Notes on Filming Special Collections

During the past few months, the Upper Library hosted three BBC film crews. The first involved an interview with Prof Gruffydd Aled Williams for a new series, *Mamwlad*, looking at pioneering women in Wales. The interview focused on one of the manuscripts in the library, *MS 184*, and one of its former owners, Katheryn of Berain (BBC Wales, 25 January 2014). The second film, *The Joy of Logic*, included an interview with Edward Wakeling. The topic under discussion was the place of Charles Dodgson (aka Lewis Carroll) in the history of logic, (BBC 4, 3 December 2013). Finally, there was the filming for *A Very British Renaissance*, a new series in which Dr James Fox looks back at key figures who brought the artistic movement to our shores. The sequence filmed at Christ Church involved Robert Burton's library and the first printed editions of his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (BBC 2, 21 March 2014).

(The Editor)

Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland: The 150th Anniversary

The genesis of this book owes much to Christ Church, and the Library contains some unique manuscripts that show how this book developed. But first, let us remind ourselves of the event that gave rise to this worldwide classic of children’s literature.

This manuscript compilation of the various episodes of the story, which had been told during the boat-trip and continued during other encounters with the Liddell sisters, was eventually presented to Alice as an early Christmas gift for 1864 (she received it on 26 November).

The small green notebook is beautifully written in Dodgson’s hand with his own clever drawings as illustrations for the text. He inscribed the book, “A Christmas Gift to a Dear Child in Memory of a Summer Day.”

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Detail of an illuminated page from the 1326-7 Walter of Milemete, *Liber de nobilitatibus, sapiencijis et prudencijs regum* (MS 92, fol 1r). The manuscript was a gift for King Edward III of England. This is the first in a series, to be fully digitised. The manuscripts will gradually appear on the Library pages of Christ Church website (www.chch.ox.ac.uk).
On 4 July 1862, Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, better known to the world as Lewis Carroll, wrote in his diary:

"Duckworth¹ and I made an expedition up the river to Godstow with the three Liddells;² we had tea on the bank there, and did not reach Christ Church again till quarter past eight, when we took them on to my rooms to see my collection of micro-photographs, and restored them to the Deanery just before nine".³

In a note added to his diary the following February, he wrote:

"On which occasion I told them the fairy-tale of Alice’s Adventures Under Ground, which I undertook to write out for Alice, and which is now finished (as to the text) though the pictures are not yet nearly done".⁴

From this we can deduce that Dodgson sat in his room in Tom 7:3 (now the JCR), and spent many hours writing out in a careful hand the text of his story, as far as he could remember it, with help from some headings he had written out the day after the event. We need to note that nothing was prepared beforehand; the story was an impromptu telling from his vivid imagination, occasionally with an in-joke to delight his listeners. All members of the boat crew appear in the tale; Dodgson as the Dodo, Duckworth as the Duck, Alice as herself, Lorina as a Lory, and Edith as an Eaglet. In the published book the children appear again in the story told by the dormouse at the Mad Tea-Party; Alice as Lacie (anagram), Lorina as Elsie (L.C., i.e. Lorina Charlotte), and Edith as Tillie (the pet name given to her by her sisters). The writing in the manuscript is non-cursive, almost child-like, imitating printed letters. There is not a single mistake on any of the ninety pages – a remarkable feat. But on closer inspection, it can be seen that the story was written out on single sheets (thus making it possible to replace any errant pages) and then, when the story was complete, the sheets were stitched together and the manuscript then bound in leather. The Library has a number of facsimile editions of the manuscript, given the title Alice’s Adventures Under Ground.⁵

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¹ Robinson Duckworth (1834-1911) of University College
² Lorina, Alice and Edith; daughters of Henry G. Liddell, Dean of Christ Church
³ Wakeling, Edward, Ed. Lewis Carroll’s Diaries, Lewis Carroll Society, Luton and Clifford, 1993-2007, 10 vols; Diary 4, pp. 94-5
⁴ Diary 4, p. 95
⁵ The original is now in the British Library
diligently. Within the Library, sheets of these preliminary drawings survive. We know that he consulted books on natural history from the Library to help with the overall accuracy. There are drawings of guinea pigs, a lizard, a flamingo, rabbits, a mole, a puppy, various fish, a sea-horse, a mouse, and a caterpillar. Two imaginary creatures, a gryphon and a mock-turtle are beautifully drawn, but the initials “W.L.D.” indicate that these were done by his brother, Wilfred Longley Dodgson, who had been an undergraduate at Christ Church (1856-60). There are various drawings of the fictional Alice in various positions; standing, seated, drawing back a curtain, head squashed down to her toes (part of the story), head resting on her arm, profiles of her head, swimming, holding a flamingo under her arm, and so on. It is clear that Dodgson did not draw onto the manuscript until he had perfected the image he wanted. Yet on a number of occasions he misjudged the amount of space left for an illustration, and the drawing went slightly over some of the text, but insufficiently to obscure the words. Strangely, among the preliminary drawings are the heads of elves, goblins and other mythical creatures that do not appear in the final version of the story. These were clearly a feature of some tales told to the Liddell children during the boat-trip, but Dodgson chose not to include them in the final version of the manuscript story (more of this later).

Dodgson, at home for the summer vacation, wrote in his diary for 13 September 1864: “At Croft. Finished drawing the pictures in the MS. copy of ‘Alice’s Adventures’.”6 The task had taken nearly 20 months, using odd spare moments during term-time and holidays. The manuscript contains 37 pictures drawn by Dodgson, and the title page and dedication are illuminated.

On the last page Dodgson drew a portrait of the real Alice, but he was not satisfied with his drawing and pasted over a photograph of Alice Liddell; an oval showing just her head, cut out of one of his prints of Alice taken in the Deanery Garden during July 1860 (image number IN-613).7 The drawing was revealed in the 1970s when the original photograph was lifted from the manuscript. It now appears on an inserted slip so that both drawing and photograph may be seen.

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6 Diary 5, p. 9
7 Dodgson numbered his complete opus of photographs chronologically, but this task was carried out retrospectively in 1875. Approximately 3,000 were taken over a period of 25 years.
During the preparation of the manuscript volume, a number of Dodgson's friends saw the book and had a chance to read it. He was strongly encouraged to publish the book. So before the manuscript was presented to Alice Liddell, he set in motion the process of getting the story prepared for publication.

Example of an illustrated page from Alice’s Adventures Under Ground in C.L. Dodgson's hand.

He originally intended to publish the book with his own illustrations, and he arranged for the book to be printed at the Clarendon Press. They provided him with woodblocks and pencils so that he could copy his drawings from the manuscript onto blocks for the engraver. The Press was organised under the general management of Thomas Combe (1797-1872) who was responsible for the paper-mill and all activities associated with printing books. On 16 July 1863, Dodgson wrote:

“Called on Mr. Combe with my first drawing on wood. Mr. Woolner was there, just beginning a bust of Mr. Combe. He looked at the drawing (a half length of the heroine) and condemned the arms, which he says I must draw from the life.”

This comment from Thomas Woolner, one of the original members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a poet and sculptor, shook Dodgson's confidence in his own ability to produce illustrations of sufficient quality. However, Dodgson was not completely convinced at this stage and continued with his original plan. On 20 July he travelled to London and “called on Mr. Jewitt, in Camden Town, who is to do the wood-cutting for my book, and got some hints on the subject. He is going to cut the block I have drawn, improving on it a little.”

The engraver was Thomas Orlando Sheldon Jewitt (1799-1869), already renowned for engraving book illustrations. Jewitt did a lot of work for the Clarendon Press, particularly scientific diagrams, and Bartholomew Price (1818-1898), Secretary to the Delegates of the Press, may have suggested him to Dodgson. There was a note of dissatisfaction in Dodgson’s comment on his own work, but he hoped that the engraver might make amends for his less than accurate draughtsmanship, and improve the illustration at the engraving stage. Dodgson met Alexander Macmillan (1818-1896), who had been appointed by the Press to be their publishing Agent, on 19 October 1863. On this occasion, or at some later date, Macmillan undertook to publish Alice’s Adventures for Dodgson on the basis that all costs would be borne by the author and Macmillan and Company would be paid to advertise and distribute the book. Around this time, Dodgson made the decision to find a professional illustrator for his book, giving up the idea of illustrating it himself.

Dodgson, already acquainted with the dramatist and civil servant, Tom Taylor (1817-1880), a regular contributor to Punch, wrote to him on 20 December 1863 with the following request:

“Do you know Mr. Tenniel enough to be able to say whether he could undertake such a thing as drawing a dozen wood-cuts to illustrate a child’s book, and if so, could you put me into communication with him? The reasons for which I ask (which however can be of but little interest if your answer be in the negative) are that I have written such a tale for a young friend, and illustrated it in pen and ink. It has been read and liked by so many children, and I have been so often asked to publish it, that I have decided on doing so. I have tried my hand at drawing on the wood, and come to the conclusion that it would take much more time than I can afford, and that the result would not be satisfactory after all. I want some figure-pictures done in pure outline, or nearly so, and of all artists on wood, I should prefer Mr. Tenniel. If he should be willing to undertake them, I would send him the book to look over, not that he should at all follow my pictures, but simply to give him an idea of the sort of thing I want.”

The request was successful. Tom Taylor gave Dodgson a note of introduction to John Tenniel (1820-1914). Dodgson called on Tenniel for the first time.

8 Diary 4, pp. 220-1
time on 25 January 1864 and recorded: “He was very friendly, and seemed to think favorably of undertaking the pictures, but must see the book before deciding.”11 From this, we can infer that Dodgson sent Tenniel the manuscript of the story, which, by this time, contained some of his own illustrations. Tenniel took his time to consider the commission and finally wrote to Dodgson at the beginning of April 1864 consenting to draw the pictures for Alice’s Adventures.

Dodgson was still not clear about a title for the published book, so he wrote to Tom Taylor to seek his advice. The letter is dated 10 June 1864 and this is the postscript:

"I should be very glad if you could help me in fixing on a name for my fairy-tale, which Mr. Tenniel (in consequence of your kind introduction) is now illustrating for me, and which I hope to get published before Xmas. The heroine spends an hour underground, and meets various birds, beasts, etc. (no fairies), endowed with speech. The whole thing is a dream, but that I don’t want revealed till the end. I first thought of “Alice’s Adventures Under Ground,” but that was pronounced too like a lesson-book, in which instruction about mines would be administered in the form of a grill; then I took “Alice’s Golden Hour,” but that I gave up, having a dark suspicion that there is already a book called “Lily’s Golden Hours.” Here are the other names I have thought of:

elves                  hour        elf-land
Alice among the       Alice’s       doings in
            goblins         wonderland

Of all these I at present prefer “Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland.” In spite of your “morality,” I want something sensational. Perhaps you can suggest a better name than any of these”.12

From this we can see that elves and goblins still form a part of the intended book as Dodgson rewrote the story of Under Ground (12,790 words) into the much expanded published version of Wonderland (27,240 words). New episodes were included such as “Pig and Pepper” (chapter 6) and “A Mad Tea-Party” (chapter 7), neither of which contained any elves or goblins.

Dodgson began to prepare for the publication by designing the title page, and a number of drafts survive in the Library. The first, hand-written, spells Tenniel’s name incorrectly, and announces “twenty-four” illustrations. Tenniel, already with a high reputation as the chief illustrator for Punch, did not come cheap. But Dodgson realised that Tenniel’s work would give his book a much better chance of success.

The Clarendon Press produced some trial title pages, using various sizes of type for the title, which was now Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland, the latter word provisionally hyphenated, and with twenty illustrations by Tenniel announced, and the date given as 1864. Dodgson eventually settled for 42 illustrations, but the book did not come out until 1865. In the meantime, Dodgson met Tenniel frequently in London to discuss the illustrations as the book evolved from Under Ground to Wonderland.

The illustrations plan for Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland.

A plan for the 42 illustrations was constructed, which survives in the Library, and this outlines the number of illustrations for each chapter, the subject, and the height and width of the picture required. The document is in Dodgson’s hand, and he also indicated whether the picture was to be central on a page or “let in” from either the right or left of the page. He also added page numbers as the book was set in type.

Dodgson was keen to have the book ready for the third anniversary of that fateful boat-trip so that he could present Alice Liddell with a specially bound copy on 4 July 1865. The book was set in type and

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11 Diary 4, p. 272
12 MS: New York Public Library, Berg Collection and The British Library – the letter has been separated into two parts.
2,000 copies printed by the Clarendon Press. However, in their haste to get the book ready by Dodgson’s deadline, the process was unduly hurried resulting in some minor variation in print intensity and some “bleeding through” of the text onto the verso pages. In a few cases, the print from the underside of a page affected Tenniel’s illustrations. The overall effect is hardly of major concern, yet Tenniel, a man with a reputation at stake, was unhappy with the result. Dodgson had already given away some copies of the first edition, bound up for presentation purposes, which he hastily tried to retrieve.

Dodgson’s diary gives us a full picture of events. He sent the last portion of the book marked ‘Press’ to the Oxford printers on 20 June 1865. Within a week Macmillan and Company in London received some unbound copies. They employed James R. Burn and Company in London to bind the sheets of about 50 copies of the book.

Dodgson immediately wrote and asked Macmillan to send a specially bound copy to Alice Liddell in Oxford to arrive by 4 July 1865. Macmillan, as far as we can tell, complied with this request. On 15 July 1865, Dodgson went to London, and sat in the offices of Macmillan and Company “and wrote in 20 or more copies of Alice to go as presents to various friends.” Dodgson’s plan for the illustrations in Wonderland was translated into German and French in 1869, and these are included in the collection, together with a first edition of the sequel, Through the Looking-Glass, again drawn by Tenniel, also survives in the Library.

Dodgson heard from Tenniel on 19 July 1865, who was dissatisfied with the printing of the pictures, and made the decision to begin the process again. He ordered a reprint on 2 August, but this time it was typeset by Richard Clay in London. Dodgson received the first proof-sheets from Clay on 11 August, and on 9 November Dodgson wrote in his diary:

“Received from Macmillan a copy of the new impression of Alice, very far superior to the old, and in fact a perfect piece of artistic printing.”

Dodgson heard from Tenniel approving the new impression on 28 November 1865. The first published edition of Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland was available for the Christmas market in December 1865, but all copies bear the date 1866 on the title page. Christ Church has a copy inscribed “The Common Room, Ch. Ch., presented by the Author, Nov. 1865.”

Nothing happened for some months. The story continues as related by the Appleton Company of New York. William Worthen Appleton, the grandson of Daniel Appleton (the founder of the Company), made a business trip to London as an agent of the firm.

“The visit is memorable in the annals of the House, for by good judgment and good fortune he obtained a book that has achieved literary immortality…. A large quantity of unbound sheets remained on the publisher’s hands. Forty-eight copies had been given away, and all the remainder, numbering 1,952 in sets of sheets, were sold to W. W. Appleton, the author considering them...’quite good enough for Americans of whose taste his opinion was low.’ With a new title-page bearing the imprint of D. Appleton and Company and with the date 1866 they were shipped to New York.”

We now know that this new title page was printed at Oxford in a “two-up” process in which two separate title pages were typeset and the required number of copies were printed. Clearly, this process was used to save time.

But, as a result, there are two variations of this title-page – very minor differences in spacing of the words – the letter “B” in the word “BY” occurs either above the “T” in “TENNIEL” or slightly to the left of it. There is no precedence in these variations. Dodgson paid for 1,000 sheets of these new title pages according to the Press ledger. All the remaining sets of sheets were bound by Burn in London with the new title page inserted on a stub created by the removal of the original title page. These bound copies were then shipped to New York. The Library does not own one of these Appleton Alice editions.

The Library has many copies of Dodgson’s work, including editions that were given by the author. Alice was translated into German and French in 1869, and Italian in 1872, and these are included in the collection, together with a first edition of the sequel, Through the Looking-Glass, which came out in December 1871 (but all copies are dated 1872). Dodgson’s plan for the illustrations in Looking-Glass, again drawn by Tenniel, also survives in the Library.

Edward Wakeling
Lewis Carroll Collector and Researcher
Christ Church, 1981-1982

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13 Diary 5, p. 93
14 ibid., p. 115
The inclusion of the short responsum by R. Issachar Ber Jeiteless in a codex whose principal content is two lengthy works by Delmedigo is explained by the fact that he was a pupil of Delmedigo. We learn this from an inscription on the title-page of a copy of David Ibn Yachya’s book Lashon Limudim (Eliezer Soncino, Constantinople: 1542) which came up for auction in January 2013. The inscription states that the volume was given to Issachar-Ber Jeiteless by his teacher Joseph Solomon Delmedigo.

This Issachar Ber should not be confused with another pupil of Delmedigo, the physician Issachar Ber Teller son of Yehudah Stein, whose Yiddish medical self-help book, Be’er Mayim Haim (The Wellspring of Living Waters), was published in 1684.

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1 This note is quoted verbatim in G.W. Kitchin’s Catalogus codicum MSS qui in bibliotheca Aedis Christi [...], published in 1867. Alternatively, it may have been written by Kitchin himself at the time.


3 “Kilav” is a better transliteration of the Hebrew name קליאב than that given in the previous article.

Prague around 1650. 5 It has survived in only one complete copy held by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. In his discussion of the technique of bloodletting, the author cites Delmedigo’s opinion regarding the astrological belief, prevalent at the time, that its efficacy is affected by the stars: “...all my life I have thought little of this...My teacher and mentor, the physician our Rabbi and Teacher, Yosef Candia, likewise thought little of it.” 6 But Delmedigo’s most significant contribution to the book is the appendix containing his Hebrew translation of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates. As the title page reads: “In order to magnify the book’s value and to enhance its usefulness...it contains the Aphorisms of Hippocrates...translated from Greek into the Holy Tongue [Hebrew] by our Teacher, Yashar of Candia.”

Only in the first of the three works in the codex, Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger, is the place and time it was composed specifically stated: “Written here in the city of iron [Eisenstadt], near the city of Vienna, in the state of Hungary, Wednesday 15th Menahem (5)411 [2 August, 1651].” In order to corroborate this dating, the watermarks of the paper used in the codex have now been examined and were found to be consistent with this date. This result, together with the uniformity of the handwriting throughout the manuscript, would confirm a dating of 1651 for the entire codex. 7

However, nothing is known of how this Hebrew codex, written in the city of Eisenstadt in 1651 and which relates to a controversy in the Amsterdam Jewish community about the status of the son of a Portuguese Anuss and a gentile woman, a certain Moseh Roiz da Costa, finally ended up in the manuscript collection of Christ Church Library, Oxford. Could its removal from Amsterdam, to where it was presumably first sent, be connected, in any way, with the resettlement of the Jews in England that began in 1656, following Menasseh ben Israel’s petition to Cromwell on behalf of the Jews of Amsterdam? And if so, after arriving in England, how did it find its way into the Christ Church Library?

The question dealt with in the codex had been prompted by one such occurrence in the recently established community of Iberian Jews in Amsterdam. It concerned the orphaned son of an Anuss and a gentile woman who had left his home in Portugal and made his way to Holland, where he had undergone Giur (the formal procedure for becoming a Jew) and had become an esteemed member of the Jewish community.

After serving in a number of minor honorary positions, he had been proposed for that of Parnass [head] or Gabai [treasurer] of the community but, at the general meeting of members convened to confirm his appointment, one of those present objected on the grounds that he was disqualified from holding any position of coercive authority. The objection was based on the Torah statute that “from amongst your brethren shall you set a king over you...you may not place a foreigner over you” (Deuteronomy 17:15), which had been taken subsequently to apply to all positions of authority in a Jewish community. Though this son of an Anuss and a gentle woman was now undoubtedly a Jew, was he a “brother” in the sense this statute required? Faced with this quandary, the Amsterdam community had sought the opinion of rabbinic scholars throughout the Jewish world and this codex contained three of the replies received.

The incident in Amsterdam was not unique. At around the same time, an almost identical controversy arose in one of the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire, to where Iberian Jews had been invited by Sultan Beyazit II after hearing of their expulsion by the Catholic King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella in 1492. Our source for this case is the halachic compendium Knesset Ha-Gedolah composed by Rabbi Chaim Benveniste (1603–1673) of Izmir. In this instance too, the matter in dispute was the appointment of a Ger (proselyte), the son of a Jewish man and a gentle woman, to the position of Parnass of a community. Two rabbis had been

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6 Astrological calendars which indicated the most favourable times for bleeding and purging appeared on the market soon after the invention of the printing press.
7 The possible existence of works entitled Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger and Sefer Batel Ha-Nefesh had been previously known only from their inclusion in the list of Delmedigo’s writings in the missive Iggeret Ahuz. The discovery of these works at this time, gives support to the authenticity of Iggeret Ahuz which has at times been questioned.
consulted by the community: one had ruled that the said Ger could be appointed to the position whilst the other ruled that he could not.

The issue was then brought before R. Benveniste for his ruling and his initial response was to agree with the rabbi who had ruled against the appointment. However, as he writes in his Knesset Ha-Gedolah, he had second thoughts in the matter some time later after reading a responsum by R. Avraham de Boton (c.1560–c.1605) regarding the judicial status of Anussim. And so, after a comprehensive reappraisal of the case, he concluded that since the position of Parnass was one of only limited authority, the community being subject to the overriding sovereign rule of the Sultan, the said candidate could be appointed Parnass if he was acceptable to the community. In essence, this was the same conclusion as Delmedigo came to in Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger regarding the Amsterdam case.

The legal status of the Iberian Anussim and their offspring was an issue not only in Jewish Law. Although the question of whether, in principle, it was lawful for Jews to live in England had been answered by the legal experts called by the Whitehall Council convened at Cromwell’s behest in December 1655 to consider Menasseh ben Israel’s petition – they had declared without equivocation that “there is no law against their coming” – the actual resettlement of the Jews in England in 1656 may be said to have begun with the case of one such secret Jew.

England and Spain were at war at the time and a proclamation had been issued for the seizure of the property of all subjects of the king of Spain, whether in Britain or on the high seas. A small number of Anussim, nominally Spanish subjects, were living in London at the time and, as such, all their possessions were liable to confiscation.

The first to be so threatened was one Antonio Rodrigues Robles, who had settled in London some years previously and who, though secretly a Jew, was known to have attended Mass at the Spanish Embassy. His Spanish connection and antecedents were brought to the notice of the authorities by two informants, John Baptista de Dunnington and Francis Knevett. As a result, two of his merchant ships, The Two Brothers and The Tobias, together with their cargoes were seized and he himself was arrested. Faced with this emergency, he and his fellow Anussim realised that the time had come to drop their masks. Accordingly, in a petition he submitted to the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, Robles declared that he was “a Portuguese born and of the Hebrew nation” and requested that he be permitted to answer any accusations made against him before an appropriate court or tribunal. His request was granted and a formal inquiry into his personal status was set up by the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy in March 1656.

In order for the confiscation of Robles’ property to stand, it had to be shown that he was a Spaniard; the burden of proof for this fell on those who had seized his ships and goods. Summarising the evidence, the commissioners noted that “both in the Canaries…and in England he [Robles] hath professed himself a Romanist, having frequented the mass till about six months since, which with the consideration that he is yet uncircumcised induceth us to conceive he is either no Jew or one that walks under loose principles very different from others of that profession.” On the other hand, no matter how often Robles had attended Mass, he remained a Jew in the eyes of Jewish law.

Furthermore, under the same Jewish law, all persons who are Jews by religious affiliation are, ipso facto, members of the Jewish (or Hebrew) nation, and vice versa: a Jew’s religion and nationality are just two sides of the same coin. In presenting their conclusions, the commissioners reported that “upon examination they do not find any convincing evidence to clear up either the Nation or Religion of the petitioner.” However, as regards the legality of the seizure of his property, all that really mattered was whether or not Robles was a Spaniard and since the Commissioners could not decide that point one way or the other – he may have been at best a very inferior Jew, but the Commissioners did not dismiss the possibility that he was nevertheless a Jew – he and his goods were released. In the absence of any satisfactory proof that he was a Spaniard, Robles was free to dispose of the goods as he wished.

Cromwell himself had viewed the resettlement of the Jews in England with favour from the start and with the decision of the Commissioners in the Robles case, which followed closely on from the legal ruling presented to the Whitehall Council, there was now no legal impediment to their entry and he could have had a proclamation to that effect issued. However, there were powerful commercial and other interests still opposed to their admission and so a public announcement was inadvisable. Instead, it would appear that at some time during the summer of 1656, with a ‘wink of his eye’ – there was never any formal or documented decision – Cromwell granted Menasseh ben Israel’s request and a small number of Jews from Amsterdam arrived and settled in London bringing with them the Sifrei Torah (Scrolls of

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8 Author of the Lehem Mishne, a commentary on Maimonides’ MishneTorah that treats especially with those passages in it that appear to contradict the Talmud.

9 נסמט הנדריולה, חסם משפט, הלכות דיינים, ספרי 2.

the Law) they would need for their religious services. And before the year was out, a house had been obtained in Creechurch Lane for a synagogue and a plot of land had been purchased in Stepney for the purpose of a Jewish cemetery.

As heated as the seventeenth century debates about the new cosmologies of Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler may have been, they were equalled and perhaps even surpassed by the fires ignited by the doctrinal controversies that arose within the Jewish world, Amsterdam included, during the same period. Thus, whereas the Catholic Church would only require that Galileo recant, the Jews of Amsterdam would go much farther and excommunicate both Uriel da Costa and Baruch Spinoza for their heresies. It was in 1624, around the time Delmedigo arrived in Amsterdam, that Uriel da Costa had published his controversial book An Examination of the Traditions of the Pharasees, which questioned the fundamental idea of the immortality of the soul and led to his excommunication. Delmedigo may well have felt himself in a similar danger for some of the unconventional notions he expressed in his writings. Just how close he may have felt himself to be is hinted at in the final paragraph of his treatise on the mysteries of Kabbalah, Mazref la-Hokhmah, published in Basle in 1629.

“I began to write this apologetic treatise in the city of Hamburg, but a plague ravaged my neighbourhood, so I was forced to flee and came to the town of Glückstadt (“Luck City”) but found there neither luck nor blessing...Whereupon I resolved to journey to Amsterdam...And although it had been my intention to develop and embellish [my treatise] further still, “I put an end to my words”11 satisfied that they were pleasing to the gentleman at whose request I had composed them, even though philosophical beginners may mock me and declare that Rabbi Yosef of Candia has turned his back on wisdom or that he has forgotten his learning, a foolish spirit having possessed him...And even if their charges against me increase and they say of me that I have still not gotten to be a shepherd (шуפאץ אל הגרות), הרעים יין אדר אד אדר אדר, I will declare to them, as the [Talmud Sage] Akavya ben Mahalalel did to his colleagues: ‘It is better for me to be called a fool all my days than that I should be a wicked person for even one hour in the sight of God.’12

Delmedigo’s reference to Akavya ben Mahalalel is telling. The Mishna portrays Akavya as a man who fearlessly and persistently maintained his opinions, even when different traditions were held by the majority of his colleagues and even after it was

intimated to him that if he withdrew them, he would be elevated to the position of Av Bet Din (Head of the Religious Court). The declaration cited by Delmedigo was just the first half of Akavya’s reply to this offer; the text in the Mishna continues: “That people not say he withdrew his opinions for the sake of a position of authority.” Too proud or too stubborn to compromise or concede a point, Akavya was eventually excommunicated.

Except for its final paragraph, most if not all of Mazref la-Hokhmah must have already been written before Delmedigo’s arrival in Amsterdam. What prompted his outburst against the “philosophical beginners” in Amsterdam is undocumented but it is clear that their taunts hurt him deeply; they might well also have had an impact on his employment prospects. He never found permanent employment in the Amsterdam community, neither as a physician nor a Rabbi – the fact that he was an Ashkenazi and they were all Sephardim might well have been a factor in this – and he left for Frankfurt-on-Main in 1631 to take up the position of physician to the Jewish community there.13

The wariness, bordering at times on hostility, of the Iberian Jewish community in Amsterdam towards the admission of strangers for which Delmedigo reprimanded them in the second work in the codex, Sefer Batei Ha-Nefesh, even comparing their inhospitality to that of the citizens of the biblical city of Sodom, should be viewed against the background of the ethnocentrism prevalent in Spain at that time:

“One has the impression that in the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish Diaspora, Spanish political customs were considered exemplary, quite frequently inspiring solutions to the problems of consolidating their identity after generations of living in apostasy, with all that that entailed...Even if one concedes that the notion of Jewish chosenness (sic) is as old as the Jewish people, an examination of the writings of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews reveals expressions and ideas remarkably similar to those found in Spanish writings of the day.”14

Thus, for example, in his Humble Address to Cromwell on behalf of the Jews of Amsterdam, Menashe ben Israel chose to include “Noblenes and purity of their blood” in the list of attributes that “make a stranger well-loved amongst the Natives of a land.” The other two were “the Profit they may receive from them and the Fidelity they hold towards their Princes.” This bizarre addition clearly shows the

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11 The Hebrew phrase he uses, לא ישקימו אלי ולא יماذا, is a paraphrase from Job 18:2.
12 Mishna Eduyt 5:6-7
13 Was it just coincidence that the alter ego who arranged for the publication of Delmedigo’s Mazref la-Hokhmah and other works in Basle in 1629 was called Samuel Ashkenazi?
influence of the Spanish laws of purity of blood, pureza de sangre or limpiezas de sangre, on his thinking, a hubris that is all the more remarkable seeing that many of the Jews of Amsterdam had no more Jewish credentials than that “very inferior Jew” Antonio Rodrigues Robles.

Notwithstanding, Delmedigo would never forget his rebuff at the hands of the Amsterdam community and their request, some twenty years later, for guidance in the matter of the Ger son of an Anuss, was an opportunity for him to settle accounts. Accordingly, his responsum in Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger concludes with this riposte to the “philosophical beginners” in Amsterdam:

“...And if this treatise of mine should appear before one of the elite, the brilliant jewels who sit in the first row with royalty, I will not be touched even if a whole host, a hundred thousand ignoramuses – dumb animals, creepy crawlies and beasts of the earth, may black darkness envelop them – condemn it; even should these mud hut dwellers, whose very lowest foundations are dust, mock me and declare that I remain an outcast and that I have exerted myself for nothing, for I have still not even gotten to be a shepherd (שpassedאָלֶּהַעֲנָתִיְהוֹרְעָהָּר)...."

However, for our present purposes, it is his use of the almost identical distinctive phrase – for I have still not gotten to be a shepherd (שpassedאָלֶּהַעֲנָתִיְהוֹרְעָהָּר) – in the final paragraphs of both his 1629 book, Mazref la-Hokhmah and the 1651 Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger that is most telling, as it serves for further confirmation of his authorship of the latter work.

The central thesis of Delmedigo’s two works, Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger and Sefer Batei Ha-Nefesh, was that Gerim should be treated honourably. This message is even encoded in the title, Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger (The Book of the Soul of the Ger). Delmedigo writes that he chose this name by reason of the parallel between the words “soul” and “honour” noted by the medieval commentator Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) in his glosses on the verse “Let my soul not come in their council, nor my honour be at one with their assembly” (Genesis 49:6). Thus the title should be understood as “The Book of the Honour of the Ger.”

But legal rights are of themselves insufficient. To be fully and popularly accepted, Gerim must be shown to have played an integral part in the past history of the Jewish people (עם ישראל), with the expectation that they will also do so in the future. And so, having dealt with the legal issue in the first sixty pages of Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger, Delmedigo devotes the remaining twenty eight pages to the leading roles various Gerim and their issue have played in the history of the Jewish people and to a review of their unique contributions to the Jewish narrative.

The only explicit instance of a proselyte in the Hebrew Bible is Ruth the Moabitite, the great grandmother of King David, however several Talmudic and Midrashic texts assert that other gentle personages such as Jethro, Moses’ father-in-law, and Rahab, the harlot of Jericho who hid the Israelite spies, also became Gerim. Similar assertions are made regarding a number of the greatest Talmudic Sages or their forebears, for example, Shemiah and Avtalion, Aquila-Onkelos and Rabbi Akiva. Summarising these traditions, Delmedigo states: “The entire Torah came down to us by means of Gerim.”

But what of the individual destinies of Gerim? Do the souls of these former gentiles enjoy (or endure) the same treatment in the afterlife as those of born Jews? Do they have the same access to the Divine and can they also undergo Gilgul (reincarnation or transmigration) like the souls of born Jews? In search of an answer to these transcendental questions, Delmedigo turns to Lurianic Kabbalah.

Delmedigo’s attitude towards Kabbalah has remained a subject of scholarly controversy down to our own times. Notwithstanding his knowledge of the sciences, both ancient and new, and the practice of medicine which provided his living, Delmedigo had always remained a Jewish scholar at heart and as such he could not ignore the Lurianic movement, whether he agreed with its teachings or not. For as the Copernican upheaval was to science, so the contemporaneous Lurianic awakening was to Judaism; and as a man of his times, Delmedigo could not ignore either.

However, he does not offer any categorical answers to these questions or to any of the other eschatological queries that arise out of his discussion. Whether out of caution or because he was no longer so sure of himself, he chose instead to refer his readers to some of the contemporary texts that considered such issues in the framework of Lurianic Kabbalah. Amongst these was his own treatise, Novelot Hokhmah, which he had composed some twenty years earlier and which is the only one of his works mentioned in the epitaph inscribed on his tombstone in the Prague Jewish cemetery.15

15 The texts he refers them to, other than the Zohar, are: Sefer Assarah Maamarot (ספר עשרה מאמרות) by Menahem Azariah of Fano, Italy; Sefer HaKavonot (ספר הכונות) by Rabbi Akiva, the collection of sayings of R. Isaac Luria; and Sefer Yalkut Hadash (ספר ילקוט חדש) by Israel ben Binyamin of Belzitz. He also mentions R. Yedidiah Galenti, who was an emissary from the Land of Israel who came to Europe to spread the ideas of R. Isaac Luria and told of his miracles and wonders.
As we noted above, the incident in Amsterdam which is the subject of the codex, was not unique; similar incidents involving Anussim and their issue can be found in other contemporary rabbinic writings. The records of these occurrences have survived to the present day principally by virtue of the eminence of the Rabbis in whose responsa they were discussed. However, Delmedigo had deliberately concealed his authorship of Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger and, meaning no offence to Jeiteless, he was hardly an eminent scholar; no works of his other than the responsa in this codex are known. All of which makes the survival of the Christ Church Library Ms.199 the more remarkable.

It was in the following year, on November 6, 1651, exactly three months after the date of the signature in Sefer Nefesh Ha-Ger, that the annals record the further decision of the communal leadership that he was fit “to be appointed to any post which the Holy Congregation and Maamad might give him, without exception” including, presumably, that of Parnass.17

The annals also record that Moseh Roiz da Costa first became a member of the community in 1649, when he paid the Finta Geral (the one-time tax levied upon arrival in the community or on the occasion of marriage)18 and that in the same year, he was admitted to the Dotar Society which provided dowries for poor orphan girls.19 He was awarded the honour to serve as Hatan Bereshit in 1652 and was elected Parnass of the Hebra (Burial Society) in the following year.20 The payments of his Promessas (voluntary contributions) and Impostas (assessed fees) for the years from 1650 to 1660 also appear in the community accounts.21

The archives indicate that he was a man of some substance. Thus, on August 29, 1652, Jorge Rodrigues da Costa, an alias of Moses Rodrigues [Roiz] da Costa,22 appointed Antonio Lopes Suasso as his proxy in Antwerp and Amsterdam to claim the sum of 413 Guilders and 15 Stivers from Antonio Luden, to whom he had sold a case of sugar.23 Four other notary deeds – contracts with an apprentice, a

19 GAA, PA334 – Portuguese Jewish Community, Inventory 1143 fo. 79/p. 172 and p. 10. He was registered under number 222.  
20 GAA, PA334 – Portuguese Jewish Community, Inventory No.19, p.311 and p.62.  
21 GAA, PA334 – Portuguese Jewish Community, Inventory Nos. 173-174, various pages.  
22 It was the practice of Jewish merchants in Holland to trade under non-Jewish aliases.  
23 GAA, 5075, notary deeds, vol. no. 1100 fo. 432-432v, notary Joost van de Ven.
client, a dyer and a cloth-maker – indicate that Moses Rodrigues [Roiz] da Costa owned a dye-house between 1654 and 1657.\(^{24}\)

But in our search for the provenance of the codex, it is the early extant records of the Spanish and Portuguese community in London that provide the most intriguing information. In 1664, the new community, made up almost entirely of immigrants from Amsterdam, drew up its first set of regulations known as Ascamot. One of the seventeen signatories to this founding charter was a certain Abraham Roiz da Costa.\(^{25}\)

And when these Ascamot were amended in 1677, following changes in the community’s circumstances, the signature of Abraham Roiz da Costa appears on this new instrument too.\(^{26}\) And thirdly, the tombstones of an Abraham Roiz da Costa (d.16(7)9) and a Yitzhak Roiz da Costa (d.1679) were amongst those identified by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England survey (1930), in the “Burial Ground of the Sephardi Jews in Stepney...founded in the middle of the 17th century.”\(^{27}\)

Although no documents have been uncovered proving that Moseh, Abraham and Yitzhak Roiz da Costa were related, considering the small size of the Amsterdam and London Sephardi communities at the time – the former numbered only about 2000 souls and the latter no more than a few hundred – and the uniqueness of their family names, the probability that there was more than one family called Roiz da Costa is low.

May we not conjecture, therefore, that this is how Ms 199 found its way to the shores of England: in the baggage of a member of Moseh Roiz da Costa’s family some time between 1660 and 1670. And once in England, it was only a matter of time before it found its way into one of the collections of Hebraica, in this instance the Christ Church Library collection where it remained unidentified until 2010.

And there our search might have ended were it not for the discovery by Dr. David Rundle and Brian Deutsch, just as this Newsletter was about to go to press, of an entry in the Christ Church Donors Book (p.194) which records the gift of thirteen Hebrew manuscripts to the Library in 1683 by John Fell, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford. Designated OX Christ Church 187–190 and 193–201, they constitute the core of the Library’s collection of Hebrew manuscripts. With the exception of Ms 199, they generally comprise texts from recognized medieval works of Halakah, Philosophy and Kabbalah along with some original Rabbinical homilies. They are mostly 15th and 16th century documents and were written in various locations across the Jewish Diaspora.\(^{28}\)

By contrast, MS 199 was written in 1651, just thirty two years before Fell’s gift. As such, it is the latest manuscript in the collection. It is also the only one that records and relates to an actual historical event.

As regards John Fell, he had borne arms for Charles I in the Civil War and would only obtain his first ecclesiastical position after the Restoration. A strict disciplinarian, he was appointed Dean of Christ Church in 1660 where, in addition to his building operations which included the completion of Tom Tower, he was instrumental in the establishment of the Oxford University Press and he had printing presses set up in the basement of the Sheldonion Theatre.

Just how this motley collection of thirteen Hebrew manuscripts came into Fell’s possession is undocumented. Their acquisition may possibly have been connected with his own work as a classical scholar and philologist as well as his ambitious plans for the Press, which envisaged the printing of hundreds of works, both scriptural and classical, as well as a wide range of medieval scholarship.

His contemporary and friend Edward Pocock, the renowned orientalist who owed his first appointment as Professor of Hebrew at the University to John Fell’s father, Samuel Fell, may also have played a part in their acquisition.\(^{29}\) But be that as it may, it is only due to the guardianship of the many Christ Church librarians since that time, that these manuscripts have been preserved for us down to the present day.

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\(^{24}\) GAA, 5075, notary deeds, vol. no. 975B, p. 7/4 and 17/6 1654 and 1655, notary Benedict Baddel; vol. no. 2271 fo. 213v 1656 and vol. 2272 fo. 3v 1657, notary Adriaen Lock.


\(^{26}\) Ibid, p.13.


\(^{28}\) One of these manuscripts, Ms 198, was written in Amsterdam in 1635 but its contents are also medieval.

\(^{29}\) Leonard Twells et al. The Lives of Dr. Edward Pocock: The Celebrated Orientalist, I & II, (1816)
Robert Burton: Christ Church, the Melancholy Librarian and the Birth of a Book

Robert Burton has been described as the archetypal 'one book author', a writer whose fame depends on one piece of work the success of which he was never able to repeat. True, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* is such a large, varied, and encyclopedic compendium of knowledge that it might be considered the equivalent of several 'ordinary' books, and we may doubt whether Burton or anyone else could have found the time and energy to write another one like it. But the one book seems to dominate so firmly and to be so identified with its author that it feels quite natural to find in a work of reference an entry such as 'Burton, Robert, see Anatomy of Melancholy' as if the book alone had existence, and the man was of no importance.

In one sense this is true. Burton's was not an exciting life. The second son, born in 1577, of a respectable but not distinguished county family in Leicester, he had no estates to inherit and no obvious career to follow. He might have hoped for some official position at Court or in the household of some great nobleman, but it appears that he had no powerful patron who could support him in that kind of career; the lack of patronage was something he complained of all his life.

For a young man in his position the Church was an obvious avenue of advancement; Burton opted to enter the Church and to combine the roles of clergyman and scholar. He grew to manhood at a time when scholarship flourished in England, and historical research and antiquarianism were much pursued; his elder brother William, who succeeded to the family estates, became a noted antiquary and wrote an important history of their native county; Robert, certainly as learned, followed a different path. Educated at local grammar schools, he made his first contact with Oxford University in 1593, when he matriculated at Brasenose College. It is not clear whether he actually came up to the University at that time, and indeed there followed the only mysterious period of his life. No one knows where he was between 1593 and 1599. Possibly he was ill; perhaps he suffered some kind of breakdown. In 1597 a Robert Burton, aged 20 - the right age - consulted the notorious astrologer and quack doctor Simon Forman in London, and was diagnosed as suffering from 'melancholy' - apparently in his case some kind of stomach disorder. This - if in fact this was the right Robert Burton - is all the information we have. Burton comes into view again in 1599, in Oxford, this time joining Christ Church, and at Christ Church he remained until his death in 1640. There are no other really significant dates in his history, and the writing of the *Anatomy* was his only important achievement.

It was undoubtedly a quiet life, and he speaks of himself as having 'liv'd a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life ... penned up most part in my study'. But he was not exactly a hermit or a recluse. At Christ Church he was a member of a lively society, with some contact with the great world outside. Such accounts as we have of him as a person suggest that he was cheerful and sociable; Anthony à Wood, the Oxford antiquary, notes:

1 See Barbara H. Traister, 'New Evidence about Burton's Melancholy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxix (1976), 66-70. One curious fact is that in 1596 and 1597 he apparently did not acquire any new books, or at least he did not sign and add the date of acquisition as 1596 or 1597 to any book of his which has survived. These are the only years from 1594 onwards of which this is not true until the very last years of his life (but for some reason he did add his signature and the date '1596 May' to one of his mother's books). The interregnum might be accounted for by illness. See N. K. Kiessling, *The Library of Robert Burton* (1988), pp. 361-4
As he was by many accounted a severe student, a devourer of authors, a melancholy and humorous [i.e. moody] person, so by others, who knew him well, a person of great honesty, plain dealing and charity. I have heard some of antients of Ch[rist] Ch[urch] often say that his company was very merry, facetie and juvenile [i.e. humorous and lively], and no man in his time did surpass him for his ready and dextrous interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets or sentences from classical authors.3

Wood was only a child when Burton died, but the evidence from the Anatomy certainly supports some elements of this account, especially the devouring of authors and the facility in quotation from the classics. Again, however absorbed he was in his writing, Burton would have had duties to perform as a Student (Fellow) and Tutor of Christ Church and as College Librarian, and he also undertook University office. He had responsibilities as a clergyman as well; in 1616 he was nominated to the College living of St. Thomas’s in West Oxford, where his arms may be seen today on the south porch of the church. Later he was also presented to country livings, first in Lincolnshire and then in Leicestershire; he never resided in either of these places and employed curates to carry out the duties of the livings, but he seems to have acted as parish priest at St. Thomas’s. His life was not confined to Oxford; there is evidence that he visited London and paid visits to friends in the country, although he never, to his regret, travelled abroad. He refers in the Anatomy to his failure to obtain greater advancement in the Church, which he attributes to his lack of patrons; in a memorable phrase he describes himself as ‘left behind, as a Dolphin on shore, confined to my Colledge, as Diogenes to his tubbe’.4 In subsequent editions of the Anatomy he returns to the topic of his lack of preferment as if it rankled with him, although as time went by he seems to have become better reconciled to his fate. But he does not really represent himself as a disappointed man, boasting that he was ‘brought up a Student in the most flourishing Colledge of Europe’5 and it is open to question whether in fact he would have wanted to leave Oxford and its libraries even for a bishopric. Scholarship was his life, not a substitute for a life he failed to achieve.

As a senior member of the University he needed to give proof of his scholarship, and to show, as he put it, that he was not ‘a Drone ... an unprofitable and unworthy Member of so learned and noble a Society’ as Christ Church.6 No doubt he also wanted to make himself known and to display his learning; he quotes Thucydides’ opinion that if one is not going to display one’s knowledge one might as well not have it.7 Although he wrote under the pseudonym of ‘Democritus Junior’ he did not take great pains to conceal his identity, and he tells the reader quite a lot about himself in the Anatomy. A pose of aloof and reticent modesty was not required from scholars in the Renaissance, and he had distinguished predecessors who had incorporated much of their personal history into their works: both Erasmus and Cardano, for example, used themselves ‘for copy’, as we would say today, and his first readers would not have thought the worse of him for figuring in his own work. The obvious field in which a man of his profession might be expected to demonstrate his talents would have been Divinity, but apparently he had a distaste for what may have seemed to him the barren and unrewarding controversies of Theology, which in his time were also not without their dangers, and ‘saw no such great need’8 to add to them. Classical scholarship or history would have been possibilities, but although he was clearly well read in both fields they apparently did not suit his purposes and temperament. He had abilities as a mathematician, although these seem to have been more practical than theoretical, and he made no contribution to a subject which was advancing in his day. Perhaps the wide and unfocused course of reading which he describes himself as having followed and the desire to know something of every subject - ‘to have an Oare in every mans Boat’ - to which he confesses9 predisposed him towards compiling one of the encyclopedic works common at his time, which attempted to bring together all that was known on a given topic under one cover. But

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4 Anatomy (1621), ‘Democritus to the Reader’, p. 4 (Burton revised the sentence in the 1624 and 1628 editions).
5 Anatomy, i.3.
6 Anatomy, i.3
7 Anatomy, i.7.
8 Anatomy, i.20.
9 Anatomy, i.3.
why should it have been Melancholy to which he devoted his attention, indeed his life?

He says that the choice reflected his own melancholic disposition. Unfortunately he never makes plain the exact form of his own illness, although he indicates that it was innate, perhaps the result of the influence of the stars at his birth, inveterate, and at once a burden to him and a source of inspiration. In the prefatory poem ‘The Authors Abstract of Melancholy’ he writes as if autobiographically of the matched pleasures and the pains of the over-active imagination which he saw as characteristic of the melancholic; elsewhere he describes how the sufferer is at first delighted with his fantasies but afterwards is tormented by them. Perhaps this was his own case, and he suffered from what we might call manic depression. Whatever form his malady took he was clearly anxious to escape from it: ‘I write of Melancholy, by being busie to avoid Melancholy’¹⁰ Some writers indeed have suggested that he enjoyed his illness, and that the Anatomy is really in praise of melancholy, in which case it would be an example of the Renaissance genre of the ‘paradoxical encomium’, in which the author set out in humorous fashion to praise something normally condemned, such as life in the country. But there are far too many references to the suffering caused by the condition and the way melancholy ‘crucifies’ (a word he uses frequently) those afflicted by it for this to be taken as his real intention.

In choosing to write of melancholy he was picking on a very fashionable subject, for there was much interest in the Renaissance in what we would call different forms of morbid psychology. ‘Melancholy’ had long had a somewhat confused meaning. Originally, in classical times, it included forms of digestive disorder as well as depressive states. Its symptoms were believed to arise from the preponderance in the body of ‘black bile’, one of the four humours supposed to circulate in the body with the blood and to give rise to a man’s temperament. The humoral theory, which is as old as Hippocrates, was actually quite a persuasive explanation of human behaviour; like all popular scientific theories it corresponded to a degree with ordinary experience, for it is obvious that the human body produces different secretions, some of which manifest themselves especially in times of illness, and the four main psychological types supposedly produced by preponderance of one or another humour - sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholic - were easily recognizable (and indeed are terms current today). By Burton’s time the theory had become very complicated and a number of refinements had been made to the original categories. More specially there had long been a paradox in the attitude to Melancholy which stemmed from a Problem attributed to Aristotle: why was it that men who were outstanding as philosophers, poets and artists frequently suffered from melancholia?¹¹ This observation was difficult to reconcile with the humoral theory, for melancholy should have been the most unfavourable of the humours, associated as it was with the qualities of earthiness, coldness, and dryness - all inimical to the life-giving qualities of warmth and moisture -, with old age, and the influence of Saturn, a malign planet. But if ‘the Philosopher’ had said it must be true, ways had to be found to reconcile his observation with the theory. Perhaps if the humour of melancholy was tempered with the humour of blood its bad effects could thereby be mitigated. A better explanation could be to emphasize the disordered imagination of the melancholic man, which might bring him success as a poet or an artist; this chimed in well with the association in the popular mind between psychological imbalance and creative inspiration (‘You don’t have to be mad to write, but it helps’). This link was recognized in the Middle Ages, and in the sixteenth century it was greatly strengthened by the writings of Marsilio Ficino, who in his De vita libri tres (1489) devoted a whole section to the health of intellectuals, who, he said, were liable to suffer, like himself, from melancholic disorders. Naturally enough this resulted in a popular belief that an appearance of ‘melancholy’ was an indication of superior mental powers and artistic gifts; to be a melancholy man became a mark of distinction and a fashionable pose (as to some extent it has remained ever since). Prince Arthur in Shakespeare’s King John notes:

Yet, I remember, when I was in France, Young gentlemen would be as sad as night, Only for wantonness [4.1.14-16],

and in Lyly’s Midas when the barber Motto complains that he is ‘as melancholy as a cat’ the page Licio retorts

‘Melancholy? marie gup, is melancholy a word for a barbars mouth? thou shouldst say, heavie, dull and doltish: melancholy is the creast of Courtiers armes, and now everie base companion, beeing in his muble fubles, sayes he is melancholy.’ [V.ii.99-104]

Burton never actually mentions the possibility that someone might want to pretend to be melancholy as a way of gaining respect, and although he notices the association between melancholy and intellectual and artistic gifts, he never speaks of it as other than an undesirable illness.

It seems that to a considerable degree he saw writing the Anatomy as a therapeutic exercise, in the first instance for himself. If nothing else, he was following his own advice to melancholics, which he emphasized by setting it out at the very end of the

¹⁰ Anatomy, i.6.

¹¹ This Problem (30.1) is now attributed to Theophrastus.
Anatomy: Be not solitary, be not idle. Having settled on Melancholy as his topic he seems to have decided to treat it as thoroughly as he could in all its aspects and to include all the relevant information he could find on it, evincing a typically scholarly ambition to produce ‘the last word on the subject’. By the time he began to write a great deal had been written about melancholy by doctors, moralists and churchmen, and although he was limited largely to the books he could find in the libraries in Oxford, his aim inevitably entailed much research. He was also restricted to the languages which he could read. He was probably as fluent in Latin as he was in English; he had some command of Greek, but he usually quotes Greek authors from Latin versions, as was normal in his time. He gives no indication of knowing any Hebrew, which was only mastered by scholars of very serious pretensions (this may be why he did not venture to write on Divinity). He seems not to have known any modern language well, though he may have had a smattering of French; he quotes foreign authors either in English or in Latin translations. Since Latin was the European language of learning he no doubt felt himself sufficiently well equipped for his task. His scope was not to be confined to melancholy in any strict sense; he decided to bring in any topics which could be said to have any bearing on either the causes or the results of the condition. He gave himself great scope, for example, in Part 2, Section 2, Member 3, Subsection 1, ‘Ayre Rectified. With a Digression of the Ayre’; since climate and atmosphere had an undoubted effect on health, he could bring in not only climatology and meteorology, but geography, including new discoveries, cosmology, astronomy and astrology. Similarly, since exercise also has an effect on health, he could have a section (‘Exercise Rectified’; 2.2.4.1) in which he could discuss not only different kinds of sport, but various intellectual pursuits as well. The only form of contemporary learning in which he was uninterested - indeed was positively hostile to - was Alchemy, for which the modern reader may be duly grateful. In any case ‘melancholy’ had become such a broad term in popular use that there was little that was odd which the modern reader may be duly grateful. In any case ‘melancholy’ had become such a broad term in popular use that there was little that was odd; but geography, including new discoveries, cosmology, astronomy and astrology. Similarly, since exercise also has an effect on health, he could have a section (‘Exercise Rectified’; 2.2.4.1) in which he could discuss not only different kinds of sport, but various intellectual pursuits as well. The only form of contemporary learning in which he was uninterested - indeed was positively hostile to - was Alchemy, for which the modern reader may be duly grateful. In any case ‘melancholy’ had become such a broad term in popular use that there was little that was odd which the modern reader may be duly grateful. In any case ‘melancholy’ had become such a broad term in popular use that there was little that was odd, and to be further confused by the difficulty of finding what Burton’s own views on a given topic actually were. It has indeed sometimes been said that he wrote the entire Anatomy without ever actually defining ‘Melancholy’. This is not true: he does offer a definition, although characteristically in someone else’s words: ‘a kinde of dotage without a feaver, having for his ordinary companions, fear, and sadnesse, without any apparant occasion’\(^{14}\). But he was never put off by contradictions between his authorities, and when he added new material was not dismayed if it was inconsistent with what was already there. Behind this is a profound difference from our present-day approach to sources. Burton’s use of quotations is not contextual: that is to say he is never concerned to set any author’s opinions in the context of that author’s other work or of his period. In researching what he calls his ‘Cento’ or ‘Maceronicon’, his tessellation of quotations, he seems to have given whatever he found in print equal authority and to have been content to record opposing views without trying to reconcile them. This habit, together with his habit of divagating from his direct path and losing himself in what he calls ‘ambages’ (or side-paths), has too often had the

\(^{12}\) Anatomy, i.12.

\(^{13}\) Anatomy, i.17.

\(^{14}\) Anatomy, i.162. The words are those of the French physician André Du Laurens, as translated by Richard Surphlet. See A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight (1599). pp. 86-7.
effect of bewildering readers, and worse, of preventing his work from being taken seriously. In this respect Burton has not been helped by his admirers in the Romantic period. The Anatomy, which had been popular in the seventeenth century, going through eight editions in all, went out of fashion in the eighteenth century, although it had some admirers, of whom the most important was Dr. Johnson (who himself suffered from melancholy).

Another eighteenth century admirer was Laurence Sterne, who incorporated bits of the Anatomy in Tristram Shandy, and it was John Ferriar's Illustrations of Sterne (1798), exposing Sterne's plagiarism, which brought Burton back into general notice. Lamb and Coleridge were among his new public, and it was Lamb who by describing him as 'that fantastic old great man' set the tone for many nineteenth-century accounts of him as an eccentric oddity, a 'curiosity of literature', to be savoured by a few kindred spirits only for his quaintness and whimsicality. Burton has also always annoyed some readers by what has seemed to them an irritating combination of pedantry and frivolity, and who have seen his parade of learning and his references to themselves as a kind of exhibitionism. The Victorian critic and poet T. E. Brown, who described the Anatomy as 'the sweepings of the medieval dustbin' (quite unfair, because the great bulk of the material in the Anatomy is either classical or from the Renaissance, and there is very little which is genuinely medieval), said that it seemed to him 'an enormous labyrinthine joke.' This type of uncomprehending and dismissive judgement is not an uncommon response to a difficult work: it was, for example a common early response to Finnegans Wake. In the case of both Burton and Joyce it is a misleading view, while not being entirely untrue.

The more modern, and better considered, version of the Rev. T. E. Brown's judgement is to say that Burton set out to write a 'Menippean satire'. Menippus in the third century BC pioneered a genre in which philosophy and comedy were combined; little survives of his work, but he influenced a number of subsequent satirists, including Lucian. Burton has a large number of references to Lucian, and also to Erasmus, who brought the tradition up to date in the Renaissance; Erasmus' Praise of Folly is certainly in part a model for the Anatomy. (Another inheritor of the tradition was Rabelais, but Burton seems to have had only slight knowledge of his work). There was a vogue for satirical writing in England, as elsewhere in Europe, at the end of the sixteenth century, most visible in this country in verse satires and in drama, and to adapt a mocking stance would have seemed a very 'modern' thing to do. Burton gave himself ample scope by virtually equating Melancholy with Folly and Madness in his preface, 'Democritus to the Reader'; this allowed him to claim that all men - including the reader and Burton himself - were more or less mad, and allowed him to attack and mock all forms of irrational or affected human behaviour. He seems indeed to have had a weakness for 'seeing the funny side', and a tendency to become impatient with truisms, and at times he undercuts his own serious observations. Part of his aim was presumably to amuse; diverting the patient, after all, can be part of therapy. This does not justify claiming that this comic or satiric strain is present throughout the Anatomy, and accusing Burton of frivolity or of making an irresponsible attack on the human intellect by suggesting that nothing in life makes sense or is important.

Democritus, whom he chose as a model, was known as the philosopher who laughed at all human life, but Burton refers explicitly to the occasion when the citizens of Abdere, where Democritus lived, asked the great physician Hippocrates to come and examine him and judge of his sanity. Hippocrates had no hesitation in proclaiming him quite sane - and indeed saner that the Abderites themselves - and acknowledging that his study of human folly had a serious aim. Menippean satire was supposed to be funny; it was also supposed to be learned (and the Anatomy certainly qualifies on this count), and to have a fundamentally serious purpose. Burton's purpose, as he makes plain, was not only to help himself in his melancholy, but to give comfort to other sufferers from the condition. He recognizes that some of the manifestations of delusion are funny, and he does not hesitate to record some of the classic comic examples - the man who thought he was made of glass, for example, and feared to meet people in case they broke him, or the man who was afraid to pass water in case he drowned the world, and was eventually persuaded to relieve himself by being told that the town was on fire and that he could do a public service by putting it out. But he does this, he says 'not to upbraid any miserable man, or by way of derision (I rather pity them) but ... to apply remedies unto them; & to shew that the best and soundest of us all, is in great danger ...' It is probably correct to see him as trying to obey the Horatian dictum that the aim of the writer should be either to instruct or entertain. In the Renaissance this was often glossed as a duty to instruct and entertain. In the light of this it was perfectly proper for Burton to amuse his readers with funny stories or to divert them with little-known facts, as long as his serious purpose was maintained; indeed his serious intent was furthered by the attraction of the lighter passages.

Burton was in no doubt that mental illness in one form or another was widespread in his time, or that by 'anatomizing' it - subjecting it to analysis and

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15 Lamb, 'Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading', The London Magazine, July 1822.
17 Anatomy, i.408.
proposing cures for it - he was performing a public service. Whether the undoubtedly wide-spread interest in melancholy really corresponded to a general outbreak of mental illness and distress in contemporary Europe is a question we cannot really satisfactorily answer, because we do not have the kind of evidence we need. Certainly some historians believe that there was such an outbreak, and have adduced reasons why it should have occurred. Some of these alleged reasons do not seem to apply in Burton's case: he does not, for instance, seem to have been alarmed by the potential clash between religion and new scientific discoveries or to have subscribed to the popular belief that the world was in decline. It may be that the increased interest in morbid psychological states was a natural result of the greater self-awareness apparent in the Renaissance; a new habit of introspection might well have given rise to a clearer realisation of the complexities of the mind, and a sharper perception of the many varieties of human misery. So too might the preoccupation with questions of religious faith so urgent in the period.

To both Catholic and Protestants self-examination to determine the strength of one's faith and the justifiability of one's actions was of the utmost importance, and to both, though perhaps more especially to Protestants, it was essential to be able to distinguish between proper sobriety and religious humility and the sin of Despair, in which the sufferer doubted the efficacy of Divine Grace and feared eternal damnation.

There was a whole genre of 'Consolation books' which set out expressly to reassure those whose faith and trust in God had been shaken by the blows of adverse fortune, by bereavement, or by illness, and in one aspect The Anatomy of Melancholy is an example of the type. It is of course much more, not least an expression of a remarkable mind, but we should not forget that Burton was after all a priest, and whatever other aims he may have had in writing, his main object was to benefit his fellow-men. It is not too much to claim that he achieved his end, and in the process of so doing he left a record of a truly remarkable mind.

J.B. Bamborough*

* The study was originally written as the Introduction to a proposed edition of The Anatomy in the World's Classics series which was not published. Kindly supplied by his joint editor, Nicolas Kiessling, with permission of the author's son. John Bamborough, (1921-2009) was a British scholar of English literature and founding Principal of Linacre College, Oxford. Since 1979 he had been working on the world's first full commentary on Robert Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy. The final volume of Bamborough's work was published in 2000.

Digging for Burton in the Library: An Eminent Archaeologist's First Job

In 1640 Robert Burton died bequeathing his books to Christ Church and the Bodleian with the latter having first choice, each receiving about 500 volumes. The Christ Church books were incorporated into the general collections which were classified firstly by size and then by subject.

They remained as such in both the Old and New Libraries until the arrival of William Osler, Regius Professor of Medicine, in 1905. He persuaded the then Librarian, Francis Haverfield, and the Library Committee to employ a graduate to search for and collect together the Burton volumes in order to trace the sources which Burton used for his Anatomy of Melancholy (1621).

The first edition (1621) of The Anatomy of Melancholy with Robert Burton dedication to Christ Church Library.

The graduate chosen for this task in 1906 was C.L. Woolley of New College who had obtained a First in Literae Humaniores in 1903 and a Second in Theology in 1904 but then decided not to take holy orders. Dr.Spooner, Warden of New College, who gave us the word “spoonerism” persuaded him to take up archaeology and in 1905 he was appointed assistant to Arthur Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. Like many graduates in the years since Woolley's work in the Library was part-time but by 1907 he had managed to find 429 books with Burton's signature or initials. Osler then arranged to have them kept together on the south wall of the westernmost bay of the West Library beneath a copy of the Brasenose portrait of Burton.

As the West Library was then the Picture Gallery, open to the public in the afternoon, security bars were fitted across each shelf to prevent the removal of any book. If a reader wanted to see a particular book from the collection the bar had to be unlocked. The collection remained in this position until 1964 when the Burton books were removed to an island bookcase in Archiva Superiora.
Old photograph illustrating the Burton collection in the West Library.

The pictures were removed at the same time to temporary storage in the Lee Building where they remained until the completion of the new Picture Gallery in 1968. The West Library was then reshelved to accommodate undergraduate books and became a reading room as it is today.

Woolley went on to field archaeology with Randall Maclver in Wadi Heifa (Egyptian Nubia) from 1907 to 1911, moving to Carchemish (Syria) with T.E Lawrence as his assistant until the war intervened. Their work was published jointly as *The Wilderness of Zin* in 1915. During the First World War Woolley served as an intelligence officer in Cairo until he was captured by the Turks in 1916. Lawrence’s famous exploits are well documented elsewhere.

After the war and several seasons in Egypt, Woolley began his excavations at Ur in southern Iraq. He is best remembered for his work there from 1922 to 1934 when he was assisted by Katherine Keeling, who became his wife, and by Max Mallowan, a fellow classicist and graduate of New College.

When Agatha Christie visited the site in 1928 following her divorce from Archibald she met and fell in love with Mallowan fourteen years her junior. Their life is described in Agatha’s *Come tell me how you live* (1946) and is the scene of her *Murder in Mesopotamia* (1936) where Woolley’s wife is portrayed as “une femme formidable”. Both Woolley and Mallowan were knighted for their services to archaeology in 1935 and 1968 respectively.


**John Wing**

Christ Church Library, 1962-1995

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**THE IMPORTANCE OF ALDRICH’S MS COPY OF THE TALLIS LITANY: TWO PERSPECTIVES**

Contemporary music scholars have agreed for some time now that the five-part harmonized setting of the English Litany credited to Thomas Tallis is a dubious attribution. There are several reasons for this conclusion, not the least of which being the lack of an original copy of Tallis’s *Litany* dating from the composer’s lifetime.

As a part of my ongoing research as a visiting scholar with an interest in the choral music of the sixteenth-century English Reformation, I have been examining sources for Tallis’s *Litany* for five voices from its earliest publication to the late eighteenth century, with a purpose to understand how this misattribution might have occurred. In addition to the question of authorship, my methodology has included a comparison of each of the sources in terms of vocal distribution (specifically the number of vocal parts) as well as the location of the original plainchant within the harmonized texture.

For the purpose of this study, I have identified four major sources for the setting of the Litany in English attributed to Tallis, three of which are found in the Christ Church manuscript collection. The list of sources are as follows, in chronological order: John Barnard’s *The first book of selected church musick*, 1641; Edward Lowe’s *A short direction for the performance of cathedrall service*, 1664; Henry Aldrich’s MS with *Mr. Thomas Tallis his Litany-service for men c.1690*; and William Boyce’s *Cathedral music*, 1778. As the Aldrich MS features in the middle of the chronology, it was possible to draw conclusions about the ways in which Aldrich may have been informed by the earliest printed sources for the Litany, and to suggest how his manuscript might possibly have influenced the decisions of music publishers after Aldrich’s lifetime.

Sometime at the end of the seventeenth-century, Aldrich in an undated letter quoted in Rimbault, expresses concerns regarding authenticity when he states that: “Tallis’s magnificent Litany was originally written for four parts, with the plain-chant in the tenor; Barnard was the first who despoiled it.” Aldrich boldly asserts that Tallis’s original setting was intended for four voices and that Barnard’s choice to set the *Litany* for five voices is a contravention of this.

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2. As quoted in an undated letter to Dr Fell in Edward Rimbault’s, *The full cathedral service: as used on the festivals and saints’ days of the Church of England* (London, 1846), p. 3.
fact. In the second instance, Barnard breaks with tradition by removing the plainchant from the tenor part and placing it in the upper most voice. An examination of the Barnard partbooks (Mus. 544-553), reveals that the Tallis’s Litany is scored for five-parts (medius, countertenor I, countertenor II, tenor, and bass) and that the plainchant is in the mediust voice part. The severity of Aldrich’s accusations would suggest that a more authoritative source was available to Barnard for consultation, but that for some unknown reason he had chosen to ignore it.

Barnard and Lowe, or perhaps that he also had access to the missing MS of c. 1550? At best, we may infer from Aldrich’s remarks that he was familiar with Barnard’s collection; whether or not he actually consulted a copy of the Barnard is pure conjecture as his private manuscript collection did not contain a copy, and the Christ Church Music Library only acquired The first book of selected church musick in December of 1917.

First page of the Tallis Litany showing the plainchant in the medius decani partbook, from Barnard’s “The first book”. Note the names of choristers and the graffiti ‘all are good boys except Symonds’ (Mus 544, medius decani, page 95).

The notion of an authoritative source is echoed in Lowe’s preface to the second edition of A short direction where he states that his four-part version of Tallis’s Litany is based on a MS copy dating from c. 1550, since lost. As Aldrich’s setting is also in four-parts, one may assume that he consulted both Barnard and Lowe, or perhaps that he also had access to the missing MS of c. 1550? At best, we may infer from Aldrich’s remarks that he was familiar with Barnard’s collection; whether or not he actually consulted a copy of the Barnard is pure conjecture as his private manuscript collection did not contain a copy, and the Christ Church Music Library only acquired The first book of selected church musick in December of 1917.

First page of Aldrich’s “Mr. Thomas Tallis his Litany-service for men”, note the plainchant written in the tenor part (Mus 48, page 174).

However, as both the Barnard and the Aldrich manuscripts are currently in the Christ Church Music Library collection, it was possible to compare the two manuscripts side by side with an electronic copy of Lowe’s A short direction. It is not surprising that Barnard’s mediust vocal line containing the plainchant has been transcribed into the tenor line of the Aldrich MS, thus ‘correcting’ Barnard’s error of placing the plainchant in the mediust part; Lowe however, chose to keep the plainchant in the mediust vocal line of his publication. It is clear that Aldrich borrowed large segments from Barnard’s countertenor parts for the creation of his parts, often interchanging Barnard’s parts in some places and adding notes at cadential

3 Edward Lowe, A short direction for the performance of cathedral service. Published for the information of such persons, as are ignorant of it, and shall be call’d to officiate in cathedral, or collegiate churches, where it hath formerly been in use (London, 1664).
points in others. In a similar fashion, Lowe borrows sections from both of Barnard’s countertenor lines to create a single countertenor part for his edition.

As Lowe makes no mention of Barnard’s *First book* in his preface to *A short direction*, we may never know for certain whether or not he consulted Barnard while compiling his own edition published in 1662 following the English Civil Wars.

However, given the striking resemblance between Lowe’s tenor part as compared with the Barnard, one may conclude that if Lowe did not consult Barnard’s copy, then there quite possibly may have been a common source between them. By comparing the bass line in the Barnard, Lowe, and Aldrich, we find that all three sources contain exactly the same part throughout. This would further support the notion that a common copy was extant and shared, but that this copy has since been lost.

The many liberties that Lowe and Aldrich both appear to have taken while creating their own editions of the Tallis *Litany*, reveal something about seventeenth-century attitudes toward the purpose of music collections in general, and the ways in which editors viewed the trustworthiness of musical sources from an earlier time. If we dismiss the possibility that there was a common MS copy dating from c. 1550, and suggest that *The First book* was the earliest source for the *Litany*, then it could be argued that Aldrich had little regard for the reliability of Barnard’s publication. Furthermore, it does not seem as though it was the intention of either Lowe or Aldrich to create historic documents that would act to preserve Barnard’s arrangement for future generations. If preservation had been the function of their work, then one would have expected to find two sources that remained truer to Barnard’s original setting. Rather, it would appear as though both Lowe and Aldrich were more concerned with correcting Barnard’s perceived deviations, and to create performing editions to suit their own particular vision. In Lowe’s case, he sets out to create a collection of sacred music for the reestablishment of music programs in cathedrals as a result of the upheaval following the Civil Wars. Aldrich appears to have been concerned with correcting the terrible “spoilage” committed by Barnard, and to set the *Litany* as Tallis had intended it to be, based exclusively on his knowledge of sixteenth-century performance practice at that time.

William Boyce’s first volume of *Cathedral music* was published almost a century after Aldrich’s manuscript copy was created, and over a century and a half since Barnard’s collection. Turning to the Tallis *Litany*, we discover that four of the five vocal parts are identical to Barnard’s publication, with exception of the tenor part. In Boyce’s preface to the first volume, he observes that many gross errors have crept into earlier publications due to the carelessness of previous copyists and that it was his intention to “amend these errors, and to preserve their music... conveying to our future composers for the church, these excellent specimens of what has hitherto been considered that true style and standard of such compositions.”

Unfortunately, Boyce does not name the source that he consulted to justify his changes to the tenor line of the Tallis *Litany* in his edition, but his remarks do suggest that it was his intention to create an accurate performing edition for both practical use and for the purpose of historic preservation.

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4 William Boyce, *Cathedral music: being a collection in score of the most valuable and useful compositions for that service, by the several English masters of the last two hundred years*, Vol. 1 (London: 1778), p. iii.

5 Can it be that the MS copy dating from c. 1550 was extant as late as the 1760s, the decade during which Boyce was compiling his collection? Boyce’s tenor line more closely resembles that of an optional tenor line that Aldrich includes in his MS following the four-part harmonized responses. It is unlikely that Boyce ever consulted the Aldrich MS as it was only published in 1847 in an edition edited by H.E. Havergal.
This indicates a change in attitude from that of Lowe and Aldrich who appear to have had no problem justifying the changes that were made to suit their particular needs or to create a more accurate version of the Litany based on their contemporary understanding of sixteenth-century musical practices.

Conclusions

In the absence of both an original copy of the Tallis Litany dating from his lifetime and the mysterious MS copy from c. 1550, it is impossible to have any detailed information about Tallis’s setting before Barnard’s First book of 1641.

A comparison of the four most important sources existing for the Litany up to the end of the eighteenth century was made possible by consulting musical resources found in the Christ Church Music Library manuscript collection. Additionally, by comparing sources representative of publications spanning over one hundred and fifty years, it was possible to gain insights into the changing attitudes of editors towards musical publications over the same time period, and to draw conclusions about the intended purpose of these collections. Seventeenth-century editors appear to be more interested in producing editions that met the needs of their particular performing circumstance, or to correct errors based on their knowledge of sixteenth-century performance practice. Until an original copy of the Tallis Litany has been found, or an authentic source for the Litany dating from closer to the composer’s lifetime is discovered, scholars will have no method of proving that the work was ever in fact written by the great composer himself, and so the mystery continues.

Acknowledgements

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Performing without barlines

An undisputed achievement of traditional musicology has been the establishment of reliable texts for early music, which has inspired an impressive historical and critical literature. It turns out, though, that performing early music from scholarly editions is not always the best way to understand it and appreciate its expressive content.

Phantasm, Consort-in-residence at Magdalen College, specialises in the early 17th-century English chamber music called ‘consort music’ and is experimenting with performing Fantasies by composers such as Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) and John Jenkins (1592-1678) from original notation or from specially prepared parts which duplicate the layout of manuscripts sources.

Phantasm, Consort-in-residence at Magdalen College.

Just as in later chamber music, players see only their own lines, but — here is the big difference — in the Jacobean sources these parts contain no bar lines.
Playing without bar lines – and without a conductor of course – means that making music has an entirely different ‘feel’.

Rather than counting groupings of say, four beats, after which there is a vertical line for metrical orientation, one counts durations of notes and measures them against the regular beat or ‘tactus’ which underlies the composition. But even though this beat is generally regular, the organisation of pulses in the individual parts is often wildly and intentionally irregular.

In playing ensemble music, one has to listen intently both to complement the other parts as well to ignore their potentially conflicting metrical signals. This is completely different from playing the rhythms in a classic or romantic string quartet, for example, which are dead easy by comparison.

Consort music completely lacks a hierarchy of parts. Instead there is a pure democracy of voices – or perhaps better, a corporate Leviathan in which everyone busily pursues naked self interest for a greater contrapuntal good. Because the Jacobean fantasy is music freed from words, composers like Gibbons and Jenkins, we’ve discovered, indulge in some rather complex games which interrelate players in new ways, challenging them to stay together, but also befuddling and astounding them by some remarkable musical experimentation.

One viol player’s part might – for an extended passage – be composed in such a way as to assert the wrong beat. Or because this is music built on the parts imitating each other, one part might play a clear musical phrase but the rhythms of the next part will be altered just enough to prove mightily confusing. Multiply these processes by five or six times – a typical number of players in a consort – and you can see the difficulty, but also the fun.

Playing fantasies without bar lines has clarified how composers thought of the genre is as a challenging parlour game in which the basic task is for everyone to make it to the end of the piece without ‘falling off’.

This element of confrontation and surprise is of course primarily experienced by the participants, but the excitement and conflict are also easily picked up by listeners as well, and contribute to the swirl of excitement that marks this fascinating music.

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Peckwater Quad’s London Connection?

A recent visit to Vicenza to study the palazzi and villas of Palladio reminded me that Peckwater Quad at Christ Church, designed by Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church (1648-1710), and built between 1706 and 1714, was one of the earliest Palladian-inspired buildings in Oxford, described by Pevsner as ‘amazingly classical’.

It is the only building that Aldrich is known definitely to have designed, although there are some three other buildings in Oxford with which his name has been associated. In fact, Peckwater Quad was probably the second earliest Palladian inspired design to be built in Oxford after the Warden’s Lodging at All Souls, completed in 1706, and designed by another Oxford man, George Clarke. Both Aldrich and Clarke (who was some 13 years younger) were very gifted amateur architects in addition to their other considerable intellectual talents. They were also good friends and could well have spent convivial evenings together exchanging views about their shared interest in architectural design.

Aldrich was an undoubted polymath, an expert in logic, mathematics and classics but perhaps even more so in music and architecture. As far as can be established, he had no formal training in architecture although Colvin has traced references to him travelling to the continent, presumably in the early 1670s, where he spent a considerable time in Italy.
and ‘associated with the eminent in architecture’. In his pursuit of promoting architecture he planned to write a Vitruvian thesis, in Latin, in two parts, one on civil, the other on military architecture. He had completed the first part by 1708, including preparing fifty-five drawings (he was an excellent draughtsman), and part of it, some forty pages and twelve plates, was printed in a small run of probably no more than ten copies by the time of his death two years later. These printings and the remaining text for both volumes then passed to George Clarke. The completed book, *Elementa Architecturae* was finally printed in 1789, in an English translation by the Rev Philip Smyth, Fellow of New College. In the introduction Aldrich was described thus ‘he was undoubtedly a true and versatile genius, assisted by learning, converse and travel an acute and accurate observer, a patient thinker, a deep and clear reasoner’. He was also a very convivial and generous friend to many, always with time to listen. Perhaps his status as a bachelor had something to do with this? With George Clarke, he moved in the architectural circle of the followers of Inigo Jones [who had died when Aldrich was four], some of whom, such as John Webb (1611-1672), and William Townesend (1676-1739), the builder of Peckwater Quad, had long associations with Oxford.

In Italy he would almost certainly have seen the works of Andrea Palladio in Vicenza, the Veneto and in Venice. He was undoubtedly familiar with Andrea Palladio’s *The Four Books on Architecture*, in both the original 1570 edition and the English translation by Godfrey Richards (1663), a copy of which he owned. Aldrich might well have also seen the copy of the first edition owned by Inigo Jones, to which he had added various comments (not always complimentary), during his second visit to Italy, and in particular to Vicenza in 1619. He would also have had access to Inigo Jones' collection of Palladio’s drawings which he brought back from Italy on that visit and which were in Oxford for much of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, until most of them were acquired by Lord Burlington in 1721. So what were Aldrich’s sources for his design for Peckwater Quad? The major influence must have been his love and knowledge of Palladian style building derived initially from his visit or visits to Italy in his formative years, and practically from the large collection of books on architecture in his own library, which included Vitruvius’ *Ten Books on Architecture* and Palladio’s *The Four Books on Architecture*, mentioned above. Indeed the architectural authors whom he accepted as his chief authorities were Vitruvius and Palladio.

But in addition to these factors there would have been built examples outside Oxford of other similar Palladian influenced architecture, particularly buildings derived from Inigo Jones’ Queen’s House in Greenwich and the Banqueting House in Whitehall, London, both of which had been completed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, which Henry Aldrich would have known of, or have actually seen.

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6 Colvin, *Op. cit.*, p 70. I have found a reference which seems to confirm Colvin’s assertion that Aldrich did travel, in a handwritten note on paper watermarked 1821, inserted in a copy of Rev Philip Smyth’s translation of 1789 of Aldrich’s treatise *Elementa Architecturae*, where it says that a ‘Mr Parker wishes to inform Mr Duncan that the introduction to the book, (in which this reference to Aldrich’s travels is made), was in fact written by his nephew Dr George Aldrich MD’. Presumably, being in the family, he knew of Henry’s visits to Italy first hand.
7 With thanks to the former Dean, the Very Rev Christopher Lewis, for suggesting this.
8 Now in the library of Worcester College Oxford.
10 E.F.A. Suttle "Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church", *Oxoniensia* 5 (1940) p 131.
One such building, which I have tracked down, and which has design elements analogous to the Peckwater Quad buildings, is Lindsey House in Lincoln’s Inn Fields in London. Having made this association I soon discovered that John Summerson had come to the same conclusion some fifty years ago. But strangely it appears that no other architectural writer has referred to it since.

Lindsey House, on the west side of Lincoln’s Inn Fields, now Nos 59-60, was originally a single house, one of the first houses in the square, completed about 1640, just before the start of the Civil War. Lincoln’s Inn Fields was a speculative development by an ambitious builder William Newton who had obtained a facility in 1619 to build on land immediately to the west of Lincoln’s Inn. The overall plan for the development had been drawn up then (possibly by Inigo Jones, who was working nearby in Covent Garden) but it was very slow to attract developers. However, some twenty-one years later, Newton sold a plot to Sir David Conyngham who built a new brick house, encased in stucco, as a speculative venture, which must have dominated the west side of the square, as the centrepiece of the terrace known as Arch Row. It became known as Lindsey House in the early eighteenth century after its occupation by the 3rd Earl of Lindsey. It has been ascribed to the architect Inigo Jones (1573-1652), by Colen Campbell in Vitruvius Britannicus, but no evidence has been found to confirm this.15

However, the building is clearly derived from elements of Palladio’s palazzi designs with which Jones would have been very familiar. In particular see the upper floor of the Palazzo Chiericati in Vicenza on p 83 Plate [7], which shows two-storey Ionic pilasters with two levels of windows between, as at both Lindsey House and indeed at Peckwater Quad. John Summerson has called it ‘one of the purer type of Artisan classicism’ and suggests that on stylistic grounds it is more likely to the design of one of Jones’ followers and pupils, Nicholas Stone (1587-1647), who had served as master mason under him for the Banqueting House in Whitehall. Stone was also a good friend of Sir David Conyngham. As the sole intact survivor of the entire Lincoln’s Inn and Queen Street venture of the 1620s-

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11 John Summerson Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830 (London, 3rd revised edition 1958), p 182
12 The rate-books show that in 1751 or 1752 the premises were divided into two separate houses and the twin doorways added, possibly designed by Isaac Ware.
14 Refer to ‘Lincoln’s Inn Fields: Nos. 59 and 60 (Lindsey House)’, Survey of London: volume 3: St Giles-in-the-Fields, pt I: Lincoln’s Inn Fields (1912), pp. 96-103 for detailed information on its history, but be aware that more recent scholarship may have modified some of the findings.
15 The earliest known drawings of Lindsey House are the plan of the principal floor and the east elevation in Colen Campbell’s Vitruvius Britannicus (London, 1715), vol. 1, plates 49 & 50. These measured drawings were almost certainly commissioned by Campbell from an architectural draughtsman for inclusion in his book. The elevation plate is inscribed ‘Inigo Jones Inscr’ in the bottom left-hand corner but there is no evidence for this attribution. It may simply reflect perceived opinion at the time the plate was engraved.
1640s it is perhaps, historically and architecturally the most important single house in London of its period.

London was a small place at the beginning of the eighteenth century and anyone interested in architecture would have been aware of the significant buildings. Although no seventeenth century drawing of Lindsey House seems to have survived (and may never have existed) Aldrich would undoubtedly have seen Lincoln’s Inn Fields from his time as a Westminster schoolboy in the 1660’s, and, as an adult, from having dealings with lawyers who congregated on both the west and north sides of the square, conveniently located adjacent to Lincoln’s Inn itself, on his own or on college business. So it is clearly very possible that Aldrich would have been familiar with Lindsey House. Peckwater quadrangle as designed by Aldrich consists of terraces of lodgings for gentlemen ‘students’ and their servants, on the west, north and east sides. The grand Palladian style inspired building replaced a Tudor one, Peckwater Inn, of the early seventeenth century. The fourth side is completed by the Library building, designed by George Clarke, started in 1717, some three years after Peckwater Quad was finished, but not finally completed until 1779. The setting of Christ Church Library as the closing element of Peckwater Quad seems like a master stroke of planning, reminding the residents of the lodgings every day that study was the reason for their being at Christ Church, although in fact it was actually a response to competition pressures and spatial problems. Aldrich had originally intended a further set of rooms to complete the quadrangle, but in 1716, six years after his death, Clarke revised his design to accommodate a replacement for the ‘old’ library (set up in 1562 or just after) in the refectory of the original Priory, which had outgrown its accommodation there. The new library was considered essential to meet the needs for both study space and the growing numbers of books, many from bequests and donations from alumni of the House, but particularly to attract new students of suitable quality and political background. Nationally, at this time, Christ Church’s presence in Parliament was significant, not least because any noblemen who came up to Oxford were almost exclusively Housemen.

A comparison of the bay designs of both Peckwater Quad and Lindsey House shows distinct similarities. Both have a rusticated ground floor level, with emphasised keystones to the window openings, a two-storey Doric order of pilasters, and windows of similar sizes and proportions set in simply moulded surrounds. There are only a few minor differences of detail some of which are the result of later alterations.

Peckwater Quad bay design.

For example Peckwater does not include the swags below the Ionic volutes of the pilaster capitals (a detail derived from Jones) and the sills of the first floor ‘piano nobile’ windows of Lindsey house were lowered in the early years of the nineteenth century. It is also quite possible that the dormer windows in the attic storey of Lindsey House were added later—they are certainly not shown in Colen Campbell’s plate of the east elevation in his massive work recording the beginning of the Palladian style in England. Peckwater Quad is certainly a remarkable building for its time. Its Palladian formula, rigorously applied, and its successful scale, make it a striking innovation in the development of English classical architecture. In reaching his final design it seems very clear that Henry Aldrich must have derived his inspiration from exemplars by the master himself, Palladio, many of which he would have seen on his travels in Italy, and from his brilliant text book, as well as from Lindsey House in London. Hence the title of this article.

Richard Faircliff
Architect and freelance NADFAS book conservator

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22 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* Vol 1 Plate 50. Plates of Peckwater Quad would almost certainly have been included in this work had the building been finished in time to meet the publication date of its first issue [1717]. Engravings of Peckwater Quad were included in Joseph Smith’s 1724-28 edition of Kip, Knyff and Winstanley’s *Le Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne*, vol. 3.
When at Christ Church one is constantly reminded of Thomas Wolsey. His image can be seen in paintings. His coat of arms is ubiquitous. His cardinal’s hat is held in the Upper Library and when standing in Tom Quad it is hard not to admire the architectural originality and breadth of his foundation, first known as Cardinal College. Yet despite his remarkable achievements (he was Lord Chancellor to Henry VIII, Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York, and Pope Leo X created him a cardinal in 1515 - he narrowly missed being elected Pope) there is very little we know about Wolsey the young man, especially how one from such humble origins became the second most powerful man in England after the king.

Pinpointing the date of Wolsey’s birth has proved difficult. That however is not entirely surprising for one of lowly origins born before the keeping of Registers in churches became law in 1538. Perhaps we should begin with the fact that he died at Leicester Abbey on 26 November 1530 and was buried there quite hastily without any monument. Reference books and biographies quote dates for Wolsey’s birth ranging from 1470 to 1476. Robert and Joan Wulcy were Thomas’s parents and he sometimes used that spelling of his surname. Robert ran a tavern in the parish of St Mary at the Elms Ipswich in the county of Suffolk from about 1464.

We know that, in that year he was fined twelve pence for keeping an inn of ill fame and selling meats for excessive gain. According to several documents at Ipswich Borough Archives, the father appears to have been constantly up before the Courts for selling ales and butchered meats of dubious measure and quality. In 1476, for instance, Robert Wulcy is charged with making 24 pies called “halfpenny pyas” which contained “tainted unwholesome meat, sold and distributed to the liege people of the Lord King to their hurt and injury”.

It is unlikely that Robert Wulcy could pay for his son’s grammar schooling at Ipswich, let alone his residence and tuition at Magdalen Hall School. Fortunately, Joan Wulcy was a Daundy and her brother Edmund was a successful and wealthy merchant in St.Lawrence parish, Ipswich. He was three times bailiff of Ipswich and burgess to the Parliaments of 1511 and 1514. Edmund was a notably generous and religious man who gave to the town its first Market Cross and built 15 almshouses on both sides of Lady Lane. When Edmund Daundy died in 1515 he founded a chantry chapel in St. Lawrence church dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, where the priest would sing mass for the souls of the king and queen and for all the Daundys and Wolseys, naming Thomas, at the time he wrote his will in 1514, Dean of Lincoln.

On this evidence, it would appear that the bright eldest son of Robert and Joan Wulcy benefited immeasurably from his mother’s loving care and his uncle’s guidance, friendship and generosity, not to mention his first influential school master John Squyer. Other influences in Thomas’s life can be found in the Christ Church coat of arms which was granted to Cardinal College by Thomas Wryothesley, the Garter King of Arms and Thomas Benolt, Clarenceaux King of Arms, on 4 August 1525.
Thomas attending Ipswich School (established 1399 – motto *Semper Eadem*) his fees being paid by the burgess, Edmund Daundy. He excelled in his studies at school and consequently took advice (from Daundy?) to broaden his horizons and continue his studies in Oxford at Magdalen Hall School (now Magdalen College School). No doubt, after attending these two fine schools, the seeds were sown in young Thomas on the benefits of good education which would remain with him into adulthood. Thomas Wolsey won a place to study theology at Magdalen Hall (now College) and he graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1485.

His loyal gentleman usher George Cavendish wrote in his biography of his master: “…and being but a child, he was very apt to learning, by means whereof his parents, or his good friends and masters, conveyed him to the University of Oxford, where he prospered so in learning that, as he told me in his own person, he was called the boy-bachelor, forasmuch, as he was made Bachelor of Arts at fifteen years of age…”.

Thomas continued his theological studies and in the course of time was made a Fellow of the College. He was ordained for Ministry of the Church on 3 March 1498 in St. Peter’s church, Marlborough, by the Bishop of Lydda, a Suffragan of Salisbury. When his father Robert made his will on 21 September 1496 (he died before 11th October when it was proved) he asked to be buried in the churchyard of Our Lady St. Mary of Stowmarket. Robert left half a mark to the high altar of the family parish church, St. Nicholas, and two pounds to the painting of the archangels there.

He knew that Thomas was thinking of ordination for he continued, “If Thomas my son be a priest, within a year next after my decease, then he to sing for me and my friends for a year and he to have for his salary 10 marks. If he be not a priest, then another honest priest to sing for me and my friends and he to have the same salary”. Thomas did not take the task on.

After his long and distinguished career, when for 14 years he was ‘alter Rex’, running church and state for Henry VIII, his fall was as rapid as his rise had been meteoric. Wolsey had planned his legacy in Ipswich, a place he rarely visited but never forgot during his hectic working years, a college school which absorbed the grammar school and its endowments twinned with a college at Oxford.

Both were flourishing before his death in 1530, but while the King was prepared to take over the Cardinal College of Mary in Oxford, now Christ Church, he ordered the demolition of the Ipswich establishment.

Despite Thomas Wolsey’s fall from grace he will be remembered for his love, from a very early age, of learning. His published *Rudimenta Grammatices*, for use not only in Ipswich School but in all the schools in England, had wise and far sighted rules for those who taught: “Pleasure is to mingle with study, that the child may think learning rather an amusement than a toil. Tender youth is to suffer neither severe thrashings nor sour and threatening looks, nor any

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3 The upwardly mobile Wolsey was then elected college bursar and, although he overspent on the building of Magdalen Tower, he proved savvy enough to impress Sir Richard Nanfan, into whose household Thomas had been invited, that he would be the executor of Nanfan’s substantial estate. It was on Nanfan’s death in 1507 that Wolsey entered the service of Henry VII as Chaplain to the king. For further details, see *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, Vol.7, Issue 3, pp 4-5.
4 See Ipswich Borough Archives.
kind of tyranny, for by such usage the fire of genius is either extinguished or in a great measure damped.⁵ As Judith Curthoys relates in her recent book on the history of Christ Church: “Education was one of Wolsey’s greatest interests, and he was a great benefactor to Oxford University, his alma mater, both financially and in terms of reform.

He believed that new schools and colleges were the way forward, that declining monastic institutions should be replaced by young and energetic educational establishments, and that theology and scripture, although still at the heart of the curriculum, should be supplemented by the teaching of Latin, Greek and philosophy⁶.

Between them, William Waynflete’s two Oxford foundations, Magdalen College and Magdalen School played a significant part in the promotion of the new ‘humanist’ learning and just as Wolsey drank at this stream, so did Thomas More and William Tyndale.

It is not surprising that Wolsey wished to found a similar bipartite centre of educational excellence and one, at that, which would arguably eclipse the achievements of those Bishops of Winchester, Wykeham and Waynflete.

It is fitting that two extremely beautiful intact manuscripts commissioned towards the end of Wolsey’s life, the Epistle Lectionary MS 101* and the Gospel Lectionary MS.Lat.223 are held at Christ Church Library and Magdalen College Library respectively and they are by their very nature uplifting and, to this author at least, a reminder of Wolsey’s dedication to his calling and legacy to his faith and education which was sown whilst he was a mere child and flowered, one would imagine, beyond any of his contemporary’s imagination.

Peter Eley
Freelance conservator to private libraries

Acknowledgements.

This brief paper is based on my keen interest in Christ Church Library, Magdalen College Library and Thomas Wolsey and I wish to thank like-minded souls who have so kindly helped me in my research, they are: Dr Cristina Neagu and Judith Curthoys of Christ Church Library & Archives, Dr Christine Ferdinand, Fellow Librarian, Magdalen College. Very special thanks to Dr. John Blatchly, Senior Fellow in History, University of East Anglia. My appreciation is also extended to: Ipswich Borough Archives and East Anglia Daily Times for additional notes on the early years of Ipswich’s famous son.

* MS 101 will be digitized, hopefully by the end of October 2014. To view, see http://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library/digitalisation


THE 'REAL' ALICE AND A NEW COLLECTION ON DEPOSIT IN THE LIBRARY

Christ Church has benefited once again from the generosity of one of our old members, who purchased a number of lots from the 2001 Sotheby’s sale of the collection of Alice Hargreaves, née Liddell, the Dean’s daughter who inspired Charles Dodgson to write *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*.

The collection was on deposit in the Library at Christ Church for over twenty years until the family decided to sell it in 2001. Several of the most important lots (including photographs of Alice and her sisters, a copy of the 1886 facsimile edition of the manuscript of *Alice’s Adventures Under Ground* with a dedicatory inscription to Alice from the author, and letters by Dean Henry Liddell, together with some of his sketches and blotting paper doodles) had already been placed back on deposit in the Library, but in June of this year a further three lots arrived at Christ Church to join them.

We are very pleased at the confidence thus shown in our custodianship of this important material, and at the generosity which allows us to display it and make it available to researchers.

Sketch of the Library seen from the Dean’s garden by Alice Liddell.
It was very exciting to handle again material which I had not seen for thirteen years!

The new arrivals include Alice’s sketch books and family travel diaries, in addition to family letters and Alice’s engagement diaries, covering almost the entire period of her married life.

Diary of a tour of Scotland, 1878, with pen & ink sketches by Alice Liddell.

A charming example of the kind of material we found is the diary of the 1878 tour of Scotland. This diary is, at least in part, in the hand of Henry Liddell, Alice’s father.

The entry for September 10th, mentions a comical incident, in which: "Mr Rory MacLeod was walking up the long Grishinish Hill & talking anecdotes to the ladies in the carriage when he suddenly found his box of fusees had ignited in his coat pocket, & became aware that his leg was getting unpleasantly warm, he tried to shake out the box, but one of the party calling out 'Stamp on your coat' he tore off his outer garment, dashed it on the ground, and began dancing on it like a wild lunatic, with his white shirt sleeves fluffing out in the wind and his energy every moment becoming more intense; the entertainment became more & more amusing, till at last running up panting somewhat with his late exertions the coat was exhibited with a large hole burnt quite through the thick self coloured cloth …"

Another exceptional document is Regi’s diary of his & Alice’s wedding tour to France & Spain, 1881. Here Alice’s pen & ink sketches add some amusing comments to Regi’s narrative.

He was clearly not impressed with the cathedral in Malaga: "Stalls very finely carved. Building hideous", he says.

On the whole he appears to be a reluctant traveller, as the narrative ends: "Oh what bliss to sleep in a really comfortable bed again, happy in the certainty of getting fresh butter for breakfast. England with all thy faults I love thee still!"

Page from Regi’s diary and Alice’s accompanying sketch of their wedding tour to France and Spain in 1881.

Alice had art lessons from John Ruskin, and was an accomplished artist in her own right. Her watercolours are very attractive and accomplished.

Watercolour by Alice Liddell.

The arrival of this material was very timely, and allowed us to put out a colourful exhibition for Alice’s Day 2014.
The theme for this year’s Alice’s Day celebrations was “Underground”, with the aim of allowing us also to commemorate the outbreak of the First World War, in which so many thousands of men lost their lives in the trenches.

Alice had three sons, two of whom (Alan and Rex) died in the Great War. Two of the most poignant items in the exhibition are the small engagement diaries in which she recorded the deaths of her sons, each mentioned in a single line of text, followed by a description of the day’s weather.

Alan Knyveton Hargreaves, Alice’s eldest son, was born in 1882. He was educated at Eton and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. He entered the Rifle Brigade in 1900, served in the South African War in 1902, and then served with the Expeditionary Force in France and Flanders from September 1914. He was wounded near Hazebrouck the following month, rejoined his regiment in March 1915, and was killed in action at Fromelles on 9th May 1915. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Order in February 1915 in recognition of his services with the Expeditionary Force.

Leopold Reginald Hargreaves, Alice’s second son, was born in January 1883. Leopold Hargreaves was always known as “Rex”. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church. He joined the Irish Guards in August 1914, and served at the front in France from November 1914 to November 1915, when he was invalided home. He returned to France in August 1916, and was killed in action at Les Boeufs on 25th September 1916. He was awarded the Military Cross. Like his older brother, he was 33 when he died.

Caryl Liddell Hargreaves was born in 1887, and educated at Eton and Christ Church. He also served in the First World War, in the Scots Guards, and was the only one of Alice’s children to survive the war.

Earlier in the year, in February, I talked via Skype with a class of 11-year-olds in Chicago about Alice Liddell, Charles Dodgson/Lewis Carroll and the “Alice” books. Despite some problems with the technology (entirely at our end), this went very well. The young students asked some very interesting and perceptive questions, one of which rather stumped me. The question was “Did Charles Dodgson have any pets (dogs or cats) as he was growing up?” Not knowing the answer to this, I took the question to
Edward Wakeling, who knows everything that there is to know about Dodgson’s life. He told me about Dido, a gun dog which belonged to Wilfred, Charles’s younger brother, and also about Tommy, the Common Room cat.

Dodgson wrote a Latin poem about Tommy, which is preserved in a scrapbook compiled by Thomas Vere Bayne, Dodgson’s good friend.

After some struggles, I managed to come up with a translation of the text, 1 which retains seven syllables per line as in the original and manages rhymes in both stanzas - poor rhymes, I will admit, but the original is not great art either!

Janet McMullin
Christ Church Library

1 Long suffering feline, poor Cat, I, victim of your claw, Send to you, cruel, ignor - ing your complaints, deaf to more, This photograph, if ‘tis your Wish to have it, abomi - nable form, domi - ne et pesima domi - ne, nam quo vidit! (signed) Tommy.

Wish to have it, abomi - nable (most by far) domi - ne, nost, worst of all the nomi - nate race I’ve seen.

* Dominie is an old term (Scots) for a schoolteacher or pedagogue.

ANTiquarian CatLoguING

Hyp B.111 (1), An appeal, in the form of a single-sheet, printed letter, addressed to Viscount Melville requesting that the Presbyterian Church be reinstated as the official Church of Scotland. The margins are adorned by a wealth of opinions on the matter by a yet unidentified owner who, at one point, goes so far as to label the ministers, “... piteous canting silly bodies.”

PROOFreading

As an antiquarian cataloguer, one of the most valuable aspects of my task here at Christ Church is to make our early printed works more easily findable and, therefore, potentially known to the entire world of historians. History is first derived from artefacts of whatever the age being studied, and while personally I find my own great enjoyment in sifting through undigested history in the words of the 15th, 16th, and 17th century printed works in Christ Church’s collections, it is more crucial that I am making available the tools for those scholars whose lives’ works and passions are to draw a picture and create an understanding of what happened yesterday for the sake of those who live today and tomorrow. It is also important to recognize that while I am
enhancing these tools locally, this work is then dispensed out to a much larger effort, the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), an electronic database attempting to have record of everything printed in England or its dependencies or printed in English anywhere in the world between the years 1474 and 1800.

Cataloguers are stereotypically motivated by an attention to detail which might give the average person a headache, or, indeed, a cataloguer might well give the average person a headache while explaining the importance of attention to detail. Nevertheless, cataloguers are human, they do make mistakes, and I am no exception to this rule. This is borne out by occasionally re-crossing my paths in the local catalogue and discovering utter relief for having had the opportunity to correct my glaring fumbles before anyone else had the chance to stumble upon them. More significantly, though, that catalogue record may have been saved, by chance, from eternal oblivion amongst a database-full of many thousands of records. A typographic error in the wrong place can be as tragic as a mis-shelved book in a library. In both cases, it would be effectively lost, and it is this point which brings me around to a less obvious, although no less important, benefit of a thorough cataloguing project such as this one.

Proofreading; for if data is entered carelessly, it may fill space in a catalogue while ultimately serving no one.

I began my cataloguing career working for the ESTC. Although the ESTC database is far from perfect, it is still an amazing feat, and it is a primary source of information for any scholar or cataloguer working with materials that fall within its scope. When I began working there in the late 90s, we still catalogued from decades-old, Xeroxed copies of title-pages and hand-written descriptions. If there were questions about the materials, they were asked and answered by post, a process which could take years, per query, to complete. We also had a constant staff of about 15 people, at least half of whom were full-time. This ensured that our work was proofread.

As computers, email, and internet made themselves the indispensable tools of such large cataloguing enterprises, questions were eventually answered within weeks, or even days, rather than years. The cataloguing, unsurprisingly, started to happen at an accelerated rate as a result of these newly incorporated technologies. As the ESTC looked to be nearing completion, however, the cataloguing staff was reduced to a mere skeleton, and, as happens with projects funded by soft-money, proofreading often took a back-seat in order to keep up the numbers of production.

I must assert that this is not intended as a criticism of the ESTC or of grant-funded research projects, in general. It is simply a fact of their existence that the work which is the ultimate goal tends to be favoured when resources diminish. The ESTC would never have reached its vast size without the long-standing cooperation with libraries from around the world and efforts of sweeping cataloguing projects such as the one currently in progress at Christ Church. Even on the days where I find nothing obviously new or ground-breaking, on the days when I am only adding mention of our item to a record created by another Oxford library who happened to catalogue their copy first, I am not just recording individual details of our copy which may yet hold significance of their own, I am also reviewing the record for mistakes which could otherwise have rendered that record lost. The maintenance goes one very-large step beyond our catalogue, too, and potentially much further than that. Several years ago, the ESTC incorporated an annotation feature for database users whereby any cataloguer, based at any participating institution in the world, can provide the ESTC with corrections that they think necessary, identifying typographic errors, identification errors, or even highlighting differences which lead to the discovery of new items based on previously unrecognized variations.

The work that I do here at Christ Church Library, and truly the work done by antiquarian cataloguers anywhere, provides not only new bibliographic information for its local community of scholars or for an ever-growing database of nearly 500,000 records, used by academia worldwide. If kept up consistently, if done with responsible care, this cataloguing also contributes rare and indispensable editorial oversight that benefits both scholarship and antiquarian cataloguing on a global-scale.

David Stumpp
Christ Church Library

Virtual Worlds, Old Documents and New Research Tools

The Digitization Project

On the topic of ever more advanced and useful tools for study, apart from detailed descriptive catalogues of the various collections, Christ Church Library has also embarked on a complex programme of digitization. The aim is to open access to the rich repository of manuscripts and early printed books and thus be able to better support original research as well as to preserve unique and fragile heritage items for future generations.

We are now in the process of finalizing the first lot of digitized codices. This was part of a small pilot project in which we could only include a few selected volumes.
If you have been monitoring our website, you will have noticed a new section on the menu. To view what is currently online, just open the Library page (http://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library), go to Digitization Project and select one of the options.

The focus has been on representative items in the Western, Byzantine, Music and Hebrew collections. In the next few weeks we expect to provide an interactive web application supporting descriptive material and bibliography, plus a viewing environment of digitized images for the following items in the collection: three of the most spectacularly illuminated Western manuscripts (MS 92, MS 101, MS 180), the oldest volume in the library, a 9th century Byzantine history of the world (MS 5), an intriguing Hebrew manuscript, the author of which has been identified in 2010 (MS 199), two partbook sets containing some of the most important surviving music manuscripts from Elizabethan England (Mus 979-983 and Mus 984-988), William Byrd's Masses for 3, 4 and 5 Voices (Mus 489-493) and an exciting 16th century 'table-book' containing sections of votive antiphons, magnificats, and other Latin-texted works (Mus 45). As they are finalized, the manuscripts will become available.

The fully digitized MS 92 is an exquisite example of a typical Western manuscript.

Milemete wrote his book on the nobility, wisdom and prudence of kings as an offering to Edward III at the end of 1326, after the deposition, but before the murder of Edward II in 1327. It was intended as a companion volume to the copy of Pseudo-Aristotle's *De secretis secretorum*, which Milemete had also prepared for Edward III. All the text pages have full borders with illustrations and coats-of-arms. Headings in red and historiated initials at chapter openings. The text is divided by champe type parahs, gold leaf with blue or alternate blue and violet. An ambitious project, the text is dominated by the decorative margins, crammed with heraldry, contorted hybrids, combats between man and man, man and beast, half-man and half-beast, hunting scenes and tournaments.

Scholars are interested in every aspect of the physical page, so the materials to be digitized require high-quality images. They record every detail and showcase the beautiful illuminations or woodcuts included. For this, we use two of the best medium format cameras on the market, one mounted on a wall column, the other secured to the Austrian-made conservation copy stand KT5242, also known as the 'Grazer' book cradle. The cradle is a fantastic piece of engineering. It features laser focus and a vacuum bar which applies gentle suction to the back of a page, holding it in place whilst a photograph is taken.

Christ Church has been very fortunate to benefit from the generous support of the Bodleian Library Imaging Services and the Digital Library Systems department. In fact, the same team of specialists working on the Polonsky Foundation project (engaged at the moment in a prestigious collaboration with the Vatican Library) has helped us produce the first...
digitized manuscripts. The manuscripts chosen for the digitization pilot project are all extremely valuable items from the library's special collections. Their often fragile state requires careful handling and complex repairs. Conservation and preservation issues are always at the forefront of any digitization project.

Repairing a corroded manuscript score with gelatine-coated remoistenable tissue.

Treatment usually involves a range of actions, from repairing small tears in the leaves and improving the way books open, to consolidating friable pigments, flattening cockled leaves, supporting paper weakened by old mould-damage, and occasionally complete disbinding. Hoping that in the future the Library’s priceless collections will be digitized, the library has applied and was awarded a grant of £9,975 from the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust towards the preservation of the music manuscripts. The conservation project was expertly handled by the Oxford Conservation Consortium. The treatments included board re-attachment, other binding repairs, iron-gall ink corrosion treatment, surface cleaning, paper repairs. The preservation element of the project re-housed approx. 50 single-sheet/unbound items, boxed 100 vulnerable bound items and refurbished 1250 items with minor damage.

Given the size and importance of the special collections of manuscripts and early printed books at Christ Church, we would like to continue digitizing. To give just a few examples, among the 112 Medieval and Renaissance codices in the Western collection are several finely illuminated devotional books, one of the earliest manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and a very early copy of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon. Donated by William Wake (1657-1737) the Byzantine collection contains 86 volumes and is one of the most important and least known in England. Its holdings include a large number of 11th and 12th century illuminated manuscripts. Christ Church's Judaica collection is the most impressive amongst all the colleges. There are a high number of Sephardic codices (8 out of 18, plus 2 Provencal and one Italian) ranging from Kabbalah to science by way of Biblical commentary, legal literature, rabbinic responsa and philosophy. The 32 Arabic manuscripts include 4 Korans, a version of the Gospels and two rare fragmentary manuscripts of the Arabian Nights. The largest collection is that of music manuscripts. There are over 1250 items of English and Italian scores dating to before 1700. These include scores by Thomas Tallis, John Taverner and William Byrd as well as autograph manuscripts by Matthew Locke, John Blow and Henry Purcell, and many early Italian madrigals, motets, libretti by composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giacomo Carissimi and Domenico Scarlatti. There are also huge collections of rare (often unique) early printed books, a spectacular amount of 18th and 19th century theatrical ephemera and rich personal archives, such as those of Archbishop William Wake and Air Marshal Charles Portal (1893-1971).

There is already a lot of interest in the Christ Church digitization project from the scholarly community. Several specific volumes are eagerly expected. We have a tried and tested system in place and we have costed both the project as a whole and each individual collection. Also, we have the best equipment available. This, plus the collaboration with the Bodleian Library, promises great things to come. What we now need are the funds to enable us to continue. Please contact us if you would like to help.

Cristina Neagu
Christ Church

Christ Church Library Newsletter
http://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library/newsletter

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