Derry & Raphoe Diocesan Library Project

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The Derry & Raphoe Diocesan Library

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I first became acquainted with the books in the Derry and Raphoe Diocesan Library in March 2002, working with Caroline Bendix, who had already spent several weeks there coming to grips with this little-known but utterly fascinating library. Our job was to assess the content (and in my case especially the bindings) and condition of the library, and while I should like to have been able to spend several months in such a collection, I ended up with no more than 14 days. So what I can present to you today is little more than an impression of the library, but if it whets your appetite as much as it did mine, then I shall count this lecture a success.

Derry & Raphoe Diocesan Library Lecture

The library has been something of a Cinderella in the rare book world, in that many otherwise well-informed people in the library world know little or nothing of it. In some ways, its obscurity is surprising, in that the library was included and briefly described in Maura Tallon's survey of Irish diocesan libraries in 1959,¹ but this seems to have drawn little attention to it. Robert Matteson, writing about Archbishop William King's library was well aware of King's role in the formation of the Derry library (he records that King bought Bishop Hopkins' library for the diocese when he was himself Bishop of Derry), but he did not investigate the books themselves.²

The bones of the early history of the library seem to be well established, but a number of questions remain to be answered. The original core of the present collection was formed

¹ Maura Tallon, Church of Ireland diocesan libraries, Dublin: Library Association of David Pearson, Ireland, 1959.

² Robert Matteson, 'Archbishop William King and the Conception of his Library', The Library, 6th series, vol. 13, no.3, September 1991, p.253.

in 1729 when Archbishop King (formerly bishop of Derry) bequeathed to the Lord Bishop of Derry and his successors all the books that he had purchased from the executors of his predecessor at Derry, Ezekiel Hopkins. It appears that Hopkins left his books in Derry when he fled the country in 1689, and that they were still there when King bought them, but it seems that King may have had them moved to Dublin, as they mostly bear a numbering sequence shared by King's other books. However, a large number of books that belonged to an earlier Bishop of Derry, George Downam, were included with Hopkins' collection and it is not known whether these books were part of an earlier diocesan or episcopal library or were simply bought by Hopkins from Downam's family (Bishop Downam died in 1634). The early status of Bishop Downam's collection, therefore, remains uncertain, though an internal document written sometime after1983 refers to the existence of a "library of some sort in Derry in 1666". The inclusion of the books of William Harrison, the Elizabethan antiquary within the Downam library added a substantial number of the older and more important books to the collection, so that this shadowy "library of some sort", if it existed as a formally established cathedral library, was clearly not a negligible collection.

I found no books at Derry bearing King's name (as there are still at Cashel – King's nephew's nephew Robert Spence sold his books to Theophilus Bolton, Bishop of Cashel), which suggests that King's books might not have got to Derry. There are about 750 volumes still in the library with the box and book number system (or a clear indication that they once had it) used by King both for the books at Derry and those at Cashel, which gave each book a box number and a book number. In the case of the Derry books, the box and book numbers are usually followed by the word 'Derry', which was presumably added to identify those books which King wanted to go to the new diocesan library in Derry. This suggests that the books were perhaps removed from Derry during King's lifetime, but I was only able to record about 60 volumes (56 editions) that have examples of Hopkins' various signatures in them, though it must be remembered that some of his signatures will have been lost through damage or rebinding. It is hard to believe that only 60 volumes would have been thought of as a major gift, and the possibility exists that Hopkins did not write his name in all his books.

The King gift did, however, include the Downam books, to which he, as one-time Bishop of Derry, would presumably have had access even if they had not already been incorporated into Hopkins' library. The question as to whether they were all by then part of the same collection or whether King brought them together will have to remain open unless other evidence comes to light. What is clear even from the incomplete records available to me during my visits to the library is that substantial numbers of books of the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries came from sources other than the King bequest and the incorporation of the Raphoe library. From the surviving books, it is clear that only around 20% of the total (excluding the Raphoe books) still have evidence of belonging to the King bequest. This means that around three-quarters of the collection presumably came from other sources – which might possibly include books belonging to Bishop King, but not identified as such. Evidence of some confusion between collections is to be found in one book (H.2.A.14), which was given to the library in the nineteenth century with the Seymour collection, but has a King bequest book number in it. Stories of books 'wandering' into the personal use of the local clergy may clearly have some foundation.

Tallon records that in the eighteenth century there were "substantial gifts from the private libraries of various scholarly gentlemen, notably Sir William Clarke".³ None of the surviving books that I have examined bears evidence of having belonged to Clarke, but Charles Seymour gave at least a further 119 books in 1886 (identified by a printed bookplate), Lord Lifford donated a collection of pamphlets in 1913 and the Torrens family gave a number of books in 1917 (88 recorded so far), which included books from both the Stokes and Knox families. Whether such gifts can account for the books not included in the King bequest is another open question.

After the union of the two dioceses of Derry and Raphoe in 1834, the books of the diocesan library of Raphoe were added to the collection, greatly enlarging its size. I was able to list 1522 editions during my survey, out of 3000 volumes supposedly in the library in 1837.⁴ The 1868 printed Raphoe catalogue lists approximately 2280 titles. Whilst there was some duplication of a number of earlier titles between the two diocesan libraries, the start of the period of rapid growth of editions from Raphoe, the 1680s, coincides with the cessation of collection of the original King bequest, which appears to contain (rather surprisingly, since Hopkins did not leave until 1689) no editions dated later than 1685. The two collections therefore fit together rather well.

The Raphoe library was the creation of Bishop Nicholas Forster and the Vice-Provost, Dr Hall, and books from their personal collections are still to be found amongst the Raphoe books, such as a commentary on Aristotle printed in Padua with the inscription: *ex libris / Jo: Hall / empt Dubl / 1651*, (perhaps Dr Hall's father? F.D.2?) just one of a number of inscriptions giving us direct information about the purchase of new books. Others include a 1512 Parisprinted Gratian with the inscription *Liber d[o]m[inis] J[o]ha[nni]s erbe [orbe?] emptus oxon an[no] salut[is] 1513, and a 1620* Cologne edition with the note *Huic lib. emi Edinburgensis in officinum And. heart Bibliopola 18.Aug 1620. 2 s. et 8.d.* Many books have prices written in them and the collection as a whole has great potential for research into the cost and availability of books, particularly into the importation of continental editions into Britain.

The varied provenances of individual books within the collection in fact constitute a rich field for study. Many of the books, especially the earlier ones, bear contemporary ownership inscriptions, and successions of inscriptions, and offer important clues to the accumulation of the books at both Derry and Raphoe. The name Harrison appears in upwards of a hundred of the early printed books, indicating that they belonged to the Elizabethan antiquary William Harrison, who contributed the *Description of England* to Holinshed's *Chronicles.*⁵ These books were part of the library of George Downam, a teacher of Ramian logic at Cambridge and later Bishop of Derry, who married Harrison's daughter Anne.

³ Ibid., p.11

⁴ Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 1837, p.485.

⁵ The information about Harrison comes from George Edelen, 'William Harrison (1535-1593)', Studies in the Renaissance, Vol. IX, pp.256-272.

The survival intact of a substantial part of an Elizabethan private and scholarly library is remarkable enough, but the fact that it belonged to a known author and that many of the books have marginal notes in them adds greatly to its research value. An addition in manuscript to his copy of John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium majoris Britanniae … catalogus* (Basel, 1557-9, shelfmark D.2.d.7) turns out to be a brief biography of Harrison.⁶ A number of the Harrison books have the name Byrd written on their title pages in an earlier hand, indicating the existence of the remnants of a still earlier collection.

The books from the Downam library are identified by a neatly written signature on the their title pages, sometimes with the Christian name George or the initial G, identifying George Downham, Bishop of Derry, who died in 1634, just as the building of the present cathedral was started. The names Samuel and James Downame are also found, indicating books from other members of the family. Two books, Polydore Vergil, Anglicæ Historiæ Libri XXVI, Basel 1534 (D.2.e.6) and the Erasmus New Testament, of 1535 have the formula *Liber su[m] Gulielmi Dounami* written in them in an earlier hand, one followed by the word *sacerdotis* which has been crossed out, and whilst the other has a piece of paper torn out where the word *sacerdotis* might have been written. These almost certainly belonged to George Downham's father, William, Bishop of Chester, who was born in 1505 and died in 1577, who may have found the title 'sacerdotis' somewhat inconvenient at the reformation – or perhaps it was an act of filial editing on the part of his son?

Other names are found less frequently but will on occasion add to the information available about the libraries of famous people. The fine binding belonging to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester is perhaps the most prominent, but the volume containing two works by Carolus Sigonius which belonged to Ben Jonson comes a close second. The signature of Francis Quarles presents something of a problem, as the poet of that name died in 1644, and yet this signature appears in two books printed in the early 1650s. The poet had at one time been secretary to James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, but I do not know the identity of the owner of this signatures. Other names include Thomas Summaster, an Oxford graduate who died in 1603 as rector of Bere Regis in Devon and some of whose books ended up in Exeter Cathedral library (which might suggest a connection with Hopkins, who began his clerical life in Devon).

Institutional ownerships are also found, the earliest, in a copy of Pius II Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Epistolae familiares ad adversos*, Nuremburg: Anton Koberger, 1486, in a contemporary binding, coming from the Crutched Friars near the Tower of London with the inscription *Liber conve*[*n*]*t*[*u*]*s fr*[*m*] *crucifeoru*[*m*] *iuxta turrim / Londoniarum*. A later inscription in the same book records the ownership of a man called Dent. It would be nice to think that this was Arthur Dent, the clergyman and religious writer who died in 1603, and whose name was taken by Douglas Adam for the protagonist in The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy.

There are at least two later Irish monastic provenances, one, in a 1626 Lisbon edition, from the Discalced Carmelites in Kilkenny (*Carmelitarum Regii Hiberniae Discalc. Kilkeniae*), and another, printed in Antwerp in 1597, from a Dublin Carmelite convent (*Discal. ord[i]nis. B[eat] us Virg[in]is Mariae de monte carmeli Convent. Dublin*). This latter belonged to Samuel Foley, Bishop of Down and Connor, whose library was acquired by William King in 1696-7, after Foley's death in 1695. At least 49 of Foley's books, (a total which does not include many pamphlets in bound volumes) went to Raphoe and are now to be found in the diocesan library in Derry and some of Foley's books also have earlier provenances. The large folio edition of the Decretals of Gratian (Lyon, 1555) from the famous library of the Carthusian monastery at Buxheim must be a much later addition to the library, but happily retains its original German blind-stamped tawed pigskin binding over beech-wood boards.

John Fox, who wrote his name in the formula 'Joannis Foxi et amicorum', was almost certainly the John Fox who was Fellow of Corpus Christi Oxford and one of the circle of early English humanists gathered around Thomas Linacre. He died ca 1530, and is known to have used this popular humanistic latin tag.⁷ Fox's name is found in a copy of *Hesychi Dictionarivm* printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1514 in a very unusual binding. It was probably bound in Oxford, and is not only a rare example of a contemporary English binding on an Aldine edition, but also one of the earliest English books to be sewn on cords after the Anglo-Saxon period.⁸ The reason for this was that the binder was trying, however feebly, to imitate a Greek-style binding with a smooth spine, but either without knowledge of, or, perhaps, a desire to make use of, the unsupported sewing of a genuine Greek binding that would result in such a spine. The use of skin wedges to fasten the slips in the boards, is a technique that I have recorded on bindings made throughout the sixteenth century on English bindings.

The more famous John Foxe, the martyrologist, appears as the donor of a copy of his book *De Christo gratis iustificante. Contra Osorianam iustitiam,* etc, (London, 1583) inscribed *Edmondo Ploydono / ex dono Jon. Foxii.* The recipient is likely to have been Edmond Plowden, the jurist, who died in 1585. The library, in fact, contains a number of author's presentation copies: **[X]** There is a presentation copy of John Stearne's *De Electione & Reprobatione Dissertatio,* (Dublin, 1662), but unfortunately the recipient's name has been rather imprenetrably crossed out. Stearne, married to the niece of Archbishop Ussher, was the founder of the Irish College of Physicians. The posthumous edition of the same author's *De obstinatione* (Dublin, 1672, J.3.a.17) was presented by its editor, Henry Dodwell, to Ezekiel Hopkins with the very personal inscription: *Ezek: Hopkins Rapotensis / Authoris amicissimi / donum,* and it is worth noting that this book has neither Hopkins' signature nor a King bequest number. The connections between a number of Irish families is evidenced through the inscriptions in these and many more books in this library, a large proportion of which arrived through the Torrens and Seymour bequests. The book also shows a typical phenomenon of the English booktrade of the 1670s

⁷ David Pearson, Provenance research in book history: a handbook, London: British Library, 1994, p.25

⁸ The decoration of the book consists of single impression on each board of a medium-sized tool of a floral design within a lozenge, which may be Oldham's stamp1064, found in use in 1519, but the impressions are too badly damaged for a definitive identification.

and 80s – the used of recessed sewing supports (and a central adhesive recess) and false raised bands, a structure clearly used in Ireland as well.

An unexpected but very interesting avenue of research is opened up by the presence of books belonging to women, at least 19 of whom are identified in different books. Some are early, such as Elisabeth Gale who owned a copy of Robert Bolton's *A discourse about the state of true happinesse* (London, 1626) before it was acquired by Ezekiel Hopkins, Elizabeth Holt, owner of Peter Heylin's *A Coale from the altar* (London, 1636) before it formed part of King's bequest, Catherine Killigrew, whose copy of De la Place's *Traicté de L'Excellence de L'Homme Chrestien* (1575) also ended up in King's bequest, which also included Mary Cripsell's copy of John Brinsley's *Saints Joint-Membership* (London, 1653, J.2.b.4, Fig.16). At a later date a group of young women living in or near Derry, Jane Schoales, Margaret Prestley and A. Buchanan, bought both literary and devotional works around the year 1800. Through them there is a connection with the Knox family, many of whose books ended up in the library of Charles Seymour before he presented it to the Diocesan Library in 1886.

School books offer another source of information about local families, accumulating, as they often do, the names of the successions of school children who used them, as well as offering an insight into what was being taught and where. Several members of the Torrens, Lee and Stokes families went to Trinity College, Dublin, and the Diocesan library has nineteen examples of the prize bindings they and others were given through the eighteenth century, with the arms of the college on the front cover, such one, with the second premium book label, which was presented to Thomas Ashe Lee in 1734. A single binding from the Londonderry Public Library (a copy of volume four only of Horace in translation, London, 1807 in the Seymour gift) has also been preserved.

The library is not otherwise rich in armorial or emblematic bindings, but one striking example is found on a London edition of 1596 which has the following inscription on the title page [X] :

Omnes omnium charitates / patria una complexa est / Geor. Vavasour / - 21 - junij - 1605 / - 3° -et - 38° - Jar. regis. / T.C.C I.T.L.

Blocked into the centre of each board is a large sword, the hilt in gold leaf and the blade in silver. Another book with the same inscription has just surfaced in the library at Nostell Priory. Sir Walter Raleigh also puts in an appearance, adding his unusual crest to a binding which already had a small central ornament, which, sadly, shows that he was not the earlier owner of the book who bought it as a sewn textblock and wrote the instruction 'paper boards' on one of the flyleaves, another piece of the evidence which is increasingly showing that books were often bought without covers or boards.

This is just a small sample of the rich provenance history contained within these books, and it is likely that many more will have a local significance unknown to me, offering a fruitful field for future study. The study of how the different collections which constitute the library were built up offers valuable research potential, offering insights into the history of Irish libraries, the booktrade and connections between families and friends both within and outside Ireland. This history should also, of course, include the editions listed in the earlier catalogues but now missing from the library.

Many of the books were no doubt used in the Diocesan School, later Foyle College, which suggests an opportunity to study what was taught in the schools in Derry from an early date – and who might have used them – though who the Edmund Eustace was who was described as a 'rogue and knave' in the margin of one of them, I cannot tell you.

I was able to identify only one edition which does not appear in ESTC, a copy of a chapbooktype romance entitled *The Fortunate and Unfortunate Lovers: or the History of the Lives, Fortunes, and Advantagers of Dorastus Prince of Sicily, and Fawnia, only Daughter to the King of Bohemia; Of Hero, only daughter of Amelius, Prince of Sestos, and Leander, Prince of Abydos*, printed in Dublin in 1740, an extraordinarily well preserved example of a popular romance in its original binding, covered in the material known as a "sheep grain" (the outer split of a sheepskin, the flesh split going to make parchment), whose use was forbidden by the Guild of Saint Luke in Dublin in 1725. It is a real surprise to find such a book in a diocesan library.

The bindings

One of the most striking features of the collection is the large number of books in undisturbed original or early bindings. With the almost inevitable exception of the 'special' books now kept in the cathedral strong room, many of which were repaired when Colonel Hart was cataloguing the collection, and a rebinding programme for the most badly damaged books in the 1830s or 40s, the collection has largely escaped the hands of the repairers with the result that although many books are now in a very fragile condition, it represents a very important collection for the study of the history of binding.

It has few examples of what would normally be called 'fine' bindings, but amongst them is a hitherto unrecorded binding for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester by the so-called Initial Binder, with the bear and ragged staff in the centre of each board, on a copy of Gregory of Nazianzus in Greek, printed in Basel in circa 1550, surviving in unusually fresh and original condition.

This is, however, an exception. More significant, in terms of the collection as a whole, are the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books in contemporary or early English bindings, which apart from their virtues as bindings, are also valuable indications of early English ownership of the texts inside them. The 1514 Aldine Hesychius that I have already mentioned is an obvious example, but the collection of bindings from named booksellers/binders is equally significant. From the sixteenth century, I was able to identify six bindings from the shop of John Reynes (London), seven from that of Nicholas Spierinck (Cambridge) with his signed roll, four from that of Garrett Godfrey (Cambridge), also with his signed roll with the double GG initials. One of these has the ownership inscription of Thomas Wilson, possibly the humanist and administrator, born 1534/4 and who died in 1581. There is also a binding by the Dragon Binder (Oxford), another by Garrett Pilgrim (Oxford), two by Dominick Pinart (Oxford) and one for Richard Faques (a Norman bookseller working in London). There are ten panel-stamp bindings.

Oxford bindings of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are particularly well represented (perhaps as many as 82), but a great many more bindings remain to be identified,

amongst them forty-two centrepiece bindings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Because of its condition, the collection also offers a remarkable opportunity for the study of the structure and materials used in the bindings, a study which is increasingly beginning to show that it can offer remarkable insights onto the trade in and ownership of books.

One early sixteenth-century binding,⁹ probably from either Oxford or London, is sewn on paired single supports, a technique which at this date, under normal circumstances, is only found on southern German bindings. How it comes to have been used on this binding is something of a mystery, but it is most probably the work of an immigrant binder.

A significant number of bindings is distinguished by the use of board linings, of both plain and printed waste paper, and the use of such linings (in seventeenth-century bindings) is more widespread in this collection than I have ever encountered elsewhere. They are sometimes found in conjunction with pink-coloured paper boards, a most unusual material which I have only ever seen before on a single book bound by a clergyman in the Lake District in 1728. A number of books of the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also has thin card linings of rope-fibre board on the inside of the boards, pasted over the slips laced through the boards, but under the turn-ins of the covering material. I suspect that these distinctive materials and techniques may well, on further analysis, prove to be Irish, and thus offer ways of distinguishing English from Irish bindings in ways not previously thought of. The presence of so many Irish editions in an Irish collection suggests that there must also be equally large numbers of Irish bindings. Being able to work out how many of the English editions are also in Irish bindings may offer a new perspective on the workings of the booktrade across the Irish Sea.

In terms of the history of bookbinding, therefore, this library is one of the most interesting collections I have worked in, but one which will require some very innovative curatorial thinking if its archaeological value is to survive intact – something that I know has been very much on the minds of the conservators who have been working on the collection.

While the vast majority of the books are in what might be described as standard library bindings of their date (and as such constitute a very valuable collection for the study of what constitutes 'standard' bindings - something rarely done in the field of bookbinding studies), there are a few highly unusual bindings, some of exceptional rarity. There are, for instance, at least two, possibly three, bindings with stiff boards that have never been covered, a state in which books were sold so that the new owner could decide on the type and cost of the covering material, but in which condition, for obvious reasons, very few survive. It was also possible, as I have already mentioned, to buy books as sewn textblocks without either boards or cover, and the collection has at least four of these. One is on a Hagenau edition of 1531 and has endleaves made from fragments of Romanesque manuscript, and another, on a Rheims edition of 1564, has, more remarkably, two leaves from a contemporary bookseller's

⁹ Guillermus Parisiensis, Pars Secunda operum ... epistolas Morales theologas atque Philosophices de sacramentis, Paris: François Regnault, 1516

stocklist used as the endleaves. One of these lists about 30 books of unknown format whose authors begin with the letter G, including at least 13 books by Galen and a work on metallurgy by Georgius Agricola. The other leaf lists folios under the letter S, including Strabo, Suetonius and Saint Thomas Aquinas and a variety of titles beginning with the word *Speculum*. It goes without saying that such fragments from this early date are extremely rare.

Almost as rare is the simple, ephemeral binding on a London edition of 1582 which retains its original stitched wrapper cut from a leaf of twelfth-century manuscript. The Harrison inscription on the titlepage indicates that the binding predates his death in 1593, which means that it comes from at least the first decade of the introduction of this distinctive binding type, which came under the control of the Stationers' Company in 1586 following complaints from the bookbinders that its then recent introduction into the booktrade would deprive them of work. A tiny number of these cheap, throw-away, bindings survive from this early date, and this example survives in surprisingly good condition.

Manuscript fragments.

The use of waste manuscript and printed material used in the bindings in general offers another rich field of study within the collection. There are several quite early manuscript fragments including two, used as endleaf guards in an early seventeenth-century Oxford binding, taken from a Carolingian manuscript of the 9th or10th century, possibly from either Salzburg or Tegensee.¹⁰ Other bindings contain the more usual collection of fragments from late medieval liturgical works, though there are several Romanesque fragments, one of which includes some early musical notation.

Three volumes of Luther's biblical commentaries in contemporary English bindings have endleaf guards made from strips of parchment cut from what appears to have been a large painting. This is highly unusual and demands further study. I listed 99 bindings in which medieval manuscript waste is to be found, a figure that does not include the more recent document waste that was also used. The identification of the manuscript fragments may well offer indications of provenance for the bindings as well as possibly identifying waste of interest in itself. If any of the bindings containing such fragments are Irish, it possible that the waste will also have an Irish origin.

A copy of the Lefèvre d'Etaples edition of Richard of St. Victor's *de super diuina Trinitate theologicum opus*, Paris: Henri Estienne, 1510 in a contemporary Cambridge binding for Garret Godrey has early English examples of pasteboards, made up from leaves of fifteenth-century paper manuscripts. As the book is now almost entirely in pieces, the opportunity is afforded for a more complete, but very careful, examination of these leaves (which come from a variety of sources) than would otherwise be possible. It was from a Godfrey binding some years ago that leaves of his own accounts were retrieved – a unique discovery.¹¹

¹⁰ I am grateful to Michelle Brown of the Manuscript Department of the British Library for her suggestions as to the date and origin of these fragments.

¹¹ E. Leedham-Green, Garrett Godfrey's Accounts c. 1527-1533, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph 12, 1992.

There is also a great deal of printed waste, used either as endleaves or board linings (as mentioned above, there are more of the latter than is usual in such collections), and its identification may well offer clues as to provenance as well as being of interest in itself. One example, in a contemporary English binding on a Herborn edition of 1613, is a leaf from Ben Jonson's *His part of King lames his royall and magnificent entertainement through his honorable cittie of London, Thurseday the 15. of March.1603*, printed in 1604, a type of waste not often found in use by binders.

It would be possible to continue giving examples from this remarkable collection – I took almost a thousand slides in the course of my survey – but my time must be up. I hope I have been able to show you enough to reveal what a remarkable collection the Derry and Raphoe Diocesan Library contains – and that without really looking at the texts contained within the books. Part of its magic constitutes one of its most difficult problems – the fragile condition of the books reveals more than is normally visible in library collections, and its comparative lack of interventions by way of repair and rebinding makes it a remarkably rich field for research. These very qualities are those which make access to the books potentially so damaging, yet repairs to ensure safer handling will threaten its archaeological value. Reconciling these two aspects of the collection will be one of the many challenges that will face those responsible for its curation in the coming decades.