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## A New Manuscript of John Peyton's A Relation of the State of Polonia (1599-1619)

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## Bibliographical Note

### A NEW MANUSCRIPT OF JOHN PEYTON'S *A RELATION OF THE STATE OF POLONIA* (1598–1619)

**L**ONG THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN either by George Carew (c. 1556–1612) or William Bruce (c. 1560–after 1613), the anonymous but important late-sixteenth-century English account of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, *A Relation of the State of Polonia and the Provinces United with that Crowne, Anno 1598*, has only been known to have survived in a single manuscript, British Library, MS Royal 18 B 1.<sup>1</sup> However, I have shown elsewhere that the author of the text was John Peyton (1579–1635), son of Sir John Peyton (1544–1630), Lieutenant of the Tower.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, I demonstrate that a lost complete copy of the text, named *A Relation of the Kingdome of Polonia and the Provinces United with that Crowne*, must have existed between 1751 and 1898, when it was bought by the Munich bookseller Jacques Rosenthal at the auction of Thomas Phillipps's library on 6 June (conducted by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge).<sup>3</sup>

I am grateful to Martyna Mirecka for supplying me with an account of the acquisition of St Andrews University MS 38902 and for adding incisive comments to an earlier draft of this note. Maia Sheridan, manuscripts archivist at the Department of Special Collections at the University Library of St Andrews, deserves my particular gratitude for generously and swiftly providing information on the manuscript and its various watermarks. I would also like to thank the two anonymous readers for *The Library*. Their comments have greatly improved this article.

<sup>1</sup> The first to note the existence of British Library, MS Royal 18 B 1 was Adolf Warschauer in 'Mitteilungen aus der Handschriftensammlung des Britischen Museums zu London, vornehmlich zur polnischen Geschichte', *Mitteilungen der k. preussischen Archivverwaltung*, 13 (1909), 36–37. The main discussions of the text and its authorship are as follows: Julius P. Gilson and George F. Warner, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols (London: the British Museum, 1921), II, p. 279; Rudolf Kesselring, 'Stosunki kulturalne polskie XVI wieku wedle sprawozdania ambasadora angielskiego Sir George'a Carew', *Glos Ewangelicki*, special issue (1932); Franciszek Pułaski, 'Publication des documents concernants les relations diplomatiques entre la Pologne, la France et l'Angleterre', in *La Pologne au VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, 3 vols (Warsaw: Société polonaise d'histoire, 1933), III, 174; Siegfried Mews, *Ein englischer Gesandtschaftsbericht über den polnischen Staat zu Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1936); Stanisław Kot in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 48 vols (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1935–), III, 3; Edward Mierzwa, *Angielska relacja o Polsce z roku 1598, Annales UMCS*, 18 (Lublin: UMCS, 1962); 'William Bruce, profesor Akademii Zamojskiej i agent handlowy The Eastland Company', in *W kręgu akademickiego Zamościa*, ed. by Henryk Gmiterek (Lublin, 1996), pp. 207–33; Henryk Zins, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), pp. 10 ff; Jan K. Fedorowicz, *England's Baltic Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Study in Anglo-Polish Commercial Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 21–23; Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 102–15; Sebastian Sobecki, 'The Authorship of *A Relation of the State of Polonia, 1598*', *The Seventeenth Century*, 18 (2004), 172–79; Nancy Kollmann, 'The King "Should Be but Imaginary": The Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania in the Eyes of an English Diplomat, 1598',

In an extraordinary instance of serendipity this manuscript, bearing the Phillipps number 8292, was acquired by St Andrews University Library in late May 2013 from a private collector, just as my article was going to press. Not only is the St Andrews manuscript the only complete copy of *A Relation of the State of Polonia* (henceforth *A Relation of Polonia*), but its existence further corroborates the theory of Peyton's authorship. The following note introduces the St Andrews manuscript, discussing the history of its ownership and its dating.

In April 2013 a private collector from Prague contacted Martyna Mirecka at the University of St Andrews to enquire about the sale of a manuscript in his possession. Scans of critical parts of the manuscript allowed Mirecka to identify it as a copy of British Library, MS Royal 18 B 1. Her proposal, carefully pointing to John Peyton as scribe rather than author, was accepted by the Department of Special Collections of St Andrews University Library, which completed the purchase of the manuscript in May 2013.<sup>4</sup>

St Andrews University Library, MS 38902, contains ninety-two folios and is written on paper, measuring 330 × 200 mm. The sole text in this manuscript is entitled *A Relation of the kingdome of Polonia, and the united Prouinces of tha [sic] Crowne* (fol. 3r). The colophon identifies the author as John Peyton (1579–1635): 'Finis relationis historicae et politicae Regni Poloniae. 1599. per Iohannem Peyton iuniorem militem, postea locum tenentem Insulae de Jersey' (fol. 92v). This is the only complete copy of the text known as *A Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of the Crown* in MS Royal 18 B 1.<sup>5</sup> The title, chapter headings, and the

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in *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom Revisited: Essays in Russian History and Culture in Honor of Robert O. Crummey*, ed. by Chester S. L. Dunning, Russell E. Martin, and Daniel Rowland (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2008), pp. 353–66; Anna Kalinowska, 'William Bruce a autorstwo *A Relation of State of Polonia . . . Anno 1598*', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 102 (2011), 183–204, and "'Pardon me my Lord, that I wrytte to your honor in Scottis": William Bruce as the First Stuart Diplomatic Agent in Poland-Lithuania', in *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500–2010*, ed. by Thomas M. Devine and David Hesse (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011), pp. 51–61; David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe c. 1560–1688* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 53; and Peter Paul Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: 16th–18th Centuries: The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), *passim*.

The work has been edited by Charles H. Talbot, *Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crown Anno 1598*, *Elementa ad fontium editiones* 13 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1965), but the edition lacks a commentary and textual apparatus, besides omitting a number of marginal notes. I am currently preparing for the Hakluyt Society a complete edition of *A Relation of the State of Polonia* and Peyton's other surviving works.

<sup>2</sup> Sebastian Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia* and the Accession of King James I, 1598–1603', *The English Historical Review*, 129 (2014), 1079–97. See also Sebastian Sobecki, "'A Man of Curious Enquiry": John Peyton's Grand Tour to Central Europe and Robert Cecil's Network, 1596–1600', *Renaissance Studies*, forthcoming; and Sobecki, 'John Peyton the Younger (1579–1635)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2015), forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*', pp. 1088–90.

<sup>4</sup> At St Andrews, Roger Mason's help proved vital in facilitating the acquisition. I am grateful to Martyna Mirecka for this account.

<sup>5</sup> The portion missing from the British Library manuscript is actually very small and amounts to a half-page genealogy of the royal house of Sweden, and Peyton's colophon.

explicit in St Andrews MS 38902 are clearly in Peyton's own hand. The hand matches the signature in his will and the hand used for the table of contents, titles, chapter headings, and letters in his other surviving travel account, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 5. 2.<sup>6</sup>

The text is written in a single column, in multiple hands, most of which are modelled on careful and occasionally engrossing secretary as well as finely executed italic scripts.<sup>7</sup> Unlike British Library, MS Royal 18 B 1, the St Andrews manuscript contains thirty-six numbered chapter headings but has hardly any marginal notes. The British Library copy, which was prepared by Peyton for the accession of King James I in the spring of 1603, on the other hand, features multiple marginal notes on each folio.<sup>8</sup>

Even though the text includes the date 1599 in the colophon, the events in this account of Poland-Lithuania do not extend beyond 1598.<sup>9</sup> However, St Andrews MS 38902 could not have been written before 1619. Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 5. 2, which contains the first part of Peyton's travels and which was composed between 1599 and 1618, includes a letter to Sir George Calvert, King James's Secretary of State between 1619 and 1625. In this letter, which is addressed to Calvert as Secretary of State, Peyton says that the Cambridge manuscript does not contain his account of Poland:

... only my discourse of Polonia, I presented to the king at his *Maiestyes* first *comming* to London, retaininge the Originall of mine owne ruffe writing, which is not yet transcribed, but may followe the rest, vpon your least commande.<sup>10</sup>

Although there is no date in the letter to Calvert, 1619 marks the start of his tenure as Secretary of State, so the letter must have been composed during or after that year. St Andrews MS 38902, not least because it follows the same pattern as the Cambridge manuscript of using multiple hands (a number of which appear to be common to both manuscripts), is thus the transcription of his original 'ruffe writing', and was completed after this letter had been written. Since there is of course no certainty that Peyton succeeded in having *A Relation of Polonia* transcribed during Calvert's tenure (though the project may have been underway at the time of writing the letter), the date of St Andrews MS 38902 must have a *terminus a quo* of 1619 and a *terminus ante quem* of 1635, the year of Peyton's death.

A definitive composition date for Peyton's original account of Poland, 'the Originall of [his] owne ruffe writing', is difficult to establish. The date of 1599 in the colophon has been added in what seems to be a different hand,

<sup>6</sup> For the signature in his will, dated 22 April 1635, see Kew, The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/167/453.

<sup>7</sup> St Andrews MS 38902 follows the same pattern of using multiple hands as Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. v. 2, which contains John Peyton's other travel accounts, including his *A Relation of the Kingdome of Bohemia*.

<sup>8</sup> Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*', pp. 1092–93.

<sup>9</sup> Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*', pp. 1084–85.

<sup>10</sup> Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 5. 2, fol. 6r.

and presumably at a later stage, given that '1599' does not conform to the justified spacing of the text in the colophon. However, if Peyton is the source of this date, then the ultimate though not necessarily direct source on which this manuscript is based appears to have been prepared by him in Switzerland, where he spent much of that year, and where he acquired the paper for the Cambridge manuscript.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, because the text in MS Royal 18 B 1, written in 1603, is, albeit incomplete, almost identical to that in the new manuscript, the original of *A Relation of Polonia* must have existed for at least sixteen years prior to the production of St Andrews MS 38902. By 'ruffe writing', therefore, Peyton refers to a complete text in his own note-taking hand rather than to a set of notes that need editing. It is from this draft that he had the two manuscripts produced, the first in 1603 and the second in or after 1619, otherwise Peyton would not have been able to recreate the same text at least sixteen years apart, given that he did not have access to the British Library manuscript after 1603.<sup>12</sup> It follows, then, that both St Andrews MS 38902 as well as MS Royal 18 B 1 are fair copies of Peyton's original.

The *terminus a quo* of 1619 is further confirmed by the watermark. Throughout the manuscript, the watermark features the arms of the city of Basel, showing the Basel crozier and a trumpet below. The design matches the following three specimens: 1. Briquet # 2282 (Gravell 268 — ARMS.1331.1), used in Rouen, France in 1615; 2. Briquet # 2282g (Gravell 271 — ARMS.1330.1), used in Metz, France in 1619; and 3. Briquet # 6477 (Gravell 269 — ARMS.1238.1), used in Neuchâtel, Switzerland in 1616.<sup>13</sup> In all three cases the paper would have almost certainly come from Basel.<sup>14</sup> Because the trumpet below the Basel crozier does not appear before 1615, the paper can be dated to Basel 1615–19. Peyton served in the Low Countries in 1612 and again in 1618,<sup>15</sup> and he may have obtained the paper during the

<sup>11</sup> The watermark in the Cambridge MS features the crozier of Basel, matching Briquet #1342 (Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols (Geneva and Paris: A. Picard & fils / Jullien, 1907)). Although Briquet shows that this type of image (#1333–43) comes from Basel, he identifies #1342 as being used in Utrecht (1583), though a very similar watermark (1343) comes again from Basel. However, I think it is safe to correct Briquet and re-assign #1342 to Basel because Peyton's prefatory letter to his father (Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 2. 5, fol. 2r–v), which was sent on 27 November 1599 from Basel ('From Basill in Heluetia being ready to depart for Italy', fol. 2v), is written on the same paper, featuring Briquet #1342.

<sup>12</sup> The theoretical possibility that King James may have lent Peyton BL MS Royal 18 B 1 for the purpose of producing a second fair copy for Peyton's own uses can be discarded as fanciful.

<sup>13</sup> Data from Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, with cross-references to The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive (<http://www.gravell.org>).

<sup>14</sup> Martyna Mirecka notes that a similar watermark was used in documents originating in Normandy between 1624 and 1631 (Theo Laurentius and Frans Laurentius, *Watermarks 1650–1700 Found in the Zeeland Archives* (Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2008), pp. 22, 144).

<sup>15</sup> See the entry for his father in Bertha Porter, 'Peyton, John (1544–1630),' in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896), XLV, 137–38. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, in the entry for the elder Peyton, does not include information on his son's subsequent travels to Europe.

latter stay. He had a habit of importing paper uncommon in England. British Library, MS Royal 18 B 1 was written in the spring of 1603 on paper acquired in Cracow in 1598, whereas the Cambridge manuscript, written over a nineteen-year period between 1599 and 1618, was written throughout on paper Peyton brought back from Basel in 1599.<sup>16</sup>

St Andrews MS 38902 was bound between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in calf leather, tooled in gold in a plain frame style (the spine features floral decorations). The following description is visible on the spine: 'PEYTON ACC OF POLAND', with 'MSS' further below. The binding shows considerable deterioration: parts of the spine are chipped and the wooden boards are visible at the top and bottom edges.<sup>17</sup> The back board has become detached, which could indicate the removal of *A Tour of Germany*. The front endpapers show a watermark with an oval border surrounding a lion and capped by a crown. The border is inscribed 'PRO PATRIA EIUSQUE LIBERTATE' and the Dutch word 'WRYHEYT', i.e. 'vrijheid' (freedom) appears in the centre below the lion. This is common Dutch paper produced in the second half of the eighteenth century. The flyleaves also contain a countermark, depicting a crown with two rows of initials below: GR and WB. The 'royal' countermark GR stands here for Georgius Rex, and the WB in this case designates the printer or bookseller who ordered the paper (perhaps William Broomhill). During the eighteenth century it was common for Dutch papermakers to combine the 'WRYHEYT' watermark with the royal countermark of GR on paper marked for export, initially to England, then elsewhere.<sup>18</sup>

The ownership history of St Andrews MS 38902 can be reconstructed as follows: the manuscript first appears in the sale catalogue for an auction of four combined libraries held in 1751 as '606 Relation of the Kingdom of Polonia, MSS. 2s 6d'.<sup>19</sup> Before 1764 it passed into the possession of John Hutton, and it was sold again in 1764 when Hutton's library was auctioned on 22 October by Samuel Paterson and William Bristow. At the 1764 auction the manuscript was listed as '5258 *A Relation of the Kingdom of Polonia, and the united Provinces of the* [sic] *Crown*, MS 0[pounds]-4[shillings]-

<sup>16</sup> Sobeki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*' p. 1087.

<sup>17</sup> I am grateful to Maia Sheridan for supplying me with images of the binding.

<sup>18</sup> Willem van der Molen, 'Many Greetings from Madura: An Exercise in Eighteenth-Century Codicology', in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Manuscripts of Indonesia*, 149 (1993), 510–32 (p. 515), and Henk Voorn, *De papiermolens in de provincie Noord-Holland* (Haarlem: Papierwereld, 1960), pp. 120–21. Thomas Jefferson's 'draft' of the Declaration of Independence was also written on this type of Dutch paper (Julian P. Boyd, *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text*, rev. ed. (Charlottesville: International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello in association with the Library of Congress, 1999), p. 69).

<sup>19</sup> John Whiston and Benjamin White, *A Catalogue of Several Libraries Lately Purchased* (London: s.n., 1751), p. 22. The auction took place on 26 August 1751 and was conducted by John Whiston and Benjamin White.



6[pençe]'.<sup>20</sup> On fol. 3r the St Andrews manuscript features the signature 'George Sayer', written in a late-eighteenth-century hand above the title. Most likely this is the name of one of the manuscript's eighteenth-century owners, but no further identification has been possible. The next identified owner was Richard Heber. The auction catalogue for the 10 February 1836 sale of Heber's library, conducted by Robert Harding Evans, offers the most complete description of St Andrews MS 38902:

1311 Peyton (John). A Relation of the Kingdome of Polonia and the United Provinces of the Crowne. *Finis Relationis Historiae et Politico Regni Poloniae* (1599) per J. Peyton juniorem militem, postea locum tenentem Insulae de Jersey. — Tour in Germany in 1596, probably by the same. In one vol.<sup>21</sup>

At the 1836 auction St Andrews MS 38902 was bought by Thomas Phillipps, who catalogued this manuscript in 1837, assigning it the Phillipps number 8292.<sup>22</sup> Phillipps's library catalogue adds the description 'Peyton, (Jno.) de Regno Poloniae. (Lieut. of Jersey Island 1599.) f. ch. s. xvii. *Olim Georgii Sayer*', and is followed by 'Tour in Germany 1596'.<sup>23</sup> The manuscript remained among Phillipps's books after his death in 1872. It was listed for sale by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge on 6 June 1898, at the abovementioned auction, as lot 928, with the following catalogue entry:

Peyton. A Relation of the Kingdom of Polonia, and the United Provinces of the Crowne, by Sir John Peyton, afterwards Lieutenant Governor of the Island of Jersey—Journal of a Tour of Germany in 1596, probably by Peyton, original MS calf. folio. 1596–99.<sup>24</sup>

The manuscript was purchased for £3 9s by Jacques Rosenthal.<sup>25</sup> The final piece of evidence that St Andrews MS 38902 is the manuscript in question, besides containing the Phillipps number 8292 on the first flyleaf, is the torn label with the inscription: 'Jacques Rosenthal, Librarie ancienne, Karl-Strasse 10, Munich (Baviere)'.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Samuel Peterson and William Bristow, *A Catalogue of the Large and Curious English Library of Mr John Hutton* (London: s.n., 1764), p. 189. The manuscript has 'tha' and not 'the' in the title, presumably a mistake for 'that', which appears in the title of BL MS Royal 18 B 1.

<sup>21</sup> Robert H. Evans and Henry Ellis, *Bibliotheca Heberiana: Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber, Esq.*, 13 pts (London: s.n., 1834–37), pt xi, p. 132.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Phillipps, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart.* (Middle Hill: for the author, 1837–[71]).

<sup>23</sup> Phillipps, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum*, p. 126. The item is prefaced by its Heber number, 1311. 'F' stands for 'folio' and 'ch.' for *chartaceus*, 'of paper'.

<sup>24</sup> *Further Portion of the Famous Collection of Classical, Historical, Topographical and Other Manuscript and Autograph Letters of the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps* (London: s.n., 1898), p. 121.

<sup>25</sup> The buyer's surname and the purchase price have been very kindly obtained by Anthony Payne from the copy of the original Sotheby's auction catalogue held in the company archives of Bernard Quaritch Ltd. As I subsequently discovered in my research, rather than the better-known Ludwig the buyer was one of his two younger brothers, Jacques Rosenthal, who was known to frequent Sotheby's auctions in London (Sobocki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*' pp. 1089–90).

<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to Maia Sheridan, manuscripts archivist at the Department of Special Collections at the University Library of St Andrews, for providing this information.

But St Andrews MS 38902 also includes one marking on the second flyleaf that contains puzzling information. The inscription at the top of the second flyleaf features a signature and a four-digit date recto. The first digit is a '1', the second an '8', and the final digit a '0'. The third digit in the date consists of a stem which is longer than that of the first digit and seems to show a hint of a left-angled serif at the top, in which case the date would be 1870. The complete inscription appears to read 'für F. Quaritch 1870'. The initial is an 'F.', often used at the time in German as short for 'Firma', i.e. 'firm'. In 1870 Phillipps finished what Falconer Madan calls 'raiding' the London market for manuscripts,<sup>27</sup> many of which he bought with the help of Bernard Quaritch.<sup>28</sup> Although Quaritch never acquired or sold this manuscript, perhaps Rosenthal may have mistakenly assumed or been told that this manuscript was among those acquired for 'F[irma] Quaritch' in or around 1870 with the purpose of arranging a sale to Phillipps.<sup>29</sup>

Quaritch himself may have suggested as much; after all, he was an acquaintance of Jacques' older brother Ludwig, and Quaritch visited Munich to buy manuscripts (he was born in Germany).<sup>30</sup> In 1898 Quaritch was approaching his eightieth year, and it is plausible that the sheer volume of transactions between Quaritch and Phillipps—not to mention Phillipps's habit in the years leading up to 1870 of acquiring forty to fifty manuscripts per week—may have given rise to this confusion.<sup>31</sup> Alternatively, it is also possible that the digits represent a price at which this manuscript was on offer to Bernard Quaritch Ltd at a later stage.<sup>32</sup>

The sale catalogue for the 6 June 1898 auction as well as most of the earlier catalogues state that a second text, *A Tour of Germany*, was once contained in this manuscript.<sup>33</sup> This second text could not have been very

<sup>27</sup> Falconer Madan, *Books in Manuscript: A Short Introduction to Their Study and Use* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & co., 1893), p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> A. N. L. Munby, *Portrait of an Obsession: The Life of Sir Thomas Phillipps, the World's Greatest Book Collector* (London: Constable, 1967), pp. 170–71.

<sup>29</sup> When Rosenthal bought what now is MS 38902, other than 'George Sayer', and, of course the inscription 'Phillipps MS 8292' on the first flyleaf verso (which testifies to Phillipps's acquisition) there was no record of a previous owner. Phillipps had died in 1872, and the only record for the fact that Phillipps had owned the manuscript since 1836, when he bought it at one of the auctions of Richard Heber's library, was the privately printed and very incomplete catalogue of what amounted only to a fraction of his collection—prepared by Phillipps in 1837. Although some of the fascicles that made up Phillipps's catalogue were circulated on the continent, Rosenthal may not have had access to them during or after the 1898 sale.

<sup>30</sup> B. M. Rosenthal, 'Cartel, Clan, or Dynasty? The Olschkis and the Rosenthals', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 25 (1977), 381–98 (p. 385).

<sup>31</sup> On the Phillipps collection, see A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–60).

<sup>32</sup> 'Firm' is not likely to have been used in reference to Bernard Quaritch during his lifetime. I am grateful for this observation and for the alternative explanation of the marking on the second flyleaf to one of the anonymous readers of this article.

<sup>33</sup> *Further Portion of the Famous Collection of Classical, Historical, Topographical and Other Manuscript and Autograph Letters of the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps* (London: s.n., 1898), 121. This second travel account is missing from St Andrews MS 38902. The sale catalogue and the Heber auction catalogue state that this second text was probably also written by Peyton.



long because the spine of St Andrews MS 38902 leaves little space for more than a modest amount of quires.<sup>34</sup> Since *A Tour of Germany* is not listed in what is the earliest identified appearance of this manuscript in an auction catalogue, the text may have been added later and need not necessarily have been composed by Peyton. The abovementioned auction catalogue for the sale of Heber's library, on the other hand, suggests that *A Tour of Germany* may have been written by the same author (132). Perhaps the date of '1596' and a possible resemblance in hands prompted the auctioneers to ascribe *A Tour of Germany* to Peyton. Similarly, Phillipps's library catalogue gives the date '1596' after 'A Tour of Germany'. However, the Cambridge manuscript suggests that Peyton was indeed in Germany in that year. But until *A Tour of Germany* resurfaces, it will not be possible to identify the author.

Groningen

SEBASTIAN SOBECKI

<sup>34</sup> The spine and the binding stem from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.