for her children, and she did not wish to be comforted, because her own are not.”¹⁷

This version of the story is clearly derived from one of the books of the Apocrypha, the *Protevangelium of James*, a composite document written originally in Greek.¹⁸ It contains legends of Mary’s birth, childhood, and betrothal to Joseph woven together with parts of the canonical infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. Both Egypt and Syria have been proposed as the place where it originated. Written no earlier than the middle of the second century, it was popular in the Eastern church, especially among the Ebionites, and esteemed by the Syrian, Coptic, and Armenian churches because of the value placed on virginity.

The Princeton manuscript’s account of the aftermath of the Magi’s visit is also similar to a work composed in the seventh century, *A Coptic Panegyric on John the Baptist*, given by Theodosius, who was Archbishop of Alexandria in the sixth century.¹⁹ Like the *Protevangelium*, the *Panegyric* refers to Zechariah’s assassination by Herod’s henchmen as he was serving at the altar, and to the mother of John the Baptist as the one who took John to the desert.

There are other unusual elements in the Christmas story as presented in Princeton’s Coptic fragment. It contains no less than two brief meditations on the meaning of the Incarnation. The first such meditation (p. 35, lines 3 ff.) opens with a theological conviction: The Lord clothed himself with the humility of the human being so that he might set mortals free of the “stripping naked of Adam.” The statement apparently refers to Genesis 3:7,²⁰ to the parallel between

¹⁷ Compare the New King James Version (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984) translation of the passage in Matthew: “A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, refusing to be comforted, because they were no more.”

¹⁸ On the apocrypha, see *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; English translation ed. R. McL. Wilson. 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 421–439; *The Other Gospels*, ed. Ron Cameron (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982).

¹⁹ *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 269: *Scriptores Coptici*, Tomus 34, pp. 31–32

²⁰ After Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit, “Then the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew that they were naked.” The story of the “stripping naked” and its consequences continues through Genesis 3:24.

Adam and Christ in Romans 5:12–21²¹ and I Corinthians 15:21–22, 45,²² and to the self-humiliation of Christ in Philippians 2:5–8.²³ What follows is an unusual interpretation of Isaiah 1:3. Only the first half of the verse is quoted: “A cow has known its master and an ass has known the manger of its master.” To the Coptic writer, the text refers not to the Israel of Isaiah’s time but to the Incarnation, and to the manger of Luke 2:7. Reference is then made to the union of “those belonging to heaven” and “those belonging to earth.” For the writer immediately tells of the angelic proclamation to the shepherds at the birth of the Lord in the city of David. What did that birth mean? It implied that “the enmity which occurred in Eve has ceased there [i.e. in Bethlehem] and peace has occurred in Mary’s child-bearing.”²⁴ The word “enmity” is the same word found in the Coptic text of Genesis 3:15. The comparison between Eve and Mary in its extra-Biblical occurrences may be traced back to Justin Martyr, a comparison that is possibly indicated in 1 Timothy 2:13–15. Justin (ca. A.D. 155) remarks that “Eve . . . having conceived the word of the serpent brought forth disobedience and death. But the Virgin Mary received faith and joy, when the angel Gabriel announced the good tidings to her.”²⁵ About the same time, in the *Protevangelium of James* 13:1, it is said that Joseph laments as he finds Mary pregnant — not through him — and he asks bitterly, “Is not the story of Adam repeated in me? For as at the hour of his giving thanks, the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her, so hath it befallen me also.”²⁶ Moreover, Tertullian in *On the Flesh of Christ* (ca. A.D. 200) writes, “As Eve had believed the serpent, so Mary believed the an-

²¹ “Therefore, just as through one man sin entered the world, and death through sin, and thus death spread to all men, because all sinned . . . even so through one Man’s righteous act the free gift came to all men, resulting in justification of life. For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so also by one Man’s obedience many will be made righteous. . . .”

²² “For since by man came death, by Man also came the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive. . . . And so it is written ‘The first man Adam became a living being.’ The last Adam became a life-giving spirit.”

²³ “Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God did not consider it robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, taking the form of a servant, and coming in the likeness of men. And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient to the point of death, even the death of the cross.”

²⁴ MS. p. 35b, lines 4–8.

²⁵ “Dialogue with Trypho,” *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 249.

²⁶ Cf. Cameron, *Other Gospels*, p. 115.

gel.”²⁷ In addition, Irenaeus in his famous work *Against Heresies* (ca. A.D. 185) states succinctly, “The knot of Eve’s disobedience was loosed by the obedience of Mary. For what the virgin Eve had bound fast through unbelief, this did the Virgin Mary set free through faith.”²⁸ The comparison made in the Princeton manuscript is more theological. It brings into focus the powerful word “enmity” in the Genesis 3:15 account and senses that its fearful consequences are resolved in the Bethlehem birth and the peace that is said to accompany that birth (Luke 2:14).²⁹ In the following lines, the writer claims that the flesh which the Son of God received from the Virgin is the flesh which sits at God’s right hand and which is about to come “to judge the living and the dead.”

A second meditation on the Incarnation is found on page 36a, lines 1–24, and it reveals a further sermonic tonal quality. The section has been referred to briefly above, but a fuller treatment is needed. The Incarnation is described here as a unity of Divinity with Humanity, a claim which is then affirmed, three times over, in a series of contrasts. Christ is the theandric person who as God issues a command to the earth (line 5); sets human beings at rest (line 13); and who is the light of the blind (line 19). Each claim is followed by a reference to his Incarnation. The Virgin was in labor with him (lines 10–11); she laid him down in a manger (lines 17–18); and the Magi saw his star in the east (lines 22–24). When taken together with the assertion that “When God came forth from heaven, He received the flesh from this virgin”³⁰ and the claim made to the effect that the Magi “brought their gifts to God,”³¹ the sermon apparently aims to expound the one-nature Christology of the Monophysites, who believed that Christ was fully divine but not fully human.

Along with the meditations on the Incarnation, an unusual element emerges. In a manuscript that focuses on the infancy narratives of the Gospels, we discover that the writer never uses the names “Christ” or “Jesus” nor the title “Savior.” The point is made with caution since, as observed, the Princeton manuscript is only a small part

²⁷ *On the Flesh of Christ*, chapter 17, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, p. 536.

²⁸ *Against Heresies*, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 455.

²⁹ The upper and lower parts of I (for ε: see the elongated I at the end of line 17 on page 37a) are visible, and the “hook” of the rho which follows is visible, and the final three letters HNH are clear.

³⁰ MS. p. 35b, lines 28–30.

³¹ MS. p. 36b, lines 10–11.

of a much longer non-extant treatment. Yet, in the pages at hand, invariably Jesus is called either “Lord” or “Son of God.” Note, for example, the writer’s quotation of Luke 2:11, “Because there was born to you today the Lord in the city of David.”³² The phrase including the words “Savior” and “Christ” is omitted although, in other respects, the quotation is in exact agreement with the Sahidic text of the verse. According to the evidence given in *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel According to St. Luke*,³³ there is no other witness that omits the entire phrase that is omitted by our manuscript. Tentatively, therefore, I suggest that the omission is evidence of a radical Monophysite view that detracts from the full humanity of Jesus and that claims that Jesus’ impersonal human nature is absorbed “so that his body is by no means of the same substance . . . with ours but a divine body.”³⁴ If this be true, then the quotation of Luke 2:11 in the Princeton manuscript is an example of intentional alteration of a biblical text in the interests of a theological position, a phenomenon well-known in New Testament textual criticism.³⁵ The evidence becomes stronger as we observe the quotation in the Princeton manuscript of Matthew 2:18.³⁶ The entire verse can be cited — and is cited — exactly as it is given in the Sahidic text of Matthew, for here no Monophysite teaching is at stake.

It is also unusual to find the writer comparing Herod’s massacre of the children of Bethlehem to Pharaoh’s affliction of the children of Israel in Egypt as they worked with clay to make bricks.³⁷ The linking of the sad fate of the Bethlehem innocents to the affliction of the children of Israel in Egypt turns on the name Rachel.³⁸ In Exodus 2 we read about a man from the tribe of Levi who became Moses’ father, but our writer tells of another man from the tribe of Levi whose name is Eleazar, and whose wife, Rachel, was barren.³⁹ In their old age — as in the case of Abraham and Sarah — Rachel conceived. Did

³² MS. p. 35a, line 29, to p. 35b, line 3.

³³ Ed. the American and British Committees of the International New Testament Project, Part One, chapters 1–12.

³⁴ Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1886), vol. 3, p. 737.

³⁵ See Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament, Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, third enlarged edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 201–203.

³⁶ MS. p. 38a, lines 8–16.

³⁷ Near the end of column one on the final page of the manuscript, p. 38.

³⁸ MS. p. 38a, line 12, and p. 38b, line 10.

³⁹ Column 2 of page 38.

she bear a child? Was the child male or female? The manuscript does not say. Instead, it tells us that Eleazar was afflicted in his old age with a disease in his feet and thus he was no longer able to produce the number of bricks assigned to him by his Egyptian taskmasters. Here, the Princeton fragment of the Coptic manuscript ends, and we cannot tell how the story progresses or even how it finally relates to the themes of the earlier passages. One can only surmise that some definite link would have been made between Herod's massacre at Bethlehem and the order of Pharaoh for the death of new-born male Hebrew children in Egypt (Exodus 1:22) and between the Rachel of Bethlehem⁴⁰ and the Rachel in Egypt.⁴¹



Having at hand only four pages of a manuscript that interprets key passages of scripture poses some tantalizing questions. What kind of document is the Princeton Coptic fragment? Is it part of a theological treatise on the Incarnation? Could it be part of a sermon, perhaps one of several collected for the use of Coptic priests? Why does the writer accept the apocryphal version of the Magi's visit to Herod instead of the one given in the canonical gospel? Is the omission of the names "Jesus" and "Christ" and the title "Savior" merely incidental, or is it purposeful? If more pages of this manuscript come to light in other libraries or museums, we may be able to answer some of these questions.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The parchment bifolium manuscript measures 26 x 32.5 cm. It has two columns to a page. Columns vary in number of lines from twenty-seven to thirty. In the top lines of pages 36 and 37, the Greek letters *upsilon*, *rho*, *delta*, and *lambda* are curiously elongated with a tail-like appearance extending into the upper margins. The tail of the *rho* shows some scribal ornamentation. Of greater importance are thirty-four occurrences of enlarged letters, each as the initial letter of a line protruding into the left-hand margin of the manuscript. Let-

⁴⁰ MS. p. 38a, line 12.

⁴¹ MS. p. 38b, line 10.

ters thus enlarged are the Greek letters *alpha*, *beta*, *delta*, *epsilon*, *theta*, *lambda*, *nu*, *omicron*, *pi*, *rho*, *sigma*, *tau*, *upsilon*, *phi*, and *omega*; and Coptic letters *hori* (*h*) and *janja* (*j*). With six exceptions, the enlarged letter is the initial letter of a word. In almost every case, its enlarged appearance marks the beginning of a new sentence or it draws attention to the beginning of a new sentence in the middle of the previous line where an enlarged letter would not be written due to space considerations. A similar phenomenon, in which each enlarged letter marks a new section or paragraph, occurs in Greek manuscripts dated from the third to the ninth centuries.⁴²

The text of the manuscript is clear and comprehensible, with the exception of lines 1 and 2 on page 35a, the ending of lines 5 and 6 on page 35b, and the endings of lines 1 and 2 on page 36b. Two of the Greek *nomina sacra* appear, written in characteristic Greek fashion: ΙΗΛ = Ἰσραήλ or Israel, and ΠΝΑ = πνεῦμα or "Spirit."

Although the manuscript is written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, there are thirty-five Greek words in the text: ἐλευθερώω, προφητία, προφήτης, ἄγγελος, ἀλλά, πόλις, εἰρήνη (?), σάρξ, παρθένος, κρίνω, ἱεροψάλτης, πνεῦμα, διακρίνω, λαός, κελεύω, κόσμος, μάγος, μαγία, λοιπὸν, προφητεύω, μανίτης, δῶρον, ἀποτάσσω, δαίμων, ὁμολογίτης, κατά, ἔρημος, σῶμα, λύπη, ἱστορία, ἀρχαῖον, θλίβω, δέ, φυλή, γάρ

THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Page 35a

- | | |
|----|-------------------------------|
| 1 | |
| 2 | |
| 3 | The one who is Lord of heaven |
| 4 | and of earth clothed |
| 5 | himself with the humility |
| 6 | of [the] man until |
| 7 | he set [the man] free of |
| 8 | the stripping-naked of |
| 9 | Adam. The proph- |
| 10 | ecy of Isaiah |

⁴² See Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 32 and plates 10, 18, 24, 26, and 27.

11 the prophet
12 was fulfilled, namely "a
13 cow has known its master
14 and an ass has known
15 the manger of its mas-
16 ter." The ones belonging to the heavens
17 joined with⁴³ the ones belonging to the earth.
18 The voice of the an-
19 gels reached unto the shep-
20 herds who were guarding their fold
21 of sheep. "And the
22 glory of the Lord
23 shone to them."⁴⁴
24 The angel proclaimed
25 to them the joy
26 which was greater than all joy
27 not to shepherds only
28 but to all the inhabited world,
29 "Because there

Page 35b

1 was born to you to-
2 day the Lord in the
3 city of David."⁴⁵
4 The enmity which
5 occurred in Eve⁴⁶ has
6 ceased there. [Pea]ce
7 occurred in the giving birth
8 of Mary. The
9 flesh which the Son of
10 God received from
11 the Virgin, it
12 also is that which is sitting at the right hand
13 of the Father with those who are

⁴³ Or "were reconciled to."

⁴⁴ Luke 2:9.

⁴⁵ Luke 2:11.

⁴⁶ The translation "in Eve" (*hiewha*) in line 5 is quite certain even though only the top part of the *epsilon* is visible. In line 6, enough of the damaged word is visible to show that, in all probability, it is the Greek word "peace."

14 exalted. And it [the flesh]
15 also is that which is about to come to judge
16 the living and the
17 dead. The Vir-
18 gin who is holy, Ma-
19 ry, received the perfec-
20 tion [= fulfillment] of that which the temple
21 singer who is holy,
22 David, spoke in
23 the Holy Spirit
24 namely "He will summon heaven
25 above and the earth from
26 the height to
27 judge his people."
28 When God came forth
29 from heaven He received
30 the flesh from this Virgin.

Page 36a

1 God became man.
2 Divinity with
3 humanity became
4 a unity.
5 He [i.e. God] is the one who commanded
6 the earth thus: "You
7 are the witness to
8 every man who comes
9 into the world."⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The direct address to the earth seems to be an allusion to John 1:6-8, where "a man sent from God . . . came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light." In this text, however, the "witness" is not John the Baptist, but the earth itself. The context on either side of the line has to do with the Incarnation, and goes back to the beginning of page 35. The Incarnation effects a unity between heaven and earth (beginning with 35a, line 3); that unity comes about through the One who clothed himself with the humility of humans, setting them free from the transgression of Adam. To the Coptic writer, Isaiah 1:3a shows this clearly. Even brute beasts came to know their true Owner and thus it could be said that a real unity of heaven and earth began with the Incarnation. The "ones belonging to the heavens were joined to the ones belonging to the earth" and the voice of the angels (i.e. heaven) could reach the shepherds (i.e. earth). Thus, too, the flesh of the Son of God, received from the Virgin, is at the right hand of God = *peace*. In the same vein, since Divinity was united with Humanity (p. 35a, lines 6-14), in the writer's mind the earth — an ever-present continuum — bears witness of that unity to every person born into the world.

10 Again, he is the one with whom the Vir-
 11 gin has been in labor
 12 He is the One who
 13 sets at rest those who lie
 14 down through sleep.⁴⁸
 15 Again, he is the one whom the Vir-
 16 gin who is holy, Ma-
 17 ry, laid [down] in a
 18 manger. Again, he is
 19 the light of the blind
 20 and the strength of the
 21 feet of the lame.
 22 Again, he is the one whose
 23 star the Magi saw
 24 in the East.
 25 They left behind them
 26 their magic. These were
 27 the ones whose fathers

Page 36b

1 worshipped [idols?] They
 2 searched in the [end?]
 3 of heaven.⁴⁹ They knew,
 4 finally, that the
 5 star which rose [in the East]
 6 was the one which also had been pro-
 7 phesied through
 8 Balaam the sooth-
 9 sayer.⁵⁰ They hurried

⁴⁸ The meaning of lines 12-14 is not certain. Possibly since "sleep" in the New Testament often refers to the death of believers (John 11:11, Acts 7:60, 1 Corinthians 15:51, 1 Thessalonians 4:15), the "rest" is that which Jesus gives to them (Revelation 14:13).

⁴⁹ The Greek word ἔσχατια is possibly what is missing; its final three letters appear clearly as the initial letters of line 3. There are only a limited number of nouns in Greek ending in -τια, and "the end of heaven" (i.e. reading ἔσχατια) corresponds fittingly to the "star which rose in the East."

⁵⁰ I have read πμανιτης here. The Greek noun of agent, μανιτης, appears in apposition to the Old Testament figure of Balaam. I failed to find the Greek word elsewhere, yet the translation "soothsayer" seems quite certain, comparable in meaning and form to μαντεύτης and μάντις. I think that, on the basis of the Princeton manuscript, the word μανιτης = "seer, diviner, soothsayer" needs to be added to standard Greek lexicons. The initial letters μανι- may have some link with the Greek noun

10 [and] brought their
 11 gifts to God.
 12 They came as Magi, they
 13 bid adieu to the wor-
 14 ship of demons.
 15 They greeted the Son
 16 of God.
 17 The angel of the Lord
 18 appeared to them [and] he
 19 raised their eyes [= instructed them]
 20 that they might go through the way
 21 which he taught them.
 22 They came as Magi, they
 23 departed as con-
 24 fessors.⁵¹ When,
 25 therefore, the Magi departed,
 26 according to what is written
 27 they did not return [to Herod]. Fin-
 28 ally, fear seized him [Herod].

Page 37a

1 Now Herod was
 2 thinking about John,
 3 the son of Zachari-
 4 ah, that he was the one
 5 on whose account the Magi
 6 came. He sent
 7 to Zachariah, the
 8 priest of the temple,
 9 thinking that he will find his
 10 young son, John.
 11 He did not find him.
 12 Those whom Herod had sent
 13 asked him [Zachariah]
 14 "Your son is
 15 where?"

μανία, "frenzy, madness" (cf. English *maniac*) and its verbal congener μαινομαι, "to speak in an inspired frenzy."

⁵¹ The Greek word ὁμολογιτης for ὁμολογιτης, "confessor," expresses the change that occurred in the Magi.

16 Zachariah informed them
 17 "His mother, belonging to us, went⁵⁴
 18 with him to the desert."
 19 Herod was angry
 20 [and] he sent some
 21 soldiers, mur-
 22 derers, [and] they slew
 23 Zachariah as he was
 24 in the temple praying
 25 to God on behalf of the
 26 people. They took his
 27 body [and] they hid it by night.

Page 37b

1 No one knew, namely,
 2 where his body was.
 3 Now Herod, again,
 4 through anger which was
 5 with him, sent
 6 to the borders of
 7 Bethlehem with its
 8 suburbs. All of
 9 the little children from
 10 two years and under
 11 were seized and
 12 brought to Herod.
 13 He ordered that they
 14 be slain in his presence.
 15 Then the bodies of the
 16 small children were hidden
 17 with the body of Zach-
 18 ariah the priest.
 19 O that grief was great
 20 with suffering
 21 at the sight of
 22 their mothers' arms

⁵² In the Coptic text, the horizontal line over the ⲟ stands for a *nun*, i.e. ⲡⲟⲩ, "our, belonging to us." The elongated I, the final letter of line 17, represents the Coptic verb ⲉⲗ, "go, come," which with the perfect tense verbal prefix α- before the nominal subject, "his mother," gives the translation "went."

23 left desolate seeing that they
 24 were without children! While
 25 their breasts flowed with
 26 milk downward, they did not
 27 find those who would suck them.
 28 They wept with a great

Page 38a

1 weeping because they did not find
 2 the bodies⁵³ of their
 3 children. The say-
 4 ing of Jeremiah, the
 5 prophet, was ful-
 6 filled upon⁵⁴ them
 7 since it / he says
 8 "A voice was heard
 9 in Rama
 10 a weeping and mourning
 11 abundantly,
 12 Rachel weeping for her children and
 13 she did not wish to be
 15 comforted, because her own
 16 are not."
 17 But hear also
 18 now, a his-
 19 tory of ancient ones. Having
 20 happened,⁵⁵ it is like
 21 to this [i.e. to the Bethlehem story]. In the time when
 22 the children of Israel were in Egypt
 23 they were being afflicted
 25 with clay and
 26 brickmaking
 27 when Pharaoh

⁵³ The manuscript uses the singular word, "body"; I have substituted the plural (cf. p. 37b, line 15-16).

⁵⁴ Or "on account of" them.

⁵⁵ Since the prefix of the verb "having happened" is third feminine singular, reference is made to the Greek word for "history" (lines 18-19) which is feminine. And the history refers to what follows, i.e. Israel in Egypt, an account that is said to be similar to the Bethlehem event.

1 took a count of the people
2 of Israel and the
3 number of bricks was accord-
4 ing to the count of the people.
5 Now there was a man
6 from the tribe of
7 Levi, his name being
8 Eleazar. He had
9 a wife, her name
10 being Rachel.
11 Now⁵⁶ they had reached
12 a time [of life] without having a
13 child [there]
14 until they drew near
15 to their old age.
16 Afterward
17 the wife became pregnant in
18 the manner of Sarah with Abra-
19 ham in their old
20 age. But her husband
21 became weak in his
22 feet. He was unable
23 to work. Ultimately
24 he lacked the num-
25 ber of bricks for the allotment⁵⁷
26 to him which he used to make
27 as it were, daily.

⁵⁶ The manuscript word is γαρ.

⁵⁷ Literally, "reckoning."

Giovanni Battista Piranesi's Plan of Hadrian's Villa

BY JOHN PINTO

Giovanni Battista Piranesi, one of the most outstanding graphic artists of the eighteenth century, is well known for his architectural fantasies, archaeological publications, polemical treatises, and views of Rome, all of which are well represented in Princeton's collections.¹ An important example of Piranesi's work has recently been added to the University's collections. The Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology has acquired a set of six prints comprising a plan of Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, one of the richest archaeological sites in the environs of Rome.² The plan carries the signature of Giovanni Battista's son Francesco and the date 1781, indicating that it was issued three years after the elder Piranesi's death. Piranesi scholars have neglected the plan because of its attribution to the less gifted Francesco and archaeologists have dismissed it as a work of fantasy.³ New evidence, however, shows the plan to be substantially the work of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, deserving recognition as the watershed study of Hadrian's Villa and a key document in the history of archaeological site description.

Piranesi's printed views of the Villa are well known, but scholars have tended to study them in isolation from his other efforts at recording its remains. Substantial evidence exists to support the conviction that in the last years of his life Piranesi was preparing a comprehensive publication of the Villa, which was to have been the summation of his long study of Roman architecture. His death in

¹ Andrew Robison, "Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Prolegomena to the Princeton Collections," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 31, no. 3 (1970): 165-206.

² The Princeton copy was acquired from Christie's in 1990. It has recently undergone conservation to repair several tears resulting from folds and spotting.

³ The plan does not appear in Henri Focillon's fundamental study, *Giovanni-Battista Piranesi: Essai de catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1918). It will be included in John Wilton-Ely's forthcoming *Piranesi: The Complete Etchings*.



Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Veduta* of the Larger Baths at Hadrian's Villa. Photo courtesy of the Resource Collections of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities.

1778 came before he could bring the vast project to completion, with the result that significant parts of this study were either lost or remained unpublished, while other fragments, notably the plan and commentary issued posthumously by his son Francesco, have been generally ignored. Focusing on the great plan of the Villa, I will attempt to reconstruct the intended organization, scope, and goals of the project.



The great villa constructed by the Emperor Hadrian near Tivoli between A.D. 118 and 134 ranks among the most influential monuments in the history of architecture.⁴ The Villa's resonance stems, in signif-

⁴ For general treatments of the site see Hermann Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1895); Pierre Gusman, *La Villa Impériale de Tibur* (Paris:

icant part, from its association with the enigmatic personality of Hadrian.⁵ Well-educated, fluent in Greek, a seasoned soldier and administrator, Hadrian oversaw the reorganization and consolidation of the empire's over-extended eastern boundaries. Thus, while Hadrian certainly employed his Villa as an arcadian retreat and may also have intended it to be a metaphorical expression of his own life and travels, it also had to operate as a center of governmental administration; it was simultaneously Hadrian's rural seat of government and his escape from the cares of Rome and the empire.

In the course of his reign (A.D. 117 – 138), Hadrian travelled extensively throughout the empire, acquiring a first-hand knowledge of the classical world in all of its cultural complexity. The trips demonstrate his fascination with Greece and Athens in particular. A passage in the fourth-century *Historia Augusta* relates that the emperor had portions of his Tivoli Villa made in such a way that he might call them after famous places and provinces of the Greco-Roman world.⁶

Although ancient texts document Hadrian's interest in planning and design, there is little discussion of the Villa. Even though no substantive evidence exists for his direct involvement in the design and decision-making processes, we may be certain that in the broadest sense the Villa was the emperor's own creation. The extraordinary variety of architectural forms embedded in the fabric of the Villa contribute greatly to the enduring fascination it has held for successive generations of architects. In a very real sense the Villa, much as the Pantheon in Rome, the other defining monument of Hadrian's reign, provides an elaborate and instructive model of the Roman

A. Fontemoing, 1904); Salvatore Aurigenma, *Villa Adriana* (Rome 1961); E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "Villa Adriana nei suoi limiti e nella sua funzionalità," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Memorie* 14 (1982): 25–55; John Pinto, "Pastoral Landscape and Antiquity: Hadrian's Villa," *Studies in the History of Art* 36 (1992): 179–195. *Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy*, a book this author has written with William L. MacDonald, will be published by Yale University Press in 1994.

⁵ There is no recent biography of the Emperor Hadrian in English, but see Bernard W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 76 – 138* (London, 1923). See also Royston Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (New York: Viking, 1984), and Mary Tالياferro Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

⁶ *Historia Augusta*, "Vita Hadriani" 26.5–6. The *Historia Augusta* has long been the object of scholarly controversy; see Sir Ronald Syme, *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Timothy D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels: Latomus, 1978); and Herbert W. Benario, *A Commentary on the Vita Hadriani in the Historia Augusta* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1980).

world.⁷ In the elegant, innovative Villa pavilions Hadrian's art rephrased the past, producing a paradigm of classicism's role in western art.

Although the Villa's ancient limits are difficult to define, it likely occupied more than three hundred acres (an area twice that of Pompeii) and included multiple examples of almost the full range of imperial building typology. Some fifty buildings or groups of structures may still be identified, a score of which count among the most innovative and sophisticated examples of Roman imperial architectural design. Piranesi's plan clearly shows the two roughly parallel valleys that define the longer sides of the Villa to the east and west. Within these irregular confines, Hadrian's engineers carried out earth-moving and terracing on a grand scale. Aqueducts brought water to the site, where it was used to animate the vast design. Fountains and gardens, like sculpture, were basic components of Roman luxury villas, where subtly arranged, integrated views and allusive dispositions of man-made and natural features were essential to the overall effect. Piranesi's plan records no fewer than forty-three water installations, including a number of grand features such as the reflecting pool of the East-West Terrace visible at the center of plate II on the fold-out *Pianta*; archaeologists have since identified many more.

As Piranesi's prints demonstrate, the overall plan of the Villa has no center and no directional focus. Rational dispositions and ordered relationships — the formal coherence and hierarchy of sizes so common in grand site planning — are absent. Symmetrically planned precincts appear, but they are largely self-contained and often abut one another at odd angles and thus have little influence on planning beyond their own boundaries. This apparent randomness, this lack of a commanding, controlling axis, was partly the result of adapting to existing landforms and partly due to inconstancy of design and construction over a dozen years or more. But these factors were less important than the desire to build a variety of discrete architectural forms — strongly differentiated enclosures, pavilions, and peristyles — meant to be experienced in unanticipated sequences across a vast, broadly terraced park.

In contrast to the inadequacy of the written evidence bearing on the Villa, its ruins are abundant, though only part of the site has been

⁷ William L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon. Design, Meaning, and Progeny* (London: A. Lane, 1976).



Hadrian's Villa, view of the Southern Range from the east. Author's photograph.

cleared and only a small fraction excavated. The buildings are almost always incomplete and many are fragmentary. Following the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Villa was used as a quarry for more than a millennium, its fabric stripped for reusable building materials and its pavilions plundered in the search for marble statuary, mosaic pavements, and other works of art. Piranesi's prints representing the Villa, such as his view of a hall in the Larger Baths, vividly portray the dilapidated state of the ruins in the eighteenth century, which in their picturesque decay seem to have reverted back to a state of nature. Today, the overgrown walls of the Southern Range convey a better sense of the appearance of the Villa in Piranesi's day than do the present well-maintained ruins on state-owned land.



The earliest recorded accounts of the Villa's ruins, by the humanist Flavio Biondo and Pope Pius II, date from 1461.⁸ Pius meditated on the ephemeral nature of material splendor, introducing a topos that artists and poets have continued to explore, with the Villa as a focus. Following close upon the humanists, Renaissance artists and architects began to visit the site. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Giuliano da Sangallo made measured drawings of individual ruins that combine accurate observation and imaginative creativity. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, Bramante, Raphael, and other High Renaissance architects are known to have visited the site, and by mid-century references to the Villa began to appear in guidebooks and architectural treatises, such as those of Andrea Palladio and Philibert de l'Orme.⁹

At this time the Neapolitan artist, architect, and antiquarian Pirro Ligorio began to excavate at the Villa, initiating what has been termed the first large-scale modern archaeological dig.¹⁰ While the primary object of Ligorio's excavations was ancient statuary to enrich

⁸ Bartolomeo Nogara, *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglota Vaticana, 1927), pp. 194–202; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II*, F. A. Gragg, trans. (New York, 1959), pp. 328–329.

⁹ Andrea Palladio, *L'antichità di Roma* (Rome: V. Lucrino, 1554), p. 31; Philibert de l'Orme, *Le premier tome de l'architecture* (Rouen, 1648), Book 5, chapter 10, p. 213.

¹⁰ Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities* (London: The Warburg Institute of the University of London, 1963), pp. 7–8.

the collection of his patron, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, Ligorio recorded his findings in the first systematic description of the site.¹¹ It was Ligorio who assigned the sonorous names mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* to specific parts of the Villa, expanding upon them greatly, and thereby determining the way artists and scholars would refer to them down to the present day.

Ligorio may also have prepared a general plan of the Villa, but his drawings were never published and thus credit for the first comprehensive survey of the site belongs to Francesco Contini.¹² Contini's survey was complete by 1637 and was available for study long before its publication in 1668. The condition of the site presented him with formidable obstacles; Antonio del Re, writing not long before Contini set to work, elaborates:

... [T]he site is so extensive and the buildings so numerous and large that they have made an immense ruin, above which shrubs and large trees have grown and formed a forest, which prevents one either from drawing a plan or an elevation from the valleys.¹³

These difficulties, together with the relatively small scale of Contini's plan, limited its accuracy and detail. It was severely criticized in 1742 by the painter and antiquarian Pier Leone Ghezzi, who remarked "I took with me the plan made by Contini . . . and finding nothing in it that corresponds to what one sees, I conclude that it is made of ideas."¹⁴ Ghezzi exaggerates, but his comments underscored the limitations of Contini's plan and the need for a more reliable survey of the Villa.

The eighteenth century was the golden age of antiquarian and artistic study at the Villa. More systematic excavations were carried out, and with more spectacular results, than at any time since the mid-sixteenth-century explorations by Ligorio. Testimony to the increasing numbers of artists, antiquarians, and foreign travellers who vis-

¹¹ E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "Villa Adriana in Pirro Ligorio e Francesco Contini," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie* 17 (1973–1974): 1–47.

¹² Francesco Contini, *Adriani Caesaris immanem in Tyburtino Villam* (Rome, 1668).

¹³ Antonio del Re, *Dell'antichità tiburtine capitolo V* (Rome, 1611), p. 76.

¹⁴ British Museum, Department of Greco-Roman Antiquities, MS. Add. 22001, f. 159; R. Lanciani, "Di un nuovo codice di Pier Leone Ghezzi contenente notizie di antichità," *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 21 (1893): 165–181.

ited the Villa appears in the numerous signatures inscribed on Villa walls and vaults. These constitute an impressive listing of mid-eighteenth-century artists, including Hubert Robert, Giacomo Quarenghi, and Giovanni Battista Piranesi.

Of all the artists, archaeologists, and architects who have studied Hadrian's Villa over the past five centuries, Piranesi emerges as its most inspired interpreter.¹⁵ He first visited Rome in 1740 at the impressionable age of twenty, and he never recovered from the experience. After establishing himself permanently in Rome in 1747, he devoted the rest of his life to the systematic investigation of the city and its environs, especially its ancient monuments. He invigorated the medium of etching, producing powerful images with unparalleled detail, size, and grandeur. These prints circulated widely, both as loose sheets and bound volumes, some of which, like the *Antichità romane* (1756), brilliantly synthesized the antiquarian erudition of the preceding three centuries. As a result of his indefatigable labor, generations of scholars, tourists, architects, and armchair travellers never fortunate enough to visit Rome themselves came to see it, and to understand Roman architecture, through his remarkable vision.

For three hundred years following the rediscovery of Hadrian's Villa in the fifteenth century, the authority of Roman architecture remained unchallenged across Europe. While architects might disagree as to which buildings were most relevant and about their interpretation, there was universal agreement that the study of Roman remains — on the site or through publications — constituted an essential part of their professional training. For all practical purposes, ancient architecture meant Roman architecture, for it was Roman sites that were accessible and published, by no one more systematically and analytically than Piranesi. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the primacy of Roman principles of design began to be debated. As a result of the increased awareness of ancient Greek monuments brought about by the publications of the Comte de Caylus, Julien-David Le Roy, and James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, the noble simplicity of Greek architecture came to be stressed at the expense of the more complex Roman achievement.¹⁶

¹⁵ For general treatments of Piranesi's life and graphic oeuvre, see J. Scott, *Piranesi* (New York, 1975); and John Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978).

¹⁶ A.-C.-P. de Tourbières, Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques,*

Architectural theoreticians such as Marc-Antoine Laugier, following the lead of Rousseau, urged a return to primal sources.¹⁷ As a result, the presumed origins of architecture in the Greek orders and the primitive sources of Greek temple design were thought honest and straightforward, while Roman architecture, which often employed the orders for decorative as well as structural purposes, came to be criticized as lacking clear relationships between form and function. From this premise there developed a revolutionary new aesthetic, Neoclassicism, that valued rationalism over invention, simplicity over complexity. Piranesi reacted with polemic statements seeking to assert the historical and aesthetic primacy of Roman architecture over Greek.¹⁸ This preoccupation extended to the very end of his life, when, already ailing, he travelled to Paestum to study its celebrated temples in order to establish that they were Etruscan rather than Greek, and were, therefore, the legitimate precursors of Roman monuments.¹⁹ It has gone largely unnoticed that at precisely this time Piranesi was also engaged in publishing a Roman site, Hadrian's Villa, which had come to represent for him the ultimate expression of the vitality and variety embodied in Roman architecture.

Piranesi's interest in the Villa peaked just before 1778, but he worked there throughout his life.²⁰ A graffito of 1741 in the Peristyle Pool Building cryptoportico documents his presence a short time after his arrival in Rome.²¹ In the 1740s and 1750s he made repeated sketching expeditions to Tivoli, often in the company of foreign artists such as Charles-Louis Clérissseau and Robert Adam. Piranesi's biographer J.-G. Legrand provides a colorful account of one such outing to the Villa, which can be dated within the period 1743–1753, when Piranesi was accompanied by both Clérissseau and the landscape

grecques, et romaines, 7 vols. (Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1752–1767); J. D. Le Roy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (Paris, 1758); James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1762).

¹⁷ Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: Chez Duchesne, 1753).

¹⁸ R. Wittkower, "Piranesi's 'Parere su l'Architettura,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938–1939): 147–158; John Wilton-Ely, ed., *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: The Polemical Works* (Farnborough, 1972).

¹⁹ Roberto Pane, *Paestum nelle acqueforti di Piranesi* (Milan: Edizione di Comunità, 1980).

²⁰ M. Lolli-Ghetti, "Giambattista Piranesi a Villa Adriana," in A. Giuliano et al., *Villa Adriana* (Rome, 1988), pp. 183–219; J. E. Mortensen in D. Nyberg ed., *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Drawings and Etchings at Columbia University* (New York, 1972), pp. 112–114; John Pinto, "Piranesi at Hadrian's Villa," *Studies in the History of Art*, forthcoming.

²¹ S. Gavuzzo Stewart, "Note sulle Carceri piranesiane," *L'Arte* 15–16 (1971): 56–74.

painter Claude-Joseph Vernet.²² Legrand recounts that in drawing and measuring the Villa they

... were obliged to cut their way through the undergrowth with hatchets, and then to set fire to the area they had cleared so as to burn out the snakes and scorpions. These precautions, so necessary in order to draw in peace, were no less valuable than a license for sorcery would have been with the local rustics; for until the inhabitants grew used to their presence, if no one harmed the artists it was because no one dared to come near them.²³

Towards the end of his account, in describing the last years of Piranesi's life, Legrand reports that, when drawing at the Villa, Piranesi and his assistants "were always up at sunrise, satisfied with a frugal meal and a straw mattress placed in the midst of the rich fragments."²⁴ A damaged graffito of 1765 situated in a half-buried corridor of the Residence stresses the difficulty of the work: "G. B. Piranesi restudied these ruins to discover and draw the plan . . . an almost impossible task because of the great exertion and suffering it entailed."²⁵

Other graffiti attest to the activity of Piranesi's collaborators. One in the eastern arm of the Residence Cryptoportico is a memento left by the architect Benedetto Mori ("B. Mori from 1769 to 1774"), who assisted Piranesi during the last twelve years of his life.²⁶ Francesco Piranesi's name, followed by the date 1771, records the presence of the artist's son, thirteen years old at the time. These graffiti docu-

²² J.-F. Méjanès, "C. L. Clérissieu," in *Piranèse et les français, 1740 - 1790*, A. Chastel and G. Brunel, eds. (Rome, 1976), p. 93.

²³ J.-G. Legrand, *Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de J. B. Piranesi architecte, peintre et graveur* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. nouv. acq. fr. 5968, fol. 138v); transcribed in G. Erouart and M. Mosser, "A propos de la 'Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de J. B. Piranesi': Origine et fortune d'une biographie," in *Piranèse et les français*, p. 235.

²⁴ Erouart and Mosser, "A propos de la 'Notice historique,'" p. 245.

²⁵ Filippo Alessandro Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli, antichissima città latino-sabina, fatto nel 1825* (Foligno: Tip. Tomassini, 1828), p. 277; H. Lavagne, "Villa d'Hadrien, la mosaïque de voute du cryptoportique républicain et les débuts de l'opus musivum en Italie," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 85 (1973): 229-242; H. Lavagne, "Piranèse archéologue à la Villa d'Hadrien," in *Piranesi e la cultura antiquaria, Atti del Convegno*, A. Lo Bianco, ed. (Rome, 1983), pp. 259-271.

²⁶ Pane, *Paestum*, p. 43; M. Lizzani, "Due dei tre Piranesi," *Capitolium* 27 (1952): 265-271.



Photo: John Blazjewski

Plate VI

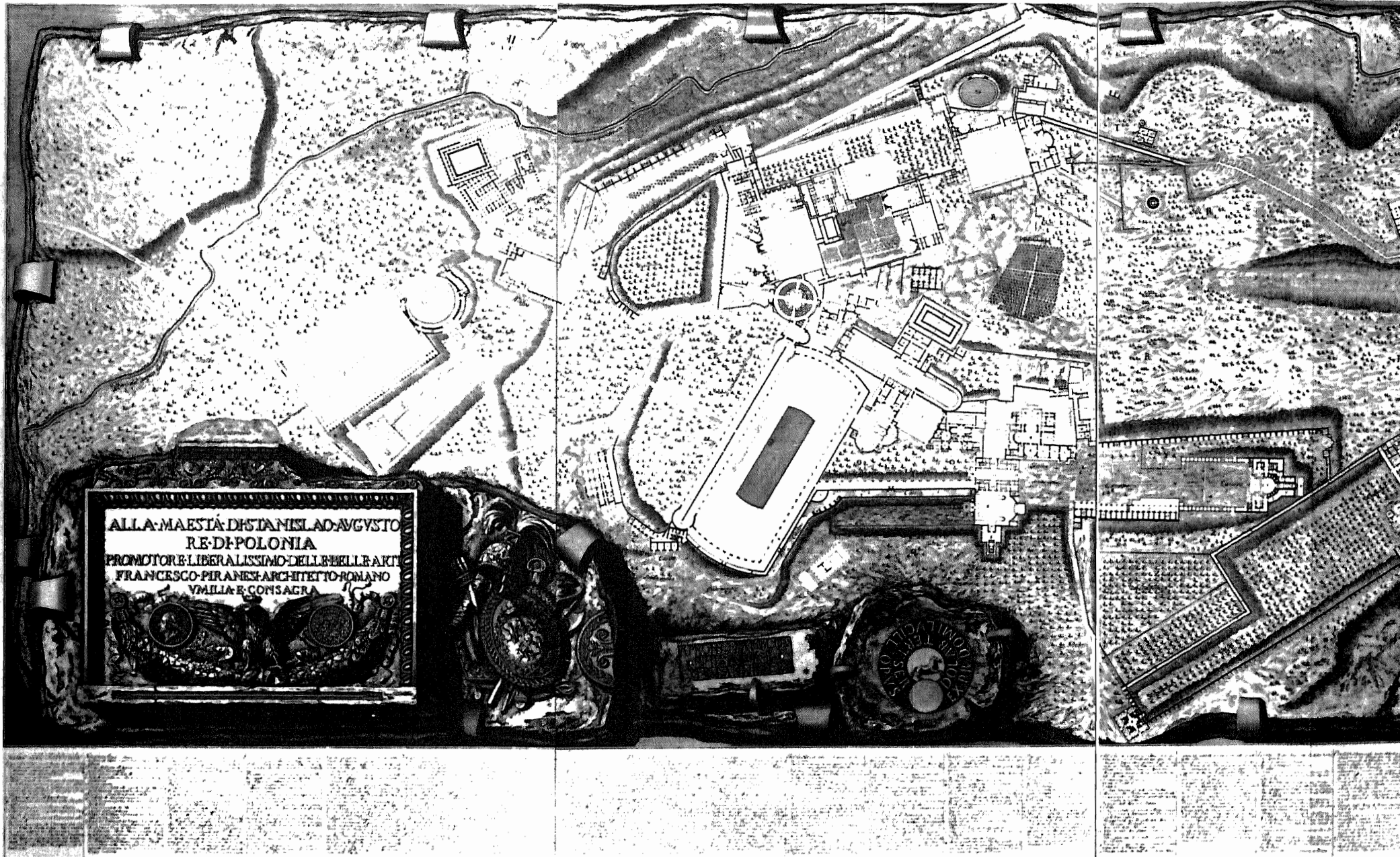
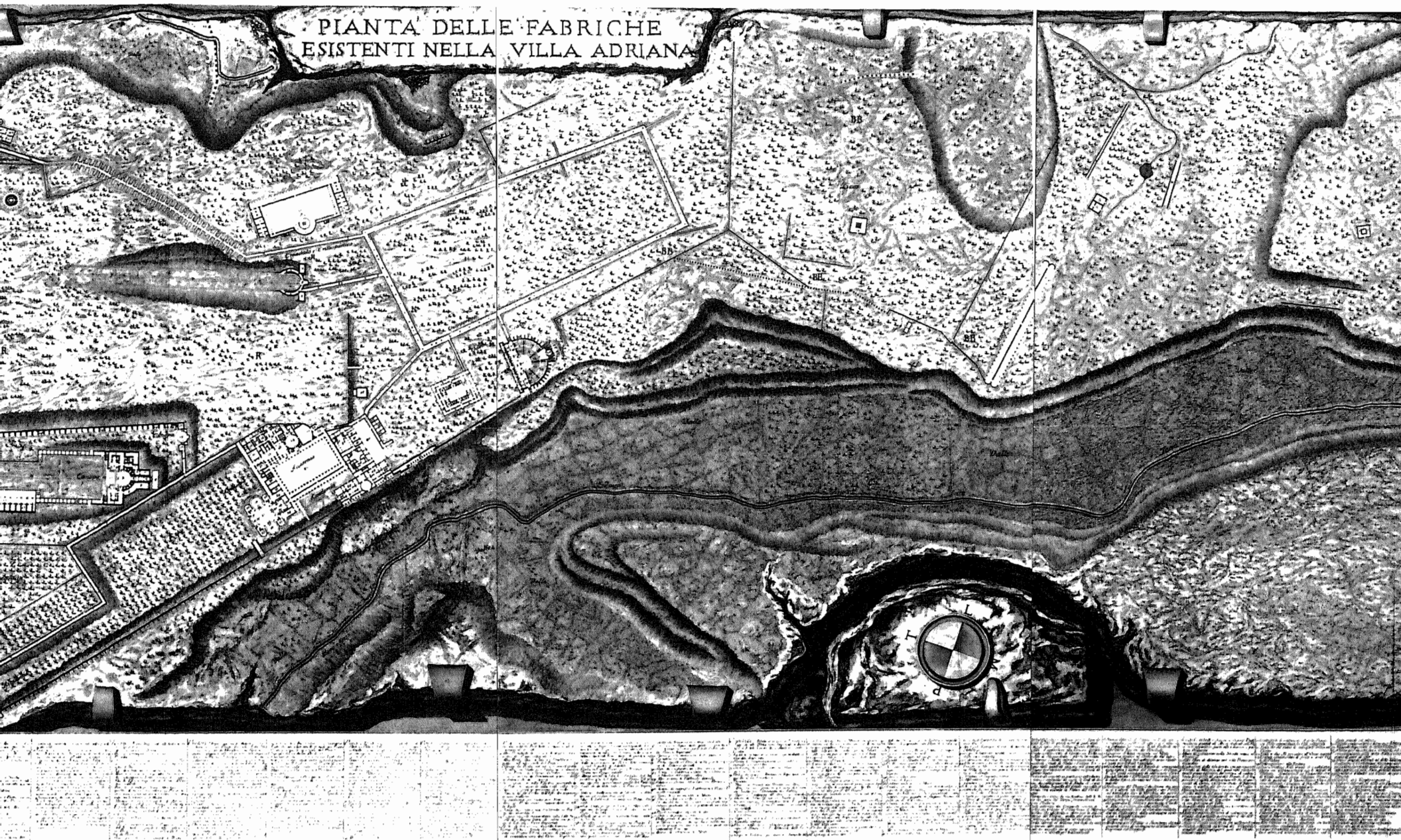


Plate I

Plate II

Plate III

Giovanni Battista and Francesco Piranesi, *Pianta della*



PIANTA DELLE FABBRICHE
ESISTENTI NELLA VILLA ADRIANA

Plate IV

Plate V

I

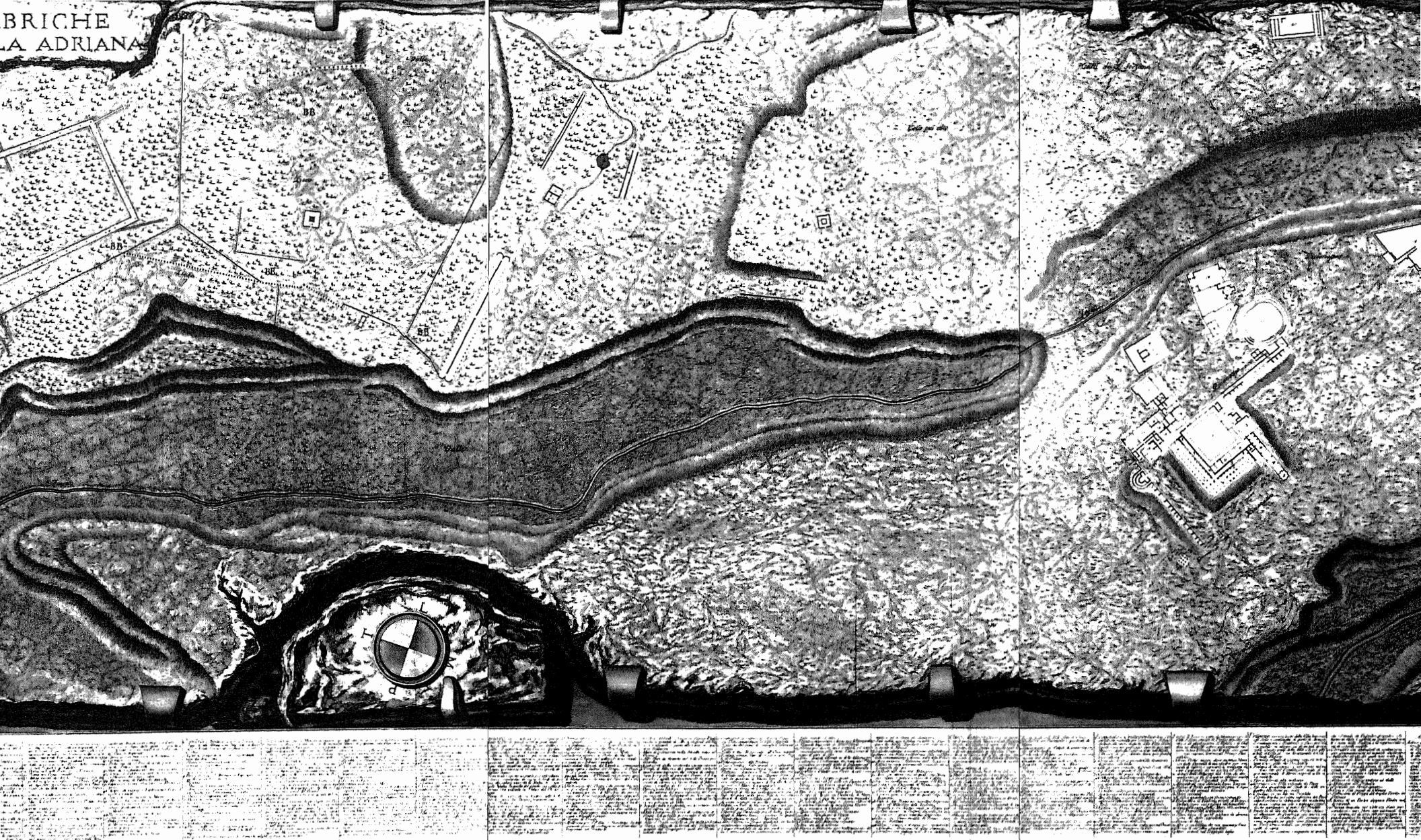


Plate V

Plate VI

ment intense work on the site between 1765 and 1774, and confirm Legrand's assertion that the Villa plan was the fruit of ten years' work. The time and effort Piranesi invested in surveying the site must have been immense. When a plan of the Villa was drawn in 1906, it took a team of forty student engineers six months to survey less than half the area covered by Piranesi's work.²⁷

Piranesi's plan, entitled *Pianta delle fabbriche esistenti nella Villa Adriana*, is printed on six folio sheets, and these, when mounted together, extend over three meters.²⁸ The large scale of the plan (1:1000), together with Piranesi's unparalleled etching technique, permitted him to delineate every component of the Villa in detail.²⁹ A small portion of the plan representing the Water Court, printed to scale on the next page, illustrates the wealth of information Piranesi presents. Sophisticated conventions — solid lines for existing structures, lighter ones for missing features — allow distinctions to be made between verifiable remains and conjectural reconstructions.³⁰ These distinctions are particularly evident in the Water Court nymphaeum. Piranesi employed dotted lines to distinguish between the elaborate system of subterranean roads, corridors and chambers and the ground-level structures.

Viewed together, the six grand plates comprising the *Pianta* vividly convey a sense of organic relationships between the architectural features of the Villa and the terrain. The great area covered by the plan (the north-south dimension measures more than two kilometers) ensures that the landscape dominates, though it does not obscure, the architecture. Here Piranesi the architect and planner, perhaps influenced by his contemporary Giambattista Nolli, emphasizes the topography of the Villa.³¹ In contrast to Contini, Piranesi manipulates

²⁷ V. Reina and U. Barbieri, "Rilievo planimetrico ed altimetrico di Villa Adriana eseguito dagli allievi della Scuola di Roma nel 1905," *Notizie degli Scavi* 6 (1908): 313–317.

²⁸ The *Pianta* appears in vol. 23 of the *Opere* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1835–1837). Each plate measures 519 x 705 mm, resulting in overall dimensions of 3.114 x .705 m.

²⁹ The scale of 1000 *palmi romani* below the dedication measures 219 mm. As one *palmio romano* equals .2234 m, the scale is 1:1020.

³⁰ These conventions are explained in the *Pianta* Commentary 1.1.7: "Bisogna avvertire che l'Incisione più forte in tutta la Pianta indica i Muri esistenti, e quei scoperti nei diversi scavi: e la leggiera ciò che si è raccolto da frammenti de'Muri, in corrispondenza del totale degli Edifici. L'Incisione pontinata indica i Corridori sotterranei che passano sotto le Fabbriche."

³¹ Allan Coen, *Rome, 1748: The Pianta grande di Roma of Giambattista Nolli in Facsimile* (Highmount, New York: J. H. Aronson, 1984).

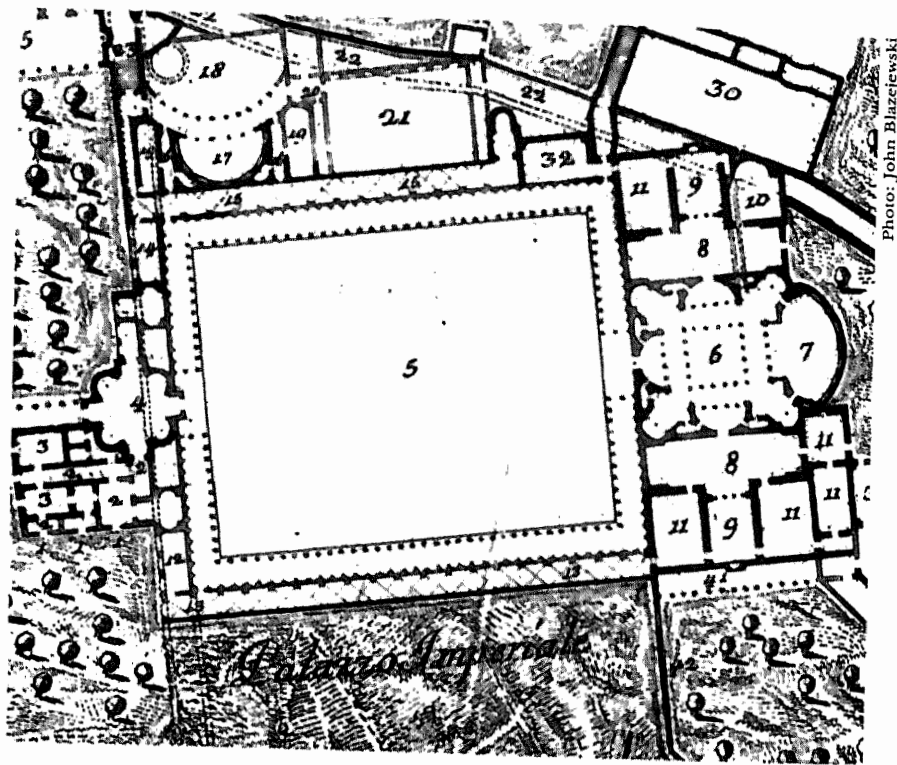


Photo: John Blazejewski

Giovanni Battista and Francesco Piranesi, *Pianta delle fabbriche esistenti nella Villa Adriana*. Detail of Plate II, showing the Water Court, printed to scale. The Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

shading masterfully to cast into relief the valleys and ridge lines defining the site, illuminating the contours of the land not from one direction only, as if by the sun, but from several directions at once.

Another of Piranesi's illusionistic touches is immediately evident: The entire plan appears to be inscribed on a long marble slab, its worn and irregular borders secured to a wall by metal cramps. This is an obvious reference to the great Marble Plan of ancient Rome, the *Forma urbis romae*, fragments of which inspired Piranesi's site descriptions from 1756 on.³² The apparently thick edges of the slab play against the regular borders of the plates comprising the *Pianta*, enhancing the illusion that the plan is incised on marble rather than

³² Gianfelippo Carettoni et al., *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma urbis romae*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1960); E. Rodriguez Almeida, *Forma urbis marmorea. Aggiornamento Generale 1980* (Rome, 1981).

printed on paper. Piranesi further emphasizes this effect by the superimposition of other fragments, such as the dedicatory inscription and brickstamps (at the bottom of plates I and II of the fold-out) and the Doric column drum and base inscribed with the compass points (at the bottom right of plate IV), on top of the main slab.

The wealth of graphic information on Piranesi's plan is greatly complemented by an extensive commentary of 434 entries providing identification and analysis of almost every feature of the Villa.³³ This commentary far surpasses the earlier efforts of Ligorio and Contini. It organizes the remains of the Villa into twenty-one nodes or areas, each of which is given a general introduction and then examined in detail, often room by room. The information it contains falls into four main categories: 1) identifications based on presumed functions of the remains, often fanciful; 2) full and usually accurate descriptions of each feature, frequently recording details since lost; 3) valuable records of find-spots of works of art; and 4) indications of the property ownership of each area, from which it is possible to reconstruct how the site was divided in Piranesi's day. This original and magisterial document, every phrase of which conveys the authority of Giovanni Battista Piranesi's antiquarian erudition and polemical passion, is not the work of the twenty-three-year-old Francesco.

Several entries selected from Piranesi's Commentary serve to illustrate the variety of information it records. These entries relate to the Southern Ruins — or Academy, as Piranesi calls it — and correspond to numbers on the plan, legible in the detail from plate III:

ACADEMY, or School of Platonic Philosophers, an area planted with trees dedicated to the Muses, part now belonging to the Camera [Apostolica] and part to the Bulgarrini.

15: Corinthian Oecus, or large hall of elegant plan with columns, which served for the debates of the Platonic academicians. Its pavement was composed of giallo antico oc-

³³ The "Commentary" is arranged below Piranesi's *Pianta* in columns, seven per sheet, and is keyed to letters and numbers on the plan. Commentary appearing below a given plate does not necessarily correspond to the Villa features represented above it. Since the second plate of the plan contains by far the greatest density of ruins, relevant commentary necessarily extends to the plates that follow. References to the Commentary usually include three figures, indicating the number of the plate, column, and entry, but some introductory headings have no entry number.

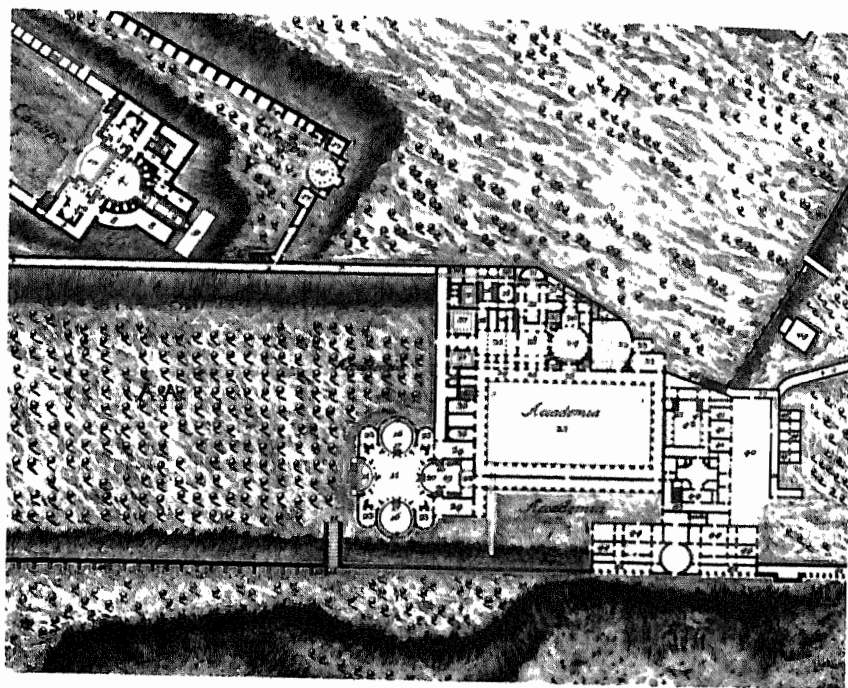


Photo: John Blazewski

Giovanni Battista and Francesco Piranesi, *Pianta delle Fabriche esistenti nella Villa Adriani*. Detail of Plate III, showing the Southern Range. The Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

tagons and white marble squares. Here were found the Centaurs of basalt, which now are in the Capitoline Museum.

27: Lateral chambers . . . with pavements of mosaic in varied colors excavated by Prince Gabrielli and the antiquarian Orlandi.

30: Sanctuary of the temple, where the celebrated Doves [rendered] in minute mosaic were found; these are now admired in the Campidoglio.

If there is reason to question the attribution of the Commentary to Francesco, other evidence calls for a critical reevaluation of his supposed authorship of the *Pianta* itself. A remarkable preparatory drawing in the Certosa di San Martino in Naples, with notes and passages in Giovanni Battista's hand, leaves no doubt that he, not Fran-

cesco, designed the *Pianta*.³⁴ I am also convinced that Giovanni Battista etched the plates, except for certain details, such as the dedication to the King of Poland, which were added by Francesco.³⁵ And in comparison with Francesco's rather heavy-handed rendering of comparable subjects, such as his 1785 plan of Pompeii, the *Pianta* appears more richly textured, relying for effect on subtle gradations of line thickness rather than overwhelming chiaroscuro contrasts.³⁶

The Naples drawing sheds important light on the background of Piranesi's published plan of the Villa. Since it was identified by Roberto Pane in 1938 it has been exhibited twice, but its implications have not been fully understood; in particular it has never received careful study in relation to the *Pianta*, for which it clearly is a preparatory study.³⁷ This enormous drawing is identical in scale to the published plan, and its six large sheets correspond exactly to the *Pianta* plate divisions.³⁸ The second of the six joined sheets bears the date 1777, which, together with extensive passages in Giovanni Battista Piranesi's hand, effectively eliminates any question about his responsibility for the *Pianta*'s overall design. When viewed close-up, the Naples drawing is seen to be a palimpsest, showing successive layers in different media, in addition to erasures, cancellations, and notations written in several hands. If the relationship of the preparatory drawing to the published plan is to be properly understood, the mixture of media and hands needs sorting out.

To my eyes, four principal stages or phases are present in the drawing. The first is the most refined, consisting of the precise delineation (laid out in fine black pencil with drafting instruments) of the principal Villa buildings. It represents the initial transfer, perhaps by

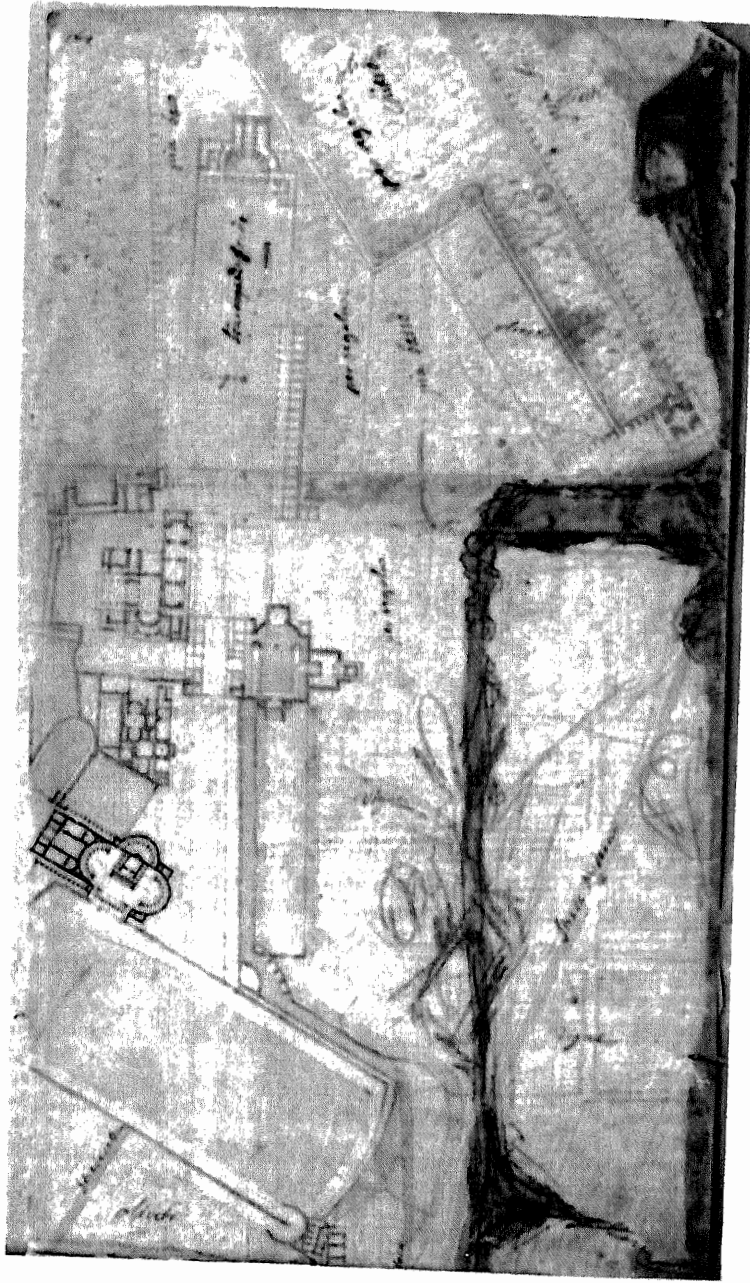
³⁴ Naples, Certosa di San Martino, inv. no. 7443.

³⁵ Legrand reports that Giovanni Battista Piranesi was partially responsible for the plates of the *Pianta*; Scott, *Piranesi*, pp. 176-177.

³⁶ Francesco Piranesi made two site plans of the excavations at Pompeii, one in 1780 and the other in 1792; John Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi*, exhibition catalogue (London, 1978), p. 128.

³⁷ Roberto Pane, *L'acquaforte di G. B. Piranesi* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1938), pp. 18-19; E. Galasso, *Omaggio a Piranesi* (Benevento, 1968), p. 50; A. Bettagno, *Disegni di Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (Venice, 1978), p. 65.

³⁸ The drawing has been cut into ten sheets, but the original was clearly a composite of six sheets, each approximately 520 x 710 mm. The plan has been glued to a stiff paper backing which prevents examination of its verso; it is in poor condition. The following comparative measurements taken from the Naples drawing and the *Pianta* confirm their identical scale: diameter of the Island Enclosure (43 mm), width of the East-West Terrace (95 mm), major axis of the Water Court from vestibule to nymphaeum (100 mm), and major axis of the Peristyle Pool court (51 mm).



Giovanni Battista Piranesi, preparatory drawing for the *Pianta* of Hadrian's Villa. Detail corresponding to the lower portions of Plates II and III. Certosa di San Martino, Naples. Photo courtesy of Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici, Naples.

Benedetto Mori, of the numerous measured drawings executed on the site. Also at this time the most important topographical features, including the watercourses of the East and West Valleys (rendered in blue wash) and the major terraces (in yellow wash), were added. This initial stage appears to have been followed by a masterful freehand rendering in gouache of the feigned marble borders, cramps, and decorative flourishes, undoubtedly by Giovanni Battista. At this time, the title was drawn over the underlying survey, as were striking architectural fragments and the view of the Tomb of the Plautii, all illusionistically shown as if drawn on separate sheets of paper laid over the fictive marble slab.

In a third stage, Piranesi made corrections and added notes in red chalk. Among other changes, he shifted slightly the position of the wind rose and made numerous notations of land use (for example, "vigne, oliveti, granoturco"), as guides for etching the conventions for different plantations on the copper plates. He also added other suggestions (for example, "per regola, più basso, scuro più profondo") about adjustments to be made in etching the plates at this time. In the fourth and final stage, another hand — using a fine steel pen — inked in some architectural features, assigning to them numbers corresponding to the Commentary of the printed plan.³⁹

If I read the evidence correctly, shortly before his death in 1778, Giovanni Battista supervised the transfer, by means of a tracing, of the Naples drawing to the copper plates from which the *Pianta* was printed. Other differences between the Naples drawing and the published plan, such as the elimination of the view depicting the Tomb of the Plautii, probably occurred as Giovanni Battista etched the plates, in the course of which he often introduced variations on his pre-established designs. All that remained for Francesco to do after his father's death was to revise the Commentary, etch it, and add the dedication to the King of Poland.

Piranesi's Commentary states that the *Pianta* was to have been accompanied by other more detailed plans of individual nodes and the system of subterranean corridors, as well as by a general plan showing the relationship of the Villa to other ruins in the vicinity of Tivoli.⁴⁰ Evidently these were never printed, but it is likely that, to-

³⁹ Note, for example, the number 1 assigned to the north arm of the Peristyle Pool cryptoportico.

⁴⁰ Piranesi, *Pianta* Commentary 3.4 and 6.6.7.

gether with the great plan and the sixteen Villa prints and drawings, they were intended for a volume on the antiquities of Tivoli.⁴¹ Such a volume would have resembled those he devoted to Albano and Cori, which appeared in 1764.⁴² In light of his references to other buildings in the Tivoli region, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hadrian's Villa material was to have been amplified by representations of such celebrated Tiburtine monuments as the Temple of Sibyl, the Villa of Maecenas, and others for which prints exist.⁴³ Following the models of Piranesi's earlier publications on Albano and Cori, the Tiburtine volume, if realized, would have included a written commentary on the plates. The Villa Commentary, presumably drafted by Piranesi before his death, was adapted by his son afterward: The Commentary is etched on plates separate from the plan.⁴⁴



Once they are viewed together, rather than in isolation, Piranesi's representations of Hadrian's Villa constitute a major theme within his oeuvre, a theme that grew in significance as his career matured. Moreover, these images represent a fresh mode of seeing as well as documenting the past. In addition to providing invaluable records of the ruins at the Villa and their relation to the surrounding landscape, Piranesi's views, and especially the *Pianta*, also deserve recognition as important documents in the history of archaeological site description, significant as much for how they interpret the evidence as for what they record.

With far greater rigor and authority than in any of his earlier an-

⁴¹ Bettagno, *Disegni*, p. 65.

⁴² Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Antichità di Albano e di Castel Gandolfo* (Rome, 1764), and *Antichità di Cora* (Rome, 1764).

⁴³ Malcolm Campbell, ed., *Piranesi: Rome Recorded* (Philadelphia, 1989) nos. 61–63, 67–69, 72, 74–75, 81, 83, 92, 105. See also N. Miller, *Archäologie des Travms. Versuch über Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (Vienna, 1978), especially pp. 325–347: "Tivoli und die späten Veduten." It may be that not all of Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma* depicting monuments in the neighborhood of Tivoli were intended for a book on the subject. Piranesi reused one of his *Vedute* in his book on the *Acqua Giulia* (1761) in much the way I conjecture the Tivoli prints might have been re-employed. I thank John Wilton-Ely for this observation.

⁴⁴ I am indebted to Joe Aronson for this observation. The use of separate plates for the Commentary does not prove Francesco's intervention; Giovanni Battista often used separate plates for elaborate captions, presumably to allow him to make revisions more easily.

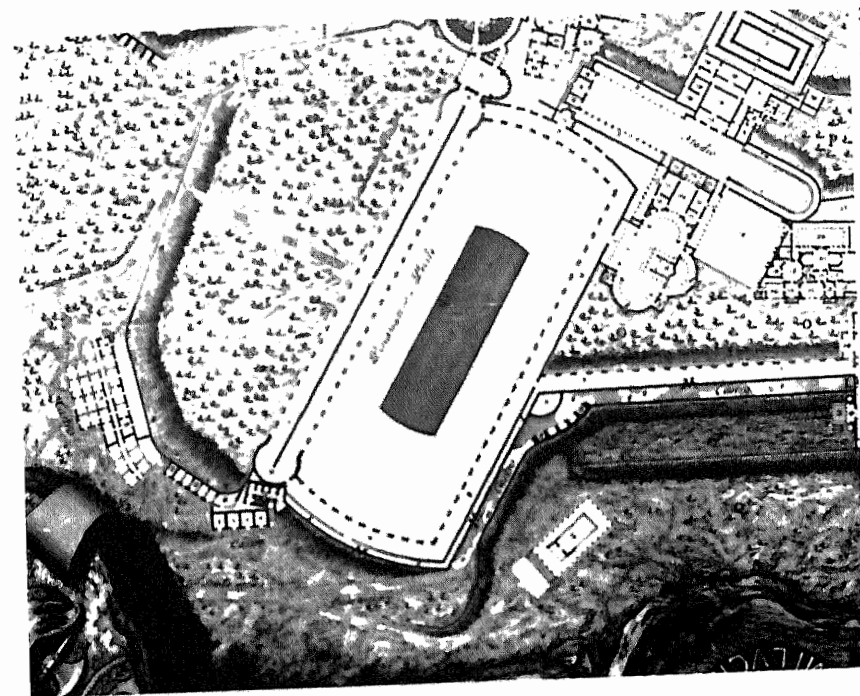


Photo: John Blaziejewski

Giovanni Battista and Francesco Piranesi, *Pianta delle fabbriche esistenti nella Villa Adriana*. Detail of Plate II showing the temple beside the Service Quarters (no. 10, center right at the bottom).

tiquarian studies, Piranesi here applies principles he first began to formulate in the mid-1750s. He refines his archaeological method developed in the course of compiling the *Antichità romane* and puts it to use in his investigation of the Villa.⁴⁵ No longer is he content with only representing the exteriors of individual buildings, as in the *Vedute*; these he supplements with analytical drawings, plans, and sections. Furthermore, Piranesi fleshes out ruined or vanished structures by means of conjectural plans, and whenever possible, employs ancient literary sources, as in the *Pianta Commentary*, where he uses the nomenclature of the *Historia Augusta* to interpret the function and meaning of some of the Villa's components. Most significantly, he brings all these means to bear on his ultimate end: a complete reconstruction, as in the *Pianta*.

The *Pianta* records the existence of important Villa structures,

⁴⁵ Wilton-Ely, *Mind and Art*, p. 48.

such as the peripteral temple beside the Service Quarters, which have either entirely vanished or of which barely a trace survives today. Piranesi's Commentary explains that walls and fragments uncovered in the course of working a vineyard in which this structure was situated allowed him to recognize it as a temple.⁴⁶ Today this feature is only faintly visible on aerial photographs of the site.

As an archaeologist, Piranesi draws not only on his extensive knowledge of the site, but also on the work of his predecessors. The remains of many Villa structures had vanished in the century and a half since Contini's survey and even more since the mid-sixteenth-century excavations of Ligorio. Piranesi values these earlier studies for the precious testimony they preserve. When the evidence of the ruins contradicts Ligorio's descriptions or Contini's plan, however, Piranesi makes the necessary corrections and adjustments. A case in point is the Reverse Curve Pavilion, which Ligorio had erroneously reconstructed as an oval but which Piranesi correctly represents as centered on a circular space. In cases where little or no evidence survived Piranesi proceeds cautiously, citing his sources and indicating the extent to which what he saw corresponded — or failed to correspond — to what his predecessors had recorded.

A revealing example of Piranesi's method is his treatment of the so-called Latin Theatre, which appears at the upper right of plate I. Verifiable remains attest to the existence of two theatres at the Villa, one at the northern end of the site and another at the southern end. Contini's misinterpretation of Ligorio's accounts led him to place a third, non-existent, theatre at the north end of the East Valley.⁴⁷ Later versions of Contini's plan, especially the popular 1751 edition, perpetuated this error, repeated as recently as 1961.⁴⁸ Piranesi shows the theatre more or less as Contini had, but renders its plan in stippled poché, indicating its conjectural nature. His terse entry in the Commentary cites Ligorio and Contini as the sources for his reconstruction and calls attention to a few fragments of walls (the only ones rendered in dark poché on the plan) that he observed in 1775.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Pianta Commentary* 2.1.10.

⁴⁷ Vatican, cod. Barb. Lat., 4342, f. 45r; and cod. Barb. Lat. 5219, f. 132r; and Ricotti, "Villa Adriana," pp. 23–25.

⁴⁸ P. Ligorio and Francesco Contini, *Pianta della Villa Tiburtina di Adriano Cesare* (Rome, 1751) 2, no. A-6. For later references to the so-called Latin Theatre see Piranesi's *Pianta Commentary* 1.3, Winnefeld, *Villa des Hadrian*, p. 18; Gusman, *Villa Imperiale*, p. 206; and Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, p. 39.

⁴⁹ *Pianta Commentary* 1.3.

The act of translating ruined walls into archaeological plans, a task usually performed in the eighteenth century by artists and architects, led to a new kind of graphic abstraction.⁵⁰ This process, especially in the hands of a master draughtsman such as Piranesi, had the effect of blurring the line between archaeological fact and inventive fantasy. A comparison of Piranesi's archaeological plan of the Villa and his fantastic reconstruction of the Campo Marzio of 1762 reveals similar relationships of form, though one is substantially factual and the other largely visionary.⁵¹ In the Campo Marzio plan, Piranesi's vision of Roman grandeur takes its point of departure from the abstract geometrical conventions of the ancient *Forma urbis*. The fragmentary state of the real Marble Plan suggests the fantastic configurations of his lapidary vision. Piranesi's plan of the Villa, however, allows the ruins to speak more directly: in this archaeological mode they function as documents rather than metaphors. Piranesi himself remarks in the dedication to the *Campo Marzio*: "Before anyone accuses me of falsehood, he should, I beg, examine the ancient [marble] plan of the city . . . [and] the . . . Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli."



More than any other ancient site known in the Renaissance, Hadrian's Villa embodied the richness and variety of Roman imperial architecture. Certain Renaissance architects, Francesco di Giorgio, for example, found this variety troubling, and, looking at the Villa through Vitruvian glasses, felt the need to make corrections so as to bring it into conformity with prevailing interpretations of Roman architecture.⁵² Piranesi, on the other hand, emerged as the champion of the virtues of complexity, which he opposed, especially later in life, to Johann Winckelmann's emphasis on the "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" of ancient art, an interpretation essential to the formation of the neoclassical dogma.⁵³ Ironically, Winckelmann's view

⁵⁰ W. Oechslin, "L'intérêt archéologique et l'expérience architecturale avant et après Piranèse," in Chastel and Brunel, *Piranèse et les français*, pp. 395–418.

⁵¹ Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Il Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma* (Rome, 1762).

⁵² T. Buddensieg, "Criticism and Praise of the Pantheon in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500–1500*, R. Bolgar, ed. (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 259–267.

⁵³ J. J. Winckelmann, *History of Ancient Art*, A. Gode, trans. (New York, 1968), pp. 327–339.

of antiquity was predicated in no small part on sculpture found at the Villa, for example the celebrated Antinous relief in the Albani collection. Thus, at a crucial juncture in the history of western art, Hadrian's Villa maintained its role as a touchstone, providing crucial evidence and justification for both sides in the boiling controversy over the primacy of Greek or Roman forms.

Winckelmann's austere vision of antiquity, championed by Marc-Antoine Laugier and Julien-David Le Roy as well, constituted nothing less than a sweeping repudiation of that characteristic baroque exaltation of creative license lying at the core of Piranesi's conceptual genius.⁵⁴ The sophisticated pavilions of the Villa are very far indeed from Laugier's Vitruvian hut. Piranesi viewed the diversity and inventive power of the ancients as an inspiration for creative design in his own day. Paraphrasing Sallust, he dismissed his critics by proclaiming, "They despise my novelty, I their timidity."⁵⁵ His plan of the Villa and the intended publication of which it is a part must be viewed in this light. Piranesi's concluding remarks on his great plan provide an admirable summary of his views and motivation in studying Hadrian's Villa:

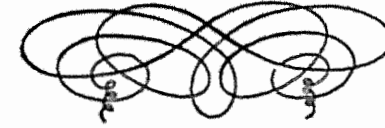
One cannot avoid concluding that the buildings of this Villa surpassed all others as much for their magnificence and ornament as for their pleasing and bizarre forms, from the study of which architects may derive considerable benefit.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Wilton-Ely, *Art and Mind*, p. 66.

⁵⁵ Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Parere su l'architettura* (Rome, 1765), plate 6.

⁵⁶ *Pianta* Commentary 6.7.

Library Notes



A COLLECTION ON TUNNELING

In December 1991 an unusual and interesting collection of books, manuscripts, and prints on the history of tunneling was given to the Library by Gerald Levy of Princeton. Mr. Levy, a tunneling engineer, formed the collection as a means of increasing his knowledge of the profession he practices. A few of the choicest items in the collection were exhibited in the Library during October and November of 1993.

Tunneling is by no means a modern art; the Babylonians, for example, constructed a pedestrian tunnel under the Euphrates River as early as 2180 B.C., and some Roman irrigation tunnels are still in use. Mr. Levy's collection begins with two works by the foremost Renaissance expert on tunneling, Georgius Agricola (1494–1555). Agricola, who was born Georg Bauer in Saxony, was a physician who worked in the mining districts of northern Europe. He wrote in Latin and used the Latin form of his name. One of the earliest books in the Levy Collection is a copy in a contemporary binding of the 1561 Basel edition of Agricola's *De re metallica*, perhaps the most famous early European printed book on mining and its related field of tunneling. Rather than redigest old writings for a new audience, Agricola himself spent many years touring the metal mines of Germany and then wrote about what he observed. The woodcut illustrations in his book illustrate Agricola's point that mining and its attendant arts should be based on science, not on magic:

[A] miner, since we think he ought to be a good and serious man, should not make use of an enchanted twig, because if he is prudent and skilled in the natural signs, he understands that a forked stick is of no use to him, for as

co. ad fodiendū apto. patefecit. ibi metallicus agit fossas. si non ostendit. crebris fossionibus usq; eo scrutatur locum. quoad uenam crudatiam reperit.



Attamen uenam dilatatam raro labor hominum aperit, sed plerunq; uis aliqua, interdum uero uenae profundae puteus aut cuniculus. Venae autem

Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica*. Basel, 1561. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Gift of Gerald Levy.

I have said before, there are the natural indications of the veins which he can see for himself without the help of twigs. So if nature or chance should indicate a locality suitable for mining, the miner should dig his trenches there; if no vein appears he must dig numerous trenches until he discovers an outcrop of a vein.¹

¹ Agricola, *De re metallica*, trans. Herbert Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (London, 1912), Book II, p. 41.

Agricola's book, first published in 1556, proved very popular because its information reflected current mining and tunneling practice; it went through many editions and translations. His other works were equally popular, and Mr. Levy's collection includes the first Italian translation of Agricola's major works up to 1546. Published in Venice by Michael Tramezzino in 1550, it consists of the essays that had made Agricola's reputation as the "Father of Mineralogy."

The Levy Collection spans some four hundred years of books on mines, mining, mineralogy, and geology, and it offers a rich lode of information about the technologies associated with the industry. Foremost among them, of course, is the art of tunneling, and Mr. Levy's collection includes works such as Henry S. Drinker's *Tunneling, Explosive Compounds, and Rock Drills* (New York, 1878), illustrated with folding plates; Julius Schanz's *Montrenis Tunnel* (Vienna, 1872); and *History of the Hoosac Tunnel*, by E. S. Martin (North Adams, Massachusetts, 1877).

Particularly rare is the first edition of a Latin American book on mining, Ignacio Domeyko's *Tratado de ensayes*, published in La Serena, Chile, in 1844. Like Agricola, Domeyko was known as a teacher of scientific methods of mining. Born in Lithuania, he fled the upheavals of the 1830s and 1840s in Europe, settled in Chile, and taught chemistry, mineralogy, and other natural sciences in the *liceo* of La Serena, one of Chile's most important copper-mining towns. His *Tratado* was written as a textbook to be used in his courses, and also like Agricola's works, it was a great success, going through six editions between 1844 and 1898. The Chileans named a range of the Andes "Cordillera Domeyko" in honor of the man who had contributed so much to the development of the country's major industry.

Although much of the art of tunneling was associated with mining, a second impetus to its development occurred as railroads became increasingly important in the nineteenth century. The first shield-driven underwater tunnel, the famous Thames tunnel designed and built by Marc Isambard Brunel (1769 – 1849), had been intended as a railway tunnel, but began service as a pedestrian tunnel because of financial and technical troubles; it is now part of the London underground. Mr. Levy is particularly interested in Brunel's work, and his collection includes two autograph letters by Brunel (one of them to the Duke of Wellington), the first London edition of Richard Beamish's *Memoir of the Life of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel* (1862), and litera-

TRATADO DE ENSAYES,

TANTO POR LA VIA SECA COMO POR LA VIA HUMEDA.

de

Toda clase de minerales y pastas de cobre, plomo, plata, oro, mercurio &c. ; con descripción de los caracteres de los principales minerales y productos de las artes en America, y en particular en Chile.

por

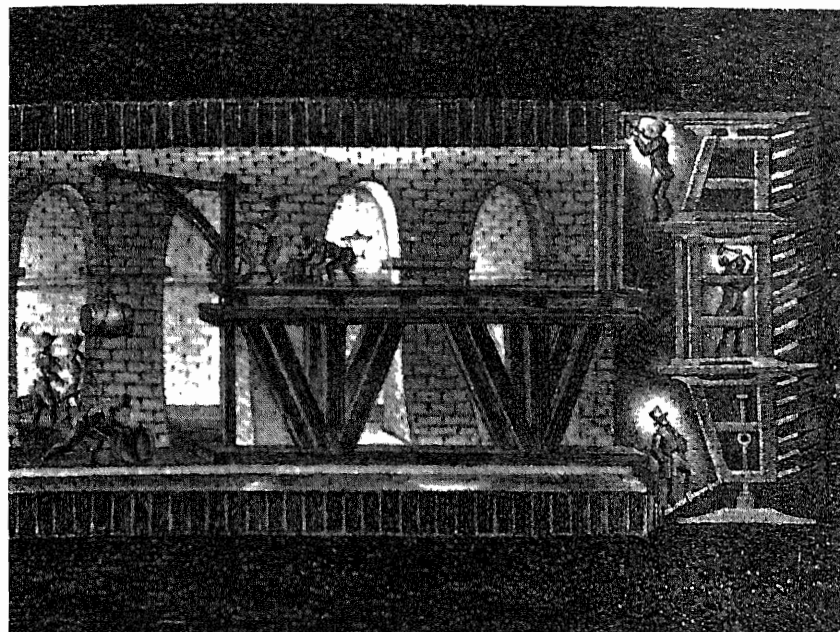
IGNACIO DOMEYKO, MIEMBRO DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE CHILE,
PROFESOR DE QUÍMICA EN EL COLEJO DE COQUIMBO.

Serena.

IMPRENTA DEL COLEJO.

1844.

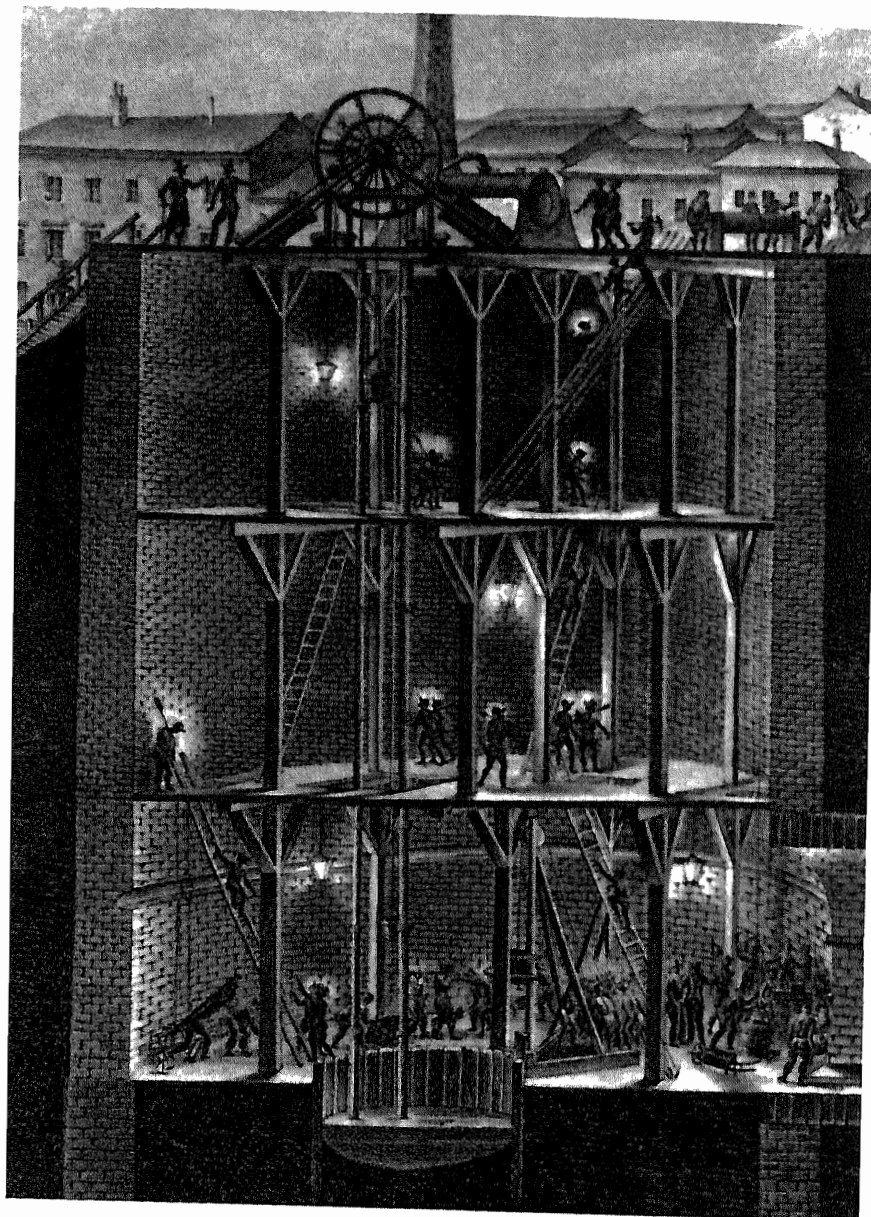
Title page of Ignacio Domeyko's *Tratado de Ensayes*. La Serena, Chile, 1844. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Gift of Gerald Levy.



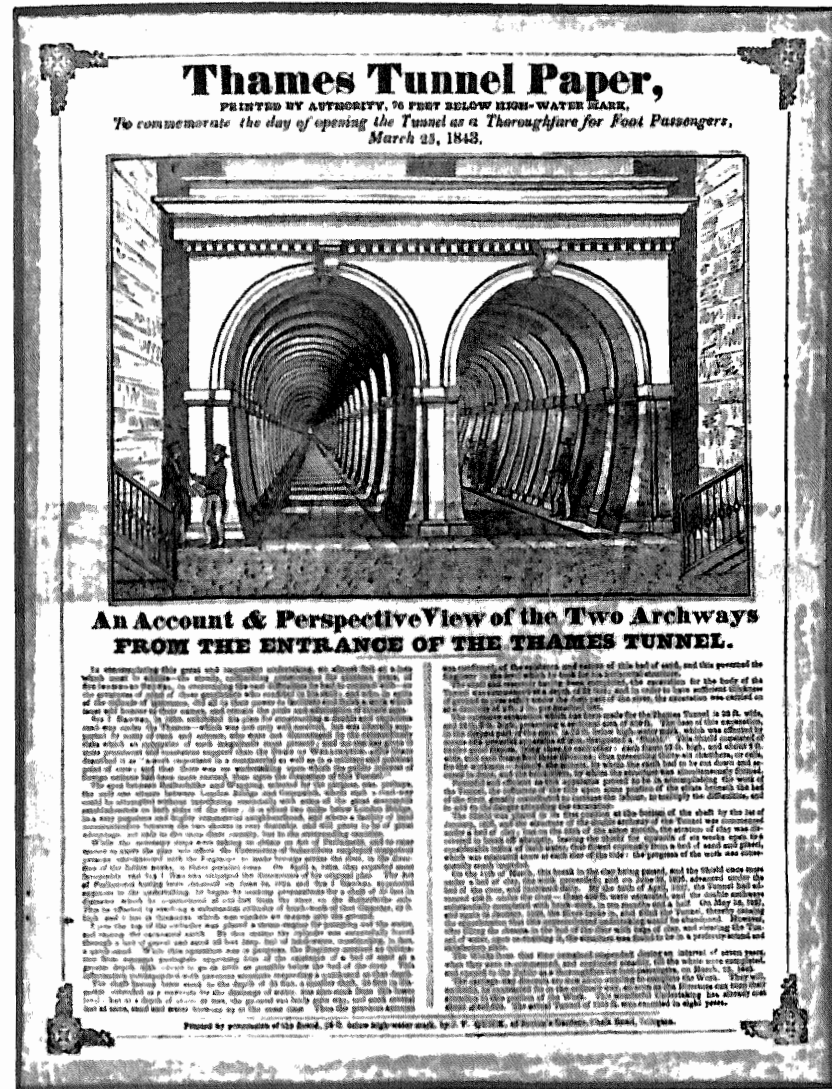
Detail from "Ansicht vom Schacht und Tunnel unter der Themse zu London," showing the shield used to drive Marc Isambard Brunel's Thames tunnel. Lithograph. Berlin: Schropp, n.d. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Gift of Gerald Levy.

ture about the Thames tunnel, which was begun in 1825 and completed in 1843. There are nine prints relating to the tunnel and three English editions of *Sketches of the Works* (1829, 1836, 1837). Most unusual is the Victorian peep-show entitled "Thames Tunnel. Finished 1843"; Mrs. Webster Jordan, who owned it in 1854, wrote that date along with her name on the accompanying booklet.

Brunel developed a revolutionary system for tunneling: work progressed by means of cast-iron shields with platforms on which the men could stand. Unfortunately, the shields could not prevent flooding when the works moved from heavy clays into pockets of sand and gravel which had not been found during the preconstruction surveying. In the inundation of 1828, Brunel's son, Isambard Kingdom Brunel, was badly injured, and work was suspended for seven years while Brunel improved his shield. To celebrate the opening of the tunnel on 25 March 1843, the promoters printed a newspaper "75 feet below high water mark"; a copy of the rare single-sheet com-



Detail from "Ansicht vom Schacht und Tunnel unter der Themse zu London."
Lithograph. Berlin: Schropp, n.d. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton
University Library. Gift of Gerald Levy.



The rare "Thames Tunnel Paper," published to celebrate the opening of the tunnel on 23 March 1843. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Gift of Gerald Levy.

memorative piece is in Mr. Levy's collection. Of direct relevance to the Thames tunnel project are Mr. Levy's books on managing water: George Semple's *Treatise on Building in Water, in Two Parts* (Dublin, 1776), with sixty-three copper plates; and Thomas A. Ewbank's *Descriptive and Historical Account of Hydraulic and Other Machines for Raising Water* (New York, 1857), another book that went through many editions.

Mr. Levy's lifelong interest in the art of tunneling and his gift to the Library have greatly enriched our collections of books on the development of technology.

— STEPHEN FERGUSON
Curator of Rare Books

THE SCHECHNER PAPERS

There are those who find Richard Schechner too difficult and too extreme in his views, but few who would disagree that he is one of the great originals in the history of American theatre. In 1989, Schechner — scholar, editor, director, and the central figure in the new field of performance studies — presented his papers to the Princeton University Library. During the fall term of 1992 – 1993 he taught a seminar called “Ritual and Performance” to Princeton students. At the end of that term, beginning on 15 January 1993, a three-month-long exhibition, “By Means of Performance: The Theatrical Excursions of Richard Schechner,” opened in the Library's main exhibition gallery. Under the curatorship of Mary Ann Jensen, it offered a detailed exploration of Schechner's spectacular originality in the theatre and beyond.

A 1956 graduate of Cornell, with an M.A. in English from the University of Iowa and a Ph.D. in theatre from Tulane, Schechner is currently Professor of Performance Studies at New York University, editor of *TDR*, and a frequent director of controversial experimental theatre productions, most recently his retelling of the Faustus story, *Faustgastronome*. “By Means of Performance” traced his many interconnected careers through letters, posters, photographs, and such odd pieces of memorabilia as his FBI file, in which it is noted that “*Time Magazine* had an article concerning Schechner including a picture of him in his office with his feet on a desk wearing no shoes.”

The presence of the FBI file suggested the link between liberal —

sometimes radical — politics and performance that has informed Schechner's work almost from the start of his career. Materials from the 1960s, for example, documented his connection with the Free Southern Theatre, a repertory company that performed free for integrated, largely black audiences in whatever spaces were available in the rural South. A related, and extremely important, strand in Schechner's work — a taste for radical experiment in the performing arts — was illustrated by documents relating to the New Orleans Group, a theatre company that he co-founded in 1965 while he was a faculty member at Tulane, and the famous Performance Group, founded after his move to New York in 1967.

Dionysus in 69 (1969), presented at the Performing Garage, the SoHo home of the Performance Group, is arguably Schechner's best known production, and one of his most controversial. With *Dionysus*, Schechner's interest in so-called “environmental” theatre began to take shape. A program and a photograph documented the fact that the play took place, not in a conventional theatre, but in a radicalized space — a specially conceived “environment” that housed both actors and spectators. The production materials relating to *Dionysus* also suggested the philosophical and artistic differences that arose at the time between Schechner and the New York critics, strong differences that would be made clear throughout the exhibition.

Materials related to Schechner's productions of *Macbeth* (1969), a fragmented version of Shakespeare's play, and *Commune* (1971), a parable about violence that drew on the Charlie Manson and My Lai massacres, suggested his complex political/experimental agenda. Frequently the critics were baffled. “How can Schechner do this to *Macbeth*?” one reviewer asked. A 1972 letter in the exhibition suggested that playwright Sam Shepard was understandably apprehensive about a forthcoming production of his play, *The Tooth of Crime*, at the Performing Garage. But Schechner has never wavered from his commitment to radical experiment. Among his later New York theatre pieces featured in the exhibition were *The Marilyn Project* (1975), which was presented with a double cast, a double set, mirrors, and multiple sound tracks broadcast through loudspeakers. *Cops* (1978) was set in a startlingly realistic reproduction of a diner, which one critic would compare to the realism of a George Segal sculpture.

In 1976 the Performance Group toured India with an environmental production of Brecht's *Mother Courage*. It was only one of a num-

ber of trips that Schechner would make to Asia over the years, including visits to India three times, Bali twice, and China three times. These visits led directly to a third strand in his work, a fascination with Asian performance — and, from there, an absorbing interest in the whole of Third World performance — both of which were illustrated by a large group of theatre and ritual masks collected by Schechner in his travels.

A fourth, closely related strand developed in the exhibition was Schechner's concern with the relationships between anthropology and theatre studies. His growing interest in both Third World performance and anthropology have influenced much of his thinking and many of his activities since the 1970s. In particular, they have fed his passionate advocacy of "performance studies" as an alternative to conventional theatre education, and his promotion of "interculturalism," Schechner's distinctive, if somewhat controversial brand of multiculturalism.

As a result of Schechner's experimental version of Seneca's *Oedipus*, produced in 1977, he was attacked as gynophobic. His response was illuminating, both about his controversial working process as a director and as a theoretician. "Am I afraid of women?" he asked. "Sure. . . . Does my fear of women mean that I'm not trying to understand it? No. I do all my plays about my confusion. When I'm sure about something, I don't have to work it through." Schechner often "works through" the wide range of problems that intrigue and puzzle him in the well-known journals that he has kept since 1955, a number of which were exhibited in "By Means of Performance."

Schechner carries a notebook with him wherever he goes and, somewhat disconcertingly, seems to take notes on every conceivable event and conversation in which he is involved. His journals are filled with an intriguing collage of random thoughts, arguments, doodles, and the elaborate diagrams for which he is famous. The journals have provided him with much of the raw material for his lectures, as well as for some twenty books (including a children's book written with his son, Sam), and the seemingly endless array of articles on view in the exhibition. As the books and articles — like his theatre productions — amply demonstrate, when ideas *have* been worked through to Schechner's satisfaction, he gives no quarter.

Schechner is perhaps best known internationally as the long-time editor of *TDR* (from 1962 to 1969, and again from 1985 to the pres-

ent), the American magazine most identified with radical experiment in the performing arts. His posture as an editor has always been aggressive, to say the least. Documents related to his 1965 "TDR Conference" in New York City, for example — a highly controversial public forum growing out of his editorship and offering a very dim view of traditional theatre practice and practitioners — suggested the outrage that has sometimes greeted his polemic style. Schechner would later write in a report to participants that "In my opinion The Conference was a failure," but in fact it would draw considerable attention to *TDR*, some of it highly favorable.

Since 1985 Schechner has used his editorship increasingly to promote the idea of performance studies as an alternative to conventional theatre training. In a recent issue of *TDR*, quoted in the exhibition, he takes on the college and university theatre establishment with no holds barred. "Most theatre departments," Schechner writes, "should get out of the professional training business and rejoin — and reform — the humanities in a big way. A new paradigm for the field needs to be developed and deployed. Professional training for the orthodox theatre — a very small slice of the performance pie — is neither economically enough nor academically acceptable. The new paradigm is 'performance,' not theatre. Theatre departments should become 'performance departments.'"

Schechner's new paradigm is typical in every way of his extraordinary conviction about the issues that concern him. His papers demonstrate a similar conviction about almost every issue with which he has been involved for some forty years. For almost thirty of those years, I have been Schechner's student and colleague and friend. I am pleased to have been of some help in bringing his papers to the Princeton University Libraries; they are as quirky and intriguing as the man who created them. In an article about the history of *TDR*, I once described Schechner as "an immensely creative if unorthodox theoretician and a matchless debater . . . jokey, irreverent, and often impossibly contentious," the possessor of "an equal capacity to intrigue and annoy." As Schechner said about himself in his second book, *Environmental Theater*, "I fight to keep what I have and resist criticism. My stubbornness has at times been cataclysmic."

Using the Schechner Papers, the exhibition made these same points — and many more important ones — with great intelligence and precision. "By Means of Performance" also made it clear that few

of us possess anything like Schechner's self-assured vision about the directions twentieth-century theatre must take. And that, in the end, few of us will have had anything like his impact on that theatre.

— BROOKS MCNAMARA

*Professor of Performance Studies, Tisch
School of the Arts, New York University,
and Director, Shubert Archive*

THE ELMER ADLER BOOK COLLECTING CONTEST

Anthony A. Yoseloff, Class of 1996, won second place in the annual Elmer Adler Book Collecting Contest for 1992 – 1993. His essay, "From Spalding to Roosevelt: My Life as a Bibliophile," chronicled his development from an avid collector of baseball cards, to a builder of a personal library of books on baseball, to the realization that his interest in baseball had always been historical. "I slowly discovered," he wrote, "my true passion: history." He soon began to buy books on pre-1960s American history published prior to "the disillusionment of the 1980s, or even the 1960s." More recently, inspired by Professor Reid Mitchell's course on the history of the Progressive Era, he has begun to collect primary sources for the social history of the United States.

First prize was awarded to Christopher M. Borowski, Class of 1994, whose essay is printed below.

THE BOOK BARN

Several years ago, I spent the summer working in Manchester, Vermont, a small town set down in a quiet valley in the Green Mountains. Manchester's location was perfect for me; the soft, ancient mountains and slow streams provided a perfect environment for the thinking I needed to do that summer. Manchester itself was less perfect. Filled with Polo outlets and artificially "quaint" country stores, it attracted a steady flow of tourists from Connecticut and New York, come for a few days to do some heavy shopping while occasionally glancing up at the hills. After a few weeks, I had practically abandoned all hope of finding heaven in Vermont. Until, that is, a friend introduced me to the town of Danby and "The Book Barn."

Her immediate neighbor to the north, Danby is as quiet and unpretentious as Manchester is hurried and commercial. In fact, other

than a general store and two gas stations, the only vendor located in Danby, as far as I know, is The Book Barn. This huge, dilapidated structure, whose sagging walls seem to be supported from inside only by towering stacks of books, was to provide me that summer with many hours of much-needed escape. The Book Barn, if it is still standing, buys and sells used books, the older and mustier the better. I once asked the owner, a squint-eyed man, exactly how many books he had to offer. "I stopped counting a long time ago," he replied, "but I'd have to guess around a couple miles worth, measuring across the spines, of course."

In those miles I found many books I simply had to have: hefty volumes of American Pragmatist philosophy, collections of strange nineteenth-century German poetry, and fiction of all sorts. I bought hundreds of books that summer, nearly all of them old hardcovers, sold at the more than reasonable price of "75 cents each, four for two dollars." I learned that summer to disdain the modern paperback, with its thin sheets and six-month life span, and even the new hardcovers, their cardboard bindings eager to release the imprisoned pages. I mostly bought books at The Barn because of my interest in reading them, but occasionally permitted myself the luxury of an unneeded purchase. A collection of Poe's short stories, for example, which would only duplicate a soft-cover in my library, simply had to be bought. With its real leather binding and gilt pages, some of which remained uncut, this book would have seemed beautiful even if it had been nothing more than a Reader's Digest Condensed. I gladly paid the "premium" price of a dollar-fifty.

Beyond the aspect of superior craftsmanship, I have learned that old books are special in many other ways. A copy of *The Scarlet Letter* which I purchased at a yard sale, for example, is inscribed "To Nate, Love, Kelly, 1892." I have dared open that book only once, for its pages are so brittle that they fall to pieces upon the touch of a finger. It holds a special place of distinction on my bookshelves, standing alone between a baseball autographed by the Red Sox of 1986 and my grandfather's jackknife. I have no rational reason to feel such reverence for a mere book, perhaps, but something about it compels me to this state. Perhaps it is the simple, personal inscription, or the book's very age and fragility. I do not know, and do not care to question. Some things are better left admired than analyzed.

Along these same lines, a set of old books can provide one with

drama not anticipated by the authors. Last summer, in preparation for my independent work this year, I often went to used bookstores looking for works on the philosophy of Edmund Husserl, a German phenomenologist of the early part of this century. The number of books relating to this topic are understandably limited; I would have had more success and an easier time, no doubt, in ordering from an academic publisher's catalogue. But the extra effort required to find these books would soon pay off in a strange, unexpected way. Scouring New England, I managed to find at first one, then several, then nearly twenty pertinent books. All were in very good condition, even though some were more than fifty years old.

As I began to plow through these works, I started to notice something strange: the marginal notes placed by former owners were all written in the same handwriting. I scanned through the whole pile of books, collected from bookstores in five states. Every note, I soon saw, had been written by the same person. Not only this, but many of the notes went beyond mere commentary. There were poems, errand lists, what appeared to be drafts of letters, and even occasional drawings etched into the cover pages, signed illegibly, but in unquestionably the same handwriting. In my wanderings, I realized, I had somehow managed to reassemble the collection of a person whose interests mirrored mine, a collection broken up perhaps twenty years ago. I soon lost interest in Husserl, his philosophy being too esoteric for me. The vision of the anonymous former owner of those books, however, remains with me, fleshed out by those poems and drawings, some of which are beautiful. As with my copy of *The Scarlet Letter*, I cannot explain this fascination, and, once again, I would rather not even try to.

Other things books have provided me with, however, are more easily explained. Another reason I prefer used books to new ones is that they are easier to write in, feeling "broken-in" and comfortable. I make copious notes in my books, whether strictly relevant to the material, somewhat tangential, or even entirely unrelated. This is a habit I have had for at least ten years now. While the stories of the *Chronicles of Narnia* are no longer very interesting to me, I do enjoy going back to those books and looking over my drawings and writings. My collection of books serves as an unintentional diary of sorts, and is thus more genuine. I can almost remember how it felt to be ten, or twelve, or sixteen, simply by skimming through the books I read at

those ages. I once tried keeping an actual diary, but found that I willingly deceived myself about my feelings and experiences, being always conscious of the purpose of my writings. The diary spread through the thousand or so books in my collection is not so flawed.

Because I so often write in my books, they are very personal to me. Another positive side of this becomes apparent when someone asks me about a book I have read. Rather than try to sum it up, and thus do it almost certain injustice, I lend them my copy, assuming, of course, that the book is worth reading. In addition to the text of the book, I am giving them, there on the pages, my impressions of the book itself. Some are undoubtedly annoyed by this intrusion, but most are interested. Lending a friend your copy of a personally annotated book is a difficult act, for there is no hiding your mistakes and temperament. Then again, the friend gains the benefit of those notes which clarify his or her difficulties. Also, people are much more likely to treat a worthy book as such when they see the care with which you have read it, as evidenced by concrete ink on paper.

Because I feel such an attachment to my books, there is one sacrifice which I enact only rarely, in very special cases: the giving of my copy to a friend, or girlfriend, or relative. When I do so, I never merely hand the book over; such a lack of ceremony befits only embossed-title paperbacks bought at the airport and never read. Instead, I take the time to compose a letter on the book's inside cover, or on a blank page at the back. When I give books from my collection it is almost always as a form of stationery, imprinted, as it were, not only with my name but with memories and sentiments. At the risk of seeming stingy, I must admit that I have given away only five books deemed part of my "core" collection. Each of these was a book special to me, and each was given to a person whom I care about deeply, each time on the occasion of a separation. I purchased replacements for them all, and every time I pick up one of those "new" books, I am reminded of the person who now owns the "original" copy. I hope that they experience the same thing.

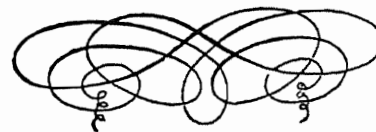
I have a rule regarding the organization of my collection which ensures that I pick up or at least see those important books regularly. This is a rule, I think, which no librarian would accept, but one which serves me well. In short, I do not organize my collection in any way. In fact, every few months or so, I shuffle books around, separating those which have been together too long, moving books from one

shelf to another across the room. At any given time, my collection of books is "arranged" in an essentially random order. The reason why I utilize such an unconventional system might be difficult to understand. After my collection had grown sizeable, I discovered that I could go years without ever even noticing certain volumes, such as those from when I was younger, or those I was no longer interested in. I realized that this couldn't be allowed to go on; the books I had collected were all meant to be appreciated, not merely the twenty or so I was currently interested in. As my collection now stands, I am forced to go searching for a particular book I need, a process which needn't take more than a few minutes. I often find that those minutes grow into a half-hour or more, however, as I come across and feel compelled to open books that once delighted me, but which I had forgotten about. I feel that the time is well-spent, if inefficiently so, for it never fails to remind of thoughts and stories that were once so important to me.

Perhaps I have focused too strongly on the nostalgic draw books have for me: the craftsmanship of old books, the history inscribed in them, the reminders of other books, other people, oneself in the past. This is because, I think, it is easier to encapsulate and relate history than the present, or hopes for the future. But books not only relate history; they also involve us in the present and point toward the future. In reading or re-reading a book, I am captured, drawn in and pulled beyond worldly concern. And, in coming across an owned, but as-yet unread book in my collection, I can look forward to a long, slow afternoon, or a rapt night, of reading. The physical presence of an unread book on one's shelf is a reminder of sorts: a reminder of the potential with which every book begins, and the degree of achievement with which it ends. Computer print-outs and photocopies, I am afraid, simply do not affect me so; give me "The Book Barn" any day.

— CHRISTOPHER M. BOROWSKI

New and Notable



BURNE-JONES LETTERS ACQUIRED

"I don't think any of us saw the point of this, but Mr. Morris asked me if I didn't think his last purchase was an early twelfth century — I said yes because he wanted me to, about 1130 I should think said he. I said yes — 1129 or '30, and he was pleased." So wrote the English Pre-Raphaelite painter Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones (1833 – 1898) in a 36-page letter written at "The Grange," his long-time home in the West Kensington section of London, on Sunday, 19 August 1895. Part of a recently acquired collection, this lighthearted letter to his daughter Margaret (1866 – 1953) records a friendly conversation that included the English polymath William Morris (1834 – 1896), a poet, artist, book designer, publisher, and collector of medieval manuscripts and early printed books. Burne-Jones and Morris had been intimate friends and kindred spirits in all matters of artistic taste since their school days at Oxford in the 1850s.

This long letter is part of a Burne-Jones collection purchased by the Manuscripts Division and comprised chiefly of a charming series of letters written to Margaret from about 1877 until the artist's death twenty-one years later. These illustrated letters are strikingly similar in style and format to a recently published series of Burne-Jones letters to Katie Lewis (1878 – 1961), daughter of a friend. Not a great deal is known about the life of Margaret Burne-Jones, though she lived to an advanced age. In 1888 Oscar Wilde wrote a poem in her honor (not published until 1920), and she married J. W. [John William] Mackail, an English writer and socialist best known today for his 1901 biography of William Morris.

The collection includes a folder of Sir Edward C. Burne-Jones' cor-

Overleaf: Letter by Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones to his daughter Margaret. Undated. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

my little Margaret

I liked your letters & want more. I am sorry you went away too, but I wanted you to get fat, and you were so thin, my dear, and I want you so fat that the door will have to be widened when you come back, and then I shall think you are well and shall be pleased.

This is Lepos waiting for birds every day, sitting in the garden and never bored at all till night comes.

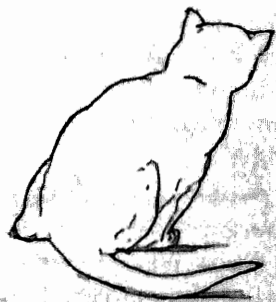
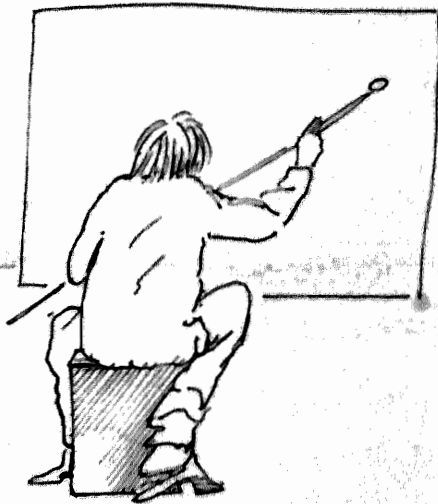


Photo: John Blazjewski

This is Papa trying to paint and soon tired when he

doesn't paint pretty.



This is Mrs Hopwood cleaning the hall



Photo: John Blazjewski

my little Margaret

I liked your letters & want more: I am sorry you went away too, but I wanted you to get fat, and you were so thin, my dear, - and I want you so fat that the door will have to be widened when you come back, and then I shall think you are well and shall be pleased.

This is Lepoo waiting for birds every day, sitting in the garden and never tired at all till night comes.

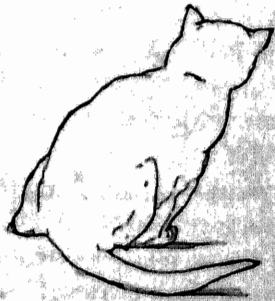
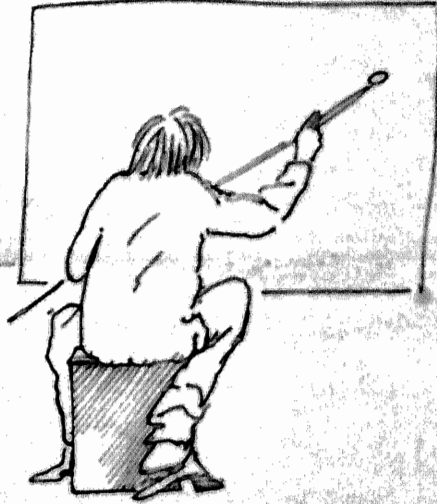


Photo: John Blazjewski

This is Papa trying to paint and soon tired when he doesn't paint prettily.



This is Mr Hopwood cleaning the hall



Photo: John Blazjewski



This is Naomi saying
"any orders for the
Hickmanger Sir"



and Papa is the big chair
saying "No."
and Margaret
asleep 300
miles away.



Photo: John Blazjewski

I want Phil to send me a
picture of the sea, that I
may know if it is like
this



I send you a thousand kisses
my little darling

Photo: John Blazjewski

respondence with other people. Of special interest is an 1894 letter in which he corrects the printed biographical entry for *Debrett's Illustrated Peerage*, crossing out the words "one of the original introducers of the 'Pre-Raphaelite School' of painting" and adding "member of the Institute of France Chevalier legion of honour." No doubt Burne-Jones would be disappointed to know that he is remembered today as a leading Pre-Raphaelite.

This collection of forty-seven letters and related materials nicely complements the hundred or so Burne-Jones items in the Janet Camp Troxell Collection of Rossetti Manuscripts and the fine collections of George Cruikshank, Aubrey Beardsley, and other English artists in the Manuscripts Division and elsewhere in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

— DON C. SKEMER
Curator of Manuscripts

A RENAISSANCE BOOKWHEEL

Perhaps the most unusual addition to the Rare Books collections during this past year was a reproduction of the Renaissance bookwheel invented by Agostino Ramelli in the sixteenth century. Ramelli described it, and provided proportional drawings of its parts, in his book *Le diverse et artificiose machine*, published in Paris in 1558:

This is a beautiful and ingenious machine, very useful and convenient for anyone who takes pleasure in study, especially those who are indisposed and tormented by gout. For with this machine a man can see and turn through a large number of books without moving from one spot. Moreover, it has another fine convenience in that it occupies very little space in the place where it is set, as anyone of intelligence can clearly see from the drawing.

This wheel is made in the manner shown, that is, it is constructed so that when the books are laid on its lecterns they never fall or move from the place where they are laid even when the wheel is turned and revolved all the way around. Indeed, they will always remain in the same position and will be displayed to the reader in the same way as they were laid on their small lecterns, without any need to



Photo: John Blazjewski

Alice Clark with the Renaissance Book Wheel. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

tie or hold them with anything. This wheel may be made as large or small as desired, provided the master craftsman who constructs it observes the proportions of each part of its components. He can do this very easily if he studies carefully all the parts of these small wheels of ours and the other devices in this machine. These parts are made in sizes proportionate to each other.¹

The Library's machine was the object of considerable interest while it was displayed in the Taylor Collection during the spring semester.

— STEPHEN FERGUSON
Curator of Rare Books

MANUSCRIPTS

Significant accessions by the Manuscripts Division from 1 July 1992 to 30 June 1993 include the following:

AMERICAN LITERATURE

BRIGGS, WILLIAM HARLOWE (1876 – 1952). Papers. Includes diaries, correspondence, and manuscripts by this journalist and playwright. Gift of the Players Club, Hampden Booth Theatre Library.

BRYAN, JOSEPH, III (1904 – 1993). Papers. (1) Correspondence with Princeton author Finis Farr (1904 – 1982), Class of 1926, and with H. Allen Smith (1907 – 1976) and Frank Sullivan (1892 – 1976). Gift of Joseph Bryan III, Class of 1927. (2) Selected letters of Robert Graves, William Faulkner, John O'Hara, John Steinbeck, E. B. White, and others writers, 1930s – 1980s, tipped or laid into books bequeathed by Bryan in memory of his Princeton friends Finis Farr and Julian Street (1879 – 1947). Bequest of Joseph Bryan III, Class of 1927.

COXE, LOUIS O., Class of 1940. Additional papers. Chiefly a series of some 110 letters from poet Louis O. Coxe to his classmate William Meredith, Theodore F. Sanxay Fund, 1940s – 1970s.

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO (1803 – 1882). Letter, 26 August 1852. Gift of William Elfers, Class of 1941.

¹ Martha Teach Gnudi, trans., *The Various and Artificial Machines of Agostino Ramelli* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976).

FITZGERALD, ZELDA (1900 – 1948). Medical file from Craig House, Beacon, New York, including eighteen letters and notes from F. Scott Fitzgerald to Dr. C. Jonathan Slocum and psychiatric evaluations by other hospitals and clinics pertaining to Zelda Fitzgerald's treatment, 1932 – 1934. Gift of Dr. Jonathan Slocum, Class of 1936.

GARRETT, GEORGE P., Class of 1952. Selected papers. Includes three versions of the manuscript of *Which Ones Are the Enemy?* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961); selected galleys, paperproofs, and typed copies of literary works, 1959 – 1978; correspondence between Garrett and James B. Meriwether, 1958 – 1972; and a collection of printed works, 1957 – 1986, by the novelist, poet, and literary critic George P. Garrett. Gift of James B. Meriwether.

KREBS, RICHARD JULIUS HERMAN (1904 – 1951). Papers. Correspondence, manuscripts, and other materials pertaining to the life and work of Krebs, a novelist and journalist who wrote under the pen name Jan Valtin, 1930s – 1950s. Gift of Jan Krebs.

RICHTER, CONRAD (1890 – 1968). Additional papers. Gift of Harvena Richter.

STOCKTON, FRANK R. (1834 – 1902). Letter to Joseph B. Gilder, 1895. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

STREET, JULIAN (1879 – 1947). Letters to Mrs. Frank J. Sprague and related materials, 1905 – 1945. Gift of Geraldine L. Sprague and John L. Sprague, Class of 1952.

WOOLLCOTT, ALEXANDER (1887 – 1943). Two letters to Carl T. Naumburg, 1934, 1937. Gift of Edward Naumburg, Class of 1924.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND ART

AINSWORTH, WILLIAM HARRISON (1805 – 1882). Two letters: to Miss [Annie?] Keary, 17 July (no year), thanking her "for a very pretty little poem which I have sent to the Printer"; and to Charles Kent, 10 February 1851, regretting that he will be unable to attend a theatrical performance since he will be "dining here with Mrs. Mostyn (the daughter of Mrs. Thrale, Dr. Johnson's friend)." For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

BAILEY, PHILIP JAMES (1816 – 1902). Five letters to Charles Kent and others, 1864 – 1896. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

BESANT, WALTER (1836 – 1901). Additional papers, including 126 letters, 1876 – 1901. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

BLACK, WILLIAM. Letter to Messrs. Partridge & Co., 4 November 1896, explaining his reasons for being unable to contribute a story to *The Osborne*, a short-lived monthly illustrated magazine published in London. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

BURNE-JONES, EDWARD COLEY (1833 – 1898). A series of forty-eight letters from this English Pre-Raphaelite artist to his daughter Margaret Burne-Jones Mackail (1866 – 1953), written from 1881 to 1898. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

CRAIK, DINAH MARIA MULOCK. Letter from the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman* to Mrs. Douglas, 22 February 1878, on literary matters. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

CRAIK, DINAH MARIA MULOCK. "Now, and Afterwards." Transcription in an unidentified hand of Mrs. Craik's poem. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Gift of David J. Holmes.

CROSS, JOHN WALTER. Letter from George Eliot's widower to the photographers Elliott & Fry, 4 March 1883, concerning in part Sir Frederic W. Burton's portrait of the author in the National Portrait Gallery, a charcoal study for which is in the Parrish Collection. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

CRUIKSHANK, GEORGE (1762 – 1878). Scrapbook kept by the artist for *The Bottle* (London: Bogue, [1848]), including letters and broadsides, 1847 – 1848. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

DU MAURIER, GEORGE LOUIS PALMELLA BUSSON (1834 – 1896). Four letters: to Martin, 24 May [1870], on the death of Mark Lemon, editor of *Punch*; to the engraver Joseph Swain, 27 July 1877; and to Harry Quilter, 21 July 1888 and 30 July 1888, both concerning a memorial to John Leech. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

FAITHFULL, EMILY (1835 – 1895). An 1878 letter to the "Editor of Social Notes." Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

FORSTER, JOHN. Letter to Mrs. Gaskell, 3 May 1849. The editor and historian arranges to call on the author of *Mary Barton*, who was then in London, where she was "whirled about," meeting Dickens and other literary figures. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

HUGHES, EDWARD ROBERT (1851 – 1914). Approximately 155 letters by this English artist (once Holman Hunt's assistant) to his friend and patron Mrs. Sydney Morse. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

HUGHES, THOMAS. Five letters from the author of *Tom Brown's School Days* to various correspondents, 1859 – 1888. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

[HUGHES, THOMAS]. *The Rugbaean*, No. I. Rugby: Combe and Crossley, March 1840. The first issue of the Rugby School magazine, containing a skit in Homeric Greek by Sir Franklin Lushington on the sixth Rugby match of 1839. Included in the list of the heroes who fought on that day are the names of Thomas Hughes and Matthew Arnold. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Gift of Charles Ryskamp.

KINGSLEY, CHARLES (1819 – 1875). Three letters to various correspondents, 1867 – 1870. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

LEHMANN, JOHN (1907 – 1987). Papers of this English author, poet, editor, and publisher associated in his youth with the Bloomsbury Group and with the younger writers centering around W. H. Auden, Christopher Isherwood, and Stephen Spender. Includes his extensive correspondence with authors, publishers, cultural associations, friends, and family members from the 1920s until his death; diaries, photographs, and other materials, 1930s – 1980s; selected correspondence and business records pertaining to The Hogarth Press (founded by Leonard and Virginia Woolf) and the literary journals *New Writing*, *Penguin New Writing*, *The London Magazine*, and other publishing efforts, 1930s – 1950s. Also includes selected correspondence and other papers of his grandfather Rudolf Lehmann (1819 – 1905), a portrait painter born in Germany; father R. C. [Rudolph Chambers] Lehmann (1856 – 1929), the *Punch* writer and poet; sister

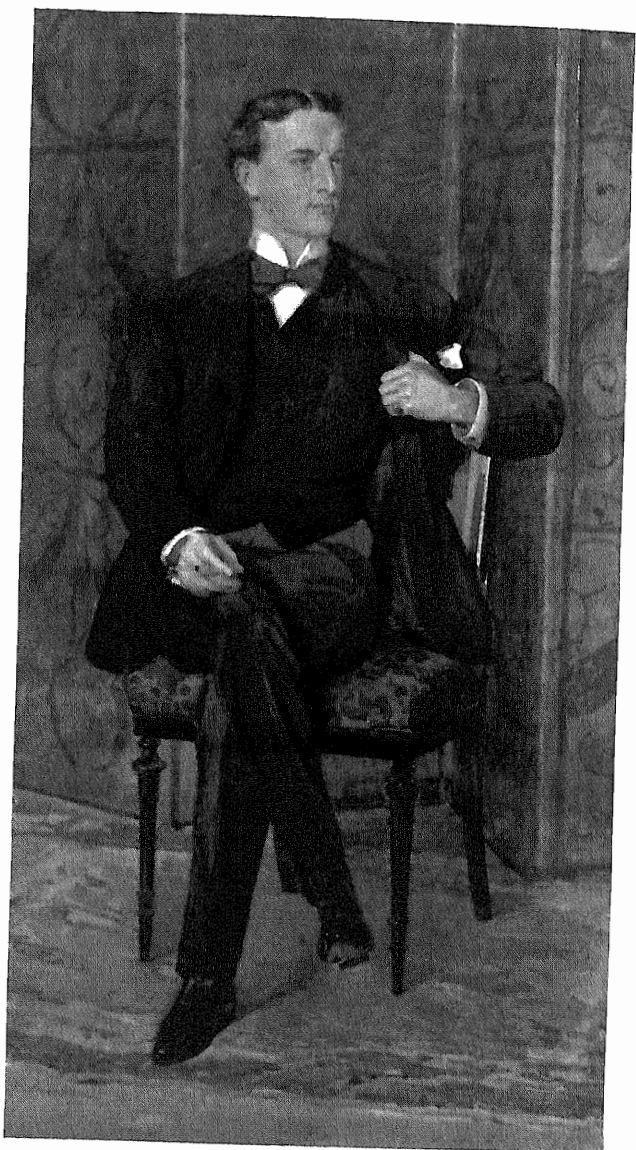


Photo: John Blazjewski

Sir Leslie Ward (1851 – 1922), "Rudolph Chambers Lehmann," 1856 – 1929. Watercolor on board. Sir Leslie Ward was the caricaturist who contributed to *Vanity Fair* under the pseudonym "Spy." The John Lehmann Papers, Princeton University Library.

Rosamund Lehmann (1903 – 1990), a writer of novels and short stories; and of other members of this family of authors, artists, and actors from the 1830s to 1980s; and selected manuscripts and correspondence of the Greek poet Demetrios Capetanakis (1912 – 1944). Theodore F. Sanxay Fund, Princeton University Library Literature Fund, and the Program in Hellenic Studies.

LEVER, CHARLES JAMES (1806 – 1872). Two letters: to Mrs. Emery, 2 August (no year); and to Edward Burbidge, 1 May 1864. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

LYTTON, EDWARD GEORGE EARLE LYTTON BULWER-LYTTON, BARON (1803 – 1873). Six letters: to Frederick Lehmann (2) and Nina Lehmann (4), 1867 – 1871, and no date. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

LYTTON, EDWARD GEORGE EARLE LYTTON BULWER-LYTTON, BARON. Letter to W. M. Thackeray, 5 June 1860, inviting him to spend a week at Knebworth. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

READE, CHARLES (1814 – 1884). Four letters: to Frederick Lehmann, 17 April (no year); to Nina Lehmann, 22 June (no year); to Dear Sir, 27 January (no year); and to Mrs. Matthew Arnold, 15 November [1875]. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

READE, CHARLES. Printed copyright registration form for a story called "The Simpleton," published in *The Mail*, Toronto, signed by Reade and dated by him 1 June 1872. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

ROSSETTI, WILLIAM MICHAEL (1829 – 1919). A series of eight letters to the bookseller Everard Meynell (1882 – 1926). Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

SMITH, LOGAN PEARSALL (1865 – 1946). Letter, 17 April 1932. Gift of David J. Holmes in memory of Howell J. Heaney.

TROLLOPE, FRANCES M. Letter to Fanny [Herbert?], 26 November 1855. For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

WARREN, SAMUEL (1800 – 1877). A series of thirty-seven letters, 1848 – 1871, to fellow journalist Charles M. Kent (1823 – 1902), editor of *The Sun* and a friend of Charles Dickens and Charles Reade. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

WATTS-DUNTON, THEODORE (1832 – 1914). Ten letters to various correspondents, 1884 – 1913. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

YONGE, CHARLOTTE MARY. Two letters: to Mrs. Swinton, 13 August [1899?]; and to an unidentified correspondent, 7 April (no year). For the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Friends of the Library Fund.

HISTORY

BOUDINOT FAMILY. Correspondence of the Boudinot and Stockton families from 1772 to 1852, including letters of Elias Boudinot (1740 – 1821) of New York City and Annis Boudinot Stockton of Princeton. Gift of the American Bible Society.

GREEN, ASHBEL (1762 – 1848). Letters to his niece Eliza Darling Swift, 1809, 1811. Gift of Eileen F. Moffett.

MORGAN FAMILY. Additional papers of this Princeton family, 1880 – 1938. Gift of Sarah Gardner Tiers.

PAPANDREOU, MARGARITA. Papers. Correspondence, speeches, and articles, 1970s – 1990s, by the wife of former Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, pertaining to this American-born Greek woman's political activities. Gift of Margarita Papandreou.

STOCKTON, RICHARD (1730 – 1731). Document signed in a case involving Elisha Boudinot, 1775. Gift of S. Wyman Rolph III.

HISTORY OF SCIENCE

THOMAS, LEWIS, Class of 1933. Papers. Includes correspondence, public lectures, and professional files. Thomas was a professor at the New York University School of Medicine, 1954 – 1969, and the Yale University School of Medicine, 1971 – 1973. In 1973 he became president of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research and a successful writer, essayist, poet, and public speaker. He is the author of *The Lives of a Cell*, *The Medusa and the Snail*, *Late Night Thoughts on*

Listening to Mahler's Ninth Symphony, and other books. Gift of Lewis Thomas.

WIGNER, EUGENE P. Papers. Correspondence, subject files, offprints, and other materials kept by Wigner as a professor of theoretical physics at Princeton University from the 1930s to the 1980s. He is well known for his work on symmetry, group theory, and quantum mechanics, and in 1963 was awarded a Nobel Prize in Physics. Of special interest is his correspondence with fellow Hungarian emigrés Leo Szilard and John von Neumann, files on the design of nuclear reactors for the Manhattan Project, and postwar files on civil defense and other public policy questions. Transferred from the Department of Physics.

LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE

ARRUFAT, ANTON. Selected papers from the decades following 1941 but chiefly from the 1960s. Includes manuscripts and correspondence of the Cuban writer Anton Arrufat, as well as of the Cuban writer Virgilio Piñera (1912 – 1979) and Polish writer Witold Gombrowicz. Latin American Studies Fund and Comparative Literature Fund.

CORBO BORDA, JUAN GUSTAVO. Additional papers. Latin American Studies Fund and Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

PIÑERA, VIRGILIO (1912 – 1979). Unpublished manuscripts of prose and poetical works from 1941 to 1972. Latin American Studies Fund and Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

VARGAS LLOSA, MARIO. Additional papers, 1962 – 1993. Includes correspondence, notebooks, and manuscripts of published books by the Peruvian novelist. Latin American Studies Fund and Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

ANTONINUS OF FLORENCE (1389 – 1459). Codex of a canon law treatise on excommunication (“Tractatus de censuris ecclesiasticis”) and part of the *Summa theologica* of Saint Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, Italy, mid-fifteenth century. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

CONFRATERNITY OF SANTA MARIA. Record book. Contains rules and the names of members of a confraternity in Muro, Spain, 1493–1567. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

DOUZA, IANUS. Letter of 1591 to Joseph Juste Scaliger (1540–1609) and an undated poem in honor of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1613), signed by Dominique Badius (1561–1613). Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

OTTO VON KIENBUSCH COLLECTION. Leaf from canon law treatise. Italy, thirteenth century; indenture, England, 1285. Gift of Millicent Clarke Kelley.

VITELLI, VITELLO (1532–1568). A 1567 register from Rome containing thirty-nine letters in Italian by Vitello Vitelli, Ippolito d'Este, Fabio Mirto Frangipani, and others concerning papal and diplomatic affairs at the court of Charles IX and Catherine de Medici. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS, THIRD SERIES. (1) Twenty-eight seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Arabic, Persian, and Turkish codices, which concern Islamic history, religion, philosophy, law, and science. Includes the *Sharḥ Nukhbat al-fikar fi mustalahāt ahl al-āthār* of 'Alī ibn Sultān Muhammad al-Qāri' al-Harawī (d. 1014 A.H./A.D. 1609), a commentary on the *Nukhbat al-fikar* of Ibn Hajar al-'Asqālāni (d. 852 A.H./A.D. 1449); and an anonymous Persian manuscript entitled *Risalat-i al-mu'amma*, which is probably unique and dates from about A.D. 1650. Near Eastern Studies Fund. (2) A seventeenth-century Persian astronomical treatise by Kitāb Fārisi Hay'at. Gift of Bruce C. Willsie, Class of 1986.

PUBLISHERS AND AGENTS

BRANDT & BRANDT LITERARY AGENTS. Records. Primarily reverted publishers' contracts with authors represented by this New York City literary agency, 1920s–1970s. Gift of Carl Brandt.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. Additional records. Includes family correspondence of Charles Scribner (1890–1952) with his wife Vera Bloodgood Scribner (1891–1985); extensive files of correspon-

dence, copies of manuscripts and uncorrected galleys, publicity materials, and photographs concerning Ernest Hemingway, ca. 1950s–1970s; juvenile books files, 1930s–1980s; publicity files for selected authors, 1950s–1960s; correspondence pertaining to "special editions" of works by various authors, 1920s–1950s. Gift of Charles Scribner III, Class of 1973.

DOUBLEDAY, ELLEN MCCARTER (1899–1978). Papers. Includes extensive correspondence with Richard Aldington, Daphne DuMaurier, W. Somerset Maugham, Edna Ferber, and other English and American authors from the 1930s to the 1970s. Also includes papers pertaining to the Doubleday family and publishing company. Bequest of Ellen McCarter Doubleday.

FRANK N. AND NELSON DOUBLEDAY COLLECTION. Additional Doubleday author correspondence and business records, chiefly from the years of Frank N. [Nelson] Doubleday (1862–1934) and Nelson Doubleday (1889–1949); files on O. Henry (1862–1910), Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), and Gene Stratton-Porter (1863–1924); and family and estate papers, chiefly from the 1920s to the 1950s. Gift of Nelson Doubleday, Class of 1955.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS. Records. Includes minutes books of the Board of Trustees and Editorial Board, 1905–1966; author files and general correspondence, chiefly from the directorship of Datus C. Smith, 1941–1954; printed catalogs, price lists, and other promotional literature for press publications, 1905–1992. Gift of the Princeton University Press.

PUTNAM, GEORGE PALMER (1814–1872). Additional publishing records, including the two-volume manuscript of the book *Homes of American Authors* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1853), to which William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, Edward Everett Hale, Henry T. Tuckerman, and others contributed. Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

MISCELLANEOUS

SAINT-PIERRE, JACQUES HENRI BERNARDIN DE (1737–1923). Unpublished eighteenth-century English translation of Saint-Pierre's popular novel *Ptuit et Virginie*, first published in French (1787). The corrected manuscript translation was begun by an anonymous French

translator on 1 January 1790, after the appearance of the first English translation by Daniel Malthus, published as *Paul and Mary: An Indian Story* (London: J. Dodsley, 1789). Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

STRAVINSKY, IGOR (1882 – 1971). File pertaining to the composition of Stravinsky's *Requiem Canticles* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1967), commissioned by Stanley J. Seeger, Jr., Class of 1952, for its premier performance at Princeton University. Gift of Stanley J. Seeger, Jr.

— DON C. SKEMER
Curator of Manuscripts

THE ROBERT H. TAYLOR COLLECTION

The following books, manuscripts, and drawings were added to the Taylor Collection in the academic year 1992 – 1993. All but the drawings were purchased on the Robert H. Taylor Fund, an endowment for the conservation and expansion of the collection.

MANUSCRIPTS AND DRAWINGS

BENTLEY, NICOLAS (1907 – 1978). Caricature of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Undated. Pen and ink. Gift of Alexander D. Wainwright, Class of 1939.

BENTLEY, NICOLAS. Caricature of Samuel Pepys. Undated. Pen and ink. Gift of Alexander D. Wainwright, Class of 1939.

BURTON, GEORGE (1717 – 1791). Autograph manuscript volume of poems by the English biblical chronologer and his friends. Cambridge, 1737. Eighty-five pages; six leaves missing.

FORBES, W. *Love's Gambols; or, The Lad of Spirit*. London, ca. 1800. Acts two through five of the play, completing this copy; see "New and Notable," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 50, no. 1 (1988): 89.

PRINTED BOOKS

DEFOE, DANIEL (1661? – 1731). *The History of the Jacobite Clubs: With the Grounds of Their Hopes from the P——t M——y: As Also a Caveat against the Pretender*. London, 1712. Bound with seven other Jacobite tracts.

DEFOE, DANIEL. *Jure Divino: A Satyr. In Twelve Books*. London, 1706.

[DONNE, JOHN] (1572 – 1631). *Sapientia Glamitans, Wisdome Crying Out to Sinners to Returne from Their Evill Ways: Contained in Three Pious and Learned Treatises*. London, 1638. The third sermon, "Of Mans Timely Remembring of His Creator," is by John Donne.

ELYOT, SIR THOMAS (1490? – 1546). *The Defence of Good Women*. London, 1545.

FIELDING, HENRY (1707 – 1754). *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender*. London, 1745.

[FIELDING, HENRY] and SEEDO (ca. 1700 – ca. 1754). *The Lottery: A Farce: As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane by His Majesty's Servants: With the Musick Prefix'd to Each Song*. London, 1732. Fielding's libretto for the German composer's ballad opera.

[FIELDING, HENRY]. *The Matchless Rogue; or, An Account of the Contrivances, Cheats, Stratagems, and Amours of Tom Merryman, Commonly Called Newgate Tom*. London, 1725. An anonymous source for the writing of *Tom Jones*.

FIELDING, HENRY. *An Old Man Taught Wisdom; or, The Virgin Unmask'd: A Farce: As it is Perform'd by His Majesty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane: With the Musick Prefix'd to Each Song*. London, 1735.

FIELDING, SARAH (1710 – 1768). *The Cry: A New Dramatic Fable: In Three Volumes*. London, 1754.

GAYTON, EDMUND (1608 – 1666). *The Art of Longevity; or, A Dietetical Institution*. London, 1659.

Irenodia Cantabrigiensis: Ob paciferum serenissimi regis Caroli à Scotia reditum mense Novembri 1641. [Cambridge] 1641. Gratulatory poems in English, Latin, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, and Arabic.

MILTON, JOHN (1608 – 1674). *Paradise Lost: A Poem in Twelve Books*. London, 1751.

MILTON, JOHN. *Paradise Lost: A Poem in Twelve Books, with Notes Etymological, Critical, Classical, and Explanatory*. London, 1752.

Observations on Mrs. Siddons, in the Following Characters: Margaret of Anjou, Belvidera, Jane Shore, Lady Randolph, Isabella, Zara, Euphrasia, and Zara in The Mourning Bride. By a Lady. Dublin, 1784.

O'NEIL, HENRY (1817 – 1880). *Satirical Dialogues: Dedicated to Anthony Trollope*. London, 1870.

PIGHUIS, ÉTIENNE-WINAND (1520 – 1604). *Annales magistratuum et provinciarum S. P. Q. R. ab urbe condita*. Antverpiae, 1599. John Donne's copy, with his annotations.

POPE, ALEXANDER (1688 – 1744). *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated in a Dialogue [sic] between Alexander Pope of Twickenham in Comm. Midd. Esq; on the One Part, and His Learned Council on the Other*. London [i.e. Edinburgh], 1733. A pirated edition. Griffith 289.

POPE, ALEXANDER. *The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated by Mr. Pope*. [Edinburgh], 1737. A pirated edition. Griffith 448.

POPE, ALEXANDER. *The Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace, Imitated by Mr. Pope*. London [i.e. Edinburgh], 1738. A pirated edition. Griffith 477.

PORTER, JANE (1776 – 1850). *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. London, 1803.

PORTER, JANE. *Thaddeus of Warsaw*. London, 1804.

[PORTER, JANE]. JONES, STEPHEN (1763 – 1827). *The History of Poland, from its Origin as a Nation to the Commencement of the Year 1795*. London, 1795. Jane Porter's copy, with her annotations.

POUND, EZRA (1885 – 1972). *A Quinzaine for this Yule: Being Selected from a Venetian Sketch-Book, "San Trovaso"*. London, 1908.

The Progress of a Female Mind, in Some Interesting Enquiries. By a Lady. London, 1764.

RICHARDSON, SAMUEL (1689 – 1761). *Letters and Passages Restored from the Original Manuscripts of the History of Clarissa*. London, 1751.

SHERIDAN, RICHARD BRINSLEY (1751 – 1816). *The Genuine Speech of Mr. Sheridan, Delivered in the House of Commons, on a Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, against Warren Hastings, Esq., Late Governor General of Bengal. The Second Edition, Faithfully Reported*. London, [1787].

STRETZER, THOMAS (d. 1738). *Merryland Displayed; or, Plagiarism, Ignorance, and Impudence Detected: Being Observations upon a Pamphlet Intituled A New Description of Merryland*. The second edition. Bath, 1741.

STRETZER, THOMAS. *A New Description of Merryland: Containing a Topographical, Geographical, and Natural History of that Country*. The tenth edition. London, 1742.

SWIFT, JONATHAN (1667 – 1745). *The Poetical Works of J. S. D. D. S. P. D., Consisting of Curious Miscellaneous Pieces. Both Humorous and Satyrical*. Reprinted from the second Dublin edition, with notes and additions. [Edinburgh?] 1736.

SWIFT, JUNIOR. *A New System of Rural Politicks; or, The Crafty Farmer's Falsehood Fitted*. London, 1746.

TICKELL, THOMAS (1686 – 1740). *On Her Majesty's Rebuilding the Lodgings of the Black Prince and Henry V, at Queens-College, Oxford*. London, 1733.

VICARS, JOHN (1579 OR 1580 – 1652). *Prodigies & Apparitions; or, Englands Warning Pieces: Being a Seasonable Description, by Lively Figures & Apt Illustratio[n]s of Many Remarkable & Prodigious Fore-Run[n]ers & Apparent Predictions of Gods Wrath against England, if not Timely Prevented by True Repentance*. [London, 1643].

— MARK R. FARRELL
Curator, Robert H. Taylor Collection

THE MARQUAND LIBRARY OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The following were the most significant additions to the collections of the Marquand Library during the 1992 – 1993 academic year. All were purchased on the Art and Archaeology Endowment.

BARNETT, VIVIAN ENDICOTT. *Kandinsky Watercolours: catalogue Raisonné*. London: Philip Wilson for Sotheby's Publications, 1992 –. Kandinsky is one of the giants of the art of this century. Considered the founder of abstract expressionism, he was one of the most active artists in the Blave Reiter and he taught at Bauhaus from 1922 to 1933. This catalogue raisonné of his watercolors contains extensive information and illustration.

BAZIN, GERMAIN. *Théodore Géricault: Étude critique, documents et catalogue raisonné*. Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1987 –. Théodore Géricault is regarded as one of the founders of the French romantic school.

This multi-volume work contains a wealth of information regarding both the man and his work.

CALLIGRAPHY. *Ippi itcho Chugoku-hi hocho seika*. Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, Showa 59 [1984]. The English title of this work is *Essence of Chinese Calligraphy*. Calligraphy is a very important art form in China and is extensively studied in the Art Department at Princeton. This is a welcome addition to the collection.

DE CHIRICO, GIORGIO. *Giorgio De Chirico. Catalogo dell' opera grafica, 1969-1977*. Bologna: Bora, 1990. A 247-page catalogue raisonné of the graphic works of De Chirico. The catalogue raisonné is central to the study of an artist's work because it gathers together all the works of an artist or all his or her works in a particular medium, and gives as much information as possible about them.

GRAHAM, F. LANIER. *The Prints of Willem de Koonig: A Catalogue Raisonné 1957-1971*. Paris: Baudoin Lebon, 1991.

GREGORI, MINA, et al. *Pittura a Cremona dal Romanico al Settecento*. Milan: Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1990. Italian banks publish some of the most beautiful and costly art books in Italy. Generally these titles are also of a highly scholarly nature and are therefore a welcome addition to any art library.

GUILLON-LAFFAILLE, FANNY. *Raoul Dufy: Catalogue raisonné des dessins*. Paris: Marvel; Galerie Fanny Guillon-Laffaille, 1991.

HEUSDEN, WILLEM VAN. *Ancient Chinese Bronzes of the Shang and Chou Dynasties: An Illustrated Catalogue of the Van Heusden Collection . . .* Tokyo: Privately published, 1952. The importance of collection catalogues cannot be overemphasized. Not only do they tell us what is housed in a particular institution, they also provide scholarly information about the pieces themselves, their history, their provenance, and their place within art history. The acquisition of this catalogue fills an important gap in Marquand's collection.

LUGT, FRITS, comp. *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques intéressant l'art ou la curiosité: Tableaux, dessins, estampes, miniatures, sculptures, bronzes, émaux, vitraux, tapisseries, céramiques, objets d'art, meubles, antiquités, monnaies médailles, autographes, camées, intailles, armes, instruments, curiosités naturelles, etc. . . . Quatrième période, 1901-1925*. La Haye:

M. Nijhoff, 1938-1987. Sales catalogues allow the art historian to trace the history of works of art, locate materials which may have disappeared from the mainstream, and understand more about the way collecting changes with the passage of time. "Lugt," as this item is generally called, is very basic for this kind of study.

RUDOE, JUDY. *Decorative Arts, 1850-1950: A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection*. London: British Museum Press, 1986. A catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum.

Rug and Textile Arts: A Periodical Index, 1890-1982. Arthur D. Jenkins Library, comp. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983. Rugs and textiles have been of great importance through various art movements. Periodical articles can be among the most useful sources for research, but very difficult to retrieve. An index of this type is invaluable to students and researchers.

SALERNO, LUIGI. *I Pittori di vedute in Italia (1580-1830)*. Roma: U. Bozzi, 1991. This extensively illustrated monograph is important not only for the study of the artists themselves but also for the subjects that they depicted. In many cases their works allow us to view the cities and the architecture within the context of their time.

Stephan Lochner Gebetbuch, 1451. Lachen am Zurichsee: Coron-Verlag; Stuttgart: Müller und Schindler, 1989. This is an exceptionally fine facsimile reproduction of a fifteenth-century book of hours. Written in the dialect of Cologne, it was produced in 1451 by the workshop of Stephan Lochner. The facsimile and its accompanying volume of commentary are contained in a velvet-covered box. This edition consists of 1995 numbered copies. This beautiful facsimile was presented to the Library on 16 May 1992 in honor of Theodore Ziolkowski upon his retirement as Dean of the Graduate School.

VIROLI, GIORDANO. *Giacomo Zampa, 1731-1808*. Forli: Cassa di Risparmio di Forli, 1990. This high-quality bank publication discusses and illustrates the life and works of the artist Giacomo Zampa. Gift of the Cassa dei Risparmio di Forli.

— DENISE GAVIO
Assistant Librarian, Marquand
Library of Art and Archaeology



The Philadelphia Bank, ca. 1840. Hand-colored lithograph slide for the American peep-show viewer. The view is translucent, with pin-pricked stars and lighting, giving the illusion of a night scene when held to the light. The Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library.

THE GRAPHIC ARTS COLLECTION

The following list is a selection of the most important prints, drawings, and illustrated books added to the Graphic Arts Collection during the 1992–1993 academic year. Unless otherwise noted, all were purchased on the Graphic Arts Fund.

AMERICAN GRAPHIC ARTS

AN AMERICAN PEEP-SHOW VIEWER, ca. 1850, with twenty-one views. This early American peep-show is a fine handmade mahogany box, 11½ inches wide x 17½ inches long x 8½ inches high, with a 3-inch viewer lens. It is a significant addition to the Graphic Arts Collection of early optical devices.

BABCOCK, S. *The Little Book of Trades, Describing Some Plain Things*. New Haven, Connecticut, n.d. A very small monograph, measuring 1¾ inches x 3 inches. For the Collection of Books of Trades.

BEZOLD, WILHELM VON. *The Theory of Color in its Relation to Art and Art-Industry*. Translated from the German by S. R. Koehler. Boston: L. Prang & Co., 1876. For the Collection of Artist's Manuals.

The Book of Trades; or, Library of the Useful Arts. Philadelphia and Richmond: Jacob Johnson, 1807. First American edition of a work originally published in London in 1805. Printed by Dickinson, and illustrated with twenty-three copper plates. For the Collection of Books of Trades.

BOOKBINDING. *Mitchell's National Map of the United States*. Philadelphia, 1840. A pocket map encased in an elaborate gold-stamped binding of the period. For the Collection of Fine Bindings.

City Sights for Country Eyes. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, [1853?]. With lithographs by Augustus Köllner, comprising "picture lessons illustrating moral truth." For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.

GOLDEN, CADWALLADER DAVID. *The Life of Robert Fulton, by His Friend . . . Comprising Some Account of the Invention, Progress, and Establishment of Steamboats; of Improvements in the Construction and Navigation of Canals, and Other Objects of Public Utility*. New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1817. First edition. For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.

CURRIER, N. "Father and Child." New York, 1849. Handcolored lithograph.

ELDER, CYRUS. *Dream of a Free-Trade Paradise, and Other Sketches*. Philadelphia: Published for the Industrial League by Henry Carey Baird & Co., 1873. With twelve illustrations by Henry L. Stephens. For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.

The Illustrated Book of Natural History in Four Parts. Part III. Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, 1859. For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.

MEEHAN, THOMAS. *The Native Flowers and Ferns of the United States in their Botanical, Horticultural, and Popular Aspects*. 2 vols. Boston: L. Prang and Co., 1878–1879. Illustrated by chromolithographs. For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.



Photo: John Blazejewski

Pendleton Brothers after John Warner Barber, "Shakers Near Lebanon." Lithograph. New York, ca. 1830. The Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library.

MIRICK, B. L. *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts*. Haverhill: A. W. Thayer, 1832. John Greenleaf Whittier probably wrote much of this book, but his manuscript was turned over to Mirick for revision. It was published with Mirick as its author. For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.

PENDLETON BROTHERS, after John Warner Barber. "Shakers Near Lebanon." Lithograph. New York, ca. 1830. Shakers dancing, all in segregated rows, at their meeting house in Lebanon, New York.

A Present from New York, Containing Many Pictures Worth Seeing, and Some Things Worth Remembering. New York: Mahlon Day, 1828. For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.

SULLY, THOMAS. *Hints to Young Painters and the Process of Portrait Painting as Practiced by the Late Thomas Sully*. Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddard & Co., 1873. For the Collection of Artist's Manuals.

WALKER, DONALD. *British Manly Exercises: In which Rowing and Sailing are Now First Described; and Riding and Driving are for the First Time*

Given in a Work of This Kind . . . Philadelphia: T. Wardle, 1836. For the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books.

EUROPEAN GRAPHIC ARTS

BALSTON, J. N. *The Elder James Whatman, England's Greatest Paper Maker (1702 - 1759)*. West Farleigh, Kent: J. N. Balston, 1992.

Bilderbogen. Nuremberg, Germany, 1780. A set of seven engraved hand-colored prints for children. For the Collection of German Prints.

The Book of Trades; or, Library of the Useful Arts, Part III. London: Tabart, 1805. The Graphic Arts Collection already had Parts I and II, making this Part III by itself a lucky find. For the Collection of Books of Trades.

Bowles's Moral Pictures; or, Poor Richard Illustrated. Being Lessons for the Young and the Old, on Industry, Temperance, Frugality, &c. By the Late Dr. Benj. Franklin. Manchester, England: Bancks & Co., [1833?]. Aphorisms from Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* illustrated with twenty-five scenes, on a cloth backing, folded and bound into a nineteenth-century cover. An inscription inside the front cover is dated 1833.

[*Paris au XIXe Siècle*]. Paris, ca. 1850. Color lithographs. An accordion-fold book of trades presented as a French *abecedaire*. There is no title page; "Paris au XIXe Siècle" is stamped on the book's cover. For the Collection of Books of Trades.

CAMPANO, LORENZO. *Viajes á las cinco partes del mundo: Relaciones, aventuras, esploraciones y descubrimientos extractados de las mejores obras de los celebres viajeros . . .* Paris: Libreria de Rosa y Bouret, 1869. For the Collection of Latin American Illustrated Books.

DOUWMA, ROBERT. "James Gilray." London, 1819. A mezzotint portrait of the great English caricaturist. For the Collection of Artists' Portraits.

FIELDING, THEODORE HENRY ADOLPHUS. *On the Theory and Practise of Painting in Oil and Water Colours for Landscape and Portraits . . .* London: Ackermann, 1846. For the Collection of Artist's Manuals.



Photo: John Blazejewski

Cornelius Ploos Van Amstel after Van Ostade, an untitled aquatint and mezzotint engraving of a seventeenth-century watercolor, printed in colors *a la poupée*, one of the earliest experiments in full color printmaking. The Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library.

JOYAU, AMEDÉE (1872 – 1913). “Self-Portrait.” Paris, 1900. Color woodcut. For the Collection of Artists’ Portraits.

[PLOOS VAN AMSTEL, CORNELIUS.] *Portfolio Ectypa C. Pl. V. Amstel*. A set of forty-six engraved drawings. This is one of the earliest experiments in the history of color printing, reproducing in aquatint a se-

ries of facsimiles that are remarkably faithful to the original drawings. For the Collection of Dutch Illustrated Books.

REDON, ODILON (1840 – 1916). “Maurice Denis.” Paris, 1903. Lithograph. One of a series of profile portraits by Redon of the artist’s friends. For the Collection of Artists’ Portraits.

VERNET, CARLE (1758 – 1836). “Dépêche.” For the Collection of Early Lithographs in the Print Collection.

MODERN PRIVATE PRESS BOOKS

HOWE, SUSAN. *Incloser. An Essay*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: The Weasel-sleeves Press, 1992.

WINDHAM, DONALD. *June 26, 1988: The First Pages of a Memoir*. Verona: Officina Bodoni, 1992. First edition, copy number 11, printed by Martino Mardersteig.



Photo: John Blazejewski

Printer’s proof of chromolithograph cigar-box art. The Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library.

EPHEMERA

CANADA, CHARLES. Mechanics and Tradesmen certificate issued by the City of New York, n.d. Engraved by B. Tanner.

CIGAR ART. Ten chromolithographs including cigar bands and box labels. Printer's proofs.

— DALE ROYLANCE
Curator of Graphic Arts

THE NUMISMATIC COLLECTION

Sixty-seven pieces were added to the Library's numismatic collection in the year ending 30 June 1993; only a few of the most noteworthy will be described here.

Grateful mention goes first to the Reunions gift of a generous alumnus, who as in past years wishes to remain anonymous. Of twelve coins donated, the outstanding one was an unpublished and possibly unique sestertius minted for the Roman ruler Caracalla between A.D. 196 and 198, while he was still heir apparent to Septimius Severus. This particular combination of obverse and reverse design and inscription (*RIC* 397A / *RIC* 399) had previously been recorded only for silver (Cohen² 566). Its appearance, now, in the largest denomination of bronze satisfactorily fills a gap in the Severan series.

In the exhibition "From Croesus to Constantine," displayed in the Leonard L. Milberg Gallery from October 1992 through January 1993, viewers were particularly intrigued by the case containing twenty-two pieces of Greek fractional silver, drachm-sized or smaller: see *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 54, nos. 2 & 3 (1993): 293–295. Despite their diminutive size (one coin on exhibit weighed only three-tenths of a gram), such pieces can be as elegantly designed and informative as the larger ones — staters or tetradrachms — whose divisions they constitute. Some of the year's most interesting purchases have been in this category.

Two fine new drachm-sized portraits have been added to our coin gallery of Hellenistic rulers: Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia, Rome's ally and puppet (*BMC* 3); Demetrius II of Syria (*ACNAC* Houghton 290 var.). Demetrius' coin offers our first example of his later portrait, sporting the long beard grown during his Parthian captivity. We have acquired two more of the rare late silver fractions struck by cit-

ies of Caria in southern Turkey: a drachm of Tabai (*BMC* 17), and a hemidrachm of Stratonikeia (*SNG von Aulock* 2653–4 var.) with the apparently unpublished magistrate's name Hekato[?], and a double-ax as accompanying symbol. Its weight (1.35 gm) and style put the latter piece with the group assigned by von Aulock to 125–85 B.C. (*Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 17 [1967], pp. 7–16).

— BROOKS LEVY
Curator of Numismatics

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PUBLIC POLICY PAPERS

During the academic year 1992 – 1993, the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library received the following manuscripts which augment or supplement existing papers or established collections, or which represent new collections.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. Thirty-eight boxes containing general correspondence, 1989; closed legal files, 1989. Princeton houses the archives of the ACLU.

LEE, IVY LEDBETTER, Class of 1898. One reel of 35 mm color film about Ivy Lee by Wallace Jamie for a series produced by the Institute for Public Relations Research and Education. The film consists of an interview of Ivy Lee, Jr., by Allen Center recorded in the spring of 1971. Gift of Ivy Ledbetter Lee, Jr.

MACVEAGH, LINCOLN. Typed transcripts of portions of the diaries of the United States Ambassador to Greece, 1939 – 1945; his dispatches to the Department of State, 1933 – 1940; and MacVeagh's correspondence with President Franklin D. Roosevelt from the National Archives and the Roosevelt Library, 1932 – 1945, relating to political and diplomatic events in Greece as well as Greek-Yugoslav events while MacVeagh was ambassador; and papers relating to the Yugoslav government-in-exile in Cairo, Egypt, 1943 – 1944. The transcripts do not include personal and family matters found in the original diaries. Portions of the transcripts, correspondence, and cables were published by John O. Iatrides in his *Ambassador MacVeagh Reports: Greece, 1933 – 1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). Gift of Professor John O. Iatrides.

WILSON, WOODROW, Class of 1879. Photograph of a group of men, including Woodrow Wilson, by Pach Bros., Broadway, New York.

Photo: John Blazewski



Woodrow Wilson, seated in the front row, fourth from the right, with an unknown group of men. Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

The date and place where the photograph was taken are unknown, and the group has not been identified. Purchased for the Woodrow Wilson Collection.

WILSON, WOODROW. A letter from Woodrow Wilson to the Reverend Mr. Walter Scott, Princeton, 15 January 1906. Gift of Professor Theodore Crane.

WILSON, WOODROW. A program for Woodrow Wilson's second inaugural, 5 March 1917; and a scrapbook of his political campaign, 1916 - 1917. Gift of Lawrence Baker, Jr., Class of 1939.

— BEN PRIMER

Curator, Public Policy Papers

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

The following represent significant additions to the Princeton University Archives during the academic year 1992 - 1993.

ATHLETIC DEPARTMENT. A collection of athletic programs from football, baseball, basketball, lacrosse, swimming, wrestling, and ice hockey. Gift of F. Donald Sperry, Class of 1930.

ATHLETIC DEPARTMENT. A large collection (1,048 reels) of football films, 1935 - 1990.

BAKER, LAWRENCE A., SR., Class of 1913. Four oversize photographs and one volume, originally belonging to Lawrence Baker, Sr. The photographs depict the 1913 Princeton Triangle Club show, a Holder Hall dormitory room in 1913, the Class of 1913 freshman baseball team, and Tower Club, ca. 1913. Gift of Lawrence A. Baker, Jr., Class of 1939.

CLASS OF 1926. Materials pertaining to the alumni activities of the Class of 1926. Gift of James Newman, Class of 1926.

COLOPHON CLUB. Four pamphlets: "Some Wartime Reflections of John Witherspoon," "Notice of a Meeting," "Elmer Adler, Apostle of Good Taste," and "Man About the House"; and other items concerning the Colophon Club. Gift of John M. Kauffmann, Class of 1945.

CROLL, MORRIS W. Manuscripts relating to Professor of English Morris W. Croll, including correspondence regarding the *Festschrift* honor-

ing Croll. See Thomas P. Roche, Jr., "The English Department in 1910: A Picture and a Brief History," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 54, nos. 2 & 3 (1993): 147-177. Bequest of Thomas H. English, Class of 1918.

THE DAILY PRINCETONIAN. A sign, "Daily Princetonian, Business Department," which hung outside Whig Hall in the 1930s. Gift of John C. Gorman, Class of 1939.

EATING CLUBS. Materials dealing with Tower Club and Prospect Foundation. Gift of James Newman, Class of 1926.

EDWARDS, PIERPONT, Class of 1768. An autograph letter to his eldest brother, Timothy Edwards of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, signed at Nassau Hall, 15 August 1768. Timothy Edwards was his brother's guardian after the death of their father, Jonathan Edwards, in 1758. The letter mentions John Witherspoon's remarks at commencement, and David Caldwell, Class of 1759, who was porter of the Presbyterian Church in Elizabethtown.

HEWITT, CHARLES, Class of 1883. A scrapbook of activities on campus from 1879 to 1882. Prior to the time when classes produced yearbooks, students kept scrapbooks of memorabilia depicting their undergraduate years. Gift of Mrs. John C. Ward in memory of her husband, John C. Ward, Class of 1937.

LECTURE NOTES. Princeton lecture notes from classes taught by Dana C. Munro, Robert G. Albion, Thomas Wertenbaker, C. R. "Buzzer" Hall, Robert K. Root, and Donald C. Stuart, 1925 - 1928. Also examinations, a freshman handbook for 1924 - 1925, and four articles about Princeton. Gift of William M. Doolittle, Class of 1928.

LECTURE NOTES. Six notebooks of lecture and course notes from classes taken by Roderic H. Davison, Class of 1937, while an undergraduate at Princeton University in the 1930s and in the Department of History immediately after World War II when Davison was a preceptor. Also notes taken by his father, Walter Seaman Davison, Class of 1906, in Woodrow Wilson's class in Constitutional Government, Spring 1905. Gift of Roderic H. Davison, Class of 1937.

MACLEAN, JOHN. Papers of the President of the College of New Jersey, including receipts, bills, financial papers, letters by Maclean, and

about 130 letters to Maclean from Joseph Henry, Commodore Bainbridge, Commodore Stockton, and others. Gift of Joseph J. Felcone.

MILLER, EVAN J., Class of 1917. Fourteen envelopes containing negatives of photographs taken by Miller when he was a student, 1913 - 1917. Included are photographs of Woodrow Wilson, football hero Sam White, the 1916 crew, the Graduate College in 1915, and Commencement in 1917 when Herbert Hoover was given an honorary degree. Gift of Evan J. Miller.

MOUNTAIN, THOMAS R., Class of 1939. The clapper from the tower of Nassau Hall inscribed with the score of the Princeton - Yale game (20-7), given to Mountain as captain of the victorious 1938 team. Gift of Thomas R. Mountain.

PHOTOGRAPHS. Four oversize black-and-white photographs: the basketball team, 1926 - 1927; the *Princeton Tiger* board, ca. 1926; the freshman basketball team, 1929; and Cannon Club, 1926. Gift of William K. Selden, Class of 1934.

PRINCETON BALLOON CLUB. A scrapbook containing clippings of articles, a flight manual, registration cards, and photographs of the Princeton Balloon Club, 1976 - 1980. Gift of Professor Bartley G. Hoebel.

RALPH, PAUL JUSTUS, Class of 1903. A scrapbook containing memorabilia, clippings, and photographs from Mr. Ralph's years at Princeton. Gift of Mrs. Philip J. Gordon.

RUMMELL, RICHARD. A bird's-eye view of the campus, 1906, signed by Rummell and numbered "13," which once belonged to John W. Gartner, Class of 1927. Photogravure mounted on board. Gift of John W. Gartner, Jr.

SPRUANCE, W. C., JR., Class of 1894. Photographs and an unusually interesting scrapbook compiled by Mr. Spruance. Gift of the Spruance family.

TANNER, EARL C. Historical file compiled by the Assistant Director of the Plasma Physics Laboratory while he was working on his history of the Laboratory.

UNDERGRADUATE LETTERS. Five letters by John Beatty Kyle, Class of 1852, to his mother, Mary Kyle, and two to his sister, Clementine

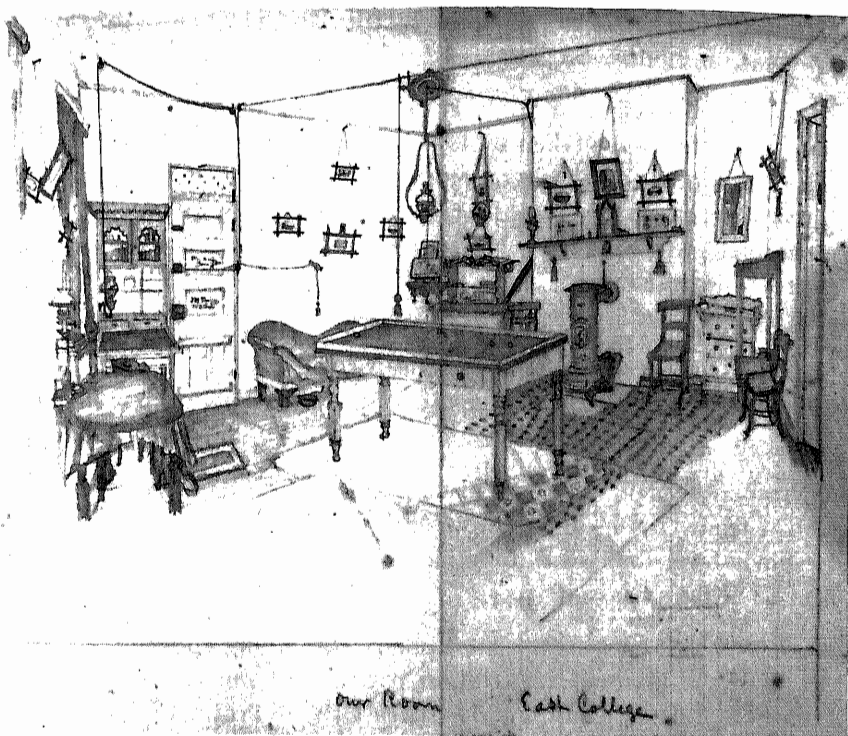


Photo: John Blazejewski

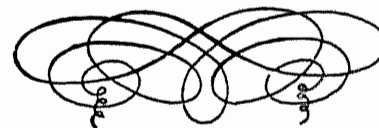
Drawing of Fred Van Wagenen's dormitory room in East College, ca. 1868. Princeton University Archives. Gift of Mrs. William Sayre in honor of her husband John Sayre, Class of 1936.

Kyle; two letters by Thomas McCauley, Jr., Class of 1852, to Jeremiah Smith Gordon, Class of 1853, dated 1850, and a bill of sale for room furnishings from John A. Marshall, Class of 1850, to Jeremiah Smith Gordon; one letter by James C. Davis, Class of 1849, to Daniel B. Smith, dated 26 April 1848. Purchased for the University Archives.

VAN WAGENEN, GEORGE A., Class of 1868. An album containing 110 photograph portraits of the faculty, the class, and the campus; a chart showing the final grades of members of the Class of 1868 and another chart comparing them; and a drawing of Fred Van Wagenen's dormitory room in East College. Gift of Mrs. William Sayre in honor of her husband John Sayre, Class of 1936.

— BEN PRIMER
Princeton University Archivist

Friends of the Library



GRACE LANSING LAMBERT, 1899 – 1993

Mrs. Gerard Lambert, a member of the Council of the Friends for thirty-seven years, died on 22 April 1993 in her ninety-third year. Born into the Livingston and Lansing families in the Finger Lakes region of upper New York state, Grace Lambert became a major figure in the history of Princeton in the twentieth century. She arrived in Princeton in the fall of 1923, the wife of an undergraduate, John B. Mull, Class of 1925. While her husband pursued his study of Classics, she privately studied sculpture and painting. After his graduation two years later, the young couple continued on to Oxford where Mull read Classics at Exeter College. Oxford in the mid-1920s was a lively place, characterized by such now-famous Oxonians as Harold Acton, Evelyn Waugh and W. H. Auden. Grace entered into the intellectual ferment, attended lectures, studied painting and sculpture, and eagerly became part of its intricate social world. Extensive travel in Great Britain and on the continent during the long Oxford vacations forged friendships that lasted the rest of her life. Among these friendships was that struck up with Donald Stauffer, then an American graduate student in Merton College, who would later become a Professor and chairman of the English Department at Princeton.

Grace returned to Princeton in 1928 when John Mull was appointed an instructor in Classics. Recollections of the Tango Club meetings at the Alexanders' on Cleveland Lane, salons like that of Grace's neighbor on Battle Road, "Begonia" Franz (Mrs. Franz fulfilled Grace's ideal of an intellectual), and the worlds that revolved around the Godolphins, the Oateses, and the Rensselaer Lees were bits of Princeton she enjoyed keeping alive. Decades later she delighted in recalling the roaring twenties in Princeton with such vivid-

ness that undergraduates of the "revolutionary" 1970s seemed very tame indeed.

When John Mull bolted academic life in 1933 to assume administrative responsibility for the family business, coal mines, Grace followed him to Western Pennsylvania. Here she began her career as a dog breeder. It was a pursuit that was later to return with her to Princeton. In her view, she progressed from show dogs to field-trial dogs, which she found much more to her liking. She thrived on the hard work the field trials demanded. In both areas she produced great champions, most of them Great Danes and Labrador Retrievers. Eventually she organized Harrowby Kennel (a name from her reading of Sir Walter Scott) near Princeton, which became the premier Labrador kennel in the nation.

Some years after her divorce from John Mull, while visiting Nassau with a cousin married to the cartoonist Peter Arno, Grace was invited aboard Gerard Lambert's yacht for luncheon, whereupon Gerard ordered the captain to up anchor and get underway at once. "I deliberately . . . Shanghaied the girl. I doubt if anything like this happened in Nassau since the days of piracy." In the spring of 1936 Grace was married to Gerard Lambert, Class of 1908, and became the *châtelaine* of a series of great residences that ranged from Vermont to Florida. While the oldest of these houses was the Lambert family's Carter Hall in Virginia, the core of them was unquestionably Albermarle, the Lambert estate in Princeton on land lying along Stony Brook and Province Line Road. In 1949 the Lamberts retired to Pink House, the dower "cottage" Gerard built on part of Albermarle's original 400 acres. Grace's responsibilities included not only overseeing these residences on land, but also being hostess at sea on some of the finest seagoing yachts ever built, including the J-boats *Atlantic*, *Yankee*, and *Vanitie*. Her taste was quickly manifest and became legendary for making any space, however grand, comfortable, very personal, and remarkably inviting. She also made time to pursue her own interests, which remained focused on animals. Besides the champion show and field-trial dogs she raised, there were also cattle, Morgan horses, Sicilian donkeys, canaries, barn cats, and the best fed herd of deer in the state.

Grace participated in many of her husband's philanthropic interests and in his sporting life on the boats. His gifts to Princeton were numerous and important, and not all destined to the University.

Many were gifts to the town, such as Lambert House, the residence for nurses at the hospital, and the early housing project across the street, in which he demonstrated that simple, well-built houses for low-income tenants could be created most efficiently by private enterprise rather than through governmental subvention. It was a demonstration that was to take him to Washington to work for President Roosevelt during the Depression and once again during World War II.

Mrs. Lambert was a discriminating collector of art and books. Her formal education had ended after the eighth grade at St. Mary's Hall in Burlington, New Jersey, after which her family felt only private tutors were appropriate. One of the results of this limitation on an extraordinarily keen mind was a pursuit of learning that was unending and which led inevitably to serious book collecting. As with all aspects of her life, she graced every pursuit with her inimitable light touch. She would have been the last to call herself a collector: she simply acquired what interested her. Among the endless shelves of books at Pink House, Grace was in perfect company. She embraced insomnia eagerly as an opportunity to read; and though she wore her vast learning as inconspicuously as possible, professors who knew her quickly recognized who the best-read Princetonian really was. When the valuable parts of the library in Pink House were destroyed in the fire of 1980 the necessary inventory surprised even her by its size and the solidity of its content. The author most extensively represented, much to everyone's surprise, was Plato.

Her cousin Beverly Chew had been an early contact with serious book collecting. Her step-daughters, Rachel Mellon and Lily McCarthy, provided world-renowned examples of the enterprise. Mrs. Mellon's garden library, selections of which were exhibited in the Leonard L. Milberg Gallery of the Library in 1989, is well on its way to becoming an independent institution. Mrs. McCarthy's unrivaled Lord Nelson collection was given to the British Royal Navy and is one of the treasures of the Royal Naval Museum in Portsmouth, England.

Charles Ryskamp was the initial contact between the Lamberts and the Princeton University Library. After his first visit to Pink House he returned with Grace's William Blake collection, her most important gift to the University. After Gerard's death she became increasingly active in support of both The Art Museum and the Library. She subsidized exhibitions and gave major pieces to The Art Museum, most

conspicuously two masterpieces of Pre-Columbian art, an Olmec transformation figure, and a wooden Aztec mask. Her charities ranged from the local Small Animal Rescue League, through the Gerard Lambert Award (which she created to reward schemes that cut hospital costs), to gifts to a clinic in Guatemala that provided the only medical care for a quarter of a million Maya Indians. She endowed a professorship at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Veterinary Medicine. She made important gifts to The Pierpont Morgan Library and was a generous supporter of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton and the American Boychoir School, now resident in Albermarle. She made gifts to the Princeton Collections of Western Americana, including such rarities as an ancient Peruvian *quipu* and a deck of Apache playing cards. In the 1970s she provided money to enable American Indian students at the University to return to their reservations for crucial ceremonies. But most frequently her generosity was private and no one will ever know its extent.

With fond memories of travel to Yucatan in the 1930s, she took special pleasure in returning frequently to Mexico and Central America in the last decades of her life. She also made several journeys to the Southwest for ceremonial occasions in the Hopi villages.

Raised with a patrician's keen sense of social obligation, she viewed dining at Pink House as a joyous opportunity to be shared with as many people as possible. She took delight in gathering together diverse groupings from town and gown; she especially welcomed undergraduates, who frequently learned more at those dazzling luncheon and dinner parties than in the lecture hall. All were made instantly and equally welcome. She was often sought out by young people for her wise, accepting, and sympathetic ear. Many late-twentieth-century Princetonians recall fondly their happy initiation into the etiquette of the early-twentieth-century table at Pink House, and even more vividly the beauty, and the gentle, understated, and memorable wisdom of the hostess.

— ALFRED L. BUSH
*Curator, The Princeton Collections
of Western Americana*

J. MERRILL KNAPP, 1914 – 1993

A longtime member of the Council of the Friends of the Library, J. Merrill Knapp, died on 7 March 1993 in Princeton. Born in New

York City on 9 May 1914, he graduated from Yale with a B.A. in 1936 and received the M.A. from Columbia University in 1941. Professor Knapp joined the faculty of the Department of Music at Princeton in 1946. He chaired the Department from 1951 to 1953 and was appointed full professor in 1960. From 1961 to 1966 he served as Dean of the College; he retired from the University in 1982.

Professor Knapp's research interests included the music of Wagner and the baroque period. He was particularly active as a Handel scholar; he was a member of the editorial board of the *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe* and edited several volumes of this edition, including the operas *Amadigi* and *Flavio*. For some years the Library has owned an impressive array of secondary sources for Handel research as well as an extensive microfilm collection of musical manuscripts and printed libretti. In 1973 Professor Knapp was instrumental in acquiring for Princeton the Hall Handel Collection, a group of first and early editions of the works of Handel owned by Dr. James Hall, a British physician and Handel scholar. The addition of these scores, libretti, and manuscripts to the University's already important holdings in this area have given Princeton the largest collection of materials for Handel research in the United States.

Scholarship, however, was not Professor Knapp's sole musical interest. He was active as a conductor, both on campus and in the local community. From 1941 to 1942 and 1946 to 1951 he served as director of the University Glee Club. For many years he conducted readings of large-scale choral works by the Princeton Society of Musical Amateurs. And he was proud to have conducted the first performances in America of Handel's operas *Imeneo* and *Amadigi*. The Music Department's holiday parties in the depths of Firestone Library always featured graduate musicology students singing enthusiastic (if not necessarily artistic) renditions of the choruses from *Messiah*, and Professor Knapp provided the piano accompaniment.

Professor Knapp remained active during his years of retirement. He was a familiar figure, bicycling around campus, and he pursued a regular work schedule in his Firestone office. Long a Friend of the Library, he was serving on the Council of the Friends at the time of his death. Because of his editorial duties, Professor Knapp acquired an Apple computer and attained a level of competence that might be the envy of some of his younger colleagues who struggle with the Library's on-line system. He continued his work with the *Hallische*

Händel-Ausgabe; his edition of the opera *Flavio* was issued by Bärenreiter-Verlag shortly after his death. Professor Knapp maintained a keen interest in the Department of Music and the Library, always concerned with developments which affected the two campus institutions with which he was involved for so long. He will be missed.

— PAULA MORGAN
Music Librarian

JULIE HUDSON, 1907 – 1993

Julie Hudson, a member of the Library staff for close to forty years, was born in Boston in 1907. Her father, Eric Hudson (1864 – 1932), a native of New York City, was an artist known as a painter of marine subjects. In Julie's younger days the Hudsons lived in Bronxville, New York, where Julie and her sister Jacqueline attended school. The girls also had a year of schooling in Switzerland. During the latter part of her pre-college years Julie Hudson attended the Friends Seminary in Manhattan. In 1927 she entered Barnard College and graduated with the A.B. degree in 1930. She received her B.L.S. from the Columbia University School of Library Science in 1931.

Miss Hudson began her career at the Princeton University Library on 14 December 1931, being assigned to the Circulation Department. In 1944 she was named curator of special collections, in charge of rare books and manuscripts, in what was then called the Treasure Room. In July 1948, with the move from Pyne Library to the new Firestone Library and the establishment of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Miss Hudson's title became curator of rare books. In addition to her work with rare books and her consistently helpful attention to the needs of faculty, students, and visiting scholars who consulted them, she served as editor of the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* with volume 5, no. 4 (June 1944) through volume 10, no. 4 (June 1949) and as assistant editor with volume 11, no. 1 (Autumn 1949) through volume 20, no. 4 (Summer 1959).

Miss Hudson's artist father, Eric Hudson, was much attracted to Rockport, Massachusetts, with its numerous resident artists and its Rockport Artists Association, of which he was a member. For many years the Hudsons owned the oldest house in Rockport. Mr. Hudson was equally fond of the rugged scenery of Monhegan Island, Maine, in the Atlantic Ocean some seventeen miles southeast of Boothbay

Harbor and with the highest cliffs on the New England coast. He bought property there, and Julie Hudson, as a young teenager, helped out in the local library on the island — her first library position. Her younger sister Jacqueline, herself planning to be an artist, sketched. Many of her striking drawings of the island scenery have been reproduced. Monhegan Island became Julie Hudson's summer address for the larger part of her life. She was a trustee of the Monhegan Memorial Library and of the Monhegan Museum, and a member of Monhegan Associates, a conservation group.

In the words of her sister, "Julie was an organization person." By that she meant that Julie liked to "join," to attend meetings, to hear speakers, to listen to discussions, to go on field trips, visit historic places, attend exhibitions and, in the University Library, to take part in installing exhibitions of books and manuscripts. During her years in Princeton she was a member of the Womens' College Club of Princeton, the University League, the Special Libraries Association, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Friends of The Art Museum, and the Friends of the Princeton University Library. If recollection is correct, she also attended a number of the shows of the Westminster Kennel Club at Madison Square Garden and exhibited a favorite pet, a "wee Scottie" that won a ribbon.

Miss Hudson retired from the University Library in 1971. With her sister she acquired a house in Wiscasset, Maine. They made a few more trips together, to the Caribbean, to Mexico, to several countries in Europe. In Norway Julie got far enough north to find herself in Lapland. She was fortunate in being well enough to travel during most of her years in retirement. Her journeys ended, though, on 1 March of this year, in the hospital in Rockland, Maine.

— ALEXANDER P. CLARK

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

The meeting of the Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library was convened by the chairman, David A. Robertson, Jr., at 5:06 p.m. on Friday, 6 November 1992. The chairman welcomed new Council members Sidney Lapidus, Mark Samuels Lasner, and Anita Schorsch.

The agenda was approved by the Council. The revised minutes of

the meeting of 26 April 1992 were approved by a voice vote and a reading of the minutes was waived.

Treasurer Alexander D. Wainwright submitted the treasurer's report, explaining various columns of numbers in the report and reviewing the notes and fund balances. There was some discussion of the balances of the various funds. The treasurer's report was approved, as was a motion to transfer \$8,000 from the Weekes Fund for the use of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, and \$25,000 from the Friends' operating account to the Rare Books acquisition fund.

Chairman Robertson announced that the Hyde Award Committee was being formed, and said that as soon as the committee was established, there would be a meeting to discuss potential recipients of the award. The meeting would be held in New York City some time next month or possibly in January.

University Librarian Donald W. Koepp made a report concerning University support for the humanities, specifically as it relates to Rare Books and Special Collections. He alluded to the report that circulated with the minutes and used the time allotted to him during the meeting to answer questions. Mr. Koepp noted that the report documents "no diminution" of University support for the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections over the past ten years and, indeed, noted that the Department did gain in areas such as the amount of shelving for housing the collections and the percentage of Library staffing which was assigned to the Department, even after the reductions of last spring. Mr. Koepp further noted that the idea currently circulating that the Department does not accept gifts is simply untrue, but further noted that the Department was concerned to make clear to donors the terms upon which the Library does accept gifts, and that no gifts are accepted with conditions that the Library cannot expect to meet fully. Mr. Koepp further noted that the reorganization of the Department staff meant that many collections had to be relocated, and about 70 percent of that move was now completed. The 30 percent of the collections that had yet to be moved were still in place because of record-keeping requirements that would designate their new locations. As soon as those record-keeping changes were made, the collections would be moved. He noted that the third floor had been cleared by mid-August, the Wilson Papers space had been renovated by 1 October, and that shelving installation

and the electrical work for the lights above the shelving was about to begin. In addition, the mezzanine that used to be the faculty dining area has now been closed off. In making changes in the old faculty lounge, recently the location of the Western Americana collections, Mr. Koepp noted that only 5 percent of the panelling in that space would be removed. The old kitchen area is currently being cleared and film to screen out ultraviolet rays has been applied to the windows. When the shelving is completed, every book on the third floor will have to be shifted in order to equalize growth space throughout the floor.

Mr. Koepp also announced three projects planned for the Department in the near future. First, space in the Library will be renovated with funds supplied by Lloyd Cotsen '50. A second project will improve the capability of the Department to control the climate in its space on the main floor of Firestone Library, and ductwork and equipment should be installed this summer. A third project will be installation this summer of a new security system. There was some effort to plan these projects in a coordinated manner so as to minimize disruption in the Department.

Mr. Koepp turned to preservation efforts underway in the Library with funds supplied by the Friends; over \$200,000 from the McKernon Fund was originally earmarked for the preservation lab, but because of staffing problems the plans for that project were never undertaken and the money was returned. In 1991, however, the Library hired a preservation officer and now also has added a head of treatments and a special collections conservator. Plans for the new preservation lab have been underway now for a good many months and the renovations are nearing completion. Mr. Koepp noted, however, that the preservation office needed three items of equipment that would be important to the work of the special collections conservator and therefore to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. The equipment includes a leaf caster, a suction table, and an electronic welder. After some discussion, a motion to approve a gift of \$35,000 to purchase the equipment was made and approved by the Council.

Friends' Secretary William L. Joyce reported on events scheduled for the Friends for the coming year.

Vice-chairman P. Randolph Hill addressed the matter of the decline in membership. He reported on the meeting conducted in late

September among himself, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Crane, and Mr. Joyce. Mr. Hill encouraged Council members to develop lists of potential new members for the Friends and to submit them at their earliest convenience. He also indicated that membership of organizations such as the Morgan Library, the Grolier Club, and the Princeton University Clubs of New York and Philadelphia would also be reviewed for names of prospective members of the Friends of the Library. He also noted that many faculty and students were interested in the Friends and he encouraged the organization to recruit them. Mr. Hill further noted that we should also seek to interest local residents to attend exhibitions and thereby enhance the visibility of the organization. Mr. Hill noted that he had already contacted his own class secretary and that he had also discussed the matter with the editor of the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*. He also reported that *Princeton Today* was interested. Further discussion focused on the likelihood that Council members could contact their classmates on behalf of the Friends and there was also a suggestion to do so by writing to class agents.

Council member William P. Stoneman announced that he was developing for submission at the spring meeting a proposal that the Friends finance a short-term fellowship program. Some of the programs already underway, such as those at the Beinecke Library at Yale, the Newberry Library in Chicago, and other research libraries with similar interest and resources, show that such initiatives can have a positive result for research libraries.

William H. Scheide asked Mr. Koeppe if the rumor concerning the Library's unwillingness to accept collections was true or false. Mr. Koeppe stated that the rumor was not true. Before closing the meeting Mr. Robertson noted that new Council member Anita Schorsch had a selection of her emblem books on display in the lobby cases for members of the Council to review on their way to dinner.

Chairman Robertson identified those who would be attending the dinner following the meeting as guests: Charles E. Greene, Stephen Ferguson, Dale Roynance, Ted Stanley, Catherine Vanderpool, and Mr. and Mrs. Russell Marks.

Chairman Robertson adjourned the meeting of the Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library at 6:15 p.m.

— WILLIAM L. JOYCE
Secretary

FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account and on the Publication Fund for the year 1992 – 1993 is as follows:

OPERATING ACCOUNT

Brought forward 1 July 1992 \$ 42,536¹

RECEIPTS

Charles G. Stachelberg '20 Fund	\$ 1,254
Hobart G. Weekes '23 Fund	26,471
Dues for 1992 – 1993	59,596
Dues for 1993 – 1994	15,797
Matching gifts	1,183
Contributions ²	8,110
<i>Chronicle</i> subscriptions & sales	6,085
Receptions, dinners, & special events	<u>12,034</u>
Total receipts	<u>\$130,530</u>
Balance	\$173,066

DISBURSEMENTS

<i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. 53, no. 3 & Vol. 54, nos. 1 & 2	\$18,246
<i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. 55, no. 3 ³	9,500
<i>Newsletter</i> , nos. 10 & 11	1,297
Hyde Award	1,159
Invitations, brochures, stationery, etc.	3,164
Personnel ⁴	32,424
Receptions, dinners, & special events	19,789
Postage	6,146
Telephone, photoduplication, etc.	1,345

¹ Includes dues for 1992 – 1993 received in 1991 – 1992 totaling \$150.

² Includes \$2,500 from John Sacret Young '69; \$5,000 from Geac Canada Ltd. (third payment on a five-year pledge of \$25,000); and contributions from Nelson R. Burr '27, John H. Cook '42, Richard M. Ludwig, Mrs. David H. McAlpin, Edwin H. Metcalf '58, Middleton Miller '29, Professor and Mrs. Earl Miner, Mrs. William Morris, Glendon T. Odell, and Laird U. Park, Jr., '44.

³ Payments to poets contributing to the issue.

⁴ Includes \$668 for assistance with the membership campaign.

Transfer to Rare Book Department acquisitions fund	25,000	
Transfer to Rare Book Department for special projects	8,000	
Transfers to Friends of the Library Book Fund ⁵	<u>1,500</u>	
Total disbursements		<u>\$127,570</u>
Cash balance 30 June 1993		\$ 45,496

PUBLICATION FUND

Brought forward 1 July 1992		\$ 11,921
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RECEIPTS

Sales	\$ 12	
Total receipts		<u>\$ 12</u>
Balance		\$ 11,933

DISBURSEMENTS

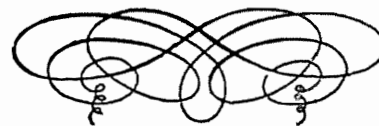
Postage & handling	\$ 54	
Transfer to Robert H. Taylor Publication Fund ⁶	11,879	
Total disbursements		<u>\$ 11,933</u>
Cash balance 30 June 1993		\$ 0

— ALEXANDER D. WAINWRIGHT
Treasurer

⁵ Transfers to the principal of the endowed Friends of the Library Book Fund in memory of two deceased members of the Council, Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert and J. Merrill Knapp, and in memory of Julie Hudson, a member of the Library staff from 1931 until her retirement in 1971, who served as Curator of Rare Books from 1948 to 1971, as Editor of the *Chronicle* from 1944 to 1949, and as Assistant Editor for the following ten years.

⁶ The endowed Robert H. Taylor '30 Publication Fund was established by the Friends of the Library in June 1991 with a principal of \$50,000. With the transfer in October 1992 of its assets to the Taylor Fund, the Friends Publication Fund has ceased to exist as a separate account.

Cover Note



Roman emperors cared about image, and their images were ubiquitous. In about A.D. 145, the courtier Fronto wrote young Marcus Aurelius: "As you know, your portraits are everywhere on public view — in banks, stalls, booths, bars, niches, halls, windows — and most of them very badly executed too."¹

Fronto is describing the lower end of the portrait industry, not the polished, officially sponsored monuments that chiefly survive today. Here, though opinions may vary, it is arguable that Hadrian's reign (A.D. 117 – 138) had marked a pinnacle of achievement. Superb representations in marble were created in both western and eastern portions of the empire. Coin-portraits of remarkable quality came not only from the main atelier in Rome but from civic mints large and small in the Greek East. There are, of course, exceptions. Called on for hasty reminting of a worn silver series long in circulation, the cities of Asia Minor and Bithynia produced a few versions of the royal visage that approach caricature.²

Yet in general Hadrian was served well — not only by ancient die-engravers, but by the conventions of the classical coin-portrait. The obligatory profile view minimized those features of his appearance that Eleanor Clark has found unpleasing: eyes too closely set; a slight puffiness in the cheeks, accentuated by a cropped chinbeard.³ On coinage, too, the foppish effect of his forward-combed, neatly curly coiffure, fancier than that of his female relatives, is reduced by half.

The *Chronicle's* cover reproduces an early engraving of a Greek coin-portrait of Hadrian. Its original was a large bronze minted at Laodicea-ad-Lycum in Asia Minor; the adjective "Olympius," added

¹ M. Cornelius Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* IV.12.

² W. E. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian* (Wetteren: American Numismatic Society, 1980).

³ Eleanor Clark, *Rome and a Villa* (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 189.

to Hadrian's name and titles, dates the issue at least as late as A.D. 129, when Greek cities first awarded him that complimentary epithet.⁴ The photograph of a similar but very worn piece may be found in the Danish national collection's *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* for Phrygia, no. 575.⁵ Our engraving comes from one of 61 plates illustrating Jean Foy-Vaillant's *Selectiora numismata in aere maximi moduli e museo illustratissimi D. D. Francisci de Camps*.⁶ One of its author's lesser works, the Vaillant book is typical for its day: a "coffee-table" presentation of a private collection, meant to display the taste and learning of the collector.

Abbé François de Camps (1643 – 1723) came from a modest background. Son of an Amiens tradesman, he was orphaned early, but by intelligence, industry, and the help of others forged a respectable ecclesiastical career. He managed too to amass a notable coin collection. Again typically, the introduction to *Selectiora numismata* describes de Camps as "beseeched" by friends to publish his collection's contents, but "impelled" by other obligations to entrust a selection to Vaillant for that purpose. In fact, although de Camps had written a couple of minor essays on ancient coins, his chief research interest and competence lay in the history of French royal institutions.

Jean Foy-Vaillant (1632 – 1706) was an excellent surrogate: a man of wide classical learning, trained as a doctor but devoted to ancient numismatics. Engaged by Colbert to travel and collect coins for Louis XIV, he helped to form one of Europe's great royal cabinets, the core of the French national collection now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (De Camps donated coins to the king as New Year's gifts, "étrennes," and after his death his collection eventually passed to the royal cabinet.) Vaillant's more scholarly books, nearly all represented in the Library, are admirable early efforts to organize not only the most accessible series of ancient coinage, such as the Roman republican and imperial, but also the less tractable issues of the Ptolemaic and Parthian kings.

If Vaillant was well qualified to write *Selectiora numismata*, its illustrator seems to have been an equally fortunate choice. Adriaen

⁴ D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), vol. 2, p. 1479, n. 28.

⁵ Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1948.

⁶ Paris: Dezallier, 1695. For more about Vaillant and de Camps, see Antoine Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne, et la tulipe: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), pp. 273–282.

Schoonebeek (ca. 1657 – 1714) was a Dutch engraver who worked briefly in Paris before removing to Russia with Peter the Great in 1698. He died in Moscow some years before Piranesi was born. To judge from other books Schoonebeek illustrated, he was most valued — like Goethe's touring companion C. H. Kniep — as a reliable copyist. The *Chronicle* cover shows a very accurate portrait of Hadrian, so accurate that one feels Schoonebeek must have supplemented the image offered by the bronze from Laodicea-ad-Lycum with sharper ones preserved on Roman gold or silver. He has caught not only the careful coiffure, but a firm yet distant gaze that well expresses Hadrian's complicated persona: litterateur and military disciplinarian, recluse and vigorous traveller. (As Vaillant rightly surmised, the Laodicean issue celebrates a royal visit to the city.) One suspects the emperor would have approved.

— BROOKS LEVY
Curator of Numismatics

FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1930, is an association of individuals interested in book collecting and the graphic arts, and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other material which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to those subscribing annually fifty dollars or more. Checks payable to Princeton University Library should be addressed to the Treasurer.

Members receive the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibitions.

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