

The history of the Auldjo Jug 1830–60 – a review and critique: was Sir Walter Scott the real benefactor?

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ABSTRACT

The so-called 'Auldjo Jug' is an extremely important cameo glass artefact from Pompeii in the British Museum. The extant pieces of the lower part and of the upper part of the jug came to the Museum from two British owners as a result of a purchase and a bequest. Exactly how the parts came into the possession of the seller (Dr Hogg) and the bequeather (Miss Auldjo) has not been clearly established. Current theory proposes that two British residents of Naples received the jug pieces from two different sources at different times. Here the evidence is examined in relation to the people in Naples around the time when the jug was excavated. This article suggests that it would seem more feasible that Sir Walter Scott, when he visited in Naples in 1832, was presented with all the excavated pieces, and that he then, on his departure, divided the fragments and passed them on to two people in Naples with whom he was well acquainted and to whom he owed a debt of gratitude.

INTRODUCTION

In November 1830, when the young Ferdinand II succeeded his father as King of Naples,¹ excavation had just begun on the house in Pompeii which came to be known as the House of the Faun. As work on the site continued through 1831, it produced some quite exceptional finds including not only the statue of the Dancing Faun, after which the house was named, but also some fine mosaics, culminating in October 1831 with the finest of them all, the Alexander Mosaic, apparently showing Alexander and Darius in combat at the Battle of Issus. Also found on the site were the broken fragments of a blue and white glass jug. Although much less obviously spectacular than many of the other finds, these glass fragments must have been immediately recognised as an exceptional find, for they were neither of blue glass with white decorations, nor of blue and white marvered glass, but of cameo glass.² The early cameo glass vessels 'were, and still are, reckoned the ultimate achievement of glass incision of all

times'.³ Complete, or almost complete, pieces of Roman cameo glass are extremely rare – fewer than 20 are currently recorded.⁴ Of these, five were found at Pompeii and, of these, the jug subsequently reconstituted from the glass fragments excavated at the House of the Faun was the first. By 1860, some 30 years after its excavation, these fragments had found their way to the British Museum and had been given the name 'The Auldjo Jug' (BM 1859,0216.1).⁵ In the Museum's Pompeii and Herculaneum exhibition in 2013, the jug featured as one of the few important pieces from the Museum's own collections. This paucity of objects should not be attributed to the Museum's acquisition policy, but to the very sharp control maintained by the Kings of Naples over all objects found at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Finds from the two sites were routinely transferred to the Royal Museum in Naples.

As a result of the strict Royal oversight of excavations carried out at Pompeii and Herculaneum, all finds were carefully recorded, and yet, for some reason, no official record

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ILLUS 1 The Auldjo Jug (H: 22.8cm, Diam: 14.3cm). British Museum permitted use under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence

appears to have been made of the discovery of the cameo jug pieces in the House of the Faun. Thus the first publication of the jug's existence derived from a short work of 1836 on ancient glass by the Prussian antiquarian Heinrich von Minutoli.⁶ Here he related how, on a visit to Naples in 1834, he was shown roughly half the jug which the owner had 'bought' (*erstand*) and was told that a lady owned another substantial part that she had been given by 'an important person' (*einer hohen Person*). He described how the owner had a skilled draughtsman make a sketch of how the whole jug would have looked by replicating patterns where appropriate. According to Minutoli therefore, the fragments of this rare cameo glass jug had been somehow shared out between two individuals shortly after being excavated. This division of the pieces would seem to be confirmed by the fact that the British Museum acquired them in two tranches: pieces from the base of the jug were purchased from Dr Hogg in 1840, and some of the upper portion of the jug, including the handle and spout, were received in a bequest from Madeline Auldjo in 1859.

THE CURRENT POST-EXCAVATION NARRATIVE

In seeking to establish the post-excavation history of the jug, a clear line of investigation presents itself. Although the names of the two last private owners of the jug pieces are known (Madeline Auldjo and Dr Hogg), it is essential to establish precisely who they were and then consider how, when and why they might have come into possession of pieces of such a precious object. Some plausible explanation also needs to be put forward as to why the discovery of the pieces at the House of the Faun was not officially recorded. Over the last century and a half, attempts to elucidate the jug's post-excavation history have been made. The resulting narrative, some of which comes across as inadequate or implausible, will be critically reviewed in this paper and an alternative narrative put forward.

In 1983, some 130 years after the acquisition of the jug by the British Museum, Donald Harden provided his summing up of its post-excavation history.⁷ According to Harden, the base pieces were bought from Dr J B Hogg and the neck and handle were bequeathed by Madeline Auldjo. The purchase record indicated that Hogg sold seven fragments and, as there are 15 fragments in all, he assumed that there were eight fragments in the Auldjo bequest. He pointed out that at the time of Madeline's death at Noel House, Kensington, her uncle John was also living there, and that this cohabitation may have resulted in Bulloch wrongly suggesting that John Auldjo, not his niece, was the owner of the jug handle section.⁸ He noted that, according to Kisa (1908), the 'important person' was the Prince of Capua (ie Prince Charles, brother of King Ferdinand II) and that therefore it must have been he who gave the upper section of the jug to Madeline.⁹ Dr Hogg must have either acquired his pieces from Minutoli's 'present owner' or possibly have been that owner himself.

Moving on from this rather limited and sketchy account, let us consider how the narrative of the jug's route from excavation to the British Museum has been adjusted in more recent publications, in particular: Roberts et al (2010: 43–7), Roberts (2013: 243–4) and Jamieson (2009: 136–8). In these works, more useful detail is provided on the Auldjo family. In particular, it is proposed that Madeline Auldjo, who was born in 1830, would have inherited the handle section from her mother Annie Maria who, with her husband Richardson Auldjo, had become resident in Naples in 1829.¹⁰ Here they were joined by Richardson's brother John – who had achieved some measure of fame through his ascent of Mont Blanc in 1827 and more especially through the publication of his account of it a year later.¹¹ The Auldjo brothers, although born in Canada, were the sons of Alexander Auldjo of Aberdeen and descended from the Algeos who had arrived in Scotland from Italy in the mid-15th century. It is suggested that John Auldjo was, after all, the probable beneficiary of Prince Charles's gift, and that he then passed it on to his sister-in-law, Annie Maria.

To explain how John might have come to be the original recipient, it was noted that Prince Charles, the King's brother, visited the Pompeii storeroom on 11 June 1833 and picked out some objects to take away: 'As well as some bronze vessels and figurines and some pottery vases, he chose some pieces of glass, one of which was ... the mouth and handle of a *nasiterno*, blue in colour with white decoration.'¹² The latter is assumed to be the handle piece of the Auldjo Jug which was subsequently given by the Prince to John. Why to John? 'In the same year [1833] John Auldjo published a volume entitled *Sketches of Vesuvius* (Longman, London). The volume was dedicated to His Royal Highness Charles, Prince of Capua ... It is tempting to see some form of aristocratic gift exchange linking the book and the neck of the jug.'¹³

Much more hesitation is shown in the identification of Dr Hogg. The original British Museum documentation recording the acquisition of the jug pieces in 1840 denoted the seller simply as 'Dr Hogg'. At some subsequent point, the initials J B were inserted in the records and a former curator suggested this might be John Hogg (1800–69), a Cambridge academic who had written on archaeological subjects. Yet this John Hogg had neither a doctorate nor a second initial 'B'. It was therefore finally, but tentatively, proposed that 'the balance of probability suggests that Dr Edward Hogg, physician, antiquarian and traveller, was the owner of the base of the Auldjo Jug'.¹⁴ To explain how Hogg might have obtained his pieces, it was noted that when Sir Walter Scott was in Naples in early 1832, Edward Hogg had accompanied him on some of his expeditions, and therefore it was recognised as a possibility that 'Hogg, or even the idolised Scott himself' might have come into possession of the lower part of the jug.¹⁵

A CRITIQUE OF THE NARRATIVE

The current theory, as outlined above, proposes therefore that the two separate tranches of an important piece of Pompeian cameo glass acquired by the British Museum in 1840 and 1859

had come into the possession of two different British owners from different sources at different times. Expressed thus in simple terms, it stretches credibility and therefore calls for sharp scrutiny. Let us consider the alleged involvement of Prince Charles. An examination of the items (as listed by Fiorelli 1860–4, vol II: 275) which he removed from the storeroom on 11 June 1833, shows that he came away with over three dozen objects. It is true that one of these is a blue and white jug spout and handle, but this is just one object on the list which included a small statuette holding a theatrical mask, a small ox's head with horns, a small goose preening itself, carbonised nuts and a piece of carbonised bread. A consideration of the whole list surely shows that Prince Charles was not there to select gifts for his friends, but had some wider purpose, perhaps a small palace exhibition of a range of ordinary objects found at Pompeii or to provide illustrative material for some publication.

Whatever may have motivated Prince Charles to make his visit on 11 June 1833, there are overwhelming reasons why one should not assume, as previous writers about the jug appear to have done, that the blue and white jug handle and spout he removed was the handle and spout of the Auldjo Jug. First, it would surely have been indicated in the text that this, a piece of cameo glass, was something extraordinarily rare and special. Second, when pieces of cameo glass, as opposed to ordinary glass, were described in records of the time, they were clearly distinguished by the inclusion of the word (*basso*) *rilievo*;¹⁶ thus here the description as it stands would apply more appropriately to a vessel of blue and white marvered glass or blue glass with white tracings, ie the sort of coloured glass much more widely used at the time. The original description made directly after Prince Charles's visit states that the glass was blue, which would not be accurate for a cameo glass object which is of two colours.¹⁷ Third, no reference is made to the base pieces in Hogg's possession. It is inconceivable that the superintendent of excavations did not know of their existence or would have been unaware of the link between the handle and spout section and the extant base pieces. Fourth, the list makes it clear that the fragment was a single

piece – whereas if Harden is right in saying that Madeline Auldjo's bequest consisted of several pieces of the upper part of the jug, the archive record does not tally with the pieces held by the Auldjos. Fifth, whatever motivated Prince Charles to make his extraordinary visit to the storeroom to pick out the objects on the list, the fact that not one of them has emerged and been identified since is a strong indication that they all had a single, though unknown, destination. If the assumption is persisted in that the blue and white jug handle and spout in the list could only have been the handle and spout of the Auldjo Jug, why was it this item, rather than any other, that the Prince chose to give to John Auldjo? Even if one ignores that royalty would never normally make a gift of an isolated fragment, it would seem an extraordinary coincidence that the Prince should choose to give to John Auldjo a part of that very same jug of which the other extant parts had some time before come into the hands of another British owner. As there can have been no way of being in possession of a Pompeian antiquity more legitimately than having received it as a gift from a member of the Neapolitan royal family, we may furthermore ask why the donor was not openly acknowledged, either to Minutoli or subsequently.

We also need to question why Prince Charles had any reason to make a gift to John Auldjo. When Prince Charles sanctioned Auldjo to dedicate his book to him and permitted it to be printed, an authorisation which would have passed through official channels, it was the Prince who was graciously doing a favour to Auldjo, not the other way round. In such circumstances, royalty might have magnanimously recognised the dedication with some formal gift in return. However, it is highly implausible that Prince Charles personally went into the Pompeii storeroom – over a year after the dedication – in order to extract the jug handle as such a formal return gift, and all the more so as John Auldjo was not then in Naples. He had left the city at the beginning of April 1833 for an expedition to Constantinople and only returned in mid-August. Certainly, the notion that Prince Charles and John Auldjo were engaged in 'some form of aristocratic gift exchange linking the book and the

neck of the jug',¹⁸ should be rejected – not least because John Auldjo was neither aristocratic nor titled. It seems highly unlikely that they shared any close personal acquaintance with each other – if they did, it is strange that Jamieson (2009), in his biography of Auldjo, gives no evidence for it. However, one must further question whether John Auldjo played any direct part in the jug's history as the evidence points clearly to it having been Annie Maria Auldjo, not her brother-in-law, who from the first was the possessor of the handle portion of the jug.¹⁹ There is certainly no evidence that Prince Charles and Annie Maria knew each other, let alone in such a way that the Prince would have been inclined to make her a gift.

Whereas writers on the jug seem to have been ready to make assumptions about the identity of the piece withdrawn from the storeroom by Prince Charles and about the relationship between the Prince and John Auldjo, they seem to have been unnecessarily tentative on the identity of Dr Hogg. The person sometimes referred to as 'a Dr Hogg' can have been none other than Dr Edward Hogg (1782–1848). He had received medical training at St Bartholomew's Hospital²⁰ and subsequently practised in Hendon. In the late 1820s, for health reasons, he came to reside in Naples. He would therefore have been in the city when the jug was excavated. There is no evidence whatsoever of any other Dr Hogg having been in Naples over this relevant period. As well as this external evidence, there is also clear internal evidence of his identity. In 1836 the British Museum purchased a Greek Psalm fragment from Dr Hogg. This papyrus (British Museum Papyrus 37) can be linked incontrovertibly to Dr Edward Hogg.²¹ Thus when, in 1840, Hogg sold further items to the Museum, mainly from Egypt but including the Jug pieces, it is understandable that his name was entered simply as 'Dr Hogg' in the register.²²

Before evaluating the current official narrative and putting forward an alternative, it would seem useful to look more closely at the evidence of Minutoli. The Prussian antiquary wrote about his inspection of the base of the jug in 1834. He indicates that the present owner had 'bought' (*erstand*) his pieces. Schulz, in his

comments on the jug in 1839, wrote of its being broken into two pieces, one part being ‘sold’ (*fu venduta*), the other given by the Prince of Capua to an English lady.²³ Kisa also interprets *erstand* literally as ‘having acquired them on the open market’.²⁴ These interpretations are not plausible. All objects found in Pompeii belonged to the royal family and to remove them and sell them on was absolutely forbidden.²⁵ If the pieces of such an important find had been obtained illegally, it is unimaginable that Minutoli would have been shown them. In addition, there is no evidence that Hogg was a collector of Roman antiquities: apart from the Auldjo Jug pieces, the only Roman item he sold to the British Museum in 1840 was a mould-made pottery lamp.

Minutoli indicated that the present owner had roughly half the jug and that a lady had another substantial part. He describes what ‘the present owner’ had done to reassemble all the extant pieces and his getting the help of a ‘skilled draughtsman’ to show how the complete jug would have looked. Minutoli’s failure to name Edward Hogg as the owner could derive from the fact that he probably did not meet him. At the beginning of March 1834, Sir William Gell wrote to Lady Blessington to introduce her to Edward Hogg, who was about to set off on a short business trip to London.²⁶ Minutoli left Rome for Naples at the end of March and stayed ten weeks.²⁷ If Hogg had already gone, his part of the vase must have been shown to Minutoli by someone else, quite probably Sir William Gell. Indeed, Gell was the person most likely to have informed Minutoli of Hogg’s possession of the jug pieces; he was on close terms with Hogg, while being acquainted with Minutoli.²⁸ The vagueness of language in relation to the Hogg portion of the jug also applies to the handle and spout portion. Minutoli does not indicate that he met the owner, nor indeed that he actually saw the handle and spout part of the jug. For the illustration in his book of the reconstructed jug, an important factor in diffusing knowledge of the jug’s existence, he could, for the handle section, have depended on the sketch which Hogg had commissioned.²⁹ Certainly, some 20 years later, Trollope, who had access to both the Hogg and the Auldjo pieces, though not together, used the sketch shown to

him by Annie Maria Auldjo to help him create the frontispiece of his *Illustrations of Ancient Art* (1854). It is surely not insignificant that both the Minutoli and the Trollope illustrations show the jug from the same angle, ie presumably that shown in the sketch.

Whether or not Minutoli met either of the owners of the jug pieces in 1834, there is no doubt that, either through discretion or ignorance or both, he fails to identify either of the owners and is vague about how and through whom they obtained their pieces. The lack of a common language with his host, whether Hogg or someone else, may also have contributed to Minutoli’s limited understanding of the manner in which the pieces had been acquired. By contrast, he is firm in his assertion that the jug was found in the House of the Faun – presumably because he had been told this as fact and had no reason to doubt it.³⁰

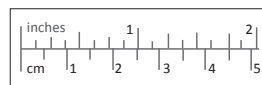
In summary, the current ‘official’ narrative is vague about the identity of Hogg and how he might have obtained his pieces: it suggests that the blue and white *nasitero* handle and spout, one item amongst many which Prince Charles retrieved from the storeroom, could only have belonged to the Auldjo Jug, it proposes that Prince Charles had some sort of relationship with John or Annie Maria Auldjo which led him to make a gift, and then, of all the gifts he might have made, he chose a fragment of a broken jug – not of any broken jug, but of that very same cameo glass jug of which Edward Hogg had the lower portion. The narrative moves from the vague through the questionable to the downright incredible.

WAS SIR WALTER SCOTT A KEY PLAYER? AN ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVE

A very different and much more plausible narrative arises if we ask the question as to whether Hogg and the Auldjos had anything in common which might have led them to come into possession of pieces of the same jug from the same source at the same time. This question can be answered with conviction in the affirmative: both parties had a close relationship with Sir



ILLUS 2 Heinrich von Minutoli's illustration of the jug in his work of 1836, plate I in table III. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library (Classmark A.16.11)



THE AULJO VASE.

ILLUS 3 Edward Trollope's illustration of the jug in 1854. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library (Classmark Z400.b.85.1)

Walter Scott during his visit to Naples in the early months of 1832. If Sir Walter had been given the extant jug pieces, it is quite possible that he might have passed these on to them.

Let us develop this idea. Sir Walter Scott was a major European celebrity. Not only were his works being widely read throughout Europe, but several of them had been adapted for the operatic stage. In Naples, Rossini's *La donna del lago*, Donizetti's *Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth* and Pacini's *I fidanzati* had all been premiered at San Carlo. With such a reputation, it is hardly surprising that his arrival in the city attracted the attention not only of the British community and of the local literati, but also of the young King of Naples, Ferdinand II, himself.³¹ Thus we find Scott invited to attend the King's birthday reception on 12 January 1832 and less than two weeks later being formally presented to the King. In Pompeii, an excavation was opened up for him by royal command.³² He was permitted to drive through the streets of Pompeii in a carriage, a privilege normally reserved exclusively for the Royal Family. Later, when he found a manuscript of which he desired a copy in the Royal Library, the King ordered it to be sent to his house so that he could have it copied there. The notion that Sir Walter should have come away from Pompeii with a recently excavated royal gift from the House of the Faun, where he had admired the Alexander Mosaic, seems very reasonable. All the extant cameo glass pieces of the jug, even before their reassembly by Hogg, would have been recognised as a remarkable and rare find and a gift worthy of such a celebrated visitor. That the jug pieces do not appear to have been recorded in the official inventory of finds is surely also compatible with a sudden royal intervention to make a gift of appropriate quality.³³

If Sir Walter was the recipient of the jug pieces, further questions are raised: why would he have given them away, why would he have divided them up in order to give them to two separate individuals and why would he have chosen to give them to Edward Hogg and a member of the Auldjo family? Let us consider each of these in turn. Apart from the Alexander Mosaic in the House of the Faun, Sir Walter seems to have taken little interest in Pompeii or the Classical

world. Sir William Gell remembered how he sought 'to call his attention to such objects as were the most worthy of remark. To these observations, however, he seemed generally nearly insensible, viewing the whole and not the parts, with the eye not of an antiquary but a poet, and exclaiming frequently "The City of the Dead", without any other remark'.³⁴ Elsewhere, Gell writes that 'many of his friends ... had frequently tried to drive classical antiquities, as they were called, into his head, but they had always found his "skull too thick"'.³⁵ In the excavation which had been created for him, Scott was not, according to Henry Baillie, in the least interested.³⁶

The failure of Scott to become involved in the Classical world so tangibly reconstructed and displayed in Pompeii and surroundings may seem extraordinary in such a committed and experienced historian and antiquarian. However, the Scott who arrived in Naples at the end of 1831 was a man in broken health. He had suffered a couple of strokes and he had made his journey to Naples for health reasons, not for cultural ones. When Marianne Talbot visited him on Christmas Day, she found that he could hardly rise from his chair to welcome her, and his speech so defective that she could hardly hear him. When later that day she had dinner with the Scott party she reflected: 'How sad to see genius & imagination brought so low – for a man in the state Sir Walter is in throws a chill over a whole society'.³⁷ A few days later she commented rather more positively: 'His memory is as accurate as ever for distant events connected with Scotland or Literature but faulty for everyday events'.³⁸ During Scott's residence in Naples, Sir William Gell, his regular companion on excursions and visits, soon came to realise that Scott's physical and mental health prevented him from engaging directly with the new and different experiences presented by the remains of the Ancient World. He noted how Scott often failed properly to appreciate the details of the Classical sights he was being shown for their own sake, but related them to his imagined medieval world or to his beloved Scotland. He commented that Sir Walter's 'only pleasure in seeing new places arose from the poetical ideas they inspired, as applicable to other scenes with

which his mind was more familiar'³⁹ and came to recognise that Scott's mind was dominated by the interests and preoccupations of his anterior life, describing him as 'the Master Spirit of the history of the Middle Ages, of feudal times, of spectres, magic, abbeys, castles, subterraneous passages, and preternatural appearances'.⁴⁰

In contrast with his failure to engage with the Roman world, the sites and monuments of which Gell showed him almost every day, Scott showed enthusiasm for those subjects which had traditionally fired his imagination. During his residence in Naples he continued to work on a romance about Malta, based on the defence of the island by the Knights of the Order of St John when besieged by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1565. As it was completed, parcels of manuscript were sent from Naples to Robert Cadell, his Edinburgh publisher.⁴¹ At the same time as working on his draft of *The Siege of Malta*, Scott set about forming a collection of Neapolitan and Sicilian ballads and broadsides, and began sketching out the tale of a captain of *banditti* named Bizarro. Scott also contemplated both a poetical work on the slaying of the Dragon of Rhodes by Dieudonné de Gozon, Knight of the Order of St John, and a romance on the subject of Queen Joan of Naples. The latter subject had been inspired by his visit to the palace of Poggio Reale and his noting that Queen Joan 'was to a certain degree in the predicament of Queen Mary of Scotland, being held by one party as the model of female virtue, and by the other as a monster of atrocity'.⁴² In visits to other places with a medieval or supernatural connection, Scott also expressed his enjoyment: to the Church of San Domenico Maggiore with its array of coffins, including those of ten princes of Aragon; to the Casa dei Spiriti,⁴³ where in one room a spectre robed in white was supposed to appear; and to the Benedictine monastery at La Cava where he was shown ancient manuscripts and was particularly struck with a book containing pictures of the Lombard kings. Gell had to acknowledge that 'Sir Walter was more pleased with the Monastery of La Cava than with any place to which I had the honor to accompany him'.⁴⁴

During his residence in Naples, Scott, in spite of his poor physical state, was still able to take an

enthusiastic interest in places and objects which were shown to him, but these had, directly or through his imagination, to fit into the cultural landscape in his mind created over previous decades. If Scott had been the recipient of the pieces of a rare Roman cameo glass jug, it seems unlikely that he would have responded with any heartfelt enthusiasm to the gift, and there is certainly little reason to believe that he would have valued them so highly as to wish to retain them or seen any need necessarily to keep all the pieces together.

Why he might have decided to donate pieces of the jug to Edward Hogg is easily explained – he was under a particular obligation of gratitude to him. Edward Hogg not only accompanied Scott on some of his excursions, but helped to procure the documents which Scott wished to have copied, and supervised the copying process. Above all, he seems to have taken on the role of personal physician to Scott for the duration of his stay in Naples. 'Dr Hogg lives with the Scott family', Marianne Talbot reported, adding that he commented to Gell: 'The[y]'re quite an ordinary Scotch family in their interior. They storm & scold & swear!'⁴⁵ When Gell was worried that Scott might, on departure, accidentally pack some of the books which he had lent him, it was to Hogg that he wrote to prevent this happening.⁴⁶ Scott was attended also by Dr Roskilly, the British doctor who had been resident in Naples since 1815, but for Scott, who had suffered a series of strokes, who was unsteady on his feet and whose memory and hearing sometimes failed him, having a doctor in daily attendance must have been extremely reassuring to him and his family.

With the Auldjos, Scott was clearly on friendly terms. John Auldjo presented a copy of his book on his ascent of Mont Blanc to Sir Walter even before first meeting him on 24 January, a month after the Scotts had arrived in Naples.⁴⁷ Thereafter he also accompanied Scott on some of his excursions, for instance, twice to Poggio Reale, becoming 'intimate with him' for the remainder of his stay.⁴⁸ As well as his general support to Scott, Auldjo made one further gift to him on the eve of his departure for Rome: his newly published book on Vesuvius with hand-

coloured illustrations.⁴⁹ As far as Annie Maria is concerned, she made one of the very last drawings of Scott. It is currently held by The Writers' Museum in Edinburgh⁵⁰ and is captioned with place and date (Naples, April 1832) along with Scott's signature.

At some point before the Scotts left Naples, might not the jug pieces have been shared out between John Auldjo or, the evidence suggests, his sister-in-law Annie Maria, and Edward Hogg as a gesture of thanks for kindnesses – or perhaps, more mundanely, to save having to carry them back to Scotland? After all, the jug was not complete and even part of such a jug would be sufficient to evoke a vision of the 'City of the Dead'. As far as Hogg is concerned, it has indeed been suggested that his pieces of the jug might have been linked in some way with Sir Walter Scott's visit.⁵¹ If the jug pieces had been presented to Sir Walter as a gift, it would seem totally inappropriate to have held back a major part. It would also seem strange if fragments had been given away from an unfinished excavation. Bearing in mind Sir Walter's lack of interest in Roman antiquities and the disorganisation of his household,⁵² if Sir Walter had been in possession of all the extant pieces of the jug, it would seem perfectly plausible that he might have divided them between Hogg and the Auldjos. Both the subsequent owners had contact with Sir Walter in the days preceding his final departure from Naples.⁵³

The fact that of the 15 extant pieces, Hogg apparently came into possession of seven and the Auldjos of eight suggests a deliberate sharing.

CONCLUSION

To explain how two residents of the British community in Naples in the early 1830s came to be in possession of separate parts of the first more or less complete Roman cameo glass artefact to have been discovered in Pompeii, the theory that they both received them through Sir Walter Scott, who in turn had received them with royal consent, is a highly plausible one – but the only evidence to support it is circumstantial. Scott was in Naples over part of the period when the House

of the Faun was being excavated and where the jug was found. When Scott visited Pompeii in February 1832, his British friends may have realised that he was more interested in medieval than Classical antiquities, but this predilection may not have been apparent to his Neapolitan hosts. It would seem entirely appropriate that such a celebrity, who had taken particular interest in the Alexander Mosaic in the House of the Faun and shown pleasure during his visit, should have been presented with a gift of quality from the site. Scott was acquainted with the Auldjos and Hogg and was indebted to both of them, particularly the latter. In 1834 Edward Hogg was in possession of pieces making up a substantial portion of the base of the jug and by the same date the Auldjo family had another portion, including the handle and spout. As it stands, the theory that Prince Charles fetched the handle of the jug from the storeroom in 1833 and gave it to John Auldjo is highly implausible. Greater credence could be given to the theory that it was the handle matching up with Hogg's pieces that Prince Charles fetched from the storeroom if it could be shown he had been requested by a member of the Auldjo family to get the handle which he or she knew to be there; in view of the difference in social status, such a request would seem highly unlikely. The fact that already in 1834 Minutoli was informed that the handle section of the jug was in the ownership of a lady would indicate that Annie Maria Auldjo – rather than her brother-in-law John – was the initial recipient of the handle. However, because the Royal Family of Naples closely guarded and valued all artefacts found in Pompeii, it is simply not credible that either Edward Hogg or a member of the Auldjo family, both socially insignificant, could themselves either have been the direct recipient of such an important Pompeian artefact or have acquired the pieces through unauthorised channels.

Considering the above evidence, it would seem a strong possibility that Sir Walter Scott was donated all the available pieces of the jug and that these were subsequently passed on to Edward Hogg and Annie Maria Auldjo. If so, there would be a strong case for renaming the jug the 'Scott Jug'. Of course, until further decisive evidence emerges, no firm conclusion can be

drawn. In the interim, it is unfortunate that the name of Edward Hogg is not more overtly linked to the jug. This neglect may have been caused on the one hand by the uncertainty displayed by British Museum curators over a long period of time in clearly establishing his identity, and on the other, a failure to recognise the key role that Hogg had played in 1832–3 in assembling all the extant pieces and having a drawing done of the whole jug. It was this drawing on which Minutoli based the illustration in his publication of 1836, and, in turn, this publication which first informed the antiquarian world of the existence of the jug and of its being in the possession of two British owners. The drawing also shows that, from the 1830s, the Auldjos were fully conscious of the location of the lower portion of the jug of which they possessed the other extant pieces, including the handle and spout. After Hogg sold his jug pieces to the British Museum in 1840, third parties became aware that the missing handle portion was in the possession of the Auldjos, now resident in London, thereby resulting in the Auldjo name being attributed to the jug. In particular, Apsley Pellatt's publication, *Curiosities of Glass-Making*, in 1849 used Minutoli's drawing on the vignette of the title page and mentioned the Auldjo ownership in the text. A review of the *Curiosities* in the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁵⁴ reproduced the vignette and called the object the 'Auldjo Vase'; it noted the two locations of the parts and added that it was a 'disunion the continuance of which is much to be deprecated'. In his *Illustrations of Ancient Art* of 1854, Edward Trollope titled the frontispiece illustration of the jug 'The Auldjo Vase' and described it, so-named, in the text. Thus when, through the bequest of Madeline Auldjo, the handle section finally came to the British Museum, along with a considerable number of other objects from her mother's collection, it is understandable that the Museum 'rewarded' the Auldjos by maintaining the name which had already been attributed to it. This 'reward' was made at the expense of Edward Hogg who first united the pieces and whose drawing, through Minutoli's description and illustration, first publicised both the existence and the appearance of the jug.

NOTES

- 1 The Kingdom was officially known as the 'Kingdom of the Two Sicilies'.
- 2 Decorating an object made of cold glass requires no glass-making skills. Marvering glass involves the fusion of two or more colours of molten glass which can be made to create patterns similar to those found in marbled paper. Cameo glass requires the layering of glass of one colour onto glass of a different colour followed by the carving away of the upper layer in order to produce patterns or figures. For a consideration of the techniques used, see Harden 1983: 50–3 and Newby & Painter 1991: 26–9.
- 3 Lierke 1999: 67.
- 4 Fifteen major objects are listed with descriptive details in Painter & Whitehouse 1990: 138–62, and 16 in Newby & Painter 1991: 19–25, where the base-disc of the Portland Vase is added as a separate item. One further Roman cameo glass object, a vase of mysterious provenance, has recently come to light: see Haspelagh 2015: 138–45.
- 5 From the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, the object was usually called the 'Auldjo Vase'; in recent literature, it is referred to as the 'Auldjo Jug'.
- 6 Minutoli 1836: 3–4.
- 7 Harden 1983: 48–50.
- 8 Bulloch 1934: 330.
- 9 Kisa 1908, vol II: 584.
- 10 I have used what I consider to be the correct appellations of the Auldjo family. The two Auldjo brothers – Thomas and John – both had the second name Richardson, but Thomas used Richardson as his identifier. As a widow in London, Annie Maria was known as Mrs Richardson Auldjo. The names Annie Maria and Madeline are spelt thus in both of their wills.
- 11 John Auldjo's *Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc* (London, 1828) supplemented with landscape engravings, smaller lithographs of the climbing party plus maps and diagrams brought the feat of climbing the mountain to the attention of a wider British public.
- 12 Roberts et al 2010: 44. The full list of objects taken by Prince Charles can be found in Fiorelli 1860–4, vol II: 275. A *nasiterno* is a jug with a trefoil-shaped spout. It was not an uncommon form of jug at the time.

- 13 Roberts et al 2010: 44. In fact, the *Sketches* with the dedication were first published in Naples in 1832. A second edition was published in London in 1833.
- 14 Roberts et al 2010: 46.
- 15 Roberts et al 2010: 46.
- 16 See Fiorelli 1860–4, vol II: 264; Schulz 1838: 194–5 and Schulz 1839: 85.
- 17 See manuscript report presented by Secretary of State Nicola Santangelo dated 17 June 1833 with details of the objects removed by Prince Charles from the storeroom which he had received from the superintendent of excavations (Santangelo 1833).
- 18 Roberts et al 2010: 44.
- 19 When he first publicised the existence of the jug, Minutoli stated that a substantial part of it was in the possession of a lady. Some 20 years later, Edward Trollope acknowledged the kindness of Mrs Richardson Auldjo (ie Annie Maria) in giving him free access to her pieces of the jug and allowing him to make use of the sketch. There is no reason to believe that the lady mentioned by Minutoli is any other than Annie Maria.
- 20 William Jenner Hogg of Geneva kindly sent me a copy of the certificate dated May 1807 and signed by John Abernethy, Assistant Surgeon at St Bartholomew's, testifying to Edward Hogg's attendance at six courses of anatomical lectures. A postscript adds that 'Mr Hogg hath also attended four Courses of Dissections, six courses of Lectures on the Theory & Practice of Surgery & hath dissected under my Inspection'.
- 21 Emmenegger 2007: 259–60.
- 22 In the British Museum database of objects, the Egyptian objects are stated to have been bought in 1840 from Dr Edward Hogg. The Auldjo Jug pieces are still shown in 2018 as having been bought from the unidentified, and apparently fictitious, Dr J B Hogg (British Museum Collection Database Online: BM Registration no. 1840,1215.41).
- 23 Schulz 1839: 11, 94. His paragraph on the jug seems based on Minutoli but in a perfunctory way. He writes that the jug was discovered in 1834 – in fact the year when Minutoli saw it – and he translates Minutoli's *Teil* (ie 'part') by the word *pezzo* (ie 'piece'). He puts forward Prince Charles as the 'important person' but provides no evidence.
- 24 Kisa 1908, vol II: 584. One should perhaps ask why Minutoli used the verb *erstehen* rather than *erwerben* or *kaufen*. There are early 19th-century examples of *erstehen* being used to mean acquire 'in lieu of cash' or 'in return for services'.
- 25 The topic of the legal and illegal removal of antiquities and works of art from the Kingdom of Naples is extensively covered in Milanese 2014.
- 26 Madden 1855, vol II: 79–80.
- 27 Information sent to me by Harry Nehls, Berlin, based on Minutoli letters (author's translation): 'In one of his letters he indicates precisely that he spent "10 weeks" in Naples. With the help of further letters, though only a few, I can tell you that Minutoli left Rome at the end of March, went on to Naples, and then left this city at the end of May in order to return to Rome.'
- 28 Minutoli 1835: 14.
- 29 Minutoli 1836: pl III, 47. It seems likely that a copy of the sketch was made for Annie Maria Auldjo. The present location of the sketch is unknown.
- 30 The origin of the jug as being the House of the Faun in 1831 is confirmed by Edward Trollope after direct conversation with Annie Maria Auldjo (Trollope 1854: x).
- 31 It would be impossible to construct a detailed account of Scott's activities and visitors for each day of his stay in Naples. Nevertheless, many of them have been recorded not only in his own journal and in the biography by his son-in-law J G Lockhart, but also, for instance, in Gell 1957, in Sultana 1977, in the journal of Marianne Talbot 2012, and in manuscript material, especially letters written from Naples by Anne Scott, held in the National Library of Scotland (MS 1553–54).
- 32 The excavation produced nothing more than a few bells, hinges and other objects of brass. Gell 1957: 8.
- 33 Painter & Whitehouse (1990: 140–1) indicate that it is known 'that on occasion of royal visits, tombs excavated previously were filled with objects, closed, and reopened in the presence of the guests'. In such circumstances, objects would surely not have been recorded before the royal viewing, and if donated by royal command, perhaps not after it either.
- 34 Gell 1957: 8.
- 35 Gell 1957: 4.
- 36 Russell [1925]: 35.
- 37 Talbot 2012: 148.

- 38 Talbot 2012: 151.
- 39 Gell 1957: 2.
- 40 Gell 1957: 26.
- 41 For the evolution of this work, see Sultana 1977, especially pp 122–4.
- 42 Gell 1957: 9.
- 43 In fact the ruin of a Roman Villa. See Gell 1957: 7 and note 20.
- 44 Gell 1957: 19–20.
- 45 Talbot 2012: 162.
- 46 Gell 1832.
- 47 Gell 1957: 6.
- 48 Gell 1957: 6.
- 49 This presentation copy came onto the market in 2013 and is described in the catalogue records of antiquarian book dealer Peter Harrington, 100 Fulham Road, London.
- 50 Auldjo, A M 1832.
- 51 Roberts et al 2010: 46 and Roberts 2013: 244.
- 52 See Johnson 1970, vol 2: 1226, 1238.
- 53 If Sir Walter received the jug pieces, they could have been passed on to the recipients by his daughter Anne, in the same casual, spur-of-the-moment way that, on the eve of Sir Walter's departure from Naples, she gave the verse Sir Walter had written for Countess Wallendoff to Henry Baillie. (Letter of Mrs Frank Russell in *The Times*, 19 August 1932: 13.)
- 54 *Gentleman's Magazine* 1849: 381.

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