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Introduction to an Index of Locations in Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*

"I write of Melancholy, by being busie to avoid Melancholy. . . . & busied my selfe in this playing labor." (1.6:29-30-1.7:4) "I never travelled but in Mappe or Card, in which mine unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever beene especially delighted with the study of *Cosmography*." (1.4:9-11)

Geography was of great interest to Robert Burton when he wrote *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. He cited over 1500 different places in the universe of his time, and these citations occur over 6500 times. All are listed on the online version of this issue of *Christ Church Library Newsletter*.

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TRANSLATING THE LITURGY IN PRE- REFORMATION ENGLAND:

A new edition of the Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionary

MS 146 is a hidden treasure in Christ Church's collection which has often gone unnoticed. It contains a copy of one of the earliest translations of liturgical texts from Latin into English, written in the early fifteenth century, and connected to the larger translation project of the Wycliffite Bible. The translations follow the liturgical calendar and present English versions of the epistle and gospel lections which were read at Mass throughout the liturgical year, in order to make the liturgy accessible to a non-Latinate audience. The Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionary has thus far received much less attention than the Wolsey Lectionary – a later, much showier lectionary in the Christ Church collection.

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Detail of illuminated initial from the opening page of an incunable from Christ Church collections (Hyp. I.84), with an interesting ownership history. Printed in Nuremberg in 1481, it is a copy of *Quaestiones in quattuor libros sententiarum* by Duns Scotus, a commentary on a 12th-century work by Peter Lombard. Throughout the volume, the initials depict the ouroboros, known as the oldest allegorical symbol in alchemy, representing the concept of eternity and endless return.

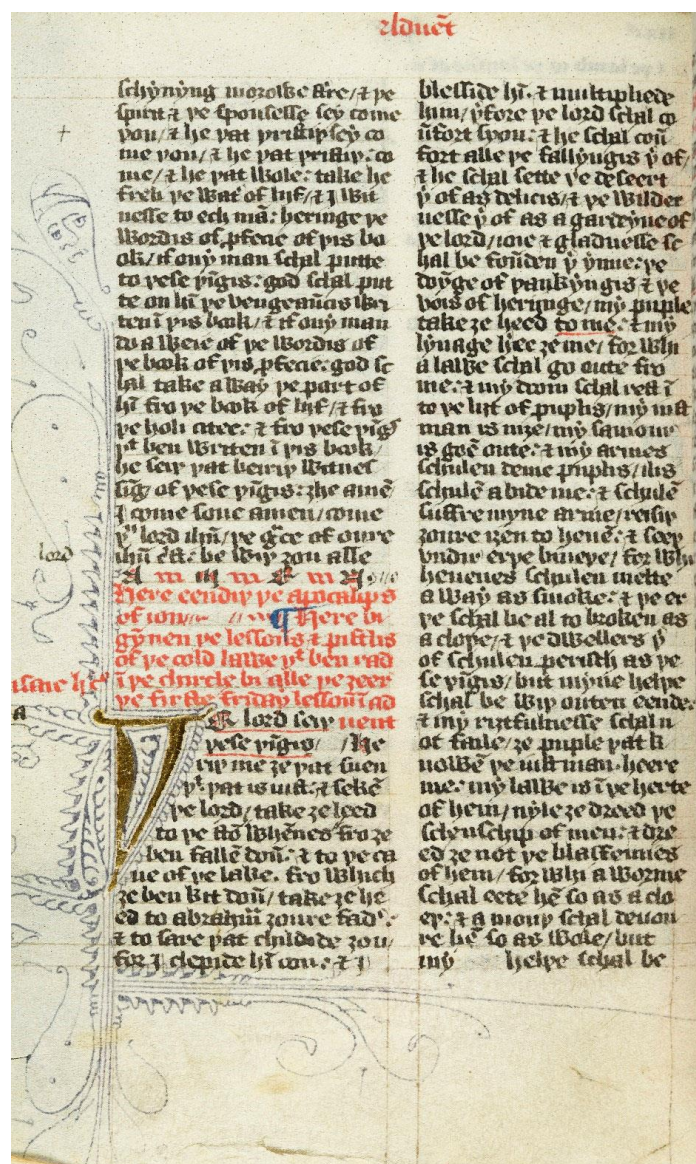
It is, however, of key importance in tracing the history of Bible translation in pre-Reformation England. My new edition of the Wycliffite Lectionary for the Early English Text Society¹ makes this text available in printed form for the first time and helps us understand how the liturgy was translated into the vernacular in medieval England.

The Wycliffite Bible was the first complete translation of the full Bible into English, based upon the Latin Vulgate and produced in the last quarter of the fourteenth century by the followers of the Oxford theologian John Wyclif, whose ideas were condemned as heretical by the Church. Wyclif's ideas had much in common with those of later Protestant reformers, including his advocacy for making the biblical text accessible to the laity in the vernacular. The identity of the translators of the Wycliffite Bible remains unclear, but it is clear from the evidence that the project must have involved a large group of scholars, translators, and commentators. The Wycliffite Bible survives in two redactions known as the Earlier Version (an extremely literal translation) and the Later Version (which is more fluent). It is generally accepted that the Later Version is a result of revision of the Earlier Version. The translation was disseminated very widely, and is extant in over 250 manuscripts, a considerably greater number than that of any other surviving Old or Middle English text.

Full Wycliffite Bibles containing both the Old and the New Testament tend to be weighty tomes which cannot be carried or moved very easily. The most intensely read part of the Bible in medieval England was the New Testament, and in fact many manuscripts of the Wycliffite translation contain only a translation of the New Testament. However, there were specific parts of the Old Testament which were used on a regular basis as readings at Mass, most prominently during the seasons of Advent and Lent. To make these liturgical readings from the Old Testament available in the vernacular, many Wycliffite manuscripts containing a translation of the New Testament supplement this with an Old Testament Lectionary. This lectionary contains translations of only those parts of the Old Testament which were used in the liturgy of the Mass according to the Sarum Rite (the Latin liturgy connected to Salisbury Cathedral and used from the eleventh century to the Reformation). In this way, the reader of such a Wycliffite manuscript would have had access to translations of both the epistle readings (which could be taken from the Old or the New Testament) and the gospel readings (taken from the New Testament) which would occur throughout the liturgical year, presented in a manuscript format

which was smaller and more portable than manuscripts of the full Bible.

The Old Testament occurs as a separate text in 39 extant Wycliffite manuscripts and fragments. This lectionary is much more than simply a list of excerpts from the Old Testament; it is a unified and cohesive text in its own right, with a complex system of cross-references and explanations of liturgical practice. Closely connected to the Old Testament Lectionary are tables listing all lections for the liturgical year with textual cues, essentially functioning like indices within these manuscripts. Much of the focus of Wycliffite studies to date has been placed on the Wycliffite Bible itself, and comparatively little work has been done on liturgical materials. Based on the work for my recently published edition, this article uses Christ Church MS 146 to give an overview of key features of the Old Testament Lectionary and their relevance in a Pre-Reformation context.



MS 146, fol. 200v.

The visual presentation of the lectionary in MS 146 is similar to that of many other Wycliffite manuscripts. The text is laid out in two columns on parchment and

¹ *The Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionary*, ed. by Cosima Clara Gillhammer, Early English Text Society O.S. 358 (Oxford: 2021).

written in textura, a high-grade script which was associated with biblical texts. The beginning of the text is marked by a gold-leaf initial, decorated by delicate penwork (including an amusing doodle in the margin!). It is preceded by a rubric which explains the nature of the text: “Here bigynnen þe lessouns and pistlis of þe oold lawe þat ben rad in þe chirche bi alle þe ȝeer”. The rubric also mentions the liturgical occasion: “þe firste Friday lessoun in Aduent” and includes a reference to the biblical chapter from which the reading is taken: “Isaie Ij capitulo”.

The text of the lection itself begins with a section which is underlined in red: “þe Lord seiþ þese þingis”. This phrase is a liturgical framing device which occurs at the beginning of many lections throughout the lectionary – an addition which is not found in the biblical text proper. The underlining in red serves to highlight this phrase as a liturgical addition, and this textual strategy is used throughout the lectionary to distinguish the biblical text from any additions which are not part of the text of the Vulgate. A similar case occurs in the right-hand column: In the phrase “take ȝe heed to me”, “to me” is an addition used in the English translation to clarify the sentence, and is consequently underlined in red. These meticulous underlining strategies testify to the care which was taken when writing the text, which involved carefully checking the English translation against the Latin. It also indicates that the anticipated readers of the text were expected to have an interest in such details of translation.

Translation strategies

A closer look at the English translation reveals that the Old Testament Lectionary contains a fascinating mixture of different approaches to translation. Some lections are based upon the Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible, a translation which follows the Latin original extremely closely. The great majority of lections, however, are based on the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible, which is more idiomatic in English and easier to follow without knowledge of the Latin text. The following example from Lamentations 2:19 may illustrate the differences between the Early and the Late Version:

Vulgate

“Consurge, lauda in nocte, in principio vigiliarum; effunde sicut aquam cor tuum ante conspectum Domini: leva ad eum manus tuas pro anima parvulorum tuorum, qui defecerunt in fame in capite omnium compitorum.”

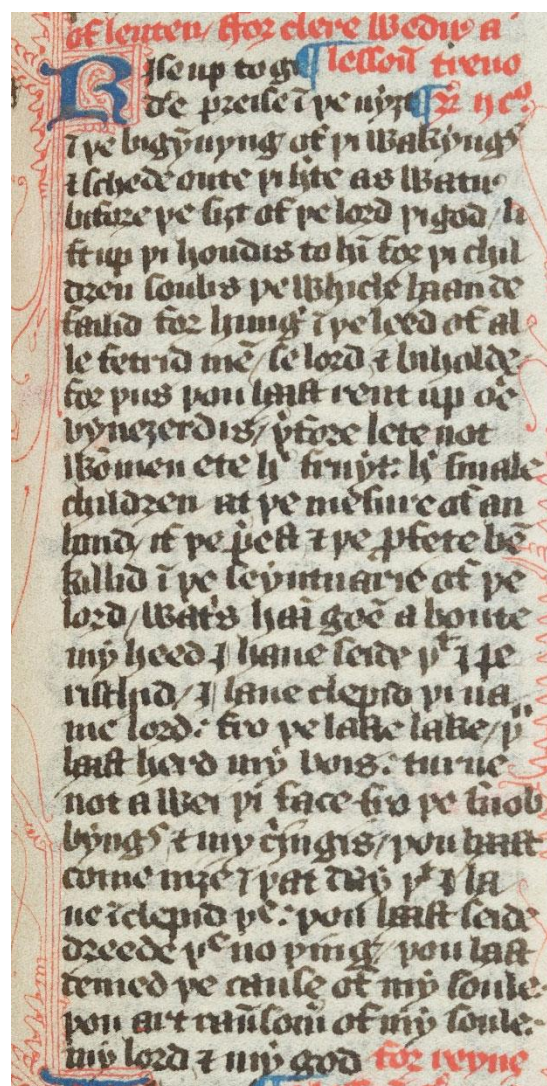
Early Version

“Ris, preise thou in the nytyt, in the bigynnyng of wacchis; heeld out as water thin herte, byfor the siyt of the Lord; rere to hym thin hondus for the soule of

thi litil childer, that for hunger pershen in the hed of alle many weies in to oon.”

Late Version

“Rise thou togidere, herie thou in the nytyt, in the begynnyng of wakyngis; schede out thin herte as watir, bifore the siyt of the Lord; reise thin hondis to hym for the soulis of thi litle children, that failiden for hungur in the heed of alle meetyngis of weies.”² There are marked differences in wording between the two Wycliffite versions. It is interesting that the Old Testament Lectionary makes use of both versions at different points in different lections, but what is perhaps even more significant within the context of the history of the Wycliffite Bible is a third category of translations – lections which are indebted neither to the Early nor the Late Version but are translated independently. An example of this is the commemoration for clear weather, taken from Lamentations 2:19-20 and 3:54-58. The following presents an image of the manuscript text as well as an edition of the text:



Ms 146, fol. 231r.

² For the text of the Early and the Late Version, see the edition by J. Forshall and F. Madden, *The Holy Bible . . . in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, 4 vols. (Oxford: 1850)

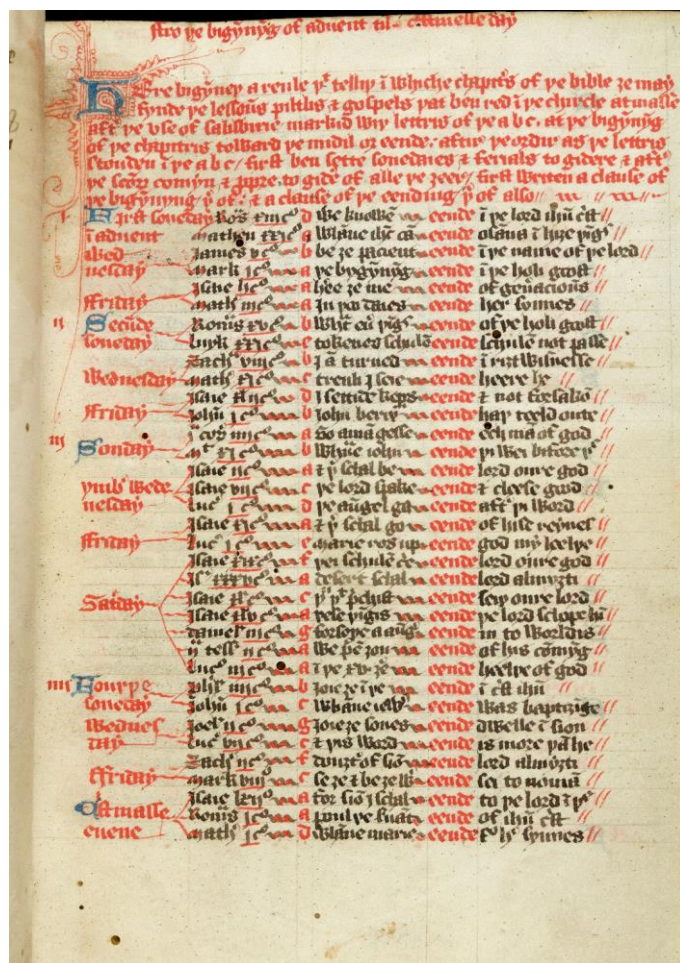
Rise up togidre, preise in þe nýzt, in þe bigynnyng of
þi wakyngis, and schede oute þi herte as watir bifore
þe sijt of þe Lord, þi God; lift up þi hondis to hym for
þi children soulis, þe whiche haan defailid for hungir
in þe heed of alle fetrid men. Se, Lord, and biholde,
for þus þou haast rent up oure vynezgerdis; þefore
lete not wommen ete her fruyt, her smale children at
þe mesure of an hond. If þe prest and þe profete ben
killid in þe seyntuarie of þe Lord. Watris haan goen
aboute my heed; I haue seide þat I perischid. I haue
clepid þi name, Lord, fro þe laste lake. Þou haast
herd my vois; turne not awei þi face fro þe
snobbingis and my crijngis! Þou haast come nize in
þat day þat I haue inclepid þe; þou haast seide:
Dreede þe no þing. Þou hast demed þe cause of my
soule; þou art raunsomer of my soule, my Lord and
my God.”

As will be apparent from a comparison with Lamentations 2:19 in the two Wycliffite versions above, this verse is not copied from either the Early or the Late Version, but was translated independently. Particularly notable is the translation of “omnium compitorum” (‘of every street corner’) as “alle fetrid men” (‘all bound men/captives’) in the lectionary, whereas the Early Version (rather more sensibly) translates “alle many weies in to oon” and the Late Version has “alle meetyngis of weies”. The translation “feterid men” in the lectionary is puzzling, but may be based on a confusion of *compitorum* with the noun *captivorum* (‘of the prisoners’), pointing towards scribal error in the translator’s Latin source text. This indicates that the translators of the lectionary had access to a different Latin text than the translators of the Early and the Late Versions, resulting in a notably different independent translation in the lectionary.

Such independent translations typically occur in conjunction with so-called 'composite lections'. Composite lections in the Sarum Missal do not follow the biblical text in a linear way, instead combining various different passages from the Bible, sometimes from different verses of the same chapter, sometimes from different chapters. This is typically a means of making the text of a particular lection more relevant to a specific saint's feast day or other liturgical occasion. Evidently, the translators of the lectionary were aware of the fact that some lections create a new text out of different biblical verses, specifically geared towards the requirements of its function within a liturgical context. In such cases, it appears that the translators typically chose to translate the entire lection independently, presumably to increase the efficiency and speed of the translation process, as adjusting the Early or Later Version according to the requirements of the liturgical text would have required considerable effort. The translators here prioritised the liturgical

Tables of Lections

Another important feature of MS 146 is the Table of Lections, which is included in most Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionaries. This Table of Lections functions as an index of the different lections and contains both the OT and the NT lections, following a specific distinctive pattern, which will become apparent in the illustration below.



MS 146, fol. 14r.

The table indicates which passage from the Bible is to be read on a particular day. Each entry gives the liturgical occasion, biblical book and chapter number, indexing letter, incipit, followed by the word 'eende' and an explicit, as in the first line: "First Soneday in Aduent – Romanos xiiij capitulo – d – We knowen – eende – in þe Lord Ihesus Crist". The letter 'd' is here used as an indexing letter to guide the reader to the appropriate passage in the Bible. This alphabetical indexing system, developed by the Dominicans in Paris, was an early way of indexing the chapters of the Bible before continuous numbering of individual verses became the norm in the post-medieval period. The Dominicans developed a way of subdividing each chapter of the Bible into passages of roughly equal length and assigning a letter of the alphabet to

it. In the Table of Lections, biblical chapters are subdivided using the letters a-h, and thus each lection is identified by its chapter number, indexing letter, incipit, and explicit. The Table of Lections includes both the readings from the Old and the New Testament, which are contained in separate parts of the manuscript – in the Old Testament Lectionary and the full New Testament respectively. In this way, the table functions as a detailed textual tool which would help readers to navigate the different parts of the manuscript and allow them to find the relevant readings for a particular day. The rubric attached to the Table of Lections explains this in detail:

“Here bigynnep a reule þat tellip in whiche chapitris of þe Bible 3e may fynde þe lessouns, pistlis, and gospels þat ben red in þe chirche at masse aftir þe vse of Salisbirie, markid wip lettris of þe abc. at þe bigynnyng of þe chapitris toward þe midil or eende aftir þe ordir as þe lettris stonden in þe abc. [...] First writen a clause of þe bigynnyng perof and a clause of þe ending perof also.”

This may seem a little long-winded, but explaining how to navigate a complex text is not an easy task!

Audience

Who, then, were the readers of the Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionary? Whilst the rubric at the start of the Table of Lections goes to some lengths to explain liturgical practice in detail, it is clear that a lot of background knowledge about the liturgy and relevant terminology would have been required to make sense of it. For instance, the rubric refers to “ferials”, the “sanctorum”, “comyn and propre”, all of which are specialist terms describing the liturgical year and structure of the relevant liturgical texts. The lectionaries thus seem to have been aimed more at the clergy and the religious than at the laity, although it would also have been possible for well-educated lay readers to follow these pointers with the help of the explanations given in the rubrics.

This ties in well with the contextual evidence we have of the ownership of Wycliffite Bibles, which often points to members of the clergy and the religious orders as owners and patrons of the Wycliffite Bible.³ This impression is strengthened by the academic tools of textual referencing which are used throughout the lectionaries, such as indexing letters mentioned above. Such strategies of structuring information would have presented a challenge to a lay audience. They rather seem to be aimed at an audience familiar with referencing tools related to biblical scholarship. Overall, the textual evidence points toward a use of lectionaries by a well-educated audience with a close knowledge of the structure of the liturgical year.

³ Elizabeth Solopova, ‘A Wycliffite Bible Made for a Nun of Barking’, *Medium Ævum* 85 (2016), pp. 77–96.

The translation strategies and practices of underlining and cross-referencing which we find in the manuscripts demonstrate a great respect for the distinct liturgical form of the text. We don’t tend to think of proto-Protestant reformers as puzzling over the intricacies of the texts and traditions of the liturgy, yet the manuscripts show that this is precisely what they did. Using the evidence of the Wycliffite lectionaries, we can now reassess some of the common assumptions about the history of the Wycliffite Bible.

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Introduction to an Index of Locations in Robert Burton’s *The Anatomy of Melancholy*

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They are also referenced to page and line numbers in the recent three-volume Oxford University Press edition of the *Anatomy*, 1989–1994. Many entries include new or more complete information than is found in earlier studies of the *Anatomy*.¹

A question that comes to the fore in an index of locations such as this is: what, in the mind of Robert Burton, did cosmography, that is, the study of geography, cartography, and topography, have to do with melancholy? The two are linked near the beginning of the *Anatomy* where Burton gave a vivid description of the challenges and demands he faced at his University.

¹ All references to the *Anatomy* in single brackets, (), are to the volume, page, and line or footnote number of the Clarendon edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* edited by Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling, and Rhonda L. Blair, vols I–III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989–1994). Some fifty entries were published earlier in *Notes & Queries*, May 2021. These are marked by a double asterisk, **, after each entry in the Index.

As a “Student in the most flourishing Colledge of *Europe*”, he would be “loth, either by living as a Drone, to be an unprofitable or unworthy Member of so learned and noble a Society, or to write that which should bee any way dishonourable to such a royall and ample Foundation.”(1.3:16-23)

He saw himself as limited by his lack of direction. “This roving humor . . . I have ever had, & like a ranging Spaniell, that barks at every bird he sees, . . . I have followed all, saving that which I shoud, . . . I have read many Bookes, but to little purpose, for want of good method, I have confusedly tumbled over divers Authors in our Libraries, with small profit”. He continued with a favorite example of his roving “I never travelled but in Mappe or Card, in which mine unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated [wandered], as having ever been especially delighted with the study of *Cosmography*.” This concession to pleasure is quickly ended in the very next sentence with a dark astrological reference to his inauspicious birth which was a clear indication of his melancholic temperament: “*Saturne* was Lord of my geniture, culminating, &c. and *Mars* principall *significator* of manners”.² (1.4:3-11) In these two sentences Burton stated a recurring theme in the *Anatomy*, that a pleasurable study of cosmography served to alleviate his melancholy.

It is a topic he pursued with vigor in two extensive passages in “THE SECOND PARTITION. THE CURE OF MELANCHOLIE.” In this Partition he first offered dozens of ways by which this “INveterate Melancholy . . . *may be mitigated and much eased*”.³ (2.1:9-13) The first passage concerning cosmology begins at Section 2, Member 3 of this Partition, “*Ayre Rectified, With a Digression of the Ayre*” Here he seems to move away from earlier cures to what is indeed an amazing digression, which is certainly a ‘cure’ in itself, an escape into an imaginary itinerary above, around, and inside the world. He begins with a fantastic simile: “AS a long-winged Hawke when hee is first whistled off the fist, . . . so will I, having now come at last into these ample fields of Ayre, wherein I may freely expatiate and exercise my selfe, for my recreation a while rove, wander round about the world, mount aloft to those æthereall orbes and celestially spheres”. (2.33:7-14) This diversion, inspired by his reading of geography, exploration, mathematics, and astronomy, will allow him to ask hundreds of questions as he wanders through the

air. He will discover the truth about the poles, their magnetism, “Whether *Hudsons* discovery be true of a new-found Ocean”, “whether *Marcus Polus* the *Venetians* narration be true or false, of that great City of *Quinsay* and *Cambalu*”. Is it as Matthew Riccius the Jesuit wrote about “*China* and *Cataia* be[ing] all one, the great *Cham* of *Tartary*, and the King of *China* bee[ing] the same”? He would find out “whether *Presbyter John* be in *Asia* or *Africk*”. He would fly by Madagascar and see “that great Bird *Rucke* that can carry a man and horse, or an Elephant”. (2.33:18-34:30) He has scores of questions about winds, currents of the sea, the heights of mountains, “Whether Mount *Athos*, *Pelion*, *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Caucasus*, *Atlas*, be so high as *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Mela* relate, above Clouds, Meteors”. (2.35:24-5) “I would see those inner parts of *America*, whether there be any such great city of *Manoa*, or *Eldorado* . . . or giganticall Patagones in *Chica*”. (2.35:34-36:4) Strange waters of all kinds interest him: Cirknickzerksey Lake in Carniola, the Caspian Sea, the vent of the Mexican lake, the “*mare mortuum* in *Palestina*”, the Thrasumene at Peruzium in Italy. “I would find out with *Trajan* the fountaines of *Danubius*, of *Ganges*, *Oxus*, see those *Ægyptian Pyramids*, *Trajans* bridge, *Grotta de Sibylla*, *Lucullus* fish-ponds”. He would “observe what becomes of Swallowes, Storkes, Cranes, . . .” when they leave during certain seasons. (2.36:8-31). Nor would the underworld be impossible to visit. “I would have a convenient place to goe downe with *Orpheus*, *Ulysses*, *Hercules*, *Lucians Menippus*, at S^t *Patricks* Purgatory, at *Trophonius* denne, *Hecla* in *Island*, *Ætna* in *Sicily*; to descend and see what is done in the bowels of the earth” and to find out what sort of beings live there. (2.38:28-39:21)

Shortly after this point in the narrative, the simulated flight disappears and Burton addresses his reader, “let us consider of that which is *sub dio*,” under the open sky. (2.41:28) The flight has ended, though the questions about the inhabitants, the colour of various peoples inhabiting the earth, soils, stars, meteors, and the earth’s motion, remain. Eventually, after inquiring into the nature of the firmament, planets, good and evil, Burton turns to “*ambient Aire*” and how it pertains ‘to this cure of melancholy, . . . the Rectification of aire is necessarily required.’⁴ (2.58:15-18) This will lead to locations around the earth where the air is either harmful or helpful. He soon cites familiar places in England. “Who sees not a great difference betwixt *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and *Rumny* marsh, the wolds in *Lincolneshire*, and the *Fennes*.” (2.59:9-10) The good in his country is often mixed with the bad. There are “strong windes, wherewith the *Island* is infested, and cold winter blasts.” Water may be “unwholsome”, as “moted houses, . . . so *Camden* saith of *Ew-elme*”. (2.60:4-6) He discusses “places best to me knowne”: prime

² E. Patricia Vicari, ‘Saturn Culminating, Mars Ascending’, *Familiar Colloquy Essays Presented to Arthur Edward Barker*, ed. by P. Bruckmann (1978): pp. 99, 101, 103, discusses the astrological implications of this sentence. On Burton’s depression, see Barbara H. Traister, ‘New Evidence about Burton’s Melancholy’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 29 (1976): pp. 66-70. See also the entries of Mars and Saturne in the Index.

³ Burton here quotes from Giambattista Montanus, *Consultationum medicarum*.

⁴ For this information Burton relies on Jason Pratensis, *De morbis capitis*, who quotes Galen.

locations because they are 'somewhat remote from the water as "*Lindly* [the place of his birth], *Orton super montem*, *Drayton*", and Caucut, Amington, Polesworth, Weddington, Swarston, and Drakesly upon Trent. While these places may be "unseasonable in winter, or at sometimes, they have their good use in Summer." (2.60:17-22) Other places that he knew well were situated, for the most part, "in an excellent Ayre², such as "*Sutton Coldfield* in *Warwickshire* (where I was once a grammer Schollar)", Wadley in Berkshire, "*Segrave* in *Leicestershire*", "For I am now Incumbent of that Rectory" (inducted to the living in 1632), Wollerton in Nottinghamshire, "*Farmacke* in *Darbishire*", and Edgmond in Cornwall. (2.61:12-26, and note d).

Delightful prospects, views, are present in every country and each gives pleasure. He mentions the nearby "*Cuddeston* in *Oxfordshire* . . . built in a good aire, good prospect, good soile, both for profit and pleasure". He must have visited the palatial home constructed at this site by the Bishop of Oxford, John Bancroft, who was "my *quondam tutor* in *Christ-church Oxon*". (2.61:31-62:2 and note k)

Burton's travel was limited to central England, but his prodigious reading allowed him to remark on the benefits of travel throughout, especially, the classical world: "no better Physicke for a melancholy man then change of ayre and variety of places, to travell abroad and see fashions." (2.64:24-25) One could, both for solace and pleasure, as Seneca the philosopher, or Cicero, or Paulus Æmelius the soldier, view "old buildings, Cisterns, Bathes, Tombes," or make a pleasant tour "all over *Greece*". (2.65:2-10) "For peregrination charmes our senses with such unspeakable and sweet variety, that some count him unhappy that never travelled". He quotes Gomesius with approval, "A good prospect alone will ease Melancholy". (2.65:19-31) After a catalogue of specific "delightful prospects" ranging from sites in Palestine to Egypt, to Italy and Greece, he again turns to England which has a number of spectacular "high places"; "those of the best note are *Glassenbury Tower*, *Bever Castle*, *Rodway Grange*, *Walsby* in *Lincolneshire*" (where Burton resigned his benefice in 1631 to accept the rectorship at Seagrave), Oldbury in Warwickshire, Hanbury in Staffordshire, Falde, "now in possession of mine elder brother *William Burton*", and "*Greenewich Tower*" which has, according to his source Barclay the Scot, "one of the best prospects in *Europe*, to see *London* on the one side, the *Thames*, ships, and pleasant meadows on the other." (2.66:8-28)

These places of delight end with Burton's admission of indirection: "But I rove: the summe is this, that variety of actions, objects, ayre, places, are excellent good in this infirmity and all others", which is mainly, in this context, melancholy. (2.66:35-36).

The importance of cosmology continues with a second passage in Partition 2, in Section 2, Member 4, "*Exercise Rectified*", where Burton addresses the general area of "Study": "amongst those exercises, or recreations of the minde within doores, there is none so generall, . . . so fit & proper to expell Idleness and Melancholy, as that of *Study*" And then to a specific study: "What so full of content, as to read, walke and see Mappes, Pictures, Statues, Jewels . . .". (2.84:16-18, 21-22).

After listing various types of study which give pleasure, he mentions, by name, cosmology. "Me thinkes it would well please any man to look upon a Geographically Map, . . . Chorographically, Topographically delineations, to behold, as it were, all the remote Provinces, Townes, Citties of the World, and never goe forth of the limits of his study, to measure by the Scale and Compasse, their extent, distance, examine their site." (2.86:24-30).

He follows with a closely packed catalogue of thirty-nine authors (and numerous uses of '&c.') under the following headings: "What greater pleasure can there now bee, then to view those elaborate Maps, of *Ortelius*, *Mercator*, *Hondius*, &c. To peruse those bookes of Citties", "those exquisite descriptions" of countries and customs, "Those famous expeditions of *Christoph. Columbus*, *Americus Vesputius*, *Marcus Polus*", "Those accurate diaries of *Portugals*, *Hollanders*", "*Hacluits voyages*", various "relations, those *Hodæporicons* [travel books] . . . to *Jerusalem*, *Ægypt*, and other remote places of the world", "Itineraries", "observations", "survaies", and finally, "Those parts of *America*, set out, and curiously cut in Pictures by *Fratres à Bry*" (2.86:33-2.87:12).⁵

Burton certainly found solace from the pangs of melancholy in study, especially of cosmology. "What more pleasing studies can there be then the Mathematicks, Theoricke, or Practicke parts? As to survey land, make mappes, modell, dials, &c. with which I was ever much delighted my selfe."⁶

⁵ The travel book to Jerusalem was Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*. The current Christ Church copy of this popular book, printed in 1502, has the shelfmark Arch.Inf.B.3.12. It was probably not a copy present in the library in 1621 when Burton cited Breydenbach. The volume recently underwent a restoration which was described in detail in the *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 12, Issue 1, 2020-2021, pp. 29-32. For references in the *Anatomy*, Burton used his own copy which he annotated. It was printed in 1486. Bodley's Librarian, John Rous, chose the incunable for the Bodleian Library after Burton's death. It was sold as a duplicate in 1818 and returned to the library in 1927. See Nicolas K. Kiessling *The Library of Robert Burton* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1988), item 225.

⁶ Burton was actively engaged in these studies. He bequeathed his mathematical instruments to John Fell, the son of Dean Samuel Fell, except for two cross staves to be given to the Lord of Downe, Thomas Pope (Joseph

(2.87:22-25) Among the approximately 1800 printed books that he owned were atlases by Mercator and Ortelius along with over seventy-nine books on astrology and astronomy, sixty on travel and exploration, forty on geography and cities, twenty-six on mathematics and mechanical arts, and eleven on colonisation.⁷

Other books and maps he found close at hand in the Bodleian Library, or in his own Christ Church Library, where he was appointed librarian on 27 August 1624. He had, he wrote, "the use of as good Libraries as ever he [Paulus Jovius, the famous Vatican scholar] had" (1.3:20). In this context of "Study" Burton cites the remarks of King James I in 1605 while visiting the "famous Library" of the University: "If I were not a King, I would be an University man; And if it were so that I must be a Prisoner, . . . I would desire to have no other Prison then that Library."

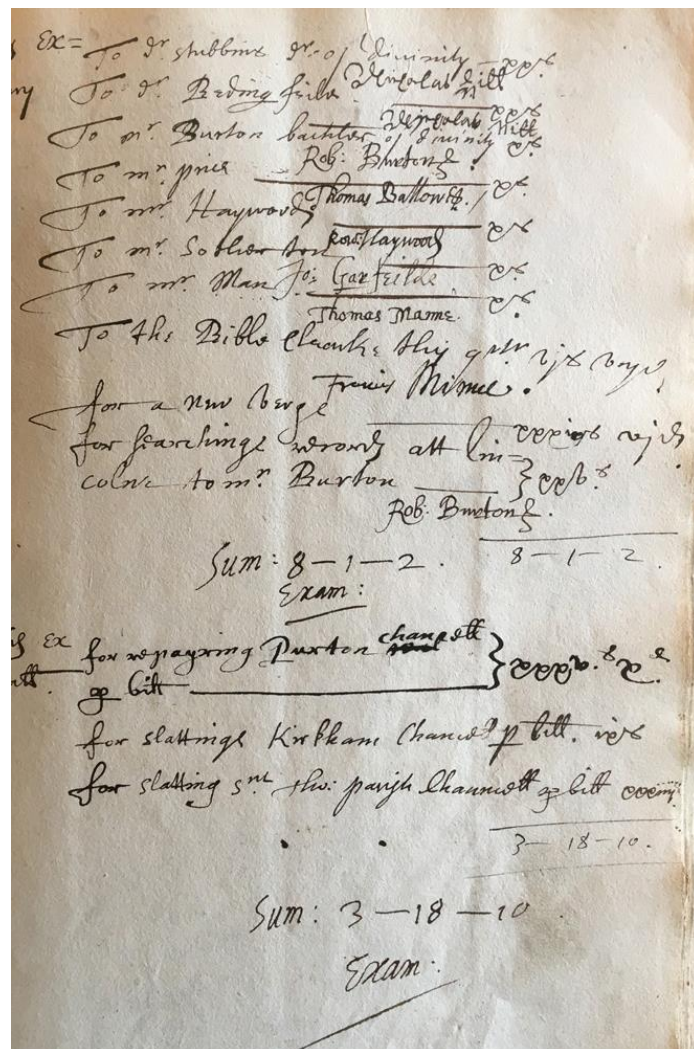
Burton then turns to a kindred spirit, Daniel Heinsius, the Keeper of the Library at Leiden, who wrote that, after entering the library, "I bolt the doore to me excluding lust, ambition, avarice, and all such vices, whose nurse is idlenesse the mother of Ignorance, and Melancholy her selfe, and in the very lap of eternity, amongst so many divine soules, I take my seat, . . ." (2.88:22-89.4)

A short list of significant benefactors of libraries follows shortly after: Sir Thomas Bodley, who financed and directed the restoration of the university library, 1598-1613, Otho Nicholson who contributed 800 pounds to the restoration of the Christ Church library (the old library) in 1613 and 100 pounds to buy books, and the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams, who, among other major contributions, was providing funds for the library at Lincoln.⁸

Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1891), 490.33 and 1181.15). Mr. Walter Jones, the Chaplin and Chanter were given 'my surveying bookes, and instruments' (*Alumni*: 831.15). See N. Kiessling, 'Robert Burton's Will', *RES* 41 (1990): 94-101.

⁷ Burton bequeathed most of his books to the 'famous' Bodleian Library (2.88:24) and to the Christ Church library. His will includes 'a book in fol. or two a peice' to his fellow students at Christ Church. For Burton's atlases by Mercator and Ortelius, see *The Library of Robert Burton*, items 1049 (Mercator, now lost and the specific edition is not known) and 1151 (Ortelius, now in the Worcester College Library); and for a list of subjects of his books on cosmology and related subjects, pp. 373-377. An excellent discussion of Burton's use of geography is in E. P. Vicari, *The View from Minerva's Tower* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989): 32-55.

⁸ Burton's visited the records of the Lincoln diocese in 1631. Funds for this visit were granted to him in March 1631, according an entry in the Christ Church Disbursement Book, 1630-31.



Page from Christ Church Disbursement Book 1630-1631.

"For searchinge records at Lin-coln to M^r. Burton --- } xx^vs." Signed, "Rob: Burtonesq." The context for this journey to Lincoln is given in the following entry in the Index: *Lincolne* [in *Lincolnshire*] 1.23:12, 1.83:36, 2.89:33, 2.90:1. [The last two references are in a section about John Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, described as a generous benefactor of St. John's College, Cambridge (where he had been a Fellow), and Westminster, who was providing funds for the cathedral library at Lincoln. Burton added this to the 1632 edition of the *Anatomy* after a visit to Lincoln in March 1631, for which he was provided with twenty-five shillings by Christ Church "for searchinge records att Lincolne" ("Disbursement Book 1630/1", "Martii 11th 1630", see ff. 41r, 46^r, 49^r; a reference posted on < bonæ litteræ: occasional writing from David Rundle > on 18 October 2015.) The Dean of Christ Church, Brian Duppa, may have sent Burton to Lincoln to study records of land ownership in what became, in 1541, the current diocese of Oxford. In that year the immense diocese of Lincoln was carved into several other dioceses, but the bishops of Lincoln did not give up all of their land holdings in these newly created dioceses, and it would have paid Christ Church to send Burton to Lincoln to read over the accounts of land ownership. It was probably not a coincidence that Burton's visit in March 1631 was a few months before the consecration of the

chapel at Lincoln College, Oxford, in October 1631, financed by the generous benefactor, Bishop John Williams. Williams most certainly would have attended the consecration of the chapel in Oxford and would, perhaps, have been confronted by evidence that Burton found at Lincoln Cathedral.

Thus Burton's imaginary travels throughout the known universe, inspired by his study in libraries, vividly delineated in his Partition 2, Members 3 and 4, and evidenced by his mentioning 1400 place names over 6500 times in the *Anatomy*, served as an important remedy for his own melancholy, and offered to others a way to counter the same disease.

Nicolas K. Kiessling

Nicolas K. Kiessling is Professor Emeritus in the Department of English at Washington State University in Pullman, Washington. His recent publications include the Oxford edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*; *The Library of Robert Burton*; *The Legacy of Democritus, Junior, Robert Burton*; and *The Library of Anthony Wood*.

News about the 1519 *Sarum Antiphoner*

This summer saw the arrival on the Digital Bodleian platform of the long-awaited *Sarum Antiphoner*. This is one of the biggest (and heaviest) volumes to have been photographed in the Library Imaging Studio. At Christ Church, we have the *pars hyemalis* of 1519, otherwise known as the winter half (shelfmark: Arch.Inf.Subt.K1). We were overjoyed to see how welcome this treasure of early printing was, as the first feedback was received minutes after the volume became available online. With Professor Magnus Williamson's approval, here is what he says:

"The digitization of the 1519 *Sarum Antiphoner* marks a step forward for performers and scholars of early music. By the end of the fourteenth century, most secular churches in lowland England followed the musical and ritual customs of Salisbury Cathedral, the so-called 'Use of Sarum'. Every church would have had at least one copy of the *Sarum Antiphoner* which contained the choir chants sung at the daily Office: from Matins and Lauds in the morning through to Vespers in the late afternoon and Compline in the evening. The *Antiphoner* therefore provided the musical context for which composers such as Dunstaple, Power, Taverner, Sheppard and Tallis composed polyphonic hymns, responsories and antiphons. Having the *Sarum Antiphoner* online therefore provides an invaluable resource. It affords universal access, without paywall, to a vast repertory of chant; it provides the ritual framework for historically-informed performances; it gives a clean, clear, easy-to-read source of chants and stage directions (printed in red

text); and having the only printed edition enables us to establish authoritative readings against which we can compare other sources, such as the few surviving manuscript antiphoners.



The *Sarum Antiphoner* (Paris, 1519), Temporale, fol. 4r.

Wolfgang Hopyl's edition of the *Antiphoner*, printed in Paris in 1519 and 1520, is of the first importance. Hopyl was the preeminent printer of chant, and the quality of typography is therefore exemplary: this is arguably the most ambitious printing project for the English market before John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, published half a century later. Hopyl's *Antiphoner* gives the user an easily navigated text that is also carefully edited (the project was driven from King's College, Cambridge). We have here the *pars hyemalis* or winter half of 1519. Digitization of this volume sets a very welcome precedent, opening the way for the summer half or *pars estivalis* of 1520 (from a copy outside of Oxford) as well as other major sources of chant, both printed and manuscript. This project is a major act of academic good citizenship, and to be congratulated."

Magnus Williamson, Professor of Early Music
School of Arts and Cultures, Newcastle University

Professor Williamson's research focuses upon the music of late-medieval and early modern Europe, especially in the sources and contexts of early-Tudor polyphony. He is also a Fellow of the Royal College of Organists and Chairman of Early English Church Music (British Academy).

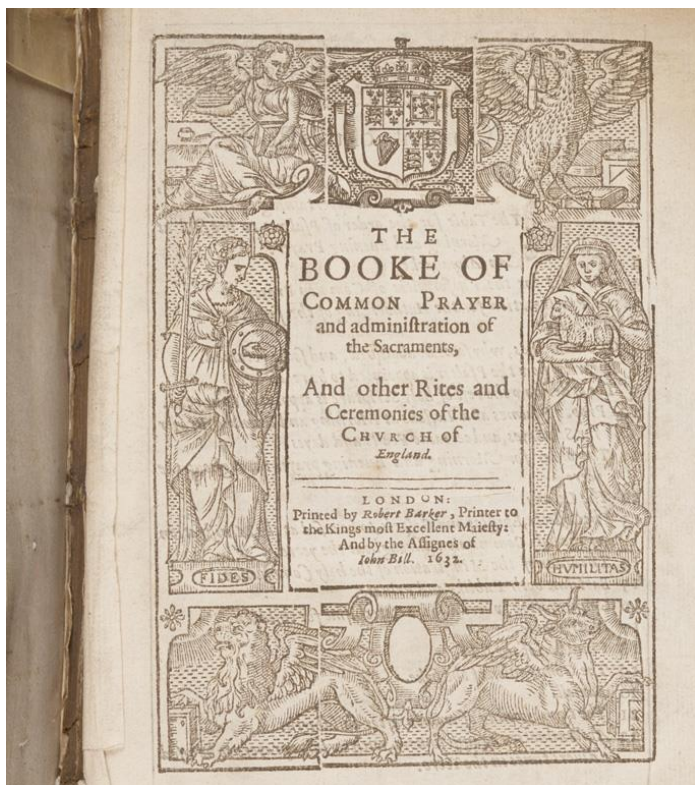
'Laud's liturgy': The conservation of a unique Book of Common Prayer

The Library is very grateful to the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust for a grant to support the conservation of a unique item in the Library's collections.



Back in 2013, the music collection at Christ Church was awarded another important grant by the NMCT. For details, see <https://www.nmct.co.uk/>

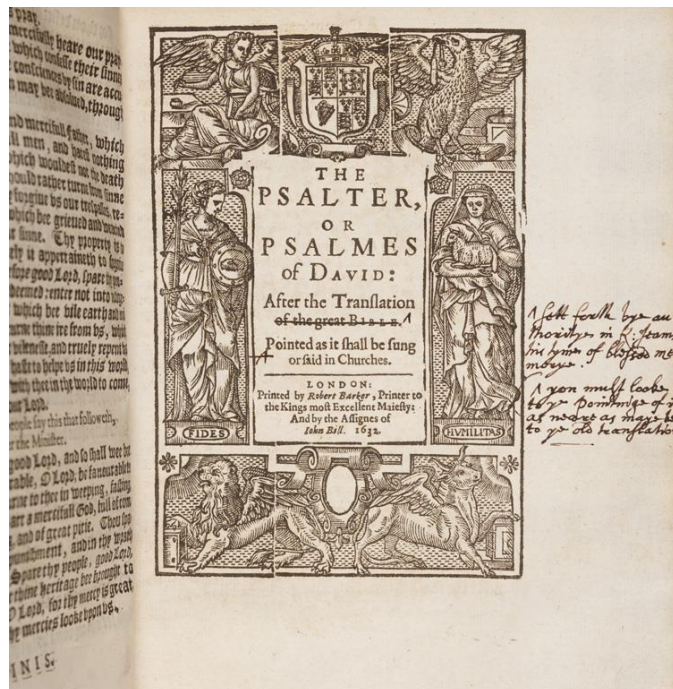
The NMCT grant will allow for the treatment of Archbishop William Laud's copy of *The Booke of Common Prayer* (London, 1632) recording planned changes to the draft Scottish Prayer Book. The annotations in the volume throw crucial light on the planning for the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book, which helped precipitate the English Civil War.



Title page with detached cover of 'Laud's' Book of Common Prayer (shelfmark MS 540).

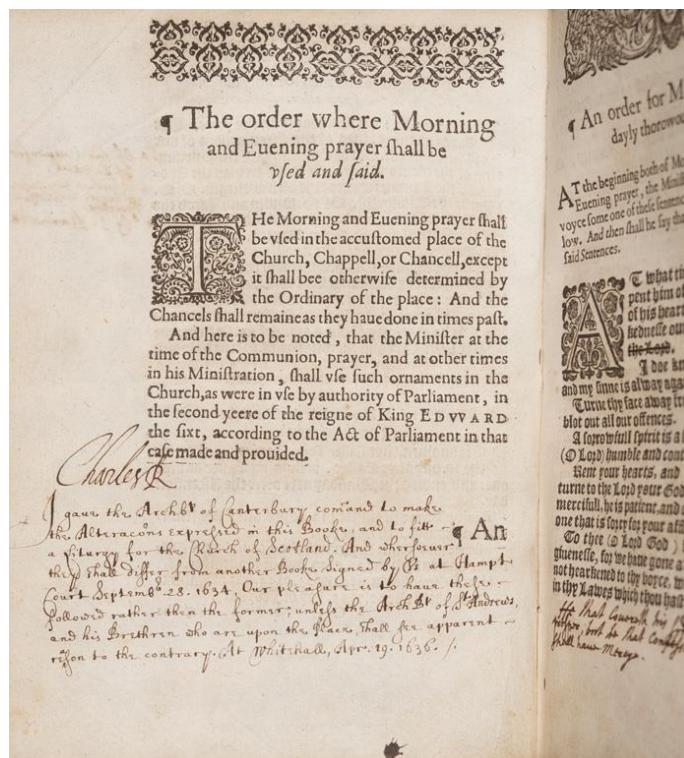
The volume is significant because it contains notes in the hand of one of Laud's clerks and comments by

William Prynne (1600-69) who led the prosecution of Laud (1573-1645) in 1644 with vindictive relish, collecting and arranging evidence to help prove the charges against him and conducting a search of Laud's room - and his pockets - in the Tower of London for papers to be used against him.

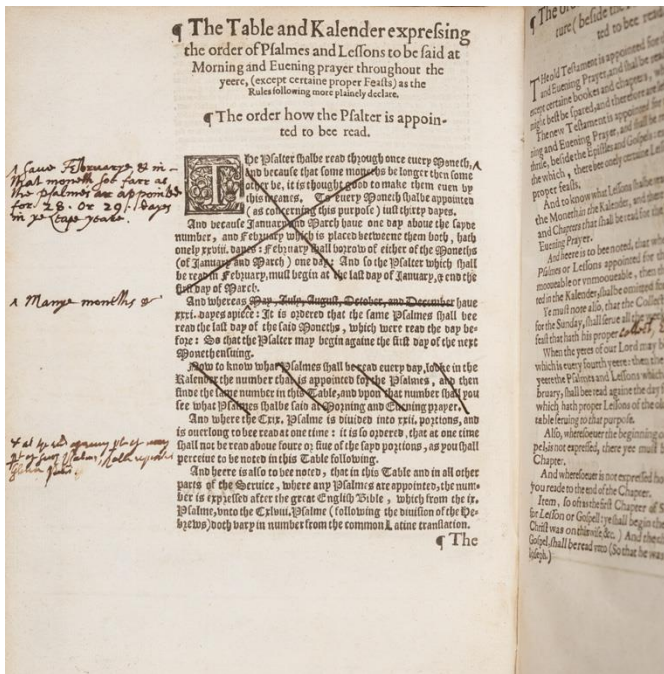


Marginal notes in MS 540.

The volume also bears Charles I's signature authorizing Laud's adaptations. The volume is a major item for research on liturgy, sacramental theology and relations between England and Scotland in the period leading up to the English Civil War.



Charles I's signature authorizing Laud's adaptations.



January hath xxxi. dayes.

Plalmes.	Kalend.	Circumc.	Gen. xvi.	Rom. i.	Deut. x.	Colos. 2.
i	iii Ro.		Gen. i.	Barth. i.	Gen. ii.	Rom. i.
ii	iiii Ro.		Gen. ii.	Barth. ii.	Gen. iii.	Rom. ii.
iii	v Ro.		Gen. iii.	Barth. iii.	Gen. iv.	Rom. iii.
iv	vi Ro.		Gen. iv.	Barth. iv.	Gen. v.	Rom. iv.
v	vii Ro.		Gen. v.	Barth. v.	Gen. vi.	Rom. v.
vi	viii Ro.		Gen. vi.	Barth. vi.	Gen. vii.	Rom. vi.
vii	ix Ro.		Gen. vii.	Barth. vii.	Gen. viii.	Rom. vii.
viii	x Ro.		Gen. viii.	Barth. viii.	Gen. ix.	Rom. viii.
ix	xi Ro.		Gen. ix.	Barth. ix.	Gen. x.	Rom. ix.
x	xii Ro.		Gen. x.	Barth. x.	Gen. xi.	Rom. x.
xi	xiii Ro.		Gen. xi.	Barth. xi.	Gen. xii.	Rom. xi.
xii	xiiii Ro.		Gen. xii.	Barth. xii.	Gen. xiii.	Rom. xii.
xiii	xv Ro.		Gen. xiii.	Barth. xiii.	Gen. xiiii.	Rom. xiii.
xiiii	xvi Ro.		Gen. xiiii.	Barth. xiiii.	Gen. xv.	Rom. xiiii.
xv	xvii Ro.		Gen. xv.	Barth. xv.	Gen. xvi.	Rom. xv.
xvi	xviii Ro.		Gen. xvi.	Barth. xvi.	Gen. xvii.	Rom. xvi.
xvii	xix Ro.		Gen. xvii.	Barth. xvii.	Gen. xviii.	Rom. xvii.
xviii	xx Ro.		Gen. xviii.	Barth. xviii.	Gen. xix.	Rom. xviii.
xix	xxi Ro.		Gen. xix.	Barth. xix.	Gen. xx.	Rom. xix.
xx	xxii Ro.		Gen. xx.	Barth. xx.	Gen. xxi.	Rom. xx.
xxi	xxiii Ro.		Gen. xxi.	Barth. xxi.	Gen. xxii.	Rom. xxi.
xxii	xxiiii Ro.		Gen. xxii.	Barth. xxii.	Gen. xxiii.	Rom. xxii.
xxiii	xxv Ro.		Gen. xxiii.	Barth. xxiii.	Gen. xxiiii.	Rom. xxiii.
xxiiii	xxvi Ro.		Gen. xxiiii.	Barth. xxiiii.	Gen. xxv.	Rom. xxiiii.
xxv	xxvii Ro.		Gen. xxv.	Barth. xxv.	Gen. xxvi.	Rom. xxv.
xxvi	xxviii Ro.		Gen. xxvi.	Barth. xxvi.	Gen. xxvii.	Rom. xxvi.
xxvii	xxix Ro.		Gen. xxvii.	Barth. xxvii.	Gen. xxviii.	Rom. xxvii.
xxviii	xxx Ro.		Gen. xxviii.	Barth. xxviii.	Gen. xxix.	Rom. xxviii.
xxix	xxxi Ro.		Gen. xxix.	Barth. xxix.	Gen. xxx.	Rom. xxix.
xxx			Gen. xxx.	Barth. xxx.	Gen. xxxi.	Rom. xxx.
xxxi			Gen. xxxi.	Barth. xxxi.	Gen. xxxii.	Rom. xxxi.

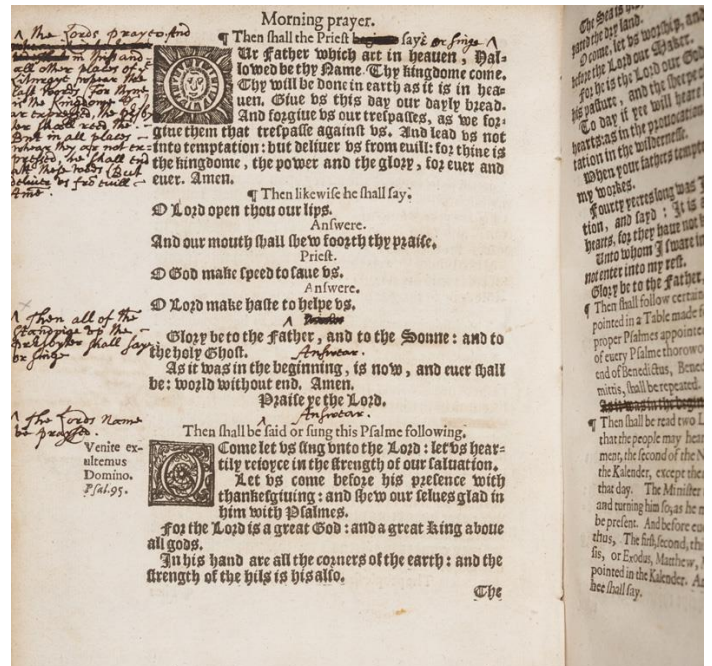
Marginal notes in MS 540

Jenny Geddes is traditionally credited with having begun the demonstrations against Charles I's new Scottish Prayer Book when it was used for the first time in St Giles's, Edinburgh, on 23rd July 1637. When Dean Hannay attempted to read from the prayer book for the first time Geddes picked up the stool she was sitting and threw it at his head, shouting "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug? [in my hearing]". A riot broke out, with more people shouting and throwing stools, before leaving the building.

Many protests and petitions against the prayer book were made to the privy council, condemning it as containing errors and being forced on the church without being the approval of a General Assembly or

Parliament. The National Covenant was drawn up in 1638 by those who objected to the changes Charles I intended to introduce into Church of Scotland worship.

The book has not been available to several generations of scholars due to its poor condition. This means that researchers have had to rely on secondary sources. Having the manuscript fit for study and research will mean that researchers can access the original directly and the Library can also use it in teaching and outreach activities.



Marginal notes in MS 540

Conservation of the item will make it fit for safe handling and access. The grant will be used to reunite the case and text-block, making the volume easier to use.

The conservation will also address any text-block problems that might become worse with further use in the volume's current damaged state. As a result of the treatment accessibility will be greatly enhanced, enabling the volume to be used for research, teaching, exhibition and outreach. The volume will also be prioritised for digitisation and will be made freely available on Digital Bodleian <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>. The project will provide a training opportunity for members of the Oxford Conservation Consortium.

We plan to hold a study day on the Prayer Book in Michaelmas 2023 and will publicise that in due course.

Gabriel Sewell
Christ Church, College Librarian

'A Ground by Mr Hen. Purcell': the private life of a masterpiece

Abstract

Christ Church Mus. 1183, a guardbook preserving material probably used by members of the University Musick in the later seventeenth century, contains an interesting version of Purcell's canonic chaconne from *Dioclesian* which presents the treble parts as a single line in A minor, a third lower than the theatre setting. This article explores the Christ Church version's status as an independent chamber work, as well as its context amongst a number of Purcell sources implying a special relationship between Oxford musicians and the composer.

For musicologists, one of the rewards of the Christ Church collection is its preservation of loose items that might once have been seen as unimportant. Now assembled in guardbooks, these pages sometimes provide fleeting insights into the lives of the musicians who copied and performed from them, as well as the cataloguers who later faced the task of bringing them into order: Mus. 1183, for instance, contains 17th-century scribal comments such as 'ye second treble of this that should of beene here was never made' (fol. 27v) and 'This [illegible] not playd it being Sundaye' (fol. 77v), as well as an entirely understandable cataloguer's note on a page inserted after fol. 14: 'These are Tipsey, Topsey, Turvey and are copied together – cannot be divided'. In addition, the formerly loose material sometimes produces remarkable surprises, such as an organ part copied by the young Purcell (Mus. 554, fols 3r–3v), probably discarded because he did not manage to fit it all onto one side of the paper, and a score in Purcell's hand of an anthem by Daniel Roseingrave (Mus. 1215(1)) which may have been sent to its composer in Winchester because he had left his own copy of the work in London or Windsor.¹

Another noteworthy item appears in Mus. 1183, a guardbook assembled in the early 20th century to conserve several sets of single-sheet performing parts and unbound partbooks.²

¹ See Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: the Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 216–7; Peter Holman, 'Purcell and Roseingrave: a New Autograph', in Curtis Price (ed.), *Purcell Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 94–105.

² A comprehensive description is available online in John Milsom and Matthew Phillips, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue* (hereinafter *Online Catalogue*); further details are in Silas Wollston, 'The Instrumentation of English violin-band music, 1660–1685' (PhD thesis, The Open University, 2010), pp. 125–44.

On the final page of its first section (fol. 12v) is a copy in an unknown hand of Purcell's canonic chaconne for flutes (i.e. treble recorders) from the third act of *Dioclesian* (1690), the music of which was published the year after its first performance in an elaborate full score referred to hereinafter as 1691.³

No reference is made to the movement's presumed origin, and the music is a minor third lower than in 1691, in A minor instead of C minor, reflecting a difference of pitch found elsewhere between alternative settings for recorders and violins; the higher key placed the music within the recorder's range and the lower allowed the violin to be played in first position only, as was common practice at the time.⁴



Mus 1183, fol. 12v, reversed.

³ Henry Purcell, *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian* (London: 'Printed by J. Heptinstall, for the Author, and...Sold by John Carr', 1691): <https://archive.org/details/vocalinstrumenta00purc> [Accessed 10 January 2023].

⁴ A comparable example is provided by Purcell's earlier 'Three Parts upon a Ground' which existed in versions in F major and D major. The only complete source of this work, in British Library MS R.M.20.h.9, fols 121v–118r (reversed), is in D major but bears the annotation 'play^lld 2 notes higher for F[lutes]'; a fragment of this higher setting survives (on the reverse of a lifted pasteover) in British Library Add. MS 30932, fol. 121*v.

Whereas pp. 60–63 of 1691 give the movement in three-part score, Mus. 1183 presents the canonic melody as a single line, reflected in the title ‘A Ground by M^r. Hen^y Purcell 2 p^{ts} in 1 the 2^d treble beginning 2 bars after y^e 1st.’; only the last two bars have a second stave, notating the adjustment to the second treble required to create the closing cadence. This setting may not derive directly from 1691 but from a chamber-music version for recorders, as British Library Add. MS 22099, which generally reflects Oxford repertory, contains on fol. 55r a single-line copy in C minor. The six-bar ground bass itself is absent from Mus. 1183, but in both cases the piece was clearly considered to start with the first treble melody rather than with 1691’s initial statement of the ground, as is confirmed in Mus. 1183 by the bar number ‘40’ inserted in the process of correcting an error. The Christ Church manuscript, however, contains many distinctive variants from all other sources, some possibly added as a reflection of the way the even-quaver notation given elsewhere might have been interpreted.

The main content of the first section of Mus. 1183, in a different hand from the Purcell, consists of grounds for one or two trebles and bass by Michel Farinel,⁵ John Banister, Robert Smith, Luis Grabu (entitled ‘Passacaille’, unattributed in this copy) and George Tollett (see the table below); in the second part, only the heading is provided for the Farinel ground, and this work’s first treble part looks as if it might have been copied after the rest of the main-hand material. Three movements have close concordances in John Playford’s *The Division Violin* (1685).⁶ Arkwright’s *Catalogue* records that before binding these pages were not shelved with the rest of the present Mus. 1183 but with Mus. 1125,⁷ thus placing them within a group of sources probably associated with the ‘University Musick’, a professional ensemble which performed at a variety of public and semi-public events; a detailed description of these manuscripts, and of the contributions of their anonymous copyists designated W–X, is given in the *Online Catalogue* under Mus. 34–36. Although Mus. 1183 as a whole is not included in this group, its repertory after the first section would mostly have been suitable for the University Musick, and it has been suggested that

the main hand of ff. 1–12 can be identified with copyist ‘Y’.⁸ The Purcell movement, entered by a different hand, represents a rather more sophisticated kind of material; it is on the final page, upside down in relation to the other content, inviting the assumption that its copyist simply used a spare page in an old partbook. For a variety of reasons, however, this explanation is unsatisfactory: the collection certainly does contain music by composers at work in the 1670s but, if the copyist is indeed ‘Y’, in Mus. 1135 he transcribed music published after 1700 and, in any case, three of the main-hand grounds in Mus. 1183 were published in 1685, confirming that there was still a demand for them towards the end of the century.

On fols 1r and 8r of Mus. 1183 the modern natural sign is used, something unlikely to have happened before the 1690s; as late as 1692 and 1693, correspondence with William Holder about his *A Treatise of the Natural Grounds and Principles of Harmony* (London, 1694) indicated that the use of naturals in that work was considered ‘if the Printer has such a Mark’ but subsequently rejected.⁹ The symbol was, however, a feature of the very beautiful ‘second Walpergen’ typeface designed by the Christ Church singing man and copyist Francis Smith and used in his and Peter de Walpergen’s publication *Musica Oxoniensis* (1698), where they felt obliged to print an explanation on the verso of the dedication page: ‘this Character, or Mark, ♮ (which is used by the Italian Masters, and is call’d a Natural,) is intended so as to restore the Note following to its natural and true sound’.¹⁰

In the first treble part, naturals feature in the Farinel work (fol. 8r), which appears to have been added later than the other music in the main hand; even so, some flats are cancelled by sharps in the traditional way as they are everywhere else in the set except in the second (but not the first) treble part of the first piece, a ground by Robert Smith (fol. 1r).

A plausible conjecture is that, as provenance and the possible identity of the main hand suggest, most of Mus. 1183 fols 1–12 was copied in Oxford by a professional musician involved with the University Musick, but for private purposes rather than as urgently-required performing material, and that its transcription took place at a time when the use of the

⁵ The French composer Michel Farinel visited England in the late 1670s: see Marcelle Benoit and Érik Kocevar, ‘Farinel family’, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09311> [Accessed 10 January 2023]. The work in Mus. 1183 is not the well-known ‘Farinel’s Ground’.

⁶ *The division-violin: containing a choice collection of divisions to a ground for the treble violin. Being the first musick of this kind ever published* (London: John Playford, 1685), #10 - The division-violin : containing a choice collection of divisions ... - Full View | HathiTrust Digital Library [Accessed 10 January 2023].

⁷ G. E. P. Arkwright, *Catalogue of Music in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*, v. 1 (London and New York: OUP and Humphrey Milford, 1915), p. 7 (under ‘Banister’).

⁸ Wollston, ‘Instrumentation’, p. 148.

⁹ For source references, background and wider bibliography, see Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 102–3.

¹⁰ For a summary of Smith’s tragically short life, see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 313–14; for the ‘second Walpergen’ typeface, see Donald W. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553–1700* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1975), pp. 136–7.

sharp sign was recognised but not generally accepted. If so, these main-hand pages could have been copied in the 1690s or even later, and the assumption that the Purcell represents a later addition may be unsound; there are many instances of contrasting music being entered from opposite ends of a book, and it is possible that the Purcell copyist began from the 'back' of the partbook merely to differentiate his own contribution or because the movement was seen as belonging to a different genre from the more straightforward grounds at the other end. Such a perception could stem from the music itself, but also, perhaps, from the personal engagement of its distinguished composer: in the second volume of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1702) a dedicatory poem by 'R. G.' bestows upon Purcell 'the tenderest dearest name of friend' and is probably the work of the elder Richard Goodson, Heather Professor of Music from 1682 to 1718, whose copies in Mus. 3 and Mus. 620 of three Purcell sonatas and his 'Fantazia upon One Note' seem to have been made directly from Purcell's autograph British Library Add. MS 30930. A unique keyboard prelude, also in Goodson's hand, in Mus. 1177 (fol. 24v reversed) may have been a personal gift from Purcell,¹¹ while Mus. 337, the musical commonplace book of the Christ Church singing man Francis Withy, records a surprising piece of apparently first-hand advice about consecutive octaves in contrary motion: 'Mr H. P. ses two 8ts may be taken in 2 parts one part ascending and ye other descending to make ye Musicke more full and noble.'¹²

Francis Withy also provides evidence of possible contact with Purcell around 1690, the period during which the *Dioclesian* chaconne was probably composed. Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. C.61, another of Withy's private music books, contains his copy of the bass solo anthem *My song shall be alway* in a version with a symphony and intermediate ritornello for strings.¹³ Anthems with string parts were occasionally performed at Oxford—examples include Richard Goodson's *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous* in Mus. 1219(I-T)—and there are further reasons to connect this version of *My song* with the city: a partially-autograph set of string parts survives at Christ Church in Mus. 1188–9 as well as a score in the hand of Richard Goodson in Mus. 22, another, probably copied by the Christ Church singing man Charles Husbands, in British Library Add. MS 17840 and a third, by an unidentified copyist, in Mus. 766.

¹¹ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 282–3 and illustration on p. 286.

¹² See Robert Thompson, "Francis Withie of Oxon" and his Commonplace Book, Christ Church, Oxford, MS 337', *Chelys* 20 (1991), pp. 3–27, at p. 9.

¹³ See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 150, 152–7. The string passages are omitted in the work's earliest source, the 'Gostling Manuscript' (University of Texas at Austin, The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, MS Pre-1700 85) as well as in most other copies.

Withy's copy is dated 'Sep 9th 90', on which date King William III arrived at Windsor on his return from campaigning in Ireland, and a performance in Oxford might have coincided with this event; the use of stringed instruments in the Chapel Royal (presumably whether at Whitehall or Windsor) had been forbidden in the previous year,¹⁴ but this prohibition would have no force elsewhere.

There is also circumstantial evidence that Francis Withy knew '2 p^{ts} in 1'. Another single-line source, in A minor but pitched an octave lower, exists in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mu MS 647A, where it is associated with a 'Trumpet Tune' for bass viol ascribed to 'Ed Wythie' and possibly in his hand; a copy of the 'Trumpet Tune' made by Francis is in Mus. Sch. C.61. Francis Withy was a relative, perhaps a brother, of Edward, for whom he witnessed a legal document in 1676;¹⁵ like the Mus. 1183 setting, the Fitzwilliam copy lacks the preliminary statement of the ground bass but in other respects is closer to the printed version.

A significant contrast with Mus. 1183, however, is that the adapted second part for the conclusion is not given. The same is true of the one source lacking a demonstrable historic connection with Oxford, an arrangement in A minor for keyboard amongst manuscript additions to Purcell's *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1696) in British Library Hirsch III. 472; despite the title 'A Cannon in two parts by Mr Henry Purcell', only a single treble line and the ground bass are notated and there is no evidence that the copyist understood how the canon worked.¹⁶

A further, incomplete, concordance in Mus. 1137, again in A minor, belongs in the 'University Musick' group of sources but appears to be derived directly from 1691, being laid out in score and including the introductory statement of the ground; its relationship with Mus. 1183, if any, might be limited to the recognition that a movement printed in C minor for recorders was equally suitable for violins in a lower key.

The copyist added comprehensive figuring not given in 1691, suggesting a technical interest in the way the two parts relate throughout the work both with each other and with the bass line.

¹⁴ 23 February 1689: National Archives RG8/110, a Chapel Royal register containing general memoranda as well as entries for marriages, births, baptisms, and deaths. The register is available on Ancestry and other subscription websites; visible numbering is by openings rather than folios, the relevant entry appearing on opening 21.

¹⁵ See A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright (compilers), *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, v. 2 (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 10–11.

¹⁶ It nevertheless belonged in the late nineteenth century to T. W. Taphouse of Oxford.



Mus 1137, fol. 6r.

The source consists of a single complete sheet of paper (fol. 6), unusually ruled from one side to the other rather than in two blocks to be folded in folio, and reaches the end of the page at bar 47; the staves on the reverse are blank, and the copyist may have continued on the recto of another similar sheet with the intention of making the whole piece visible at once without page turns. It cannot be proven that Purcell did not simply re-use an existing movement in 1691, but the printed C minor version of the work probably is the original; while Purcell's most conspicuous engagement with difficult technical challenges, as in the fantasias and 'Three Parts upon a Ground', does date from around 1680, there is abundant evidence that he drew freely upon the resources mastered at that time throughout his later career.¹⁷ Neither the printed score nor the playtext published in 1690 specifies exactly where the chaconne was to be performed, but this music could provide a suitable accompaniment for action preceding the Chair Dance in Act III, scene 3:

Delphia: You see those Antick Figures in the Hangings.

Geta: Yes, very well.

Delphia: They are all Spirits; all at my command.

My Servants all, and they shall entertain you;

Come forth, and Dance before this mighty Aedile

Come forth, and leave your Shadows in your places.

The Figures come out of the Hangings and Dance:

And Figures exactly the same appear in their places:

When they have danc'd a while, they go to sit on the Chairs, they slip from 'em, and after joyn in the Dance with 'em.¹⁸

The stage directions do not make it clear whether the music of the Chair Dance covers the complete routine they describe or just its second part, after the chairs 'slip from' the dancers. If the latter, the

chaconne's canonic writing perhaps reflects a more mysterious, supernatural passage of dance before the comedy of the moving chairs: the tonalities of the chaconne and Chair Dance in *Dioclesian* are the same, making this suggested juxtaposition entirely possible, and a comparable use of canon exists in Purcell's 'Dance for the Followers of Night' in *The Fairy Queen*. Alternatively, however, the chaconne might have accompanied the scene change for Act III scene 2, not only setting a suitable emotional tone but also allowing more time for the dancers representing the 'figures' and 'chairs' to prepare themselves behind the curtain lowered at that point 'representing the entrance into the inner part of a Magnificent Pallace'.¹⁹ In either case, Purcell could reasonably have felt that his ingenious and beautiful canon deserved a wider audience, to be played in settings beyond the theatre, and to be easily available to string as well as recorder players. Whether the A minor setting was transmitted to Oxford musicians by Purcell himself, as other works seem to have been, or brought from London by an intermediary, its immediate precursor was probably a single-line version like that in Add. MS 22099, closely related to 1691 but already clearly divorced from it; the work's interest now derived not from its theatrical context but from its elevation of a potentially mechanical musical procedure into a moving, expressive and self-contained work of art. The further transposition for bass viol of the 'Edward Withy' copy, the keyboard arrangement in Hirsch III. 472, and the elaboration of notated rhythm in Mus. 1183, strongly suggest that their copyists, or those of intervening manuscripts, wished to adapt the music to their own requirements, and there is no evidence that they were aware of its origin. This private performing context, involving changes paralleled in Purcell's earlier 'Three Parts upon a Ground', justifies including the A minor '2 p^{ts} in 1' amongst the composer's other independent instrumental works in the forthcoming newly-revised volume 31 of the Purcell Society edition.²⁰

Robert Thompson

Has written a number of studies on 17th-century music and musicians, and, together with Robert Shay, has produced a comprehensive account of the principal autograph and non-autograph manuscripts of Henry Purcell's music, examining their physical features in detail as well as cataloguing their content.

¹⁷ Explored in Alan Howard, *Compositional Artifice in the Music of Henry Purcell* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), esp. Part II, 'Thou dost thy former skill improve', pp. 141–270.

¹⁸ Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Prophetess, or, the History of Dioclesian... with Alterations and Additions* [by Thomas Betterton] *After the Manner of an Opera* (London: 'Printed for Jacob Tonson', 1690), p. 36.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 31. See Andrew Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera, 1661–1706* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), p. 241.

²⁰ Henry Purcell, *Consort Music*, ed. Peter Holman and Robert Thompson (London, Stainer & Bell for the Purcell Society Trust, in progress). Building upon the current vol. 31 edited by Thurston Dart, which dates back to 1959, the new edition will take account of some significant manuscript discoveries in the intervening years as well as the re-evaluation of other sources and of individual works such as '2 p^{ts} in 1'.

First Treble (fols 7-12)		Second Treble (fols 1–6)		Number and heading in <i>The Division Violin</i> (1685)	Comments
Folio	Heading	Folio	Heading		
7r	Ground in B mi. M ^r . Rob ^t . Smith	1r	Ground in B. M ^r . Rob ^t . Smith.	24. A Division for two Trebles on a Ground by M ^r . Robert Smith [1 st treble]/A Division for two Trebles by M ^r . Robert Smith, to a Ground [2 nd treble]	Ground bass present in both sources.
7v	Ground in G. b 3 ^d . John Banister.	1v	Ground in G.b mol. M ^r . John Banister	-	Ground bass copied.
8r	Ground in C. b 3 ^d . Faranel.	1v	C flat thirds. M ^r . Faranel. [no music copied]	-	Ground bass not copied.
8v	Passacaille. D. b 3 ^d . [Luis Grabu]	2r	Passacaille.	-	Ground bass not copied. First treble in French (G1) violin clef.
9r	Chacon. Rob ^t . Smith.	-	-	-	Ground bass not copied.
9v	Ground. D. # 3 ^d . Geo. Tollet.	-	-	21. M ^r . George Tollitts Division upon a Ground.	Ground bass present in both sources.
10v	Ground in F. John Banister.	-	-	19. A Division on a Ground by M ^r . John Banister	Ground bass present in both sources.
11v	Ground in B. John Banister.	-	-	-	Ground bass copied.
12v	A Ground by M ^r . Hen ^y Purcell 2 p ^{ts} in 1 the 2 ^d treble beginning 2 bars after y ^e 1 st .	-	-	-	Inverted relative to other content. Ground bass not copied.

Chapel Royal links in Oxford

The Music of Captain Henry Cooke at Christ Church

Within the Western Musical Canon, the composers of The English Restoration School – such as Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, and Henry Purcell – are often considered jewels of musical achievement. The prodigious nature of this set of composers cannot be denied, and many achieved contemporary renown at young ages. However, the thread that links the composers above, amongst others, has been somewhat relegated to the footnotes of musical history; this being Captain Henry Cooke (d.1672). Cooke was appointed ‘Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal’ with immediate effect following Charles II’s restoration to the throne and quickly set to work re-populating the chapel with talent.¹

¹ For Cooke’s appointment as ‘master of the boyes in ye private musick’, see Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music (RECM)*, 9 vols (Snodland; Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1986-96), i, 4. His appointment as master of the Children of the Chapel Royal is never explicitly stated, succeeding the position from Thomas Day, who had died during the years of Commonwealth. See Ashbee, *RECM*, pp. i, 6.

The English Civil Wars and Commonwealth (1642-60), which had effectively stopped professional music-making in sacred environments for around 16 years, had made this task significantly more difficult than for any previous occupant of that position. As many of the original adult choir members were simply reappointed,² the sourcing of a treble line became the crux of Cooke’s challenge. The results of Cooke’s pedagogy show that the task was deftly handled, through a combination of exercising the pressing system, granted by his position, as well as his clear ability to identify promising choristers.³ Cooke quickly gathered twelve boys for the Chapel Royal (a number that had remained constant since at least the 1550s)⁴ – many of whom would go on to be figureheads of the English Restoration School. Little

² Samuel Teague, ‘Piercing Through the Gloomy Silence: Musicians’ Livelihoods in Civil War and Commonwealth England (c.1642-1660)’, *BFE/RMA Research Students’ Conference 2021*, University of Cambridge (Online), 13 January 2021.

³ Cooke had the right, as master of the Children, to recruit (or more accurately, ‘press’) choristers from other cathedrals and chapels into service with the Chapel Royal. Documented in the court papers are expenses for journeys to Newark, Lincoln, Rochester, Peterborough, Worcester, and ‘other places’. Ashbee, *RECM*, pp. i, 19 & 98.

⁴ *RECM*, pp. vii, 127.

is known concerning Cooke outside the entries included in the *Records of English Court Music*, with further documentary evidence being exceptionally sparse. However, by looking to his extant music, and the manuscript sources in which it is contained, one can begin to uncover several consistent threads. There are sixteen surviving manuscript sources containing Cooke's repertoire, of which eleven are known to have originated in Oxford. Christ Church was clearly a nexus for Cooke's repertoire with several of the post-Restoration singing men of the Cathedral serving as the copyists for the surviving manuscripts. These include Richard Goodson Sn, William Husbands, Charles Husbands Jr, and Francis Withy. Today, Christ Church remains a focal point for Cooke's music, as the library's special collections hold a majority (7) of the extant manuscripts.

MS	Description	Copyist ⁵	Copying Location	Date Range
Bu 5001	Guardbook	Henry Cooke	London, Chapel Royal	1660-70
DRc MS B1	Organ book	Richard Hosier	Dublin	1665-75
Lbl Add. MS 14399	Pedagogical study book	/	/	1650-77
Lbl Add. MS 19759	Collection of compositions	Charles Campelman	/	1681-5
Lbl Add. MS 29396	Collection of vocal music	Edward Lowe	Oxford	1678-82
Lbl Add. MS 31460	Scorebook of solo voice music	Richard Goodson, William Husbands, Charles Husbands Jr	Oxford, Christ Church	1688-93
Lbl Add. MS 33234	Scorebook of sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers	Charles Morgan	Oxford, Magd. College	1680-82
Lbl Egerton MS 2960	Scorebook of sacred and secular music	/	Oxford	1670-90
Ob MS Mus. Sch. d. 217	Miscellaneous notes, scores, and bass parts	Francis Withy	Oxford, Christ Church	1681-1703
Och Mus. 12	Anthems and contrafacta for choir with continuo	Charles Husbands Jr	Oxford, Christ Church	1688-92
Och Mus. 14	Sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers	John Blow	London	1674-75
Och Mus. 22	Scorebook	Richard Goodson Sn	Oxford, Christ Church	1670-77
Och Mus. 49	Composite score of English and Italian vocal music	/	Oxford?	1670-75

⁵ Responsible for the content by Cooke in the manuscript.

Och Mus. 598	Collection of songs and keyboard pieces	Richard Goodson Sn	Oxford, Christ Church	1675-85
Och Mus. 1205 (A)	'Sleep downy sleep' copied in score	Richard Goodson Sn	Oxford, Christ Church	1685-95
Och Mus. 1246	Tenor partbook from Chris Church Cathedral	Francis Withy	Oxford, Christ Church	1670-77

Christ Church Copyists

Four of the Cathedral singing men copied Cooke's surviving repertoire found in the collections at Christ Church, which illustrates (at the very least) that Cooke's music was both known and being performed in Oxford beyond his death in 1672.

William and Charles Husbands were brothers, and both choristers at Christ Church (1673-82 and 1677-84, respectively) before becoming singing men and organists of the Cathedral until their deaths, both in 1692. During their adult years, they were employed to copy pieces for use in the Cathedral, which presumably was the original purpose of Och Mus. 12 and the British Library manuscript Add. 31460.⁶

Francis Withy had a similar career to the Husbands brothers, serving as a singing man from 1670 until his death in 1727, during which time he regularly was called upon to copy music for both the Cathedral and University.⁷ He was responsible for the Bodleian manuscript, MS Mus. Sch. d. 217 (the only Cooke manuscript held by the institution) which contains the bass part to the anthem 'Turn thou us, O good Lord'.

Richard Goodson Sn served as a singing man at Christ Church between 1667-81, before succeeding Edward Lowe as Heather Professor of Music.⁸ In 1692, he took up the post of organist at Christ Church which he held until c.1714, when he left his duties to his son, also called Richard.⁹ Two of the Christ Church sources which Goodson copied, Och Mus. 22 and Mus. 598, found their way into the Cathedral via the Goodson bequest, which was made by his son c.1743.

It might be natural to think that the plentiful sources linked to Christ Church would indicate that Cooke himself had a personal link with the Cathedral and/or College. However, one should be cautious in assuming this. Cooke did seem to enjoy what we

⁶ John Milsom, ed. 'Mus. 11'. *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*. 2004; Harold Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1991), 211.

⁷ Robert Thompson. 'Withy family [Withie, Wythey]'. *Oxford Music Online*, 2014.

⁸ An endowed chair within the University of Oxford.

⁹ Robert Thompson. 'Goodson, Richard (i)'. *Oxford Music Online*. 2001.

might consider a moderate level of contemporary fame, at least within certain London-centric music-literate circles. Had he been affiliated with any institution in Oxford following the period of civil war and Commonwealth then one would suspect that this information would have been recorded and already known – the absence of any relevant information, in this regard, is its undoing.

In addition, Anthony Wood, noted antiquary and amateur musician, was a direct contemporary of Cooke and meticulously described his own life in Oxford – his involvement and exposure to the musical scene being a particularly prominent feature. It is just as telling as the lack of official institutional documentation that Cooke is not mentioned in Wood's writings, be that *Athenæ Oxonienses* or his personal diaries. In fact, the only record Wood makes of Cooke is in his manuscript list of musicians, Ob Wood MS D 19(4), where Cooke receives a short entry that in no way indicates personal association between the two. Coincidentally, the manuscript is the single reference to Cooke's potential past as a chorister in the Chapel Royal – which is possible, although a lack of any official documentary warrants further consideration.¹⁰

If one looks in the opposite direction, and considers whether any of the copyists had a connection to Cooke, only one of the four Christ Church men had a direct link to the Chapel Royal: Charles Husbands Jr. He is recorded as having been a chorister in attendance of the King at Windsor in 1683 (overlapping with his recorded dates as a chorister at Christ Church).¹¹ This stint in the Chapel was, clearly, much later than Cooke's tenure, but would have seen Husbands working underneath John Blow as Master of the Children, thus providing us with the solid link to Cooke and his repertoire. It is also likely that both the Husbands boys would have been exposed in some way to Cooke's other repertoire, as their father (Charles Sn) was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal contemporaneous with Cooke.¹² In the course of the ongoing research into Cooke, there will be further exploration into the relationships between composers and copyists, in a hope to reveal more about professional musical networks (of both sacred

and secular natures) during the early years of the Restoration and beyond.

Christ Church Manuscripts

Of the seven Cooke manuscripts held at Christ Church, none are in his hand, but Mus. 14 is closely linked to him, as an autograph manuscript in the hand of his pupil, John Blow. Having been one of Cooke's earliest choristers, Blow would have had an intimate knowledge of Cooke's repertoire, indicating that the reading in Mus. 14 is close to the original, possibly having been copied from a holograph source that is no longer extant.

Manuscript	Cooke Content	Bequest
Mus. 12	Turn thou us, O good Lord	Aldrich
Mus. 14	Turn thou us, O good Lord	Aldrich/Goodson
Mus. 22	Turn thou us, O good Lord	Goodson
Mus. 49	As on a river's side; Awake my soul; Sleep, downy sleep	Aldrich/Goodson
Mus. 598	Turn thou us, O good Lord	Goodson
Mus. 1205(A)	Awake my soul	-
Mus. 1246	Turn thou us, O good Lord	Christ Church Cathedral, Library

What is possibly most interesting concerning the extant manuscripts held at Christ Church is the fact that, apart from Mus. 1246, none of the items belonged to the Cathedral as an institution, rather belonging to individuals who were members of the choir, which then made their way into the College special collections (rather than returning to use in the Cathedral). John Milsom made mention of this when compiling the digital music catalogue for Christ Church, drawing particular attention to those materials which had been bequeathed to the special collections by the Cathedral, and not external benefactors (who, admittedly, had pre-existing links to the musical life of the Cathedral, in the case of all the individuals above).¹³

As can be seen in the table above, most of the Christ Church manuscripts contain the verse anthem 'Turn thou us, O good Lord', in some form. If Mus. 1246 were not extant, it could be argued that the anthem was only known to some of the Cathedral's singing men and that it was not a piece of regular repertoire at the Cathedral. However, as the piece existed both in the Cathedral's partbooks (tenor, in this instance) and the private collections of the singing men, it can be construed that, at the very least, this piece of Cooke's repertoire enjoyed a reasonably prolonged

¹⁰ Cooke's will (Lna PROB 11/343/321) states that he wished to be buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey in the same plot as his daughter, Mary, who predeceased both him and his wife (also Mary). The right to have a family member buried in the Abbey cloisters would only have been granted if Cooke had a prior connection to the institution prior to the Civil Wars – it is perhaps more likely that a link exists here, and not with the Chapel.

¹¹ Ashbee, *RECM*, i, 206.

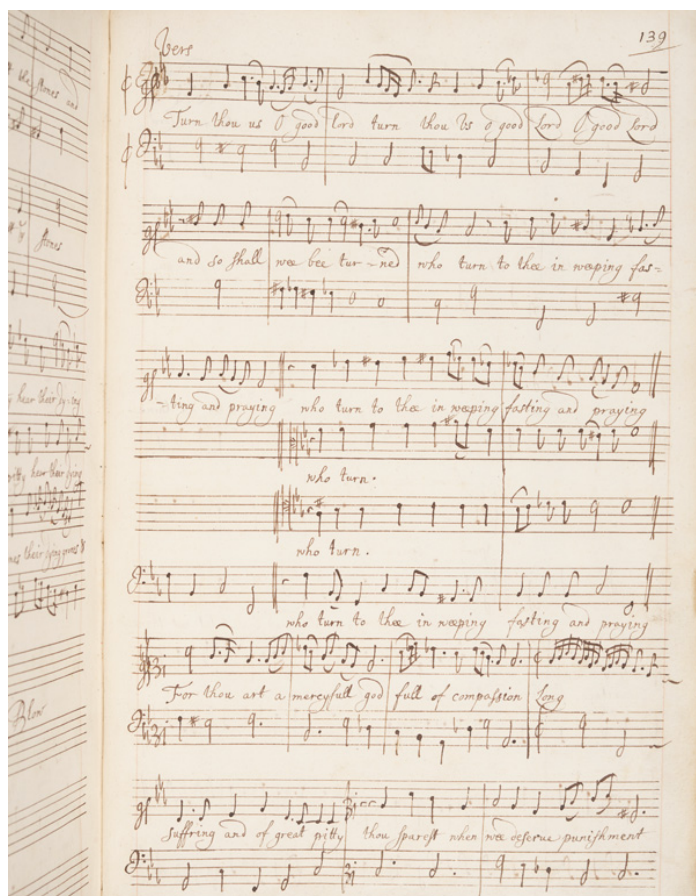
¹² It is possible that Charles Sn was among the extraordinary gentlemen of the Chapel, as his appointment is not formally recorded, but he is paid for singing at Windsor on more than one occasion. *Ibid.*, 109, 136, & 143.

¹³ John Milsom. 'The Repertory of Christ Church Cathedral'. 27 Jan 2009.

<library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?page=The+repertory+of+Christ+Church+Cathedral>.

performance life in Oxford, from 1670, at the latest, until at least 1705.¹⁴

When we cast the net a little wider to consider those manuscripts which are not held by the special collections but do appear to have had their origins at Christ Church, we see a similar case of a prolonged shelf life with Cooke's solo song pair, 'Awake my soul' and 'Sleep, downy sleep'. This pair of songs exist in the scorebook, Lbl Add. MS 31460, which features one copy of 'Awake my soul' and two of 'Sleep, downy sleep' (in D and C minor, respectively). In addition, each of the Cooke pieces are in the hands of different men, all of whom having already been discussed: Richard Goodson, William Husbands, and Charles Husbands Jr – forging a strong link between the repertoire seen in this manuscript, and that contained within those still held at Christ Church.



The beginning of 'Turn thou us, O good Lord'
Mus 14, fol. 139.

To be considered further still are the stemmatics of the manuscripts.¹⁵ The songs remain extant in six

¹⁴ This latter date has been ascertained from the copying dates of Ob Mus. Sch. D. 217, copied by Francis Withy.

¹⁵ The discussion on Cooke's song output – with particular focus on the authorship of 'Sleep, downy sleep' – has been discussed and greatly developed since, see: Samuel Teague, 'A Seventeenth-Century Whodunnit: Reassessing the Ascription of 'Sleep, downy sleep'', *Music, Creativity, and Culture in England, 1642-88*, Conference Address, The Queen's College, 21 May 2022.

manuscripts, which in themselves exhibit a clear bipartite division in their readings of the piece. In this division, Lbl Add. 19759, Add. 29396, Add. 31460, and Och Mus. 1205(A) are derived from the same lost manuscript. This lost manuscript is most likely an intermediary source, rather than the original, as the other version of the songs (as seen in Och Mus. 49 and Lbl Add. MS 33234) are both shorter, and therefore may have derived from the original source. Due to the linked nature and provenance of Lbl Add. MS 31460 and Och Mus. 1205(A), it can be supposed that the lost manuscript source on which their content was based was known to at least Richard Goodson Sn, if not William and Charles (Jr) Husbands as well. Whilst it seems likely that Och Mus. 14 was the primary transmission document for 'Turn thou us, O good Lord' (due to the close ties to Blow, and therefore Cooke), the lost manuscript was most likely the transmission source for the songs 'Awake my soul' and 'Sleep, downy sleep'.

From the manuscript materials held at Christ Church, it is clear that Cooke's music saw a prolonged and reasonably successful position within the Cathedral's repertoire until the beginning of the eighteenth century, at least. The fact that the singing men copied the repertoire for both personal and institutional usage also illustrates that, whilst the Cathedral was a centre for the activity, the repertoire was also most probably used within other contexts in the city – possibly at some of the musical meetings documented by Anthony Wood.

Further study is now required on the manuscripts; watermarks, gathering of the quires, etc., in order to provide further methods for dating and ascertaining provenance. It is hoped that these physical attributes of the manuscripts will provide further concrete evidence of Cooke's repertoire in Oxford and solidify the links between the Cathedral and the Chapel Royal.

Samuel Teague

The Queen's College, Oxford

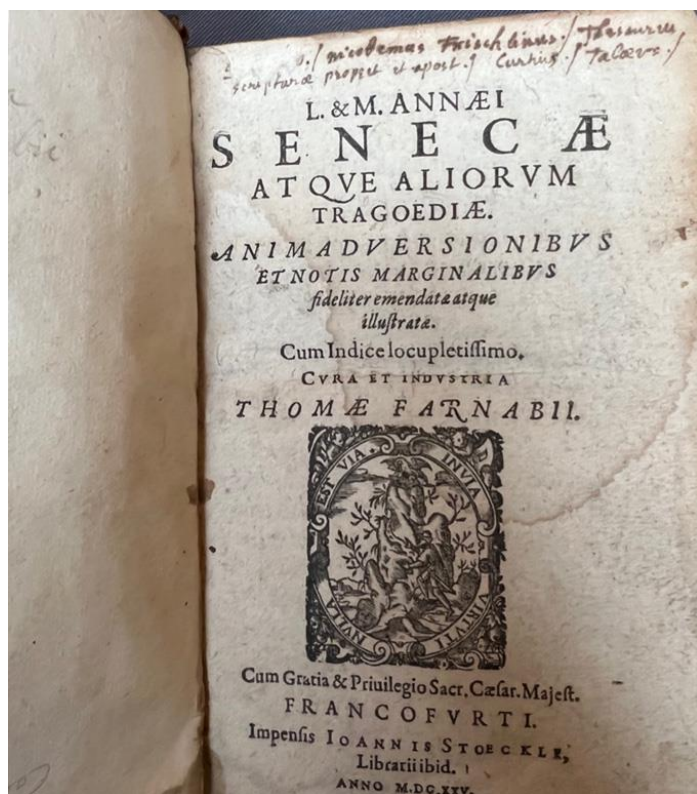
Michaelmas Term 2021 (rev. Hilary Term 2023)

Sam is currently reading for a DPhil in Music at The Queen's College, focussing on Henry Cooke and the music of seventeenth-century England. He holds an MSt in Musicology from The Queen's College, Oxford, and a BA in Music from Bangor University. He is a practising musician, holding a lay clerkship with the Choir of the Queen's College, Oxford, and a choral scholarship with the University Church.

Since February 2022, Sam has also been a member of library staff at Christ Church; granting, much to his delight, ready access to these manuscripts.

“By the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*?” Identifying Books by Richard Allestree

In the past three centuries, there has not been any comprehensive attempt to connect the supposed authorship of Richard Allestree (1621/2-1681) to works attributed to his name or, more likely, the title of “author of *The Whole Duty of Man*.” In this article, I argue that using an analysis comparing the attributed works of Allestree to the works in his library, it is plausible that Allestree wrote the works connected to his name before 1690. The library's dilemma is that only approximately half of the Allestree Library is catalogued, leaving roughly 1,500 works undocumented. However, I contend that although Allestree collected numerous volumes, fewer than approximately one hundred works directly pertain to his published scholarship. Thus, this study attempts to provide through a new form of analysis the greater plausibility of the direct authorship of Richard Allestree to the works attributed to his name.



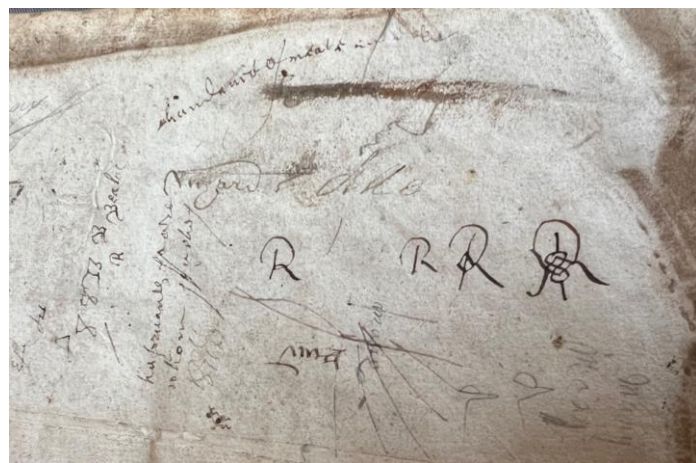
Richard Allestree's edition of Seneca (Allestree e.5.10), one of the most widely referenced works throughout his sermons, tracts, treatises, and books.

The most recent endeavours from the past two centuries use rudimentary analysis to attribute to Allestree his most famous work, *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658). Charles E Doble's 1882 article “Who Wrote the *Whole Duty of man*?” contends that it was Richard Allestree, and not John Fell as previously thought, who wrote *The Whole Duty of Man*.¹ By the first volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography* in

1885, the canon of works attributed to Allestree solely consists of *Eighteen Sermons*, *Forty Sermons* and the tracts *The Privileges of the University of Oxford in point of Visitation* (1647) and *A Sermon on Acts xiii. 2* (1660).²

Writing sixty years after Doble, Paul Elmen's 1952 article ‘Richard Allestree and *The Whole Duty of Man*’ expands upon Doble's work through a systematic analysis and rejection of the 26 plausible authors of *The Whole Duty of Man*, arguing that “The one candidate whose case has survived re-examination is Richard Allestree (1619-82).”³

Assuming the plausibility of Allestree as the author of *The Whole Duty of Man*, Mark Purcell in his 1991 article “‘Useful Weapons for the Defence of that Cause’, Richard Allestree, John Fell and the Foundation of the Allestree Library,” contends that Fell published and credited Allestree as the author of *The Gentleman's Calling* (1660), *The Causes of Decay of Christian Piety* (1665), *The Ladies' Calling* (1673), *The Art of Contentment* (1675), and *The Lively Oracles* (1678).⁴ However, this still leaves the authorship of *A discourse concerning The Period of humane life* (1671), *A discourse concerning the Beauty of Holiness* (1679), and the posthumous works attributed to Allestree, *The Vanity of the Creature* (1684), *The Art of Patience* (1684), *The Whole Duty of Mourning* (1692), *The Whole Duty of Prayer* (1692), *The Whole Duty of Divine Meditation* (1695), and *The Whole Duty of Worthily Receiving the Holy Sacrament* (1700) as matters of contested authorship.



An attempt at a cypher. Found within Allestree's edition of Seneca (Allestree e.5.10).

I argue that Allestree was most likely the author of the works attributed to him during his lifetime. It is

¹ Charles E. Doble, ‘Who wrote “The Whole Duty of Man?”,’ *The Academy* Iss. 550, (Nov. 18, 1882), p. 364.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1 (1885), s.v. “Allestree, Richard.”

³ Paul Elmen, ‘Richard Allestree and *The Whole Duty of Man*,’ *The Library* s5-VI, Iss. 1 (1957), p. 19.

⁴ Mark Purcell, “‘Useful Weapons for the Defence of that Cause’ Richard Allestree, John Fell and the Foundation of the Allestree Library,” *The Library* 21, Iss. 2 (1991): p. 127.

plausible that he is the author of most of the posthumous works attributed to his name under the title of "author of *The Whole Duty of Man*." Using the Allestree Library at Christ Church, I analyzed each work published by or attributed to, Allestree, creating an index of references to names, places, and events. This index was then narrowed down to references of works contained within his library. This list was then cross-referenced with the holdings of each college of the University of Oxford to see which works would have been available in each library. Using this method, I compared the percentages of the known works of Allestree (*Eighteen Sermons*, *The Divine Authority*) to establish a base number of citations of works available. Certain works, such as *The Practice of Christian Graces/The Whole Duty of Man* and *Private Devotions* that cite only scripture are not quantifiable in this study.

Of his known works, of *Eighteen Sermons*, Allestree references fifty-two works, with the following closest libraries containing the works being Queen's College (42%) and All Souls (27%). Similarly, in *The Divine Authority*, Allestree references twelve works, with Magdalen College (38%) and All Souls, Jesus, New College, and Queen's possessing 30% of the volumes listed.

This study supports Purcell's findings on the authorship of Allestree by noting the work, year published, and what percentage the next closest college held of references stated in each work, showing that Allestree was the likely author of these texts:

The Gentleman's Calling (1660 - 33% Corpus Christi)
The Causes of Decay of Christian Piety (1669 - 35% All Souls)
The Ladies' Calling (1673 - 50% All Souls)
The Art of Contentment (1676 - Only owned by Christ Church)
The Lively Oracles (1678 - 30% Magdalen).⁵

These findings go further in aiding the weight of evidence towards Allestree's authorship for percentages of his attributed works during his lifetime not mentioned by other scholars:

A discourse concerning The Period of humane life (1671 - 60% Balliol)
A discourse concerning the Beauty of Holiness (1679 - 33% Corpus Christi)

The Posthumous works of Allestree are harder to quantify, as the author in some instances focuses almost entirely on scripture or works with very few sources. Still, the findings lean towards similar authorship of the known works:

The Vanity of the Creature (1684 - 27% Jesus, Queen's)

The Art of Patience (1684 - 35% Queen's)

Almost a decade after Allestree's death, works attributed to the author of *The Whole Duty of Man* increased, with their source material increasingly fewer in number than their previous counterparts.

The Whole Duty of Mourning (1692 - 42% All Souls)

The Whole Duty of Prayer (1692 - 100% All Souls)

The Whole Duty of Divine Meditation (1695 - 50% All Souls, Corpus Christi, Jesus, Magdalen, St Anne's, St John's, Taylor, Trinity, University)

The Whole Duty of Worthily Receiving the Holy Sacrament (1700 - 100% Magdalen)

This brief study, then, is but a partial examination of the life and works of Allestree, demonstrating quantifiably the likelihood of his authorship of texts published during his life and immediately after, as well as the lessened plausibility of his authorship in the decade following. The impact of the works therein, regarding education, print culture, and his theology, are only now fully explored in my dissertation.

Tanner Moore

Purdue University (U.S.A.).

Tanner Moore is a Ph.D. Candidate at Purdue University (U.S.A.). His research focuses on the life and theology of Richard Allestree and Allestree's broader impact on the court, crown, and Church of England during the Restoration.

Portraits of Actors in the Brady Collection

Among the various holdings of Christ Church Library, there is an immensely valuable collection of theatrical ephemera donated by Francis Brady, which remains largely uncatalogued and understudied.

The Brady Collection has recently sparked the interest of several theatre historians who ventured in the task of re-appraising its unique significance.¹

This article, born out of my engagement as a Research Assistant on the Leverhulme Trust

⁵ Mark Purcell, "Useful Weapons [...]p. 127.

Emeritus Fellowship Scheme project titled 'Francis Brady and His Collection: Memorabilia and the Structure of Feeling', investigated by Professor Jacky Bratton, aims to survey some of the materials included in the Brady Collection, so as to convey – at least partially – its extraordinary potential for enabling further research.

THE 'B' PORTFOLIOS

The 'B' portfolios consist of six large folders containing 915 items – mainly theatrical portraits – arranged in a fairly accurate alphabetical order which follows the name of the subject being portrayed.

Whilst some of them are undated, most items date back to the period from the early eighteenth to the late nineteenth century.

The earliest date of publication recorded is 1717, while there are only two items, namely a portrait of Ethel Irving as Lady Frederick and a Christmas greeting card signed by Mrs Kean, which date back to the early twentieth century.



Signed print of Ethel Irving as Lady Frederick, 1908.
240 x 368 mm. Portfolio B, box 3, print 50.

The theatrical portraits held in the 'B' portfolios are chiefly published in Britain. However, there are some portraits which were published either in France or in both France and Britain.

Most of the portraits are in black & white and occur once in the collection but, in some instances, there are different versions (black & white and coloured) of the same print.



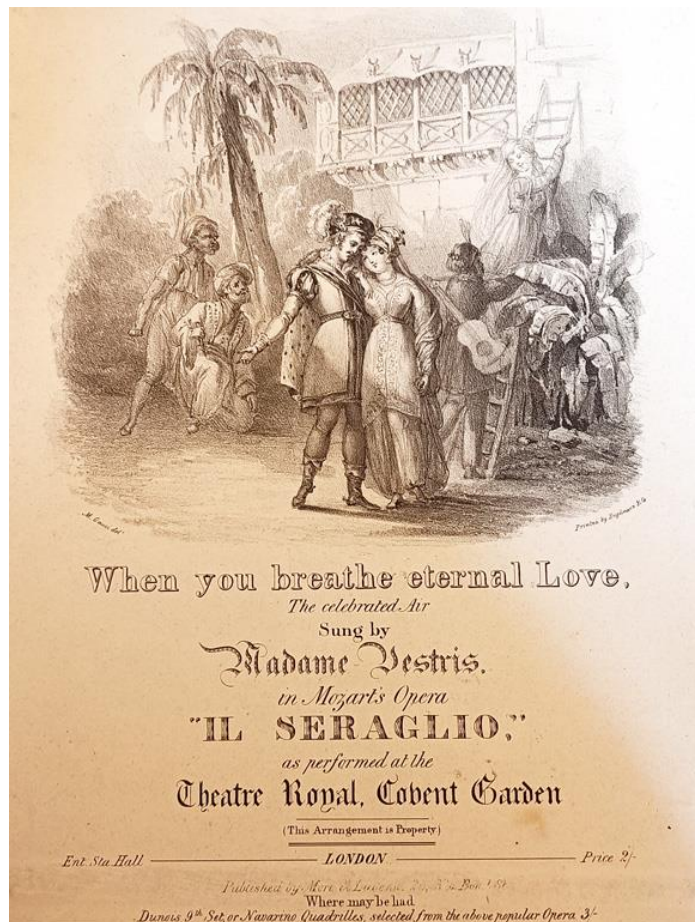
W. C. Macready. 1850.
275 x 361 mm. Portfolio B, box 4, print 70.

The subjects privileged by the theatrical portraits collected by Brady are stage performers, either British, French, or Italian. For instance, the 'B' portfolios include roughly 23 portraits of Edmund Kean; 20 portraits of Fanny Kemble; 22 portraits of W. C. Macready; and 28 portraits of Eliza Vestris.

Yet, Brady also collected prints portraying dramatists (e.g., James Sheridan Knowles); composers and musicians (e.g., Niccolò Paganini); opera singers (e.g., Signora Storace); and acrobats (e.g., Madame Saqui, tightrope walker). Overall, the figures here reported correspond to approximations, insofar as the subjects of few theatrical portraits are still unidentified.

The 'B' portfolios also hold some song sheets, principally published by Laurie & Whittle in the early 1800s (e.g., 'Unfortunate Miss Bailey', sung by Charles Mathews, 1804); some title pages for sheet music (e.g., approximately 7 title pages of songs

sung by Madame Vestris, with illustrations by Gauci); and very few manuscript items, such as letters and cards (e.g., letter written to Dillon Crocker in 1867, whose text is mostly illegible). The variety of items held in the 'B' portfolios already conveys the breadth and significance of the Brady Collection, which indeed deserves further investigation.



*When you breathe eternal Love, The Celebrated Air sung by Madame Vestris in Mozart's Opera *Il Seraglio* as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.*
279 x 333 mm. Portfolio B, box 6, print 72.

THE 'KEMBLE' SCRAPBOOKS

The 'Kemble' scrapbooks held in the Brady Collection are smaller in size if compared to the 'B' portfolios.² Whilst the average size of the prints

² A note from the Editor: The 115 scrapbooks in the Brady Collection are organised according to the following categories: 1. Actors' Portraits AP (A-R) = 17 scrapbooks. 2. Theatrical Portraits TP (1-49) = 49 scrapbooks. 3. Scenes from Plays S (1-20) = 20 scrapbooks. 4. Scenes from foreign plays 1-6 = 6 scrapbooks. 5. Scenes from British theatre: Duncombe, Cumberland (1-3) = 3 scrapbooks; London 1825 (1-2) = 2 scrapbooks. 6. Other: Western National, Stothard (1-4) = 4 scrapbooks; Stothard Magazines & Annals = 1 scrapbook; Stothard Novelists Magazines (A-B-C) = 3 scrapbooks; Stothard Illustrated (Rogers-Steele) = 1 scrapbook; Stothard Apocrypha = 1 scrapbook; Carrington Bowels = 1 scrapbook; Shakespeare = 1 scrapbook; Shakespeare Outlines after

included in the 'B' portfolios corresponds to 220mm x 300mm approximately, that of the scrapbooks' pages corresponds to 160mm x 210mm. Prints depicting the members of the Kemble family, which is one of the best-known theatrical families active between the eighteenth and nineteenth century, are pasted on the recto of each page, for a total of 223 portraits.

The scrapbooks are introduced by a cover, where 'Kemble Family' is handwritten in capital letters. The subjects are portrayed either in character or not. The prints are mostly black & white. Unlike in the 'B' portfolios, the items collected in 'Kemble' scrapbooks are not arranged in alphabetical order, but are grouped together according to the subject being portrayed. For example, 'S.20', mainly includes portraits of Sarah Siddons, while, 'S.22', contains portraits of Roger Kemble, followed by prints depicting subsequently Charles Kemble, Adelaide Kemble, Fanny Kemble, and others.



Mrs Siddons in character, inspired by the portrait by Joshua Reynolds. Kemble Family scrapbook, p. 96r.

As testified by this short survey, the 'Kemble' scrapbooks have great value insofar as they bring together a wide range of items relating to members of one theatrical family.

Boydel = 1 scrapbook; Kembel Family = 3 scrapbooks; Theatricalia (1-2) = 2 scrapbooks.



Fanny Kemble as Belvidera.
Kemble Family scrapbook, p. 71r.

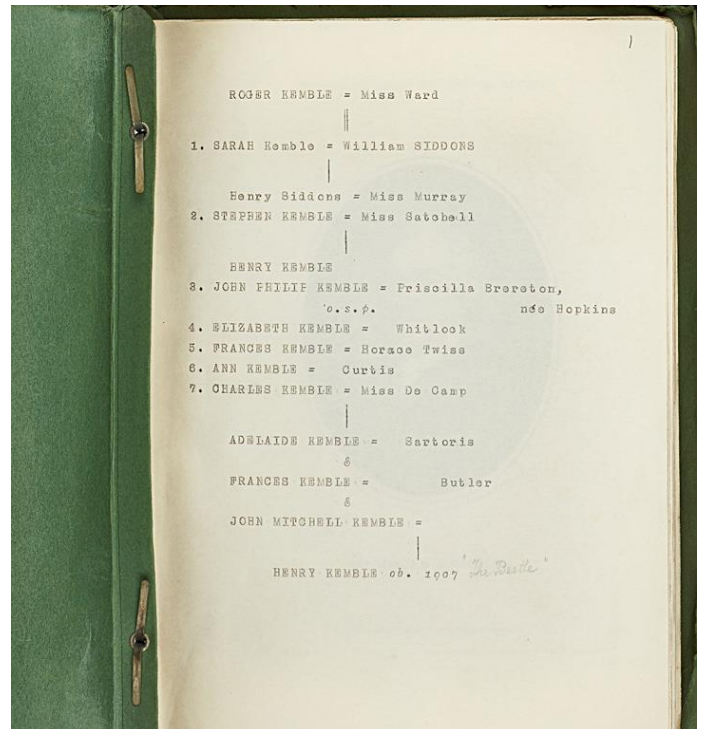
FRANCIS BRADY, THE COLLECTOR



Unnamed print of one of the Siddons sisters.
Kemble Family scrapbook, p. 94r.

It is inferable from the previous paragraphs that Brady actively worked on the materials he collected.

Not only did he cut and paste the portraits of members of the Kemble family on the blank pages of his scrapbooks, but he also cut and re-assembled some of the larger portraits included in the 'B' portfolios.



Prefatory family tree typed by Francis Brady in
Kemble Family scrapbook, p. 1r.

Brady often typed titles and annotations below untitled portraits, indicating the names of the subjects being portrayed.

He also added manuscript comments, such as biographical notes and meaningful dates. Brady's active engagement with the materials held in his collection undoubtedly allows researchers not only to investigate a vast array of theatrical manifestations dating back to the long nineteenth century, but also to probe the mind of the collector, as Professor Jacky Bratton's project seeks to do, and to reflect on issues such as the value of material culture, that of archival memory, and the nature of historical evidence.

Alessandra Grossi

Dr Grossi has recently obtained a doctorate at the University of Warwick, where she wrote a thesis aimed at re-assessing the inherent comicality of gender portraits in mid-Victorian classical burlesques.

She has recently studied parts of the Francis Brady collection at Christ Church, working as a Research Assistant on the Leverhulme Trust Emeritus Fellowship Scheme project *Francis Brady and his collection: Memorabilia and the structure of feeling* investigated by Professor Jacky Bratton.

Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen: Meeting Former Owners of Hebrew books

I believe that those of us who are involved in provenance research are familiar with both the sense of achievement and the frustration when deciphering and trying to make sense of illegible provenance names and notes. My own feelings vary from those of the happiness of a small child - who has just learned to read - when I am able to make out, say, 'Mordekhai, son of Barukh', to disappointment when I realise that this is the end of the story because we don't know anything else about that person. However, with a bit of luck one also comes across the names of known or famous owners. I recently catalogued a Hebrew book, *Sefer 'ikarim* (ספר 'יקרים by Joseph Albo (ca. 1380-ca. 1444), that was printed in Venice by Giovanni di Farri in 1544. *Sefer 'ikarim*, meaning 'Book of Principles', is an important philosophical-theological work on the principles of Jewish faith. Albo was a student of the medieval Jewish philosopher Hasdai Crescas (ca. 1340-1410/1411) whose scholarly influence, along with that of Maimonides (1138-1204), Simeon Duran (1361-1444), as well as Arabic philosopher Averroes (1126-1198), can be seen in his *'Ikarim*.

The historical context for the creation of this book was the anti-Jewish disputation that took place at Tortosa (Spain) in 1413-1414. Resulting from this very polemical setting, Albo's main aim was to preserve faith in Jewish religion. This apologetic work thus deals with the themes of belief in God, reward and punishment, and revelation.

The book is written and organised in a manner that makes it easy to read (Figure 1) and indeed it became a popular work in the sixteenth century. Prior to our Venetian publication of 1544, there had already been printed five editions of this work: Soncino (1486), Fano (1506), Salonika and Venice (both 1521), and Rimini (1522). The copy at Christ Church comes with a lovely seventeenth-century Continental gold-tooled calf binding with gilt centrepiece ornaments on both boards. Its previous Oxford shelfmark and staple holes from chaining it to the bookcase in the library attest to it being a part of the collection of the Old Library at Christ Church.

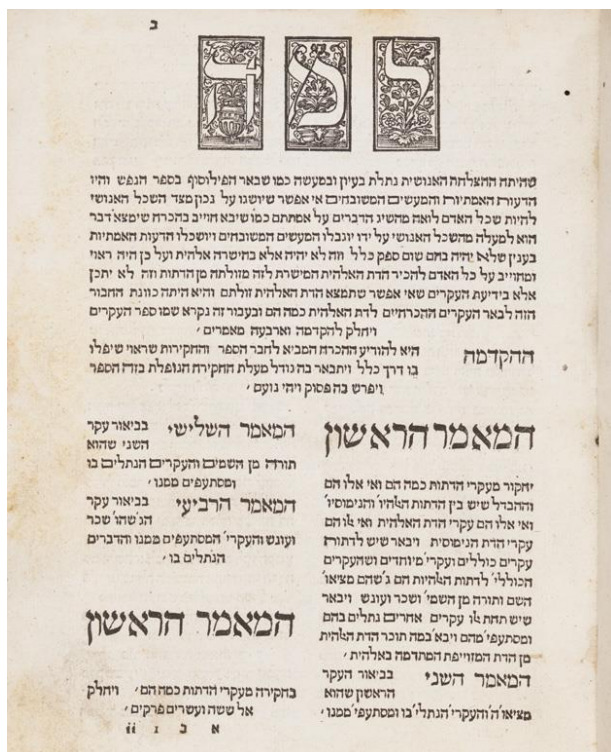


Figure 1

* I have very much enjoyed reading Christopher de Hamel's book *Meetings With Remarkable Manuscripts* (Allen Lane, 2016) that has confirmed my own recognition that encounters with books and their past owners are similar to meeting good friends.

² For a more detailed online catalogue record (Christ Church Library shelfmark MC.7.15), please see <https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/f/162u8eq/oxfaleph020500591>

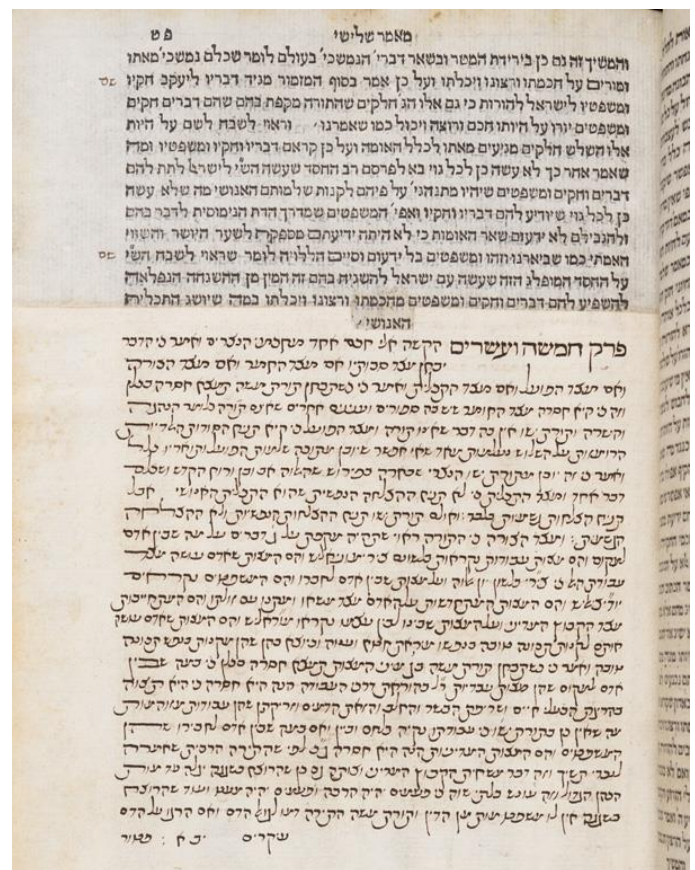


Figure 2

Despite the fact that *Sefer 'ikarim* was subject to censorship laws in Italy during the sixteenth century, and several passages in the text have been rendered illegible (later erased or restored in the margins), the book is in a perfect condition.

An abundance of marginal annotations in Hebrew, written in a beautiful sixteenth-century Italian script no doubt add extra value. Actually, part of the book, that is, leaves 89-92, are provided in manuscript, copied by the same hand (Figure 2).

The original printed passages, parts 3:25-26 of the treatise, had been expurgated by the censors as they contained criticism of Christian belief.

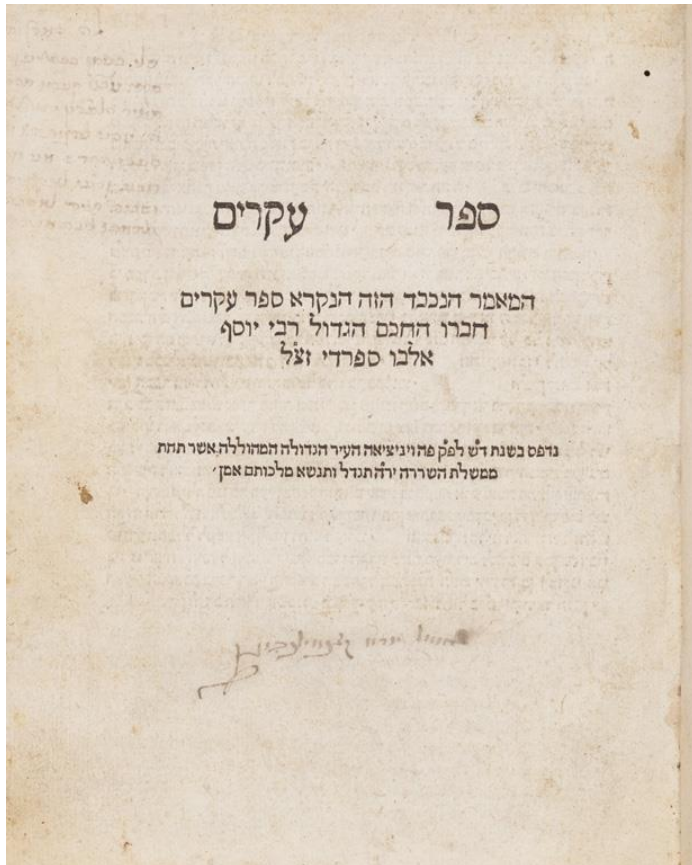


Figure 3

We don't know for sure who was the person who wrote the missing passages by hand, as well as left the marginal annotations in beautiful script, but it is possible that these were added by one of the Italian owners of the book – Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen (1521-1597) who left his name in Hebrew on the title page (Figure 3). Son of Rabbi Meir Katzenellenbogen (ca. 1482-1565), Samuel Judah was a prominent sixteenth-century Italian rabbi in Venice. He was well-connected and respected in Jewish scholarly circles already in his lifetime, and his sermons, as well as responsa survive in several publications. Samuel Judah's father was a German Jew born in the town of Katzenelnbogen³ who after his move to Italy became a rabbi in Venice and Padua.

³ Now, as to the name of the small town and castle Katzenelnbogen, literally meaning 'Cat's Elbow' in English, in Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany, it has been suggested that the name as such is a mondegreen. Possibly, the German version of the name comes from Cattimelibocus, consisting of 'chatti' (Germanic tribal name) and 'melibokus' (for mountains). This region in Germany is also famous for its wine: already in 1435, Riesling grapes were listed in Count John IV of Katzenelnbogen's (member of the Holy Roman high nobility) storage inventory.

Meir was the progenitor of the Jewish scholarly family of Katzenellenbogen whose fame spread from Italy to Central and Eastern Europe: Samuel Judah's son was Saul Wahl (ca. 1541-1617), a Court Jew in Poland who entered legend as the supposed 'Jewish king for a day'.⁴ Apart from those with the name 'Katzenellenbogen', several important figures in this rabbinic dynasty, who lived in Germany, Italy, Poland and America during the last half-millennium, intermarried with similarly distinguished Jewish families bearing the names Te'omim, Heilprin, Fraenkel, Mintz etc. On the other hand, at least twelve variant Hebrew spellings of the name 'Katzenellenbogen' are known, such as Ellenbogen, Elbogen, Bogen and Katzenelson.

Closer to our times, other notable descendants of Rabbi Meir Katzenellenbogen include Moses and Felix Mendelssohn, Karl Marx, Marcel Proust and Helena Rubenstein, not to mention the Jewish scholars Martin Buber, Shaul Lieberman and Menachem Mendel Schneerson. Thus via direct or indirect connections over generations, the provenance of our edition of Albo's *Ikarim* is in good company!

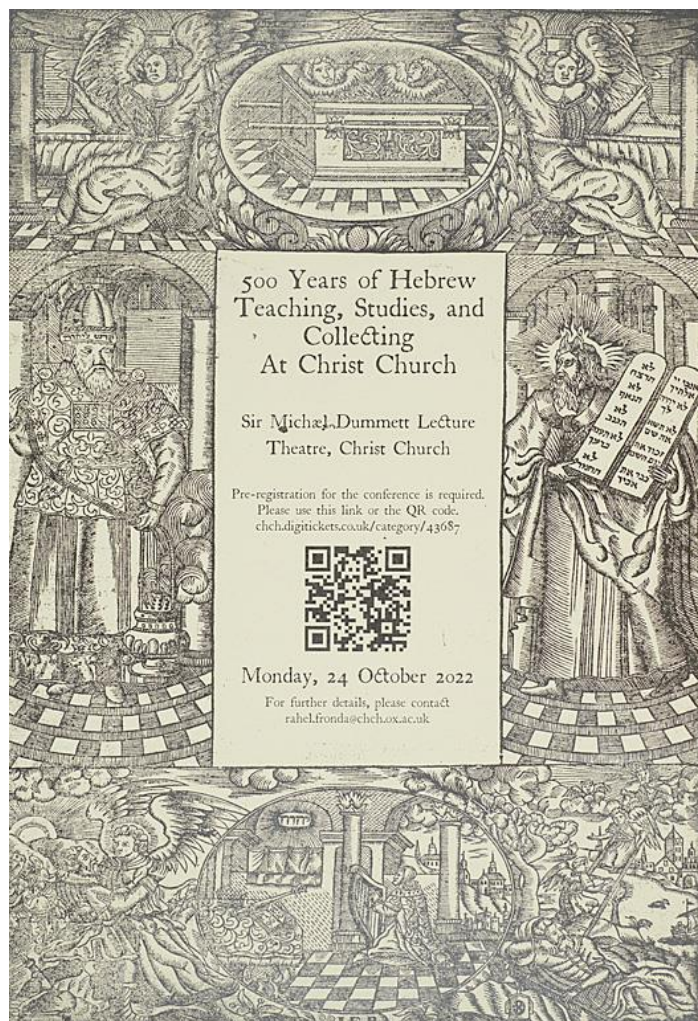
Conference on '500 Years of Hebrew Teaching, Hebrew Studies and Hebraica Collecting at Christ Church'; Exhibition 'Quenching Curiosity: Unusual Hebrew Books at Christ Church'

A conference hosted by Christ Church Library on 24 October 2022, '500 Years of Hebrew Teaching, Hebrew Studies and Hebraica Collecting', brought to Oxford an international group of scholars, students and librarians in the field of Hebrew and Jewish studies. The six academic papers given by scholars from Israel, the United States and the Czech Republic were arranged thematically so that each session would address the strengths of the library's recently catalogued collections of early printed Hebrew books and manuscripts.

The conference was opened with a warm welcome from the College Librarian Gabriel Sewell, followed by Professor Hugh Williamson's (Oxford) introduction on the special role of Christ Church in Hebrew studies since the establishment of the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in Oxford in the sixteenth century. The first session in the morning, chaired by Professor Martin Goodman (Oxford), included papers dealing with biblical literature, Hebrew grammars and incunabula (15th-century books) delivered by Dr Hananel Mirsky (Jerusalem) and Dr Jay Morgenstern (Tel Aviv). Thereafter Dr Pavel Sládek (Prague)

⁴ See, for example https://blog.nli.org.il/en/king_for_one_day/ [Accessed 19 January 2023].

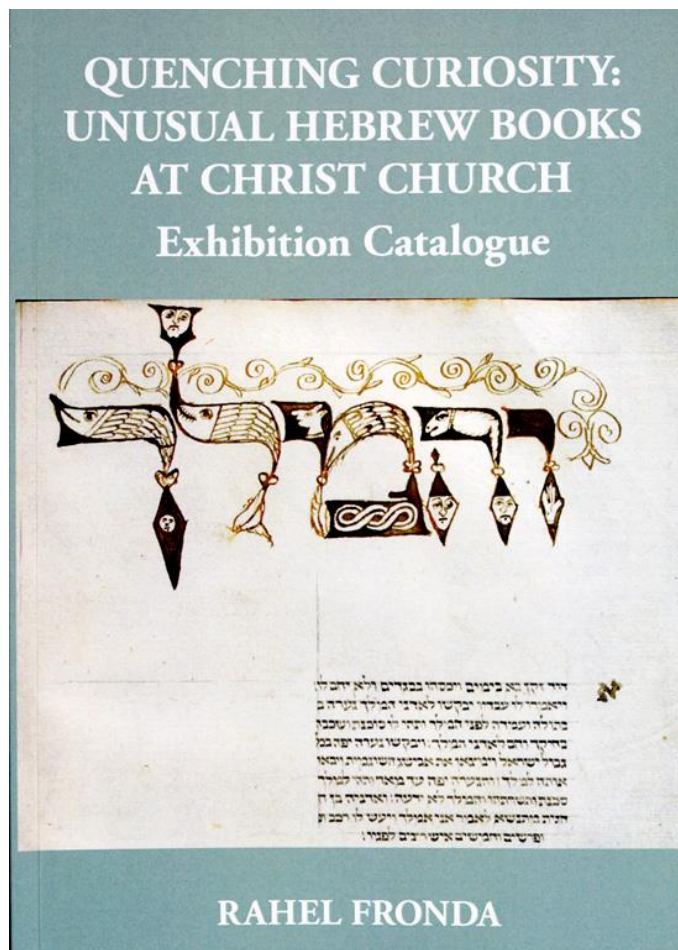
introduced Dr Olga Sixtova (Prague) whose paper on 'Yiddish printing in Prague' drew attention to books preserved principally in Oxford.



Christ Church Hebrew Teaching Conference poster.

The afternoon session on Kabbalah and Jewish mysticism, chaired by Professor Jean Baumgarten (Paris), included a paper on 'Visual Kabbalah' by Professor Yossi Chajes (Haifa), as well as a presentation by Dr David Sclar (Princeton) on contemporary accounts of the Jewish false Messiah Sabbatai Tsevi in the Oxford Gazette in the 17th century. The academic part of the conference concluded with a broad survey by Brad Sabin Hill (Washington) of unique surviving copies or fragments of Hebrew books from the earliest days of printing to the 20th century; the lecture was introduced by Dr César Merchán-Hamann (Oxford). The evening reception in the Upper Library gave visitors a chance to see the new exhibition 'Quenching Curiosity: Unusual Hebrew Books at Christ Church', curated by Dr Rahel Fronda (Oxford). The conference day ended with Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger's (Oxford) closing remarks offering a concise sketch of early Hebrew studies in Oxford. Thanks are due to the staff of Christ Church Library, Gabriel Sewell, Dr Cristina Neagu and Alina Nachescu, for their manifold assistance and support. The academic programme of the conference was

complemented by viewings of Hebraica in Oxford on 25 October and a visit to Waddesdon Manor the next day. Rebecca Abrams led tours of Judaica in the Ashmolean Museum and Dr Julia Walworth welcomed visitors to Merton College to view Hebrew treasures in the Old Library. Dr César Merchán-Hamann took care of the group who viewed highlights of Hebraica in the Bodleian Library. The trip to Waddesdon Manor was made possible thanks to the generous hosts Michael Shrive, Leanne Bryant, Catherine Taylor and Jane Finch.



Cover of the book accompanying the Christ Church Hebrew Teaching Conference and Exhibition.

While this was not the Library's first Hebrew studies conference (in 2017 we held a two-day international conference 'Jewish Books and their Christian Readers: Christ Church Connections'), this time was a different experience because all the talks were also streamed live in cyberspace. The success of the event and the wide interest in the library's Hebrew material were reflected in much positive feedback. Apart from the over 50 people who attended the conference in person, the online site has been viewed more than 300 times. It is still possible to see the lectures on the web via the link '500 Years of Hebrew Teaching, Hebrew Studies and Hebraica Collecting at Christ Church on Livestream'.¹ The conference coincided with the launch of the

¹ See <https://livestream.com/accounts/2754207/500-years-of-hebrew-teaching> [Accessed 19 January 2023].

exhibition which will remain mounted in the Upper Library until 24 February 2023. The display is accompanied by a volume, prepared by the Curator Dr Rahel Fronda, celebrating five centuries of Hebrew books in the College library of Christ Church, home of the Regius Professorship of Hebrew founded by Henry VIII in 1546. For more information see *Quenching Curiosity: Unusual Hebrew Books at Christ Church* | Christ Church, Oxford University

Now that the Hebraica antiquarian cataloguing project at Christ Church nears its completion, we would like to thank again the Rothschild Foundation Hanadiv Europe, the Polonsky Foundation, and other supporters who have generously funded work and research on the College's Hebrew collections.

During the project we have catalogued all and digitised some important early printed Hebrew books, while all of the College's Hebrew manuscripts have been catalogued and digitised.

The digital versions are now viewable for free around the world via two online platforms, SOLO: Search Oxford Libraries Online and Digital Bodleian <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/partners/christ-church/>

We look forward to welcoming readers and researchers to consult the wealth of Hebraica at Christ Church!

Herbarica, Hebraica, Hebraicum or Herbarium?

Which of the above is correct to describe a Hebrew book? I once came upon a catalogue record for a Hebrew book which gave as the subject 'Herbarica', a mistaken hybrid which, by free association, led me to think of 'Herbaria'. In fact, biblical scholars have for centuries been fascinated by the plants and animals named in the Hebrew Bible. Sometimes the descriptions and images of these species correspond to our modern understanding of biology or zoology, but the actual identification of some flora and fauna is not always straightforward. Among the pioneering scholars in the field of biblical plants was the Swedish botanist, philologist and churchman Olof Celsius (1670-1756).¹ Celsius was a professor of theology at Uppsala University and a mentor to the distinguished Swedish botanist and scientist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778). A copy of his major work, *Hierobotanicon, sive De plantis Sacrae Scripturae, dissertationes breves*, printed in 1748 in Amsterdam

¹ Apart from Olof, there were other prominent scholar-scientists in the Celsius family: Olof's father Magnus Celsius was a mathematician and his nephew Anders Celsius was an astronomer after whom the temperature scale is named. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olof_Celsius [Accessed 5 January 2023].

by Jacobus Wetstenium, is held at Christ Church.² Indeed, Olof Celsius was a Hebraist as well as a Herbalist: a case in point is his Uppsala dissertation *Botanici sacri exercitationem primam, quâ חדרק (Prov. XV. & Mich. VII.) ex Arabum scriptis, pro modo ingenii*, illustratur of 1702. The copy at Christ Church, with the shelfmark ME.8.24,³ has been bound together with seventeen other academic dissertations defended in the universities of Uppsala, Stockholm and Åbo (today Turku in Finland) in the early eighteenth century (Figure 1). These studies examined topics of biblical studies, philology, Hebrew language, theology, messianism, Second Temple Judaism, Jewish sects, sacrifice, circumcision, marriage and divorce in Jewish law—all showing the depth of biblical and Oriental studies in Northern Europe in the post-Renaissance period, the existence of serious non-Jewish Hebraists, and the considerable libraries they assembled.⁴

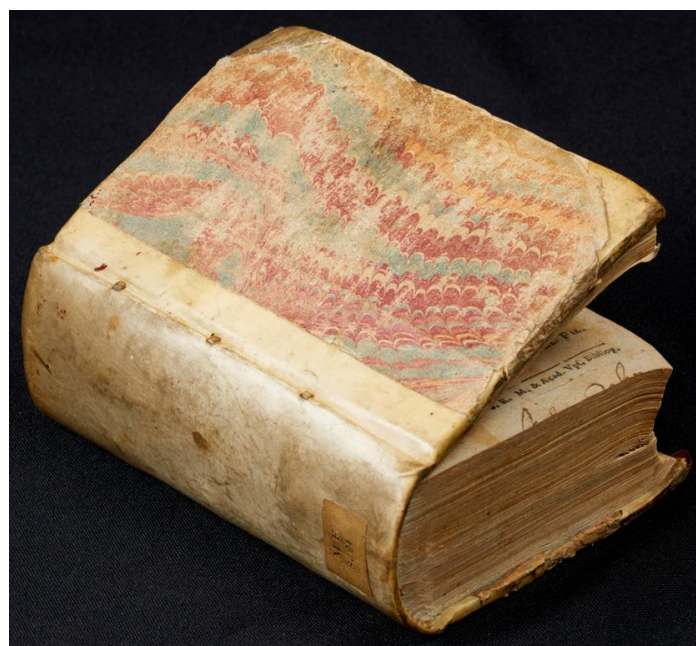


Figure 1

Celsius' dissertation deals with a biblical plant called *hedek*, rendered in English (in JPS translation) as 'hedge of thorns' (Proverbs 15:19) and 'prickly shrub' (Micah 7:4). While guiding the reader through various translations of the Bible, such as the Greek Septuagint and the Syriac Peshitta, as well as

² See https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/f/162u8eq/oxfalep_h015097140

³ See https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/f/162u8eq/oxfalep_h022489213

⁴ This volume reached Christ Church during the nineteenth century when the college library purchased parts of the private collection of Anton Theodor Hartmann (1774-1838), a student of the Orientalist Tychsen in Rostock, Germany. Some unusual Hebrew books once belonging to Hartmann are currently displayed in Christ Church Library's winter exhibition 'Quenching Curiosity' (open until 24 February 2023).

numerous authoritative medieval Jewish commentators (such as Kimhi, Rashi, Gersonides) and non-Jewish exegetes and biblical commentators (e.g. Pagninus, Münster, Luther, Tremellius et al.), Celsius offers us sundry interpretations of the 'thorns and thistles'. Among the many linguistic references, Arabic terms (*hadhadh*, or *hededa*) and their scholarly sources (e.g. Avicenna) are discussed in detail. The second chapter of the dissertation explores the botanical connotations. This is also where things become more appetising. Here Celsius applies philological method, textual studies and botanical observations from earlier authorities (such as the Arabic botanical sources of Abulfadli ibn Ahmed Schierzjita, but there are also references to Jacob Golius and many others). From his analysis of textual sources it follows that the plant known in biblical Hebrew as *hedek* has the Latin name 'Solanum melongena'. However, historical references to this plant and its names in various ancient and modern languages are many, and Celsius' citations are impressive. As is apparent from a drawing included in the volume (Figure 2), the plant in question is what the English-speaking world calls 'eggplant' or 'aubergine'.



Figure 2

The etymology of the plant's multiple names is actually rather interesting. While the English term 'eggplant' was coined perhaps in the eighteenth century after one variety of the plant whose fruit were small, round and white, thus resembling hen's eggs, the term 'aubergine' is derived from the Arabic 'al-badingian', itself a loanword, via Persian, stemming from the Sanskrit 'vatingana'.⁵ It is the Arabic term that entered many Indo-European languages, for instance in Spanish as 'berengena', or 'beringela' in Portuguese, 'aubergine' in French, while in Greek the plant is known as 'melintzana' and 'melangiana', or 'melenzane' etc. in Italian.

Other related names of eggplant include 'malum insanum', that is 'mad apple' in Latin, as well as 'manzanas de amor' in Spanish, but also 'pomes d'amour' in French. Look up the original study by Celsius for many more names and their relations!

Curiously, one of the early (17th or 18th century) English names of this fruit is 'Jew's apple': it is possible that Sephardi Jews were the first to start cultivating aubergines in England. This vegetable, classified as a berry, is related to tomatoes and potatoes but unlike the latter, eggplant has been growing and used in various cuisines for a long time. It is indeed a most loved vegetable in Sephardi Jewish cuisine, as well as in the entire Mediterranean and Ottoman culinary culture. There is even a Ladino ballad, called 'El Pleito de Zarzavat' ('The Quarrel of the Vegetables'), in which aubergine and tomato fight for their superiority.⁶

What name would you go for in your next aubergine-based dish? Mad Jewish apple, or 'patlezhán' in Yiddish, versus 'patlagele vinete' in Romanian? Or Polish 'oberzynowy'? If you are in Israel, ask for 'hatsil 'al ha-esh' and you will be served aubergine roasted over an open flame with yogurt and/or tahini.

If you are an American, you will go for 'eggplant', while in Britain the term 'aubergine' is more commonly used today. Anglo-Indians knew the fruit as 'brinjal' (derived from the Portuguese 'beringela'), which became 'brown-jolly' in the West Indies.⁷

As one can see, the vocabulary relating to the biblical 'thorns' is almost endless, as is the case with delicious recipes containing the vegetable known from different corners of the world. Why not re-enact the Sephardi-style competition between vegetables in the kitchen during Veganuary and see whether the

⁵ Cf. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eggplant> [Accessed 6 January 2023].

⁶ See <https://forward.com/culture/140510/how-israel-became-the-promised-land-of-eggplant/> [Accessed 7 January 2023].

⁷ There is more on the English terminology in the OED, cf. <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/mad-apple/> [Accessed 7 January 2023].

aubergine will win? Or simply enjoy it along with several other fruits on the 15th of the Hebrew month of Shevat (this year on February 6th), when Jews celebrate the New Year of Trees.

Rahel Fronda

Bodleian Library and Christ Church

Dr Fronda is Deputy Curator of Hebraica and Judaica at the Bodleian Library. At Christ Church she catalogues and researches the provenance of early printed Hebrew and Oriental books. Among her many publications are the books *Jewish Books and Their Christian Readers: Christ Church Connections* (Christ Church, 2017) and *Quenching Curiosity: Unusual Hebrew Books at Christ Church* (Christ Church, 2022).

A love letter in verse in Christ Church MS 184?

Picture the scene: a young gentlewoman receives a letter from a nobleman. The letter, she notes with interest, is addressed to her both by name and by a fanciful title: “To the celestial and my soul’s idol.” In fact, its superscription (address) is far more specific than the woman is used to finding on her correspondence, further directing the letter to “her excellent white bosom.” Since the letter has been folded into a tight packet and closed with wax bearing the imprint of the sender’s seal matrix, it is easy for her to slip it into her pocket or sleeve or indeed, into her gown next to her heart. Perhaps the letter has been “plighted” (pleated) into a narrow band and locked with silk floss as a sign of sophistication and intimacy, making it even easier to conceal.¹ But when the young woman finally escapes to her closet in order to break the seal and unfold this titillating packet, what she finds is not a letter at all, but verse:

Doubt thou the stars are fire;
Doubt thou the sun doth move;
Doubt truth to be a liar;
But never doubt I love.

Only after these four lines of poetry is the woman addressed in prose in a hastily written note: “I am ill at these numbers; I have not art to reckon my groans: but that I love thee best, O most best, believe it. Adieu.”²

¹ Heather Wolfe, “‘Neatly sealed, with silk, and SPANISH wax or otherwise’: the practice of letter-locking with silk floss in early modern England,” *In the Prayse of Writing: Early Modern Manuscript Studies. Essays in Honour of Peter Beal*, ed. S.P. Cerasano and Steven W. May (London: The British Library, 2012), p. 169.

² William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 2.2.108, 110-11, 114-21.

As most readers will have realized, the sender of this verse missive is not, of course, a “real” correspondent at all but Shakespeare’s Hamlet. Hamlet’s addressee, to use the words I omitted from the letter-poem’s superscription, is none other than “the most beautified Ophelia.”³ Yet, just because Shakespeare invented Hamlet’s message does not mean that the form Hamlet’s correspondence takes is a dramatic fiction. In fact, Shakespeare’s contemporaries really did send poetry in the mail.

My work on the materiality of Renaissance lyrics has uncovered the surprisingly popular practice of turning verse into correspondence.⁴ This could be effected by inserting rhymes into the body of a letter, by placing poetry inside a letter on a separate sheet, or simply by superscribing a poem, folding it, sealing it, and passing it on to a carrier or friend to deliver to its addressee. The artifacts I call “letter-poems” survive among family papers, in composite volumes or scrapbooks, and as copies in verse miscellanies and books of correspondence. Sometimes they are nothing more than poetic ghosts: mentions in letters of a verse enclosure, now separated from its prose vehicle and lost.⁵

Early modern correspondents posted poems for many reasons. Mailing verses of praise to aristocrats seems to have been a strategy for attracting patronage, and many of the noblemen and women who were sent panegyrics in the post also received letter-poems expressing thanks for gifts or favors, consolation on the death of family members, or congratulations on birthdays or important occasions such as accession to an earldom.⁶

Letter-poems of friendship between correspondents at various levels of the social spectrum reveal the extraordinary measures taken to sustain relationships during a time when travel was arduous.⁷ And very occasionally, correspondents would, like Hamlet, send love poems in the mail to would-be partners.

This may be the case with a unique poem that appears on fol. 34r-v of the composite volume Christ Church College MS 184 (see below):

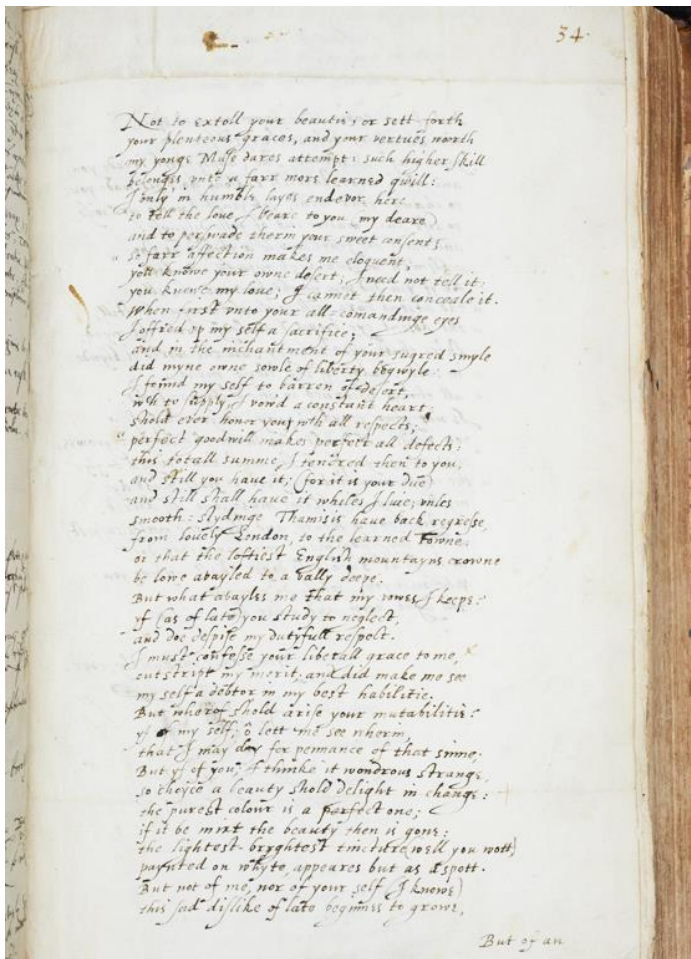
³ *Ibid.*, 2.2.108-9.

⁴ Dianne Mitchell, ‘The Absent Lady and the Renaissance Lyric as Letter,’ *English Literary Renaissance* 49.3 (Autumn 2019): pp. 304-329.

⁵ See, for instance, Folger Shakespeare Library L.e.682, a letter from Dorothy Constable to Lady Anne Ferrers which formerly contained a poem by Constable’s daughter.

⁶ See, for instance, Huntington Library MS HA 13333; University of Edinburgh MS Laing II 89 fols. 286r-7v; Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 246 fols. 26r-7r; Huntington Library MS HA 8799.

⁷ See, for instance, Bodleian MS Ashmole 36/7 fol. 151r-v and MS Tanner 306 vol. 1, fols. 237r-8v; British Library Add. MS 72542 fols. 100r-1v; London Metropolitan Archives ACC.1360/528 fol. 43r-v.



Beginning of the 'Not to extoll' poem in MS 184, fol. 34r.

Here is my transcription of the verse (with silently expanded abbreviations and lowered superscriptions):

34r

Not to extoll your beautie, or sett forth
your plenteous graces, and your vertues woorth
my yonge Muse dares attempt: such higher skill
belonges vnto a farr more learned qwill:
I only' in humble layes endeavor here
to tell the loue I beare to you (my deare)
and to perswade therein your sweet consent;
"so farr affection makes me eloquent;
you know your owne desert; I need not tell it;
you know my loue; I cannot then conceale it.
When first vnto your all-comandinge eyes
I offred vp my self a sacrifice;
and in the inchantment of your sugred smyle
did myne owne sowle of liberty begwyle:
I found my self to barren desert,
which to supply, I vow'd a constant heart
shold ever honor you with all respects;
"perfect goodwill makes perfect all defects:
this totall summe I tendred then to you,
and still you haue it; (for it is your due)
and still shall haue it whiles I liue; vnles
smooth-slydinge Thamisis haue back regresse,
from louely London, to the learned Towne:
or that the loftiest English mountayns crowne
belowe awayled to a vally deepe.

But what awayles me that my vowes I keepe?
yf (as of late) you study to neglect,
and doe despise my dutyfull respect.
I must confesse your liberall grace to me,
outstript my merit; and did make me see
my self a debtor in my best habilitie.
But whereof shold arise your mutabilitie?
yf of my self; o lett me see wherin,
that I may dy for pennance of that sinne;
But yf of you; I thinke it wondrous strange,
so choyce a beauty shold delight in change:
the purest colour is a perfect one;
if it be mixt the beauty then is gone:
the lightest-bryghtest tincture (well you wott)
paynted on whyte, appeares but as a spott.
But not of me, nor of your self (I knowe)
this sad dislike of late beginnes to growe,

34v

But of an envie that from my good speed,
into an others base sowle doth proceede:
your mayde I meane; she (haply) doth invade you,
and with her sluttish reasons wold perswade you,
to change your mynd; yet you I knowe are wise,
to sift such malice out of false disguise:
and neede not feare so vile a thinge as she
a blemish in you high repute can bee;
for yf you did you might prevent the ill;
"the absent eare will cause the tongue be still;
"the absent eye keepes knowledge from the mynd;
"shee's chaste, that's chary; all the world is blynde
"in sable shadow of the silent night;
"all things discerned in the blabbinge light.
Is not your mayd (I pray) at your dispose?
you need not doubt: for hence the comfort growes,
that when you please she must haue wings to fly;
"the cause remou'd th'effect of force must dye.
My Deare, your wisdom must your self direct,
to stopp fames mouth, and blynd the worlds suspect.
which in my Judgement you can never doe,
as long as such vile drosse shall censure you;
But vnto you I wholly do remitte
the sight herof, and what herin is fitt.

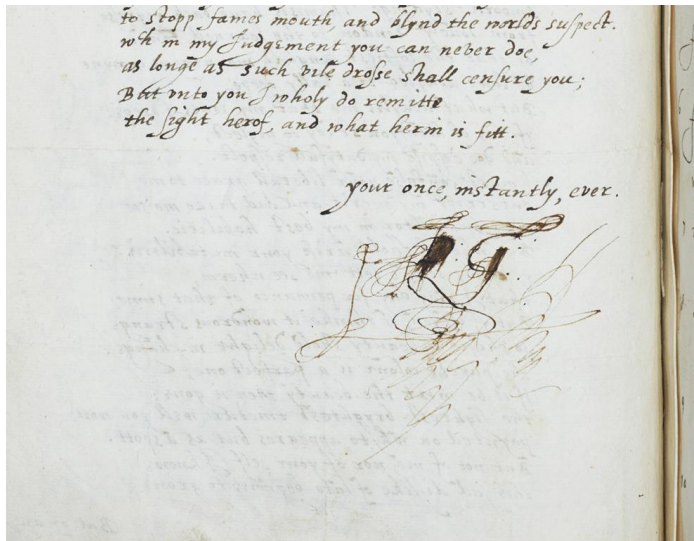
The poem's rhymed couplets both compliment and complain. The poet portrays himself as a steadfast lover, attempting to reconcile a "mutabilitie" in his mistress's feelings toward him – a perceived coolness which he attributes to the "malice" of his beloved's handmaid (32, 48).

Addressing his mistress directly as "My Deare," he encourages her to "blynd the worlds suspect" of their relationship by dismissing her maid, thereby maintaining the secret of their love (61-2). Yet, despite the poet's representation of the affair as highly private, the poet relies at several key moments on commonplaces: the lines marked with inverted commas.⁸

⁸ For more on the use of commonplacing, see Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, 'The First Literary Hamlet

This deliberate rejection of original sentiments may be read as a justificatory strategy. By commonplacing the line “so farr affection makes me eloquent,” for instance, the poet may have sought to remind his addressee that lovers are commonly acknowledged to rise to literary heights when filled with sincere feeling (8). Later commonplace lines like “the absent eare will cause the tongue be still” support the poet’s case for dismissing the disapproving handmaid: conventional wisdom dictates that gossip is unlikely to stem from someone who is exposed to nothing worth gossiping about (52).

Early modern English verse collections in both manuscript and print are full of addresses to fictional mistresses, and “Not to extoll” may simply be another example of this genre. Yet, a few features of this poem suggest that it might represent something more: either a copy of a poem that once functioned as mail between two lovers or, more tantalizingly still, the actual piece of mail itself. Frustratingly, these features raise as many questions as they answer.



Effaced signature in MS 184, fol. 34v (with stubs visible).

The first sign that this love poem may have been used in courtship, rather than merely depicting an imagined occasion of courtship, is an addition to the verse that is not typical of early modern love poems. The scribe of “Not to extoll” left a gap of approximately two lines beneath the poem’s final couplet (on fol. 34v) before inscribing near the right-hand edge of the page the phrase “your once, instantly, ever.” Below these words are large flourished initials. The effect is that of an epistolary subscription and signature: these features even appear in the conventional location for a subscription and signature in a prose letter. Strangely, however, the initials appear to have been overwritten at some point in time. What may once have read “J.S.” now appears to read “J.D.G.”. In a 1913 edition of MS

and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays,’ *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.4 (2008): pp. 371-420.

184, the manuscript’s editor, Carleton Brown, attributes this poem to its one-time owner Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni, a frequent contributor to what appears to be largely a “family” collection probably supervised by Salusbury himself.⁹ The initials “J.S.,” particularly the complicated “S,” certainly do resemble Salusbury’s initials as inscribed by him elsewhere in the manuscript.¹⁰ Yet, by altering this “signature,” could Salusbury or another owner have tried to obscure the identity of the poem’s author?¹¹

Another feature that suggests the use of this love poem as mail is more curious still: a stub of another leaf identical in height to the leaf on which “Not to extoll” is written.

Still visible in the gutter of MS 184 just before f. 35, the stub is thicker than its neighboring leaves, probably because it was folded back on itself and glued together. This tiny stub is important because it reveals that “Not to extoll” was once inscribed on a bifolium, the most common format for letters in the early modern period. In an era before envelopes, messages were typically inscribed on the front of the bifolium (f. 1r) and superscribed on the back side (f. 2v), which would serve as the outside of the letter when it was folded.¹² Most letter writers made efforts to contain their message on the front page only, leaving the inner two pages blank, but occasionally messages extend inside (and, more infrequently still, to portions of the back page unoccupied by the address).

If “Not to extoll” was once a posted bifolium, it could mean that the verso of the leaf which is now only a stub once contained the name and location of the poem’s addressee. An example of this practice can be seen elsewhere in MS 184. A bifolium containing a Welsh poem has been addressed on the verso of its second leaf to Sir John Salusbury, with the added injunction “Deliver thise with speede”¹³ (see illustration below).

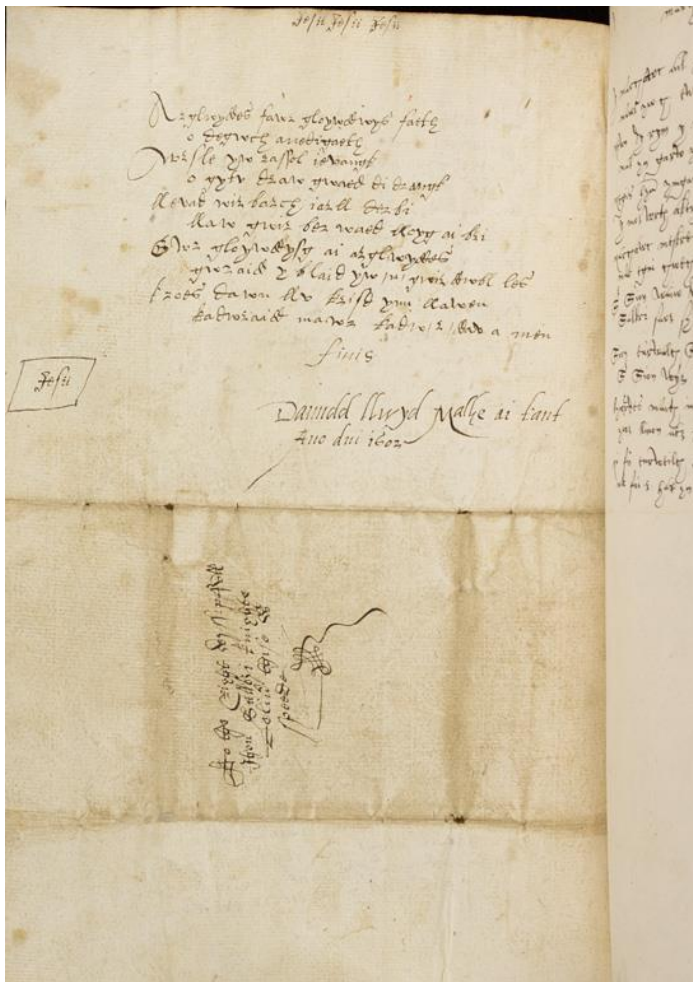
⁹ Mark Bland, “‘As far from all Reuolt’: Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church MS 184, and Ben Jonson’s First Ode,” *English Manuscript Studies* 8 (2000), p. 45; Carleton Brown, *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, Bryn Mawr College Monographs Vol. XIV (Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College, 1913), p. xxxvi.

¹⁰ See MS 184, fol. 47r

¹¹ For details about an altered and effaced signature in another Elizabethan poem bound in MS 184, see Cristina Neagu, ‘Photographing the Invisible: Items in Need of Specialist Imaging from Christ Church Collections’, *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 13, Issues 1-3, 2021-2022, pp. 39-48.

¹² James Daybell, *The material letter in early modern England: Manuscript letters and the culture and practices of letter-writing, 1512-1635* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 98.

¹³ MS 184, fols. 56r-7v.



Note regarding the delivery on the verso of a Welsh poem in MS 184, fol. 57v.

Although the stub following “Not to extol” is only about a centimetre wide, several evenly spaced horizontal lines are plainly visible across it. These lines, which correspond to less obvious lines across fol. 34, tell us that the bifolium would once have been folded into six bands. This may represent the fashion in which the poem was folded for posting, likely with the added security of two vertical folds (still visible on f. 34r) which would have allowed the edges of the paper to tuck into each other for added security. Conversely, these lines may represent storage folds.¹⁴ In any case, the greater visibility of the horizontal lines on the stub suggests again that the stub was once part of a former outer leaf, which would have been more susceptible to dirt and damp. Did the compiler or later binder of the manuscript decide to remove the leaf because it was unnecessary, not containing any verse that would add to the collection? It’s possible, but it should be noted that the poem which follows “Not to extoll” was also inscribed on a bifolium, the second leaf of which is completely blank on both sides.¹⁵ Again, the tantalizing possibility emerges that the second leaf of

the “Not to extoll” bifolium was cut away in an effort to make its circumstances less clear.

Finally, the very legible italic hand in which “Not to extoll” has been written – perhaps that of an amanuensis rather than the author – suggests that the poem may have been intended for a female reader. This is worth noting because MS 184 contains several poems by Salusbury about and to gentlewomen of his acquaintance. For instance, Salusbury composed amorous acrostics on the name Dorothy Halsall (incidentally, the sister of his wife, Ursula Stanley) and one on Blanch Wynn, which, appropriately enough in the context of amorous letter-poems, contains the line “note but hur lyvely partes when you vnfold hur.”¹⁶ If the author of “Not to extoll” is indeed Sir John Salusbury, could “Not to extoll” represent a poem of seduction to one of these women or possibly to another lady of Salusbury’s acquaintance?¹⁷

If indeed “Not to extoll” did serve as an amorous message, the poem would join the company of other love letters in verse such as Sir John Rodney’s notorious rhymes sent to the newly married Countess of Hertford in 1601.¹⁸ Rodney’s remarkable (if histrionic) pledge of eternal devotion – and simultaneous condemnation of his young addressee’s seemingly mercenary decision to marry a wealthy and powerful older man – survives in copied form in several seventeenth-century verse miscellanies, sometimes alongside an even more skillful poetic rejection attributed to the Countess herself.¹⁹ The reason for the poem’s notoriety – Rodney’s suicide following his unsuccessful epistolary exchange – makes that particular verse correspondence an extreme example of the practice of sending love poems in the early modern period. But I have unearthed a few manuscripts which suggest that amorous letter-poems were not always the product of such dramatic circumstances. For instance, a crumpled bifolium at the West Yorkshire Archive Services appears to have been a more humble love poem sent to a cousin.²⁰

My discussion of “Not to extoll” has been highly speculative, and it is unlikely that we will ever know the full circumstances of its composition and transmission. Yet, by recognizing the fact that poems could and did function as mail, we might read some

¹⁶ Brown, *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, p. 9.

¹⁷ Mark Bland’s dating of the poetic miscellany portion of MS 184 to c. 1590-1602 makes it unlikely that “Not to extoll” represents a courtship verse to Salusbury’s wife. See Bland, “As far,” p. 46.

¹⁸ See Donald W. Foster, “Against the Perjured Falsehood of Your Tongues”: Frances Howard on the Course of Love’, *English Literary Renaissance* 24 (1994), pp. 72–103.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Bodleian MS Ashmole 38 and MS Rawl. poet. 160; British Library MS Sloane 1446.

²⁰ West Yorkshire Archive Services WYL100/F7.

¹⁴ On the afterlives of letters, see Alan Stewart and Heather Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2005), p. 182.

¹⁵ MS 184, fols. 34r-35v.

of the verse's unusual features – its superscription and signature, its signs of folding, its traces of a former second leaf – in a new light. These small clues suggest the amazing porousness, four hundred years ago, of day-to-day life and what we now call literature. Looking carefully at the material text opens up the possibility that in late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century England or Wales there was a gentlewoman with a gossiping maid and a wheedling lover, and that her correspondence was enlivened by a poem which quite literally demanded to be unfolded.

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THE WELSH CONTENT OF CHRIST CHURCH MS 184

Christ Church MS 184 has been known to English scholarship since Carleton Brown published his *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester* over a hundred years ago.¹ This volume not only brought to light the work of two minor but interesting Elizabethan poets; it also encouraged later scholarly focus on an autograph poem by Ben Jonson and a poem of contested authorship by 'Danielle' inserted in the manuscript.² It was significant too in

¹ *Poems of Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester* (Bryn Mawr, PA, 1913). Also published for The Early English Text Society (London, 1914). For a recent discussion of the Salusbury circle see John Kerrigan, 'Shakespeare, Elegy and Epitaph: 1557-1640', *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry*, ed. Jonathan F. S. Post (Oxford, 2013), pp. 225-44 *passim*.

² The Jonson poem is authoritatively discussed by Mark Bland, 'As far from all Reuolt': Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church MS 184 and Ben Jonson's First Ode', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 8 (2000), pp. 43-78. For the 'Danielle' poem see John Wing, 'Shakespeare's Mentor? . . . MS 184: Sir William Daniel of Over Tabley', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Vol. 6, Issue 2 (2010), pp. 1-5, who attributes the poem to Sir William, a Cheshire gentleman and a Judge of the Common Pleas. A case for Shakespeare's possible authorship has been advanced by Tom Lloyd-Roberts, 'Bard of Llewini? Shakespeare's Welsh Connection', *New Welsh Review*, 23 (Winter 1993-4), pp. 11-18, and by John Idris Jones, 'William Shakespeare and John Salusbury: What was their Relationship?', *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, 59 (2011), pp. 56-96; also *idem*,

delineating a context and background for the 'Poeticall Essaies' appended to Chester's *Loves Martyr* (1601), a collection of poems dedicated to Sir John Salusbury by major Elizabethan poets, which included Shakespeare's 'The Phoenix and the Turtle'. The English poems of Christ Church 184, however, are only a small part of its poetic content, for it was originally conceived as a Welsh language manuscript, much the greater part of its poetry being composed in that language. This article concentrates on this aspect of Christ Church 184 in an attempt to stimulate a wider understanding of the nature and context of the literary culture evidenced by the manuscript.³

The manuscript was commissioned in 1570 by Katheryn (Catrin) of Berain (1534/5-91),⁴ mother of John Salusbury, almost certainly after the death in Hamburg of her second husband, the merchant Sir Richard Clough. The commission was entrusted to Wiliam Cynwal (d. 1587) of Ysbyty Ifan, Denbighshire, a prolific Welsh professional poet who, like a number of his bardic contemporaries, also possessed expertise in genealogy and heraldry. Cynwal's association with Katheryn dated from the time of her first marriage to John Salusbury,⁵ he commemorated in verse the birth of her sons — Thomas (born 1561), executed in 1586 for complicity in the Babington Plot, and John, the English poet of Christ Church 184 (born 1566) — and composed elegies for her father Tudur ap Robert (d. 1564) and her husband (d. 1566). During her subsequent marriage to Sir Richard Clough he addressed poems to Katheryn and her husband when they resided in Antwerp, and an elegy when Clough died.

In a preface to the manuscript (fol. 1^{r-v}) Cynwal noted Katheryn's status as the heiress of her father Tudur ap Robert of Berain and of her mother Jane,

Shakespeare's Missing Years (Stroud, 2018), pp. 122-33. For a well-argued contrary view see Jeremy Griffiths, "'Loose Sheets and Idle Scribblings': The Case against Shakespeare's Welsh Connection", *New Welsh Review*, 25 (Summer 1994), pp. 52-7.

³ Since this article was first sent to press a summary description of the manuscript's Welsh content has been published by Daniel Huws in *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes c.800-c.1800*, 3 vols. (Aberystwyth, 2022), I, p. 737.

⁴ Berain ['beraln] was a small country house in Llanefydd near Denbigh, with an associated land holding in Katheryn's time of. c. 3,000 acres. The name should be accented on the first syllable, with the last syllable pronounced as in Eng. *nine*, not Fr. *laine*. It derives from W. *bar* ('top, crest') + a diminutive suffix.

⁵ Cynwal's association with Katheryn is further discussed by Helen Williams-Ellis, 'Sex, Power, Marriage: Katheryn of Berain and her Four Husbands', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, new series, 28 (2022), pp. 46-79; *idem*, 'Katheryn of Berain and the Welsh Codex: More Provenance Notes regarding MS 184', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Vol. 12, Issue 2 (2020-2021), pp. 2-11.

daughter of Sir Roland de Velville, constable of Beaumaris castle.⁶ He outlined its contents as the pedigrees and arms of Katheryn and her ancestors, the eulogies and elegies associated with her ancestors, and the poems addressed to Katheryn and her husbands, John Salusbury and Sir Richard Clough. The manuscript was evidently intended by Katheryn as a prestigious expression of family pride; it constitutes much the most extensive and important example of a type of manuscript compilation known in Welsh as *llyfr teulu* ('family book').



Coat of arms of John Salusbury and Katheryn of Berain as depicted by William Cynwal (Christ Church MS 184, fol. 2r).

Pride of lineage is visually displayed in the manuscript's second folio, where Cynwal supplied full-page coloured coats of arms of Katheryn and her first two husbands (fol. 2^{r-v}), later supplemented (fol. 3^{r-v}) by corresponding emblazonments by another herald representing her marriages to Maurice Wynn (d. 1580) and Edward Thelwall whom she married in 1583. In a long following section (fols. 4^r-30^r) Cynwal

⁶ There was a persistent tradition among the poets, echoed by the herald Thomas Chaloner (British Library MS Harley 1971, fol. 22), that de Velville was an illegitimate son of Henry VII. I have discussed this in "Catrin o eurlliw irlwyth": Catrin o Ferain a'i Hynafiaid a'r Beirdd', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, new series, 18 (2012), pp. 23-5.

supplied detailed pedigrees of Katheryn's ancestors with accompanying coloured coats of arms; her lineage having been traced to *adda ap dŵw*, 'Adam son of God' (fol. 4^v), she is linked with a labyrinthine network of Welsh royal dynasties and tribal patriarchs. A feature which may reflect a woman's patronage is the pronounced emphasis on the matrilineal descent of the male ancestors cited.



Coat of arms of Richard Clough and Katheryn of Berain as depicted by William Cynwal (Christ Church MS 184, fol. 2v).

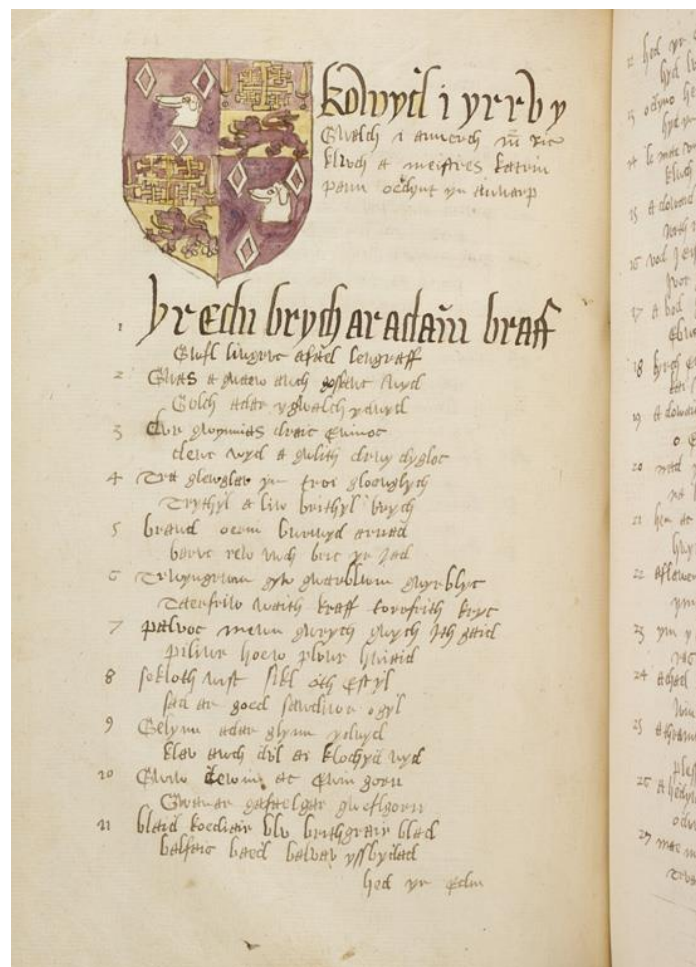
Fols. 91^r-176^r in the manuscript consist of the poetry assembled for Katheryn by Cynwal. It demonstrates her family's long history of bardic patronage, beginning with poems associated with her great-great-grandfather, born before the middle of the fifteenth century. The collection's core consists of eulogies and elegies—the dominant genres of medieval Welsh poetry—with instances of the sub-genres of poems of solicitation and gratitude, composed in strict-metre, where *cynganedd*, a system of consonance and/or internal rhyme, was mandatory in each line. Some 33 poems by 16 poets pre-date poems addressed to Katheryn and her first two husbands. The collection shows that Tudur ap Robert (d. 1564), Katheryn's father, followed his father, grandfather and great-grandfather as a bardic patron; the 20 poems associated with Tudur display his status as a leading Welsh patron of his day and suggest Katheryn's early exposure to bardic culture. Amongst the

elegies included are one for her maternal grandfather Sir Roland de Velville (d. 1535), suggestively termed by Dafydd Alaw 'A man from the line of kings' (fol. 108^r). The collection contains work by leading poets, such as Tudur Aled (d. 1526), the greatest poet of early Tudor Wales, who addressed poems to Katheryn's great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather, and the later poets Gruffudd Hiraethog, William Llŷn, Siôn Tudur, and Simwnt Fychan patronized by her father. Poems addressed to four generations of Katheryn's paternal ancestors cite their legal expertise—it is known that her grandfather and father served as Recorders in the lordship of Denbigh—and this probably indicates a source of family wealth which supplemented their landed income and facilitated their bardic patronage. Some of the poems addressed to Tudur ap Robert interestingly indicate that he spent time at the courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI, but the dominant theme of the eulogies addressed to him is his lavish hospitality at his mansion of Berain.

John Salusbury, Katheryn's first husband, was the heir of the influential and wealthy Salusbury family of Lleweni near Denbigh,⁷ another family with a distinguished tradition of bardic patronage. Cynwal's collection in Christ Church 184 demonstrates how this tradition was sustained at Berain, the couple's marital home. Of the seven poems addressed to Salusbury and Katheryn, three are by Cynwal himself. In 1566 Salusbury suffered a serious illness, an event poignantly evoked by Cynwal (fols. 150^r-151^v) who described the worried Katheryn's sleepless agony. Salusbury's ensuing death prompted six elegies (fols. 151^v-162^v), two of them by Cynwal; whilst lamenting Salusbury's passing and Katheryn's distress the poets asserted that the infant 'master Thomas' and 'master John' perpetuated the family line.

Katheryn's marriage to Sir Richard Clough in 1567 and her husband's commercial activities — he was 'factor' for Sir Thomas Gresham — entailed leaving Berain and residence at Antwerp and Hamburg punctuated by wider European travels. Christ Church 184 contains two poems by Cynwal (fols. 164^v-167^r) addressed to Katheryn and her husband 'beyond the seas'. In one he directed an imaginary falcon as his messenger to Antwerp, a role assigned in the other poem to a ship sent to Denmark to convey his patrons home to Wales to enjoy the delights of Bachegraig, Clough's Dutch Renaissance-style mansion in the Vale of Clwyd. Clough's death in 1570 prompted three elegies, by Cynwal, Siôn Tudur, and Simwnt Fychan (fols. 168^v-173^r). The last poem by Cynwal (fols. 174^v-176^r) recorded in his

core collection for Katheryn belongs to her period of widowhood when the manuscript was commissioned. The poet ventured to debate the options open to a widow of Katheryn's status, counselling her to eventually remarry but to be suitably circumspect in choosing her next husband!



Poem by William Cynwal sending a falcon to Antwerp to greet Richard Clough and his wife Katheryn (Christ Church MS 184, fol. 164v).

Apart from the emblazons added on fol. 3^{r-v} to complement Cynwal's earlier heraldic efforts, there are no items in Christ Church 184 associated with Katheryn's marriages to Maurice Wynn (?1572/3) and Edward Thelwall (1583). And Thomas Salusbury's execution in 1586 was discreetly elided. By the late 1580s the manuscript may have migrated to Lleweni,⁸ John Salusbury's mansion near Denbigh, although some items dated to this period

⁷ The Welsh poetry associated with the Salusburies (including that of Christ Church 184) has been edited by John Rowlands in 'A critical edition and study of the Welsh poems written in praise of the Salusburies of Llyweni' (Oxford DPhil thesis, 1967).

⁸ Fol. 87^v contains verses by Siôn Mawddwy commemorating the birth of Jane Salesbury, the eldest child of John Salusbury and his wife Ursula, in 1587 and of their eldest son Henry Salesbury in 1589. But these may have been written into the manuscript later, for preceding the latter are similar verses commemorating the birth of their brother John Salusbury in 1592. Cf. the English 'poesies' on fol. 89^v associated with a masque performed at Berain in December 1586 at the wedding of John and Ursula Salusbury and copied by Ursula into the manuscript in 1592 (Brown, *Poems by Salusbury and Chester*, pp. 36-7).

may have been retrospectively added. The manuscript remained largely dormant until Katheryn's death in 1591 when an impressive sequence of 14 elegies for her (fols. 176^r-202^v) in Latin, English, and Welsh was added.⁹ The Welsh elegies by eight poets (fols. 185^r-202^v) — amounting to over 900 lines and copied in an identical hand, possibly that of Owen Jones, author of two of the Latin elegies¹⁰ — possess common elements, some shared with their Latin and English counterparts. They dutifully recite Katheryn's four marriages, list her five surviving children — only once, obliquely, referring to the unfortunate Thomas¹¹ — and praise her bountiful hospitality and charitable works. Her pedigree receives due attention: among the ancestors most frequently cited was Sir Roland de Velville, possibly because of his reputed royal affinity. The final acts in Katheryn's drama are vividly evoked, her body's removal on a bier from her marital home to a wake at Berain, the funeral throng of kinsmen, servants, tenants and neighbours, and the ritual display of heraldic banners above her grave within Llanefydd church.

The last stage in Christ Church 184's evolution saw it assume a role as a house-book at Lleweni, where it came to reflect the linguistically hybrid literary culture in which John Salusbury participated. Its many autograph copies of poems — sometimes untidily scribbled — suggest that it was freely accessed. It served to preserve not only the literary efforts of Salusbury and Robert Chester and English poet friends such as Jonson and 'Danielle',¹² but also a much greater volume of Welsh poetry — some 60 poems¹³ excluding short offerings — the work of almost 30 poets whose eulogies were addressed to Salusbury during the 1590s and up to c. 1603.¹⁴

⁹ The Latin and English elegies were published by Brown (mostly in extract) in *Poems by Salusbury and Chester*, pp. 38-43.

¹⁰ See Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes*, I, p. 737.

¹¹ By Simwnt Fychan (fol. 188^r). Dr Helen Williams-Ellis kindly drew my attention to this.

¹² The Jonson and 'Danielle' poems would initially have been loose-leaf items later bound into the manuscript. For further details about the specifics of these items, see Cristina Neagu, 'Photographing the Invisible: Items in Need of Specialist Imaging from Christ Church Collections', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 13, Issues 1-3, 2021-2022, pp. 39-48.

¹³ This number refers to relatively long poems in *cywydd* or *awdl* metres. It excludes a number of poems written in the four-line *englyn* metre (mostly either single examples or short series of metrically similar stanzas commemorating the births of Salusbury's children).

¹⁴ Many of the poems are dated or internally dateable. Apart from the stanzas by Siôn Cain celebrating the birth of John Salusbury, son of Henry Salesbury and grandson of Sir John Salusbury, in 1608 (fol. 93^r), which are chronologically isolated, the latest dateable poems, by Simwnt Fychan and Robert Evans (fols. 73^r-77^r), were composed in 1603. After 1603 its role was supplanted by

Many of these poems would have been declaimed at Lleweni at Christmas, Easter or Whitsun, the three festivals when Welsh poets were sanctioned by bardic statute to visit their patrons' homes.¹⁵ Most of the visitors were professional poets — such as the herald and genealogist Lewys Dwnn, Siôn Mawddwy, and Huw Machno — whilst other poets represented in Christ Church MS 184 included the Anglesey gentleman-poet, Robert Evans, the squire and privateer Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn, and Robert Parry (als. Robert ap Harri), Salusbury's Catholic kinsman, who combined occasional attempts at Welsh poetry with authorship of the English proto-novel *Moderatus, the most delectable and famous Historie of the Black Knight* (1595) and of a volume of love poetry *Sinetes Passions* (1597).

Most of the poems addressed to Salusbury recorded in Christ Church 184 were fairly conventional eulogies, invariably lauding his exalted lineage and his lavish hospitality at Lleweni, and, often, his renowned physical strength. His wife Ursula was praised as a welcoming hostess and for her noble descent as the daughter (albeit illegitimate) of Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby. Some poems were prompted by specific events. A celebrated duel fought near Chester in 1593 in which Salusbury, armed with a rapier and dagger, overcame his militarily experienced kinsman Owen Salusbury, excited glowing and graphic bardic tributes.¹⁶ His court advancement as an Esquire of the Queen's Body in 1595 was similarly celebrated,¹⁷ marking as it did the formal restoration of royal favour to the Salusburies following Thomas's execution almost a decade previously. Even more pronounced was the bardic ecstasy prompted by Elizabeth's conferring of a knighthood on him in 1601, an honour partly attributable to his services during the Essex Rebellion. Four poets composed effusive poems to welcome the new knight's triumphant homecoming to Lleweni¹⁸ — an occasion no doubt extravagantly celebrated — the Denbighshire poet Simwnt Fychan exulting that he was the fourth Salusbury to be

its companion volume Christ Church MS 183. It should be noted that a few of the poems of Christ Church MS 184 are duplicated in Christ Church MS 183. Whilst there are poems in the latter manuscript dated 1607 and 1608 and even as late as 1622 (an elegy for Ferdinando Salusbury), curiously it does not contain the elegies (preserved in other manuscripts) composed for Sir John Salusbury (d. 1612).

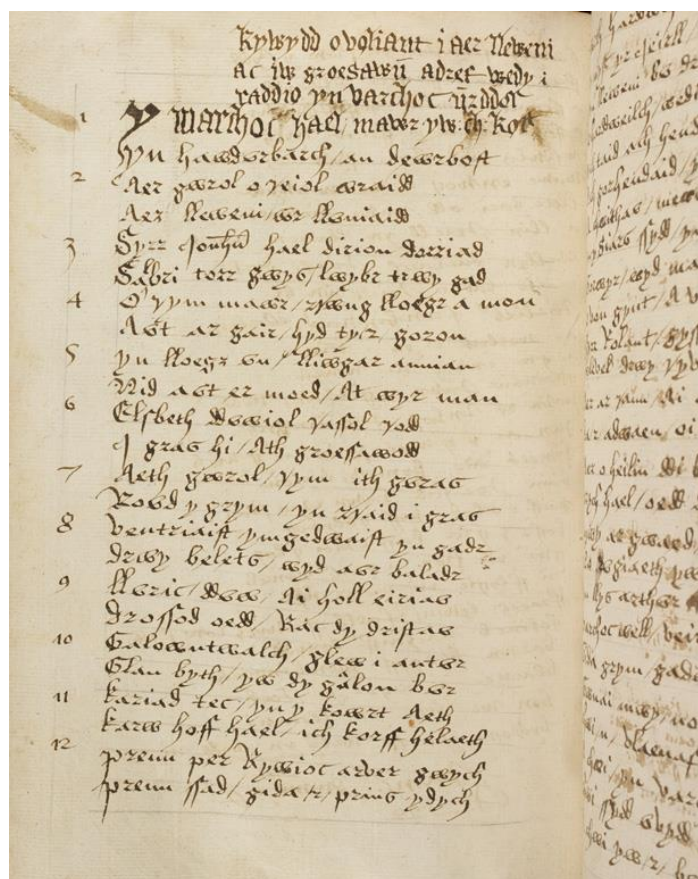
¹⁵ This practice is illustrated by Bangor University MS Gwynedd 4, fol. 73^v which contains a list of three poets and ten musicians who frequented the Christmas festivities at Lleweni in either 1593 or 1595. Christ Church MS 183 (fols. 126^v-138^r) contains poems by six poets present at Lleweni at Christmas 1607 and by another poet there at Easter 1608.

¹⁶ Fols. 205^v-207^v, 210^v-215^r, 220^r-222^r, 224^v, 232^r-234^v.

¹⁷ Fols. 248^r-249^v, 253^v-254^v, 255^v-256^v.

¹⁸ Fols. 286^v-293^v.

knighted and the great grandson of another knight, Sir Roland de Velville.



Poem by Simwnt Fychan welcoming John Salusbury home to Lleweni after his knighting in 1601 (Christ Church MS 184, fol. 286v).

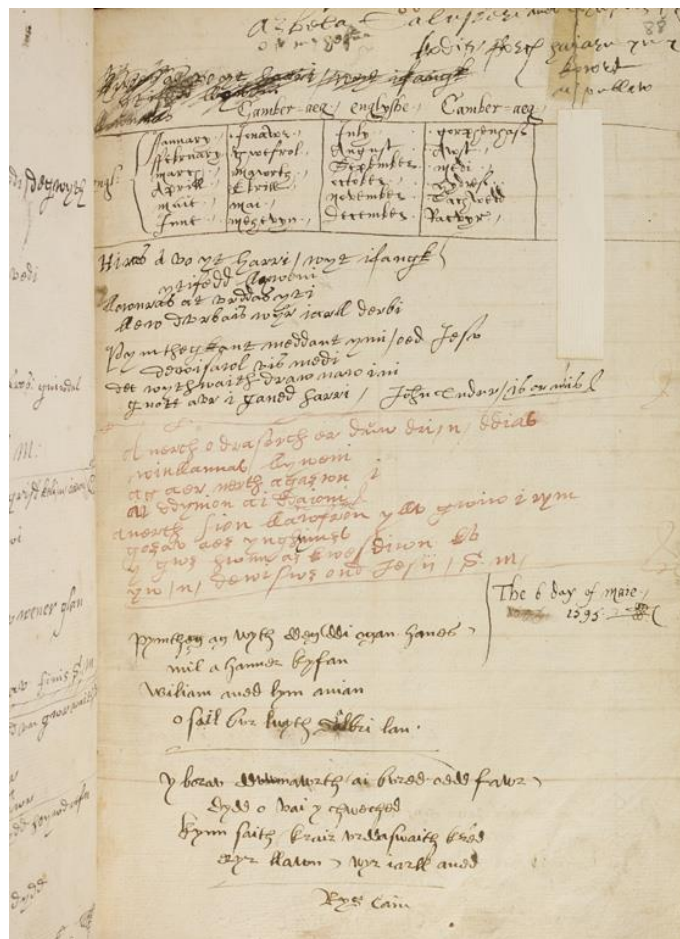
Other poems prompted by specific occasions in Christ Church MS 184 are the four-line stanzas in *englyn* metre which celebrate the birth of Salusbury's children, Jane (1587), Henry (1589), John (1592), William (1595), Arabella (1596) and Ferdinando (1599) and his grandson John, son of Henry (1608).¹⁹ Though alien to later literary tastes, their technical ingenuity is undeniable, the year, month, day, and even the hour of birth of each child being sometimes woven into the lines within the bounds of the straitjacket rules of Welsh strict-metre poetry.

Christ Church MS 184 testifies to a vital bilingual literary culture which flourished at Lleweni in Sir John Salusbury's time. Interestingly, the two literary streams ran parallel and separate, without converging and, with one possible exception,²⁰ exerting mutual influence. Inevitably perhaps, the biculturalism evident in Christ Church MS 184

¹⁹ Fols. iir-v, 87r-88v, 93r, 251v (these poems are not in chronological order in the manuscript).

²⁰ Cf. perhaps Salusbury's patronage of the publication of Henry Perri's *Eglwyrn Phraethineb* (London, 1595), the first printed Welsh rhetorical treatise. Perri's introduction makes it clear that the work aimed to enhance Welsh poetic practice. He and Salusbury would undoubtedly have been conscious of the influence of rhetoric on contemporary English poetic practice.

represented an essentially transient phase, mirrored elsewhere as seventeenth-century Welsh gentry became increasingly anglicized and Welsh bardism declined. This is graphically illustrated in a later Lleweni manuscript, National Library of Wales MS 5390D, which displays the literary efforts — English poems and masques — of Sir Henry Salusbury (1589-1632) and Sir Thomas Salusbury (1612-43), Sir John's son and grandson.²¹



Verses commemorating the births of Henry Salusbury (1589) and William Salusbury (1595) (Christ Church MS 184, fol. 88r).

Whilst Sir John too composed in English he was thoroughly rooted also in the Welsh literary tradition and, like his ancestors, patronized Welsh poets extensively. Sir Henry Salusbury knew Welsh, but his literary inclinations, and those of his son, as evidenced in NLW MS 5390D and by the negligible number of Welsh poems addressed to them, were apparently overwhelmingly English. Sir Henry, known for his commendation in verse of the publication of Shakespeare's *First Folio* by 'my good freandes Mr. John Hemings & Henry Condell' (NLW MS 5390D,

²¹ Available online at <http://www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=5963>. Sir Henry and Sir Thomas's poetry is briefly discussed by Kerrigan, *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry*, 233-4.

496),²² claims no real place in the annals of the native literary culture espoused by his ancestors.

Gruffydd Aled Williams

Emeritus Professor of Welsh, Aberystwyth University

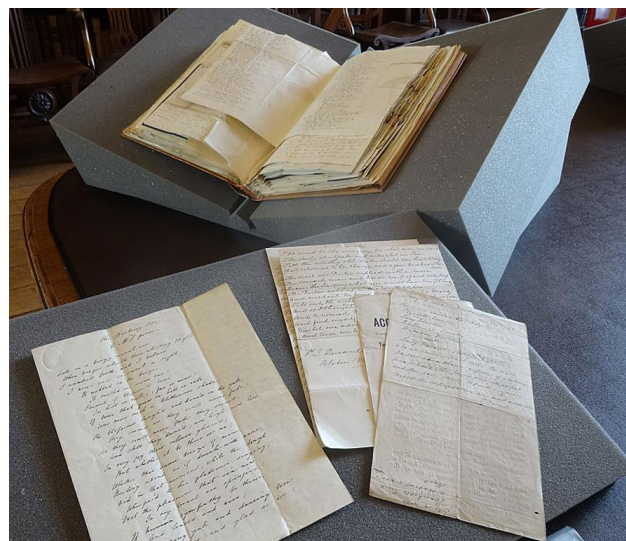
Professor Williams is a scholar who specialises in Welsh medieval poetry and Renaissance literature. He is the author of over 50 articles on medieval poetry and Renaissance literature in periodicals and academic journals. His book *Ymryson Edmwnd Prys a Wiliam Cynwal* (1986) was awarded the University of Wales' Sir Ellis Griffith Prize. More recently, he has concentrated his research on the history of Owain Glyndŵr and the literature associated with him. He delivered the British Academy's Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture on the poetry addressed to Glyndŵr in 2010, and won Literature Wales's Creative Non-fiction prize for his *Dyddiau Olaf Owain Glyndŵr* in 2016.

Note on the two versions of 'The Barberry Tree' Poem

Let me start with a surprising little gem tucked away in a little known collection: the large multi-volume archive of the historian Henry Hallam (1777–1859). A man of wide interests, he made and encouraged many contributions to the intellectual life of his time, and kept fond memories of his days a student at Christ Church, which explains the presence of the Hallam papers in this Library.

In volume 2 of the Hallam archive there is a rather unexpected letter sent by Charles Abraham Elton to his sister Julia Hallam, on 22 September 1807. Among the usual pleasantries, the letter also contains a transcript of *The Barberry Tree*, an intriguing poem attributed to William Wordsworth (1770–1850). In Charles Elton's words: "I mean to fill up the sheet with a curiosity entrusted to me, a MS of Mr Wordsworth never before publish'd." The close relationship between Wordsworth's 1804 *I wandered lonely as a cloud* and *The Barberry-Tree* has been largely overlooked. The principal reason for this is that the fair copy of the latter was only discovered in 1964 by Peter Clark, one of the many readers who has visited the Special Collections at Christ Church. Soon after the discovery was made public, in 1966, the poem was seriously discussed as part of the Wordsworth corpus. This happened thanks to the work of Jonathan Wordsworth, a gifted and inspiring scholar. As it happens, he was also a direct descendant of the poet through the latter's brother, Christopher. We will now be able to say a lot more about *The Barberry Tree* and its possible association with William Wordsworth, as, due to the generosity of Lady Dione Palmer, the Library is in the fortunate

position of having recently acquired another copy of the poem.



The two versions of the *Barberry Tree* in volume 2 of the Hallam collection and among the newly acquired papers of the Ducarel archive.

This is another manuscript version, the basis of Christie Arno's article published in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 16–23 August 2013. Arno, who had consulted the Hallam archive, found the manuscript amongst the Ducarel Papers inherited by Lady Dione's husband, a great-great nephew of Philip Ducarel. The latter was one of Coleridge's friends when he lived in Nether Stowey. From 23 March 2022 both versions of the poem are available for consultation at Christ Church Library.

PHOTOGRAPHING THE INVISIBLE

Items in Need of Specialist Imaging from Christ Church Collections

There are a few items in the Christ Church Library collections, which, at first sight look perfectly ordinary. These are: an incunable with painted decorations, an overpainted photograph by Charles Dodgson (aka Lewis Carroll), two late 16th century English poems bound in a miscellaneous Welsh manuscript and three Byzantine codices. These items do not catch the eye because of their beauty, or the value of the materials used to make them. However, if one delves a little deeper into their history and provenance, the story that has reached us is bound to surprise, as it highlights all these items as worthy of a careful examination. In fact, even if we didn't know anything about them, our eyes would not be able to avoid noticing the imperfections they exhibit, and, as a consequence, we would naturally wonder why, for instance, did a careless and hurried hand appear to paint over a mysterious coat of arms, why a perfectly fine black and white photograph was completely altered with the addition of a thick layer of watercolour, or, indeed, why a variety of texts and a signature were so brutally effaced in a series of manuscripts?

²² Cf. Israel Gollancz, 'Contemporary Lines to Heminge and Condell', *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 January 1922, p. 56.

In all these cases it is clear that, as things stand, we don't know the whole story. Rather excitingly, there is a promise of something beneath the surface, something which has been erased, effaced or otherwise completely covered, and, apart from the question why this something has been made to disappear, there is also the urge to find out what exactly it was, and how to bring it back to the foreground.

Fortunately, during the last few years, cutting-edge imaging technology has become available and is now increasingly used to shed new light on historic documents. Aware that important discoveries have been made by means of integrating the latest-generation technical systems with advanced cameras, illumination, software and data management, we got in touch with the best-known specialists, both in Oxford and on the other side of the Atlantic.

Among those, we initially consulted the team at the Oxford Papyrology Department who used multispectral scanning to unveil some of the secrets of ancient documents. The technique involved taking digital images at different wavelengths of the light band and layering them on top of each other, using software to analyse them. The equipment could be set to interrogate a specific feature: the surface structure, fibres, stains, watermarks, fingerprints, the writing under carbonised and non-carbonised portions of unrolled Herculaneum papyrus in the Bodleian Library. It also experimented on problematic samples of the Oxyrhynchus collection in the Sackler Library.

Separately, we also approached David Howell, Head of Heritage Science at the Bodleian Library. We consulted him about the benefits of hyperspectral imaging, a technique he has perfected and which, over the years, has produced better and better results. Hyperspectral imaging is a reflectance technique which, for each pixel in an image, produces a reflectance spectrum for the wavelength range detected. The spectra revealed, often including wavelengths outside of the visible range, can be deployed to put together maps of the materials used in the making of the items under investigation, and, most importantly, to reveal hidden images and text.¹

For us, at Christ Church, this year, probably more than ever, has revealed new projects and important advances in applying new imaging technologies to

cultural heritage studies. In this respect, we are grateful to John Barrett, Bodleian's Senior Photographer, for sharing details about his work on a research project now underway in the Bodleian Imaging Studio. The aim of this project is to scan items in three dimensions, using an entirely new technology. The expectation is that discoveries will be made through recording surface detail at extremely high resolution. In his blog about the project, John explains: "Unlike perhaps more widely-known 3D capture techniques such as photogrammetry, the two state-of-the-art machines used for ARCHiOx apply different principles for recording volume and are specifically designed for the capture of low-relief surface texture. This makes them well suited to the recording of the primarily flat, but texturally rich originals from the Bodleian's collections. This high-resolution, low-relief capture has been termed '2.5D' rather than 3D".²

Finally, in order to prepare the ground for possible work on items of interest in the Christ Church collections, we contacted and are currently consulting with Mike Toth (of R.B. Associates). His company is global leader in new technologies for cultural heritage, integrating the latest-generation technical systems with advanced cameras, illumination, software and data management. This includes narrowband multispectral, x-ray fluorescence (XRF) and other advanced imaging and scientific systems. Mike and his team are involved in spectral imaging studies of manuscripts, books, scrolls, globes, maps, paintings, photographs, walls, and other artifacts and materials.

Among the many projects they have coordinated are: Early documents printed with metal type in Asia and the West, from Chinese texts to Gutenbergs; Syriac-Georgian palimpsest at St. John's University, Minn., with the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library; UK Archives papers of Elizabeth I and Henry VIII, Journal of Capt. James Cook and charts of Australia; Artwork attributed to Dürer, Cranach the Elder, Rubens and others at Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Germany; Burnt music scores and manuscripts in the Anna Amalia Library, Weimar; Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography, maps and manuscripts in the Huntington Library; Sir Isaac Newton's sketch and description of how a rainbow is formed; Carbonized papyrus, Gutenberg Bible and Islamic manuscripts at the John Rylands Library; First Folios and other manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library and in private collections; The Declaration of Independence and Gettysburg Address drafts, the

¹ For further details, see an J. Maybury, David Howell, Melissa Terras and Heather Viles, 'Comparing the effectiveness of hyperspectral imaging and Raman spectroscopy: a case study on Armenian manuscripts', *Heritage Science* 6:42 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-018-0206-1> [Accessed 19 December 2022].

² For further details, see John Barrett, "ARCHiOx - Research and development in imaging: A photo-essay", *The Conveyor-News from the Bodleian Libraries Centre for the Study of the Book*, 13 May 2022, <https://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/theconveyor/archiox-research-and-development-in-imaging/> [Accessed 19 December 2022].

Waldseemüller 1507 World Map and other "Top Treasures" at the Library of Congress; Palimpsests at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai and scattered in institutions around the globe; The Syriac Galen Palimpsest including folios in the Sinai, Harvard, Paris and Vatican and x-ray fluorescence scanning at SLAC; The Archimedes Palimpsest, the earliest known copy of Archimedes' work, as well as other historical texts.

Discussing the matter of the above-mentioned Christ Church items with Mike Toth, it struck us that the latest developments in imaging technology might just make it possible to reach beyond the thick surface layers impeding access to what lies beneath. In recent experiments, especially with multispectral and XRF imaging, Mike and his team have successfully explored what can't be seen - such as rolled up documents or paintings - in order to check for hidden texts or under-drawings.

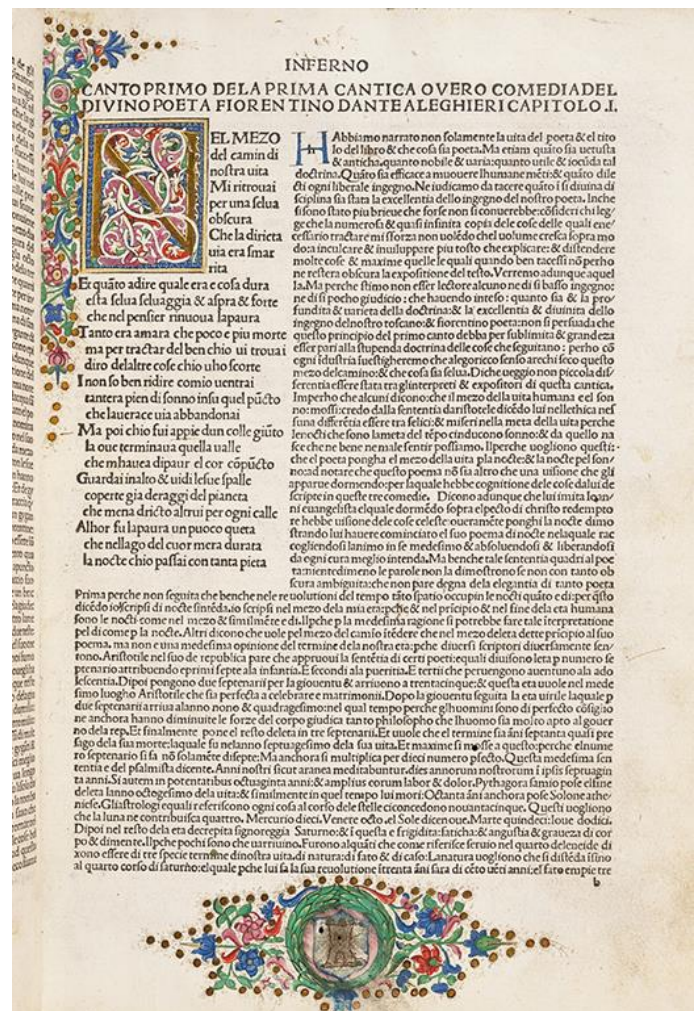
Landino's Dante

A good starting point for exploring the invisible is an exquisitely-produced incunable, the *Comento di Christophoro Landino fiorentino sopra La comedia di Danthe Alighieri poeta fiorentino* (Christ Church shelfmark e.2.51). Printed in Venice in 1484 by Ottaviano Scoto, this is the second edition with Landino's comment of the *Divine Comedy*, after the 1481 one published in Florence by the German printer Nicholaus Laurentii, known in Tuscany as Nicolò di Lorenzo.

The first edition was a very ambitious and sophisticated undertaking, with a number of lines from Dante's poem framed by Christoforo Landino's comment. Also, an engraving (attributed to Baccio Baldini), inspired by drawings by Sandro Botticelli, was planned to be included at the foot of the page, at the beginning of each Canto. The text was set up in letterpress, but spaces were left for the images (made by intaglio on metal plates) to be inserted.

As Gervase Rosser noted in his study on *The First Printed and Illustrated Edition of Dante's Comedy*, earlier manuscripts had brought together text, commentary and illustrations, so in some ways the printed edition of 1481 was a summation of a century and a half of experimentation with the poem. However, one of the most valuable traits for this particular printed version of Dante is the fact that certain details suggest Botticelli, the artist who inspired the illustration, collaborated closely with Landino, the commentator.³

³ For further details and analysis, see Gervase Rosser, *The First Printed and Illustrated Edition of Dante's Comedy*, TORCH | The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities Division, 14 April 2021,



Page decorated by hand at the beginning of the *Inferno* in the Christ Church copy of the 1484 edition of Landino's Dante.

But despite all this, in the end, the publisher's ambitions were not entirely achieved. The intended series of illustrations, as is shown by the blank spaces left before each canto, was never completed. Only the first three plates are ever found printed directly onto the pages of text. Up to nineteen engravings are known in total, and apart from the first three, they were all printed on separate slips of paper afterwards pasted into place, either by the printer or possibly by private owners of the volume who acquired the pictures from the publisher to insert.

The whole process proved too complex and inadequate to be repeated, and as a consequence, the second 1484 edition avoided using engravings altogether. Instead of the blank space to be filled by images made by intaglio on metal plates, it

<https://www.torch.ox.ac.uk/article/the-first-printed-and-illustrated-edition-of-dantes-comedy>
[Accessed 21 December 2022] and Matthew Collins, *Text and Image in Dante's Commedia and its Early Printed Illustrations (1481-1596)*, a dissertation presented to The Department of Romance Languages and Literatures in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: September 2018), pp.129-164.

introduces elegant woodcut initials for the opening letter of each canto. Like in the case of 1481 edition, several copies were embellished at a later date by illuminated capitals and other scribal devices, with the largest initials marking the start of the three principal textual divisions of the three cantiche of the *Commedia*, while the beginning of each canto is highlighted by a smaller letter. Comparing different copies, one is bound to notice that these superimposed decorations are usually exquisite in style and execution. They are also unique and, in most cases, painted according to the wishes of the various owners of one volume or another.

The Christ Church copy is one such example. The printed page heading of the first canto of the *Inferno* is reinforced by stylish and rich illumination. Floral motifs and accents of gold make an impression. They highlight the quality and value of this particular copy of the 1484 edition. They also foreground the status of one of its past owners. The presence of a hand-painted coat of arms at the bottom of the page further stresses the matter.

Identifying who exactly the early owner was is not easy. The arms painted on this volume of Dante represent the Tower, illustrated in its cylindrical version, with an embattled top and a 'spired', conical roof. However, without any more specific data to link it to one family or another, it is bound to remain too generic, and not likely to provide the information regarding provenance that we might have hoped to produce.

Additional details in this case appear to possibly surface from a very unexpected place. If we examine the quality of the brush work that painted the coat of arms and compare it with the rest of the decoration on the page, it is clear that the former lacks both style and precision.



Coat of arms added by hand at the beginning of the *Inferno* in the Christ Church copy of the 1484 edition of Landino's Dante.

There is something odd here, as if it was done in a hurry by another hand painting over the original decoration. Examining the area with specialized cutting-edge imaging equipment might reveal the existence of an under-drawing pointing to the original owner who commissioned the copy currently at Christ Church.

This reminds me of a discovery made at Cambridge's Fitzwilliam Museum where scientists using infrared technology have revealed a hidden drawing of what is believed to be the image of the first owner of a 15th-century manuscript. The codex is documented to have been a wedding gift to Duke Francis I of Brittany for his first wife, Yolande of Aragon. She sadly died and the Duke remarried, so the image of Yolande, kneeling before the Virgin Mary, was covered up with that of his new wife, Isabella Stuart, whose coat of arms was also painted into each corner of the decorated borders. This was a very exciting and important revelation made possible because of recent imaging developments able to pick out variations in the under-drawings. These helped to distinguish between the original artists who - according to Dr Suzanne Reynolds, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts and Printed Books at the Fitzwilliam Museum - were based in Angers, but the use of different pigments confirmed the modifications and additions were done in Nantes. "These books in a way are sort of archaeological sites (Dr Reynolds so accurately says), and when one starts to uncover what lies under these images, it actually unlocks the human story of how these volumes were commissioned and then passed from one person to another."⁴

Although this does not happen often, altering portions of the decoration, especially areas marking ownership, to keep the volumes up to date, such interventions were not that unusual. Keeping this in mind, it might be worth examining the Christ Church 1484 Landino's Dante in order to assess whether beneath the current arms there is an earlier one, now covered by the rather sloppy image of the Tower.

The Photograph Beneath the Watercolour

In the case of the incunable discussed above, the area suggested for further scrutiny is only presumed to be covered. In contrast, the Library now houses an extremely valuable item, which we know for sure has a priceless layer hidden from view. Although, at first sight, it does not look it, due to the watercolour concealing it, the item is a photograph by Charles Dodgson (aka Lewis Carroll).

We also know exactly who is represented in the picture because there is an inscription on the verso which states, in Dodgson's hand, "Annie Henderson, Rev. P. Henderson, Wadham College, Oxford," to which Annie has added at a later date "Taken of me

⁴ For further details, see Sam Russell, 'Wife swap discovered in medieval manuscript', *Evening Standard*, 17 May 2021, https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/wife-swap-reynolds-scientists-french-st-catherine-b935487.html?utm_campaign=newsletters&utm_medium=email&utm_source=371265_Daily%20News%20Digest%2017%2F05%2F21&dm_i=6DCF,7YGX,32VBE0,XFZD,1 [Accessed 22 December 2022].

by Rev. C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) in 1878 at Christ Church. Painted on photograph for him. Annie G. Ruxton, June 8, 1927."

Annie's father, Patrick Arkley Wright Henderson (1841-1922), was, indeed, a Fellow of Wadham College 1867, Chaplain and Tutor 1868, Proctor 1876-77, Sub-Warden and later Bursar 1881, and Warden (head of college) 1903-13. He was one of the first married tutors in Oxford when the rules governing the celibacy of tutors were relaxed.

The image was thought to be lost until it emerged from an Oxford family, where it had remained for several generations and was bought by Christ Church Library at Sotheby's auction "English Literature, History, Children's Books and Illustrations" on 9 July 2019 (Lot 245).

Although until recently it was not available for perusal or study, this relatively large photograph (250 x 200 mm) has been thoroughly documented by Charles Dodgson, its creator. In fact, Edward Wakeling had listed it in the *Catalogue Raisonné* which he produced in 2015.⁵ All details about it are based on Dodgson's records. His diary entry for 18 July 1879 says: "Mrs. Henderson brought Annie and Frances. I had warned Mrs. Henderson that I thought the children so nervous I would not even ask for 'bare feet,' and was agreeably surprised to find they were ready for any amount of undress, and seemed delighted at being allowed to run about naked. It is a great privilege to have a model as Annie to take; a very pretty face, and a good figure..." This indicates that the request for the photograph had probably come from Mrs. Henderson, Annie's mother.



Overpainted photograph of Annie Henderson [IN 2604].

The photograph, taken in Dodgson's Christ Church studio, shows Annie resting on the grassy bank of a

small stream, reading a book underneath a tree. No trace of the studio, no props visible. The photographic print is painted over completely, and we know by whom: a certain Mrs Lydia Bond of Southsea, whom Dodgson employed as a photographic colourist. Very likely, the photographer gave instructions about what he wanted in the image, so the design may have been Dodgson's. It is also likely that he kept a print for himself, but his Executor (his brother, Wilfred) was instructed to destroy it and a few other photographs at his death.⁶ This makes this particular print of Annie Henderson the only copy remaining. Sadly, however, the print is invisible, and the difficulty reaching it under the watercolour should not be underestimated.

As the photograph under discussion dates from 1878, it is important to note here that Dodgson was a pioneering photographer, using, as early as 1853, the wet-plate collodion method. The process was invented in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer. It quickly replaced both daguerreotypes on metal, popular for portraits, and multiple but imprecise calotypes made from paper negatives. The fact that the Annie Henderson photograph now at Christ Church is the only print in existence, and that it was produced by such an important photographer (who happens to be also a famous author) at the very beginning of photography, are two very good reasons for us to try and see if the original image could be accessed from underneath the watercolour.

The new wet-plate collodion process generated clear negatives on transparent glass that could be used to produce multiple prints on paper. Exposure and development of the negative had to be done within a ten-minute time-frame while the light-sensitive chemicals were still wet. This required photographers to have the darkrooms at the ready, so it was difficult to operate far from the studio. Therefore, in order to have one's subject placed in a picturesque landscape by a river (as Dodgson wanted), the easiest thing was to paint it on top of the photograph.

To achieve a print, a photographer required a glass negative of the same size, as well as a camera big enough to hold it. Photographing outside meant hiking sometimes difficult terrain loaded with heavy equipment, finding a source for water to rinse (poisonous and flammable) chemicals from plates after exposure, and installing a dark tent to allow one to quickly develop negatives. The process at this stage entailed first that a sticky collodion solution be poured onto the clean glass, placed and exposed in the camera, then developed in the dark, and finally fixed. Once a photographer had the glass negatives, prints could be made using paper with light-sensitive materials suspended in a solution of albumen, or egg

⁵ See Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll Photographs, A Catalogue Raisonné* (University of Texas Press, 2015), IN-2604.

⁶ See Edward Wakeling, 'Rare Photograph Acquired by Christ Church', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Vol.10, Issues 1-3, 2017-2018, pp. 1, 3-5.

white. These prints would then be adhered to a thick cardboard mount to keep from curling. Examining the Annie Henderson print carefully, the thin photographic paper, mounted on the thick cardboard, is clearly visible under the painted surface.



Detail of the Annie Henderson photograph, showing the cardboard on which the light-sensitive paper is pasted; the edges of the paper are visible.

Everything else is hidden from view, so, as things are, we don't know how Dodgson's original print looked. The negative is lost as well. It is difficult to say whether the original, or traces of it, could be brought to the surface. The key as to how to access it might be in finding out more about the pigments used in the watercolour.

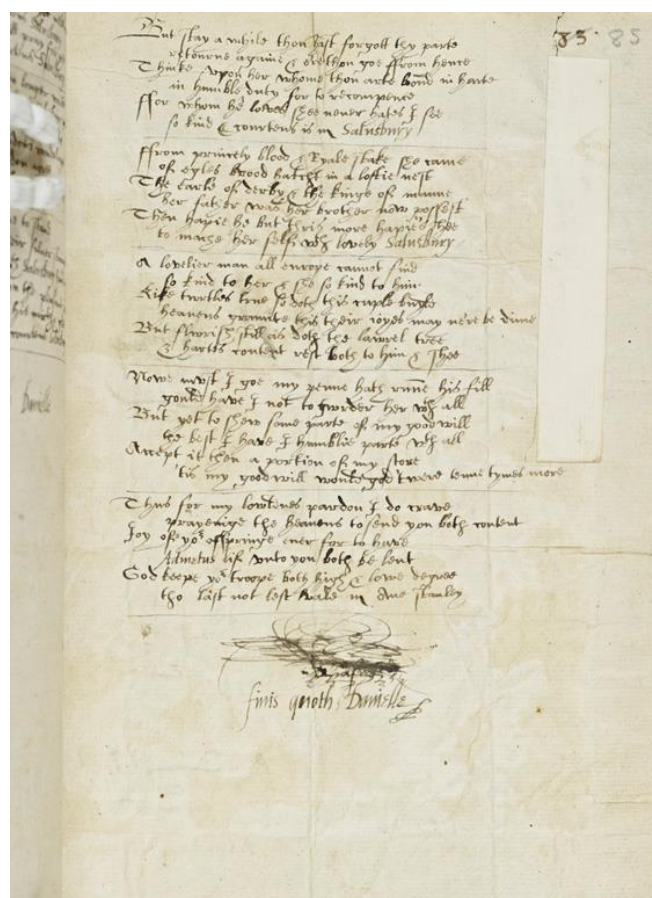
For the first fifty years of photography, manually applying colour on a monochrome photograph was the most dependable and widely practiced way of creating a colour photograph. Techniques and styles of painting differed, and photographers frequently worked with specific artists. To take one example, the French photographer Antoine Claudet partnered with a miniature painter to colour prints. Similarly, Charles Dodgson chose Mrs Lydia Bond of Southsea. There is also a considerable variation in the materials found in hand-coloured photographs. As a consequence, painted prints can have issues related not only to the stability of the photograph, but also in the watercolour. Such are, for example, alterations in colours, loss of cohesion in the paint layer, and complications arising if interactions take place between the photograph and the paint layer.⁷ All this calls for consulting an expert on early silver nitrate and salt prints, and further researching multispectral imaging options. However, discussing the possibility of accessing the Dodgson original print with Mike Toth, he confirms that work on the image will be challenging, but the equipment and the techniques currently available might reveal something of the original photographic processes.

The effaced signature

An example of an effaced signature is to be found in MS 184, one of the most intriguing manuscripts in the Christ Church collections. Aspects of its extensive and miscellaneous contents have been often discussed in a wide range of articles.

⁷ For further details, see Rahul Sharma, *Daubing Titipu: Colourants in Japanese Albumen Prints*, Conservation and Restoration Masters; Photograph Specialisation (University of Amsterdam, 2020).

This issue of the journal alone includes a piece by Dr Dianne Mitchell about a love letter in verse, and a study about the Welsh content of the codex, by Professor Gruffydd Aled Williams.⁸ Also notes on the provenance of the manuscript by John Wing and Helen Williams-Ellis have been published recently.⁹ The manuscript has been digitised and will soon become available on Digital Bodleian. MS 184 was conceived as a Welsh language manuscript mainly in praise of Catherine de Berain, and of one of her sons, the poet John Salusbury. Importantly, it also contains Elizabethan poetry in English. On folio 40v, for instance, is Ben Jonson's autograph manuscript of 'An Ode to James, Earl of Desmond'. And a little further on, from folio 84r to folio 85r,¹⁰ are three pages of verse by a certain, rather mysterious, "Danielle". These, like many others in this volume, were written in honour of John Salusbury.



Effaced signature in MS 184, fol. 85r.

⁸ Dianne Mitchell, 'A Love Letter in Verse in Christ Church MS 184' and Gruffydd Aled Williams, 'The Welsh Content of Christ Church MS 184', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 13, Issues 1-3, 2021-2022, pp. 30-39.

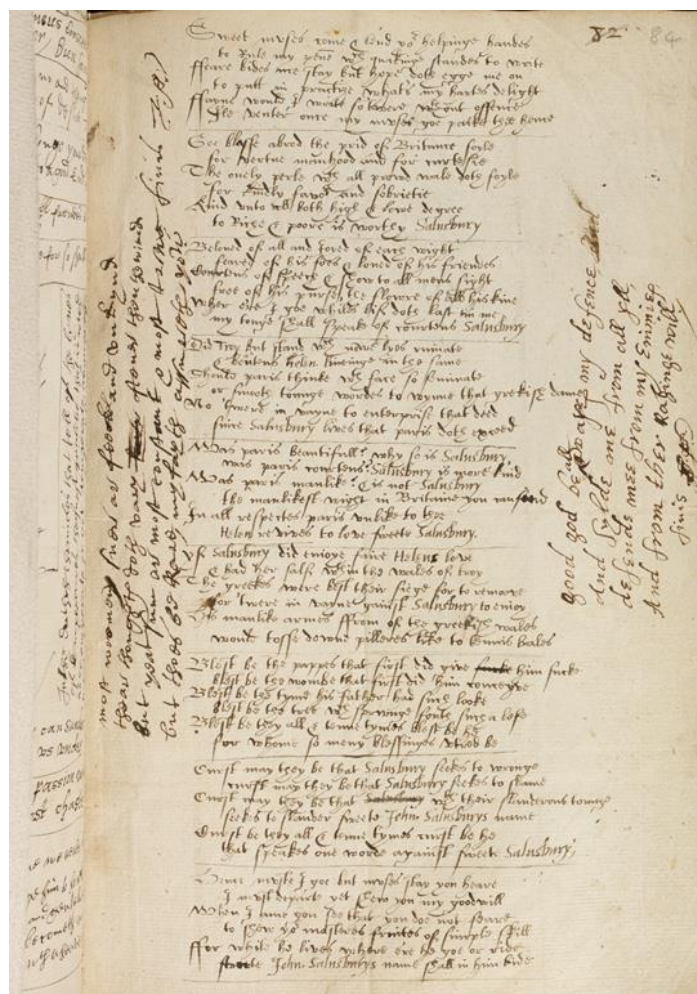
⁹ John Wing, 'The Salusbury manuscripts: Notes on Provenance', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 12, Issue 1, 2020-2021, pp. 1, 5-8; Helen Williams-Ellis, 'Katheryn of Berain and the Welsh Codex: More Provenance Notes Regarding MS 184', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 12, Issues 2-3, 2020-21, pp. 33-40.

¹⁰ New pagination in pencil correcting the original one: fols. 82-83, written in ink. The original foliation missed folio 64, so the manuscript needed to be amended from there on.

Given the encomiastical nature of its contents, one would have perhaps expected an expensive, beautifully calligraphed and richly decorated volume. Quite the opposite. Examining the manuscript as a whole, and looking at the Elizabethan poetry section in relation to the rest, the volume's crude and inelegant appearance is more than obvious. Instead of fair copies of text and careful embellishments, most material included consists of rough drafts and work in progress.

Furthermore, several leaves, the "Danielle" poems included, were originally loose sheets collected and randomly bound together into a very plain-looking volume, an early family scrap-book of sorts.

As Carleton Brown noted in the first printed edition of some of the text in MS 184, "the fact that nearly everything in this miscellany is directly connected in some way with John Salusbury, and that the latest date which appears is 1606 [...] would indicate that this material was inserted in the volume during Sir John's life, probably under his personal supervision."¹¹



Several hands at work in MS 184, fol. 84r.

It may sound paradoxical, but it is precisely this unfinished, unpretentious appearance that makes this manuscript particularly valuable, as scrutinizing it attentively allows unprecedented access to the process of creative writing in a period when working copies of manuscripts were generally discarded.

In this context, the "Danielle" poems are especially important and illuminating. They were initially written on separate loose leaves, showing signs that they were folded in the past, before being bound in the volume. There are also several hands in action. Besides the hand jotting down the main part of the verse, along the side margins of fol. 84r, there are two quatrains by different authors, both initialing the text by "J.A" and "J.S", respectively.

If the identity of the former is open to discussion, the latter appears throughout the volume and we know that it is John Salusbury's own hand.

On the verso of fol. 85 is a poem in English by Hughe Gryphyth. Unusually, the text is written on a smaller size sheet pasted on top. Below the pasted leaf is a quatrain in Welsh initialled "J.F".

However, raising most question marks, are the subscriptions "finis quoth Danielle" at the end of the two poems, on fols. 84v and 85r, respectively. These are by yet another hand. And most intriguing of all, between the last stanza and the inscription "finis quoth Danielle" on fol. 85r, there is a signature, frantically erased in a series of nervous flourishes.

According to Carleton Brown, the first editor of the texts, neither the hand of the text, nor that attributing it to "Danielle" appear elsewhere in the manuscript."¹² As to the obliterated signature, this remains a mystery. The conundrum is particularly enticing if one takes into consideration the so-called "Poeticall Essaies" appended to Robert Chester's *Loves Martyr*, a collection of poems (published in 1601 and dedicated to Sir John Salusbury) by major Elizabethan poets, including Shakespeare, whose *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, written in honour of the Welsh nobleman, was also incorporated in the above-mentioned volume.

The section comprising Elizabethan poems in MS 184 is particularly valuable and worthy of scholars' attention as it sheds new light not only on the said corpus, but also on the dynamics of writing and the interactions between participants in this process. A context such as this might perhaps explain the interest in the question of authorship in the case of the "Danielle" poems.¹³

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ For details, see John Wing, 'Shakespeare's Mentor? MS 184: Sir William Daniel of Over Tabley', *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Vol. 6, Issue 2 (Hilary 2010), pp. 1-5, who attributes the poem to Sir William, a Cheshire

¹¹ *Poems of Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, ed. by Carleton Brown (Bryn Mawr College, PA, 1913), p xxxvi.

The four manuscript pages scribbled in haste are among the best examples of what may be called work in progress. When examining it carefully, the reader is confronted with a text which appears to have been brought to the world, changed and added to by possibly circulating it among a small group of friends sharing the same space for a while and enjoying a few joyful and rewarding moments of creation.

Finding out who those authors were requires a lot more research and in-depth scrutiny of the codex. In the case of the four pages under discussion, however, we may be in luck. Some answers just might surface from the least likely place: a layer tucked away from view. As, underneath an impossibly elaborate squiggle, on fol. 85r, there is a rather enigmatic signature. Its presence on the page while, at the same time, being so thoroughly concealed, raises so many questions: Whose signature is it? Is the one who signs the author of the main text? Who covered the name? Why was the name hidden?

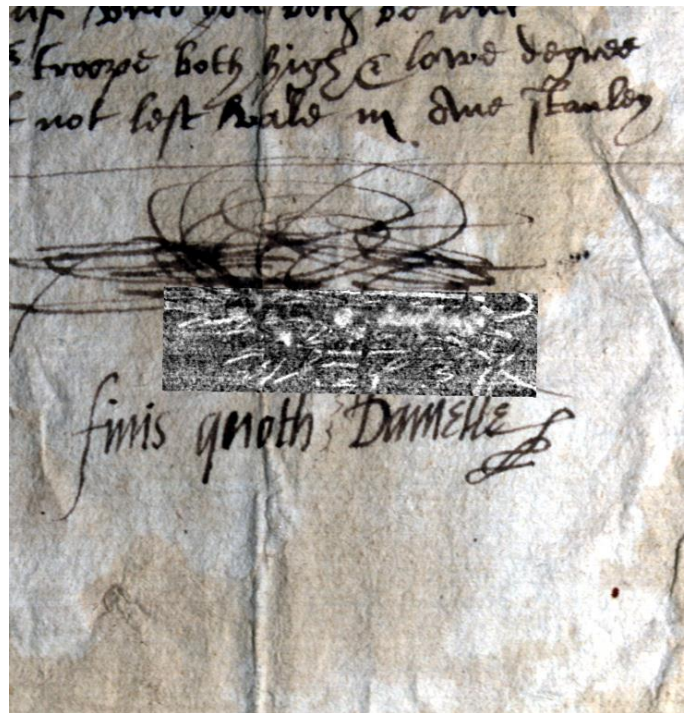


The effaced signature in MS 184, fol. 85r, under raking and UV light.

Chasing for answers, we consulted David Howells, Head of Heritage Science at the Bodleian Library, wondering whether he could examine the erased signature. He has developed a method to apply hyperspectral imaging in order to reveal hidden texts and under-drawings invisible to the naked eye. He kindly agreed to have a preliminary look. The result is the image below.

gentleman and a Judge of the Common Pleas. There is also a case for Shakespeare's potential authorship. For this, see Tom Lloyd-Roberts, 'Bard of Llewenni? Shakespeare's Welsh Connection', *New Welsh Review*, 23 (Winter 1993-4), pp. 11-18, and John Idris Jones, 'William Shakespeare and John Salusbury: What was their Relationship?', *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, 59 (2011), pp.56-96. For a contrary view, see Jeremy Griffiths, 'Loose Sheets and Idle Scribbings: The Case against Shakespeare's Welsh Connection', *New Welsh Review*, 25 (Summer 1994), 52-57.

The area of interest is the dark rectangle containing the signature. Undoubtedly, this is an area difficult to read and interpret. But scrutinizing it attentively, it is surprisingly revealing and could make sense to someone who knows what they are looking for.



The effaced signature in MS 184, fol. 85r, under hyperspectral imaging.

In an email exchange, David gives me a few technical details about the process: "What makes hyperspectral imaging special is that each pixel is actually representing a full reflectance spectrum from 400-1000nm at around 1-2 nm resolution, a very high resolution compared to other multispectral systems. Obviously the files contain a huge amount of data that we just can't see with the human eye. The software I am using, ENVI, has been developed to disentangle the data and visualize it for us in a way we can see. It uses a computational method called Principal Component Analysis but because it is so highly developed it does a lot of things automatically and gives a whole lot of images which it thinks contains information. It is then up to us humans to look at the outputs to see if they make any sense."

The signature on fol. 85r is particularly hard to access because it appears that the signing and the covering were done using the same ink and it is difficult to separate the lines forming the word (or part of the word), from the squiggle.

Despite this however, the hyperspectral image reveals something new: another word, in a much smaller hand, just above the word so frantically deleted. This was written with a different ink, as it appears coloured in black, contrasting with the rest of the artefact, which is all white in the photograph. Sadly, this previously invisible word is equally difficult to read. The challenge of trying to make some sense

of what the image might have to unveil was eagerly embraced by John Wing, former Librarian at Christ Church. He had studied the manuscript extensively, especially in terms of its provenance.¹⁴ According to John, what lies beneath may be a “mirrored” word. To see it better, he suggested to take the enlarged hyperspectral scan turn it upside down, then hold a hand-mirror at a suitable angle against the scan and look into the mirror.¹⁵

In an attempt to see if we could get a clearer image, I discussed the matter further with Mike Toth. His methods of investigations and techniques were successfully applied to the Archimedes Palimpsest, a 13th-century Byzantine prayer book containing erased texts including two treatises by Archimedes that can be found nowhere else, namely “The Method” and “Stomachion”. Taking into account recent experience working on effaced signatures, Mike hopes that signature on fol. 85r of MS 184 should be relatively straightforward to image. To prove the point, he showed me the results from imaging and spectral processing of different owner signatures in a second edition of Andreas Vesalius’ *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543).

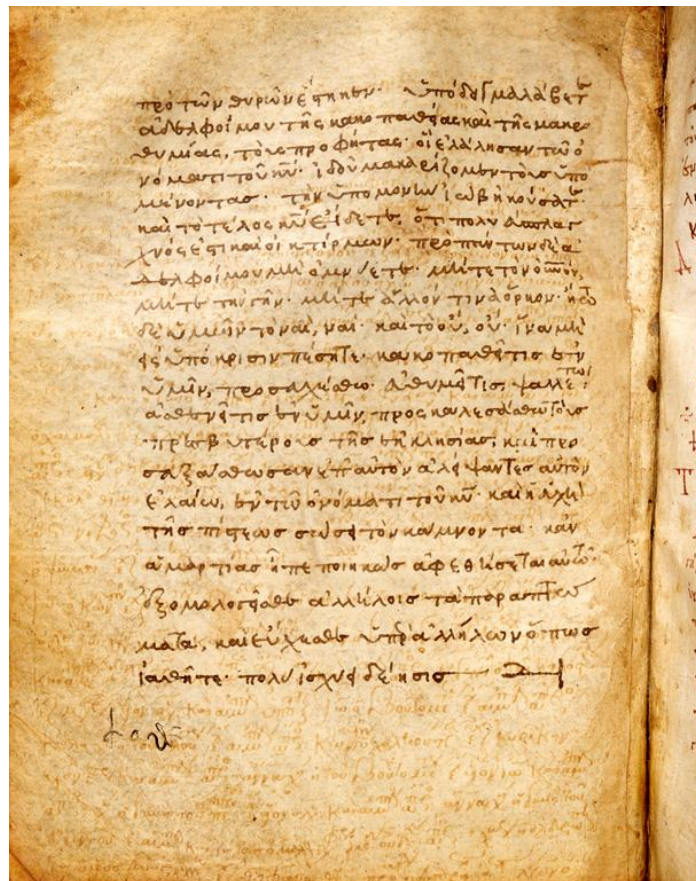
Unknown Palimpsests at Christ Church

It remains to be seen if the most recent cutting-edge techniques could finally unveil the mystery of the effaced signature in MS 184. But, if one takes into account the stunning results following the imaging of the Archimedes palimpsest, applying a similar technique to at least three Greek manuscripts, now kept at Christ Church, promises a rather spectacular outcome.

Discussing the specifics of the Byzantine collection, Professor Nigel Wilson alerted us to the possibility that it may contain palimpsests. This is an aspect which so far has not been properly researched.

Despite the fact that one of the codices (MS 49) has been the subject of in-depth analysis in the previous issue of this journal,¹⁶ the collection as a whole has been little studied. Yet, without any doubt, it is one of the most important and valuable collections of Greek codices in England. There are 86 manuscripts in the collection. 84 of these are Byzantine, most of them dating from the 9th to 15th centuries; and 2 are manuscripts dating from 18th century. The codices include a diverse assortment of biblical, patristic, hagiographical, liturgical texts, as well as

chronographies and mathematical treatises. Several volumes in this collection are illuminated. The latter have been studied by Irmgard Hutter, who published her descriptions in the *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vols 4.1-4.2 (Stuttgart, 1993). The collection as a whole has never been catalogued. Minimal descriptions in Latin were included in G. W. Kitchin’s *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in Bibliotheca Aedis Christi apud Oxonienses adservatur*, published in 1867.



MS 37, fol. 72v.

At the bottom and margins of the page, there appears to be another layer of text, very faint, but still visible.

The Greek manuscripts arrived at Christ Church in 1737 with the bequest of the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake (1657–1737). A great number of these were brought to England from Mount Athos in ca. 1724, while some were gifts sent to the Archbishop by East European princes.

Specialist research is needed to put this unique collection on the map and make it available to scholars. To start with, full codicological, textual and historical descriptions, plus, TEI - compatible records for an online catalogue, and complete high-resolution digital copies of the full contents of the manuscripts are to be created. All this will obviously enable a clearer view of the collection and its treasures. In the meantime, confirming the existence of palimpsests could only increase the interest in, and value of the manuscripts.

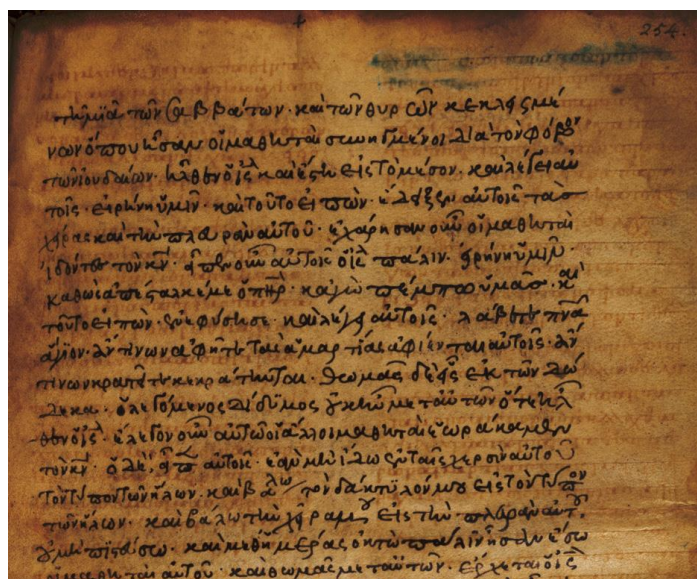
¹⁴ See footnotes 9 and 13.

¹⁵ Private correspondence with John Wing.

¹⁶ Brendan Osswald, ‘The Oldest Manuscript of the *Chronicle of Ioannina*’, Transcription of MS 49 (Supplement*), *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Volume 12, Issues 2-3, 2020-21, pp. 19-30, and Supplement also Georgi Parpulov, ‘Three Obscure Greek Authors’, *Op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

Unlike paper, parchment is sufficiently durable that one can take a knife to it, scrape off the text, and overwrite it with a new text. After preliminary research, Professor Wilson recommends that we select MS 13, MS 18 and MS 37, and we examine them using cutting-edge imaging techniques. The naked eye sees little, but the Library Studio's Phase One medium-format camera highlights the presence of a very faint text underneath the main document.

All these codices contain fragments. MS 13 includes three different Gospel Lectionaries, dating from the end of the 10th, the beginning of the 12th and the 11th and 14th centuries, respectively. Both the Kitchin and Hutter catalogues identify folios 254r and 255r as possible palimpsests.



MS 13, fol. 254r.

Detail of a parchment leaf. At the top and margins, there is another layer of text.

MS 18 is another manuscript put together from different fragments: a very short one of an 11th century Menologion for the month of October by Symeon Metafrastes, and 13th century Lectionary, underneath which appears to be the scraped-off text of a 10th century Menologion for the month of January. MS 37 contains a series of different fragments from sections of the New Testament, most of them dating from the 11th century. The catalogue refers to folios 72 and 100 as possible palimpsests, but presumably these are halves of a bifolium. One should examine all the leaves, in case there are others of interest - it would be odd if only two were palimpsests. The good news is that we now have the equipment enabling us to see the invisible. If one looks at things with different lights one can see different things. It has long been known, for example, that we can retrieve under-drawings below paintings by looking at them in infrared light. This is because the carbon used by artists to make their under-drawing absorbs light at that range of the spectrum. In contrast, on the whole, infrared light was not very useful in imaging palimpsests, because the ink

chosen by the scribes did not have much carbon in it. Rather, it contained a lot of iron, and iron absorbs ultraviolet light. Ultraviolet light, on the other hand, has often been used to look at faint text in medieval manuscripts. The immediate results can be spectacular. One such example is the imaging of the Archimedes Palimpsest, where specialists succeeded in separating the spectral signature of the original ink from the parchment underneath it, and that of the prayer book on top of it. To bring out the Archimedes text even more, they then made the prayer book ink look like the parchment. One can clearly see areas of text and diagrams that are invisible, or at least extremely hard to discern, under normal light.

With this in mind, I cannot help wondering what could multi and hyper-spectral imaging reveal, in case the manuscripts are confirmed to be palimpsests? If successful, the imaging would bring to the surface texts that have been hidden from view for hundreds of years, further enriching an already priceless collection bequeathed by William Wake to Christ Church Library. Thus, aiming high and questioning the invisible, removing the many layers blocking access to it, all these are worth pursuing. Now more than ever! We have the means to do it and the rewards are staring us in the face.

Cristina Neagu
Christ Church

Dr Neagu is Keeper of Special Collections at Christ Church Library. She specialises in the literature and arts of the Renaissance. Her publications include *Servant of the Renaissance: The Poetry and Prose of Nicolaus Olahus* (Peter Lang, 2003), 'Dürer: Text and Image in Early Modern Broad sheets' in *The Perils of Print Culture: Theory and Practice in Book, Print and Publishing History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and 'Christ Church Gentlemen and Their Collections' in *Winckelmann and Curiosity in the 18th-century Gentleman's Library* (2018).

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