Richness Visible - Early Music at Christ Church

The end of 2011 marked the moment when the online Catalogue of the Music Collection at Christ Church was completed. To celebrate the event, on 2 November 2012, the Library opened an exhibition and organized a symposium. Discussions focused on the challenges of the Christ Church collection, solutions adopted to create a resource able to serve as a model for equivalent projects planned for other UK music collections (such as the Music School collection at the Bodleian, the Durham Cathedral manuscripts, and the Wode Partbooks of c. 1560) and the possibility of digitising the collection in the future. We invited speakers representing a wide spectrum of interests, from researchers and performers to librarians and project managers. In this issue some of the ideas brought forward have been expanded in articles by John Milsom, Jonathan Wainwright, Martin Holmes and Julia Craig-McFeely. More on the topic in the next issue. (The Editor)

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Walter Porter’s Mottets and the ‘Duplicity of Duplicates’

What should a library do when it owns more than one copy of an early printed book? Keep them all, or dispose of the duplicates? The librarians at Christ Church Library faced this dilemma in 1906 while reorganizing the college’s important collection of early printed music. The items in question had largely been bequeathed by a former dean, Henry Aldrich (d. 1710), who had built up his library partly by absorbing other people’s collections, and in so doing he sometimes acquired duplicates. These he passed on to Christ Church, with the result that the college now owned two, three or even four copies of some titles. These duplicates included items that were rare and valuable in themselves, so in 1906 a trained musician was asked to list and evaluate them so that the librarians could ponder their options.

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The resulting report, compiled by Mrs Florence Weedon, survives as part of LR 45/13. An extract, referring to ‘Suggested “Duplicate” sets for disposal’ of the Tallis/Byrd Cantiones ... sacrae of 1575, is shown in Plate 1.

Plate 1.
Mrs Florence Weedon’s list of music ‘duplicates’ at Christ Church, with recommendations for their disposal. LR 45/13.

In the end the duplicates were not sold, and for this we must be grateful: visitors to Christ Church Library can still place notionally ‘duplicate’ copies of the same book side by side, and observe the various ways in which they actually differ subtly or even markedly from one another. For instance, some of them include press variants (stop-press corrections) of the kind that occur in so many early printed books. Some copies contain pastedown cancel slips, or even whole cancel leaves or sheets. Before sale or distribution, some music prints were annotated in manuscript to varying extents, either at the printing-house or by the composer himself. And of course some copies were marked up by users in ways that can be illuminating. Several of the Christ Church music ‘duplicates’ merit discussion here on one or more of these grounds, but for reasons of space the spotlight falls on a single publication: Walter Porter’s Mottets of Two Voyces (London: William Godbid, 1657), which has the merit of being not only bibliographically interesting but also biographically poignant.

Walter Porter (c.1587-1659) is not one of England’s great composers, but he is a curious one. Trained as a chorister at Westminster Abbey, he became a professional singer after his voice had broken, and in 1618 joined the choir of the Chapel Royal. From 1639 he also held the post of master of the choristers at Westminster Abbey. In addition, Porter travelled abroad, and evidently had direct contact with the foremost Italian composer of the day, Claudio Monteverdi, author of the celebrated Vespers of 1610 and the opera Orfeo. Porter’s career, however, went into decline following the outbreak of civil war. Musical services at the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey were silenced, and Porter, like all his singing-men colleagues, had to look elsewhere for employment and income. Initially he found it in the household of the lawyer and politician Sir Edward Spencer; but Spencer died in 1656, and Porter then fell on hard times. A petition by him to the Governors of Westminster School paints a sorry picture: the old musician begs for financial aid, being now ‘70 and odd yeeres of age[,] his strength and faculties decayed, his wants dayly increased and his charitable freindes neere all deceased’.¹

In an effort to raise his fortunes, Porter now did something unusual: he published a collection of his vocal works, with the aim of donating some copies to potential benefactors who might be generous back to him, and selling the rest for cash. The titlepage (Plate 2) states that the books were ‘printed by William Godbid for the Author’, and were ‘published by Walter Porter’, so the project evidently proceeded at the composer’s own financial risk. Somewhat misleadingly, Porter called his work Mottets of Two Voyces; it is in fact a collection of 17 metrical psalms in English, mostly setting verse paraphrases by George Sandys, and it was published as a slim three-volume set, one partbook each for the two singers, a third for the accompanist.

Plate 2.

The collection is also curious for being dedicated in two ways at once. On the one hand, Porter addressed the whole book to Edward Laurence, explaining that these pieces had been ‘composed for a great Lover of Musick, and my especial friend, Sir Edward Spencer, an Honorable Mecenas to all Virtuoso’s known to him’; perhaps Porter hoped that Laurence would now step into Spencer’s shoes. On the other hand, Porter dedicated each of the 17 ‘mottets’ individually to a named colleague or friend, these works being (in the words of his preface) the sole gift he was able to offer them, ‘not having, according to the blessed Apostle St. Peter, either Gold or Silver’. Presumably Porter gave a printed copy of the Mottets to each of these dedictees. Whether or not he reaped any financial benefit from the project is unknown, and within three years of its issue he was dead. The books subsequently fell into some eminent hands. Samuel Pepys, for instance, owned a copy, and a diary entry by him for 4 September 1664 records ‘... the boy and I again to the singing of Mr Porter’s mottets...’.

Only ten surviving copies of the Mottets have been recorded, some of which now lack one or more volumes from the original three-partbook set. Christ Church owns three complete copies, all of them in perfect condition.

Moreover, each of the Christ Church copies has been extensively annotated by Walter Porter himself, a characteristic they share with three other surviving sets: the ones in the Bodleian and York Minster Library, and one volume from a mixed-provenance set in Glasgow University Library. No doubt Porter would have carried on marking up copies before distribution and sale, but his death put paid to that. Instead, copies released posthumously went into the world unannotated, as shown by the sets now in the British Library and the Royal College of Music, and the remaining Glasgow partbooks. (A copy in the Montagu Collection at Boughton House, privately owned by the Duke of Buccleuch, has not yet been examined.)

Porter’s reasons for annotating his printed books were threefold. First, he decided to expand the preface so that it made explicit mention of his links with the late Claudio Monteverdi, a prestigious connection that no other living English composer could boast; see Plate 3. Second, he needed to correct some errors in the verbal and musical text that had been made by the printer or himself. Third, in copies intended for donation Porter added handwritten addresses to the recipients.

Comparison of the Christ Church copies, however, also reveals something else: two of them contain cancel leaves. Their existence is not hard to explain: probably through carelessness, Porter had been inconsistent in dedicating specific ‘mottets’ to individual people, and some serious errors occurred in sigs. [C-D1] of the ‘Treble or Tenor’ partbook. Clearly these could not be allowed to stand, so Porter cancelled three leaves and had them reprinted – but only after some defective copies had already left his hands.

The first of the three Christ Church copies, Mus. 818-20, was meant for donation. Its intended recipient was William Webb, a London singing teacher who, like Porter, had been a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; however, Webb died in 1657, the year of publication, so this copy cannot have been in his hands for long. On the inside front wrappers of two partbooks, Porter has written ‘Ex[amined]’; and in the vocal ‘Bassus’ partbook he added the handwritten dedication to Webb shown in Plate 4.
Church set is almost identical to the copy now in the Bodleian Library (Mus. Sch. d.349), which is Porter’s equivalent presentation set to another dedicatee and former Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Dr John Wilson (1597-1674), lutenist, composer and Oxford D. Mus.

The second Christ Church set, Mus. 821-3, is somewhat different. On the inside front wrappers of two partbooks Porter has written ‘Ex[amined] B’, indicating that the contents had been corrected. However, this copy contains the defective early state of sigs. [C-D1], with the erroneous dedications; see Plate 5, where ‘mottet’ no. V is incorrectly dedicated to ‘Mr. William Setterthwait’, and compare it with Plate 6 (from the first Christ Church set), where a cancel leaf now gives a correct dedication of the same work to ‘John Mostin Esq.’.

Changes made in one copy do not necessarily appear in a second copy. Moreover, not all the annotations found in the three Christ Church sets recur in the Bodleian, York and Glasgow copies – and in turn, the Bodleian, York and Glasgow copies contain changes not found in the Christ Church sets.

Discrepancies in the number of annotations might logically have occurred if Porter had initially spotted only some of the errors, but in time accumulated a larger tally of things he needed to add or correct. If so, then a partially annotated set might be reckoned an ‘early-release’ copy, and a more fully emended set a ‘later-release’ one.

But the situation is not so simple. Almost certainly Porter did gradually increase his tally of desirable changes, but he did not necessarily always enter the full tally when annotating a new copy. Possibly this is because he was unsystematic; possibly he had more than one master copy and got in a muddle. Whatever the reason, the surviving copies of Porter’s Mottets face us with a paradox: although some have been adjusted in important ways by their author, they have not been emended identically, and none contains the full tally of Porter’s intended changes.

In many respects it closely resembles the set now in York Minster Library (P284/1-3(S)), which is Porter’s presentation set to ‘Mr Pagitt’, presumably the Justinian Pagett to whom ‘mottet’ no. VII is dedicated; it too has the early state of sigs. [C-D1], and wrappers of thick marbled paper. Why the second Christ Church set should lack a handwritten dedication is unknown. Possibly Porter gave it to a friend who was not a dedicatee of any of the ‘mottets’.

The third Christ Church set was bound by Aldrich into Mus. 878-80, a set of tract volumes that contain other printed and manuscript music of similar page-dimensions. This copy of the Mottets lacks its original wrappers, and has no handwritten dedication, but again Porter has added the word ‘Ex[amine]d’ to the titlepage of the ‘Treble or Tenor’ partbook (Mus. 878); so perhaps this was a copy he sold or planned to sell.

Turning to the musical text, it might have been expected that all three copies of Porter’s Mottets at Christ Church would have been corrected and annotated in similar or even identical ways, since they had all been personally ‘examined’ by the composer himself. But this is not the case.

Several hundred annotations in the books could be used to demonstrate this point, but a mere five will be illustrated here. They occur at the start of ‘mottet’ no. XI in the vocal Bassus partbook.

Plate 7, reproduced from the first Christ Church copy, shows that Porter adjusted the print in five ways: (1) he changed the dedication from ‘William’ to ‘John’; (2) six notes from the end of the stave he added a minim in manuscript; (3) he also added a sharp before this note; (4) he then tied this note to its successor; (5) at the end of the stave he scraped away the printed symbol called a ‘direct’, and replaced it with a handwritten direct one note higher.
All five of these changes are necessary; the second and third of them are essential.

In the second Christ Church copy (Plate 8), Porter made the second, third, fourth and fifth changes, but not the first, possibly because he released this copy before noticing that ‘William’ should read ‘John’.

Plate 9, from the third Christ Church copy, shows another variation: here the first, second and fourth changes have been made, but not the crucial third or the fifth. (Pepys and his boy, if singing from this copy, would have had a nasty shock here.)

To judge from these variants it might seem that the first of the Christ Church copies is the best one to follow, but this is not always the case. Elsewhere it is the second or third copy that has been most fully corrected, and not the first. And even when all the changes in the Christ Church copies have been taken into account, there are further ones to be found in the York, Bodleian and Glasgow copies.

In short, the only way of locating Porter’s full tally of intended changes is to examine every copy he annotated – and even then in the knowledge that these may not tell the whole story, since other annotated copies have been lost.

Three lessons can be learnt from this. First, when readers of early printed books encounter handwritten changes in the text, they should not assume that these are necessarily users’ markings. Annotations may have been made at the printing-house or even by the author, and the truth is likely to emerge only after several copies have been compared. Second, where author annotations do exist, no single copy should be trusted to include the full tally of intended corrections, and it is therefore always wise to view as many copies as possible.

In short, readers should beware of what Falconer Madan called ‘the duplicity of duplicates’. His admonition, published a century ago this year, was made in respect of printing practices, but it applies equally well to manuscript additions arising from the printer’s or author’s quest for the elusive condition of ‘ideal copy’. No two copies should be assumed to be identical unless proved otherwise.

Finally (and returning to the dilemma facing the Christ Church librarians in 1906), we should perhaps raise our hats to Mrs Florence Weedon for her careful scrutiny of the so-called ‘duplicates’. Within the notes she compiled, there are observations such as the ones shown in Plate 10.

Clearly Mrs Weedon saw that each copy of Porter’s Mottets had different characteristics, and was therefore to an extent unique. In other words, she was smart enough not to be duped by duplicates. Due to her sharp eyes, the librarians decided to keep rather than to sell; and it is therefore thanks to her that this article could be researched and written.

John Milsom
Christ Church

3 This point can be missed by editors of facsimiles who remove ‘unwanted’ manuscript annotations in a bid to clean up the plates. A number of important facsimiles of early printed music and music theory have turned out to be ‘fakesimiles’ of the texts they claim to reproduce.

Cataloguing Music at the Bodleian: Past, Present and Future

In his Lyell lectures of 1980-1981, Ian Philip described the Bodleian Library’s first printed catalogue of 1605 as “an interesting, but rather untidy, compromise”,¹ a description that could probably be applied to many cataloguing ventures, especially those in large and historic institutions such as the Bodleian. At the best of times, cataloguing is a messy activity. However many rules are devised, there is such variety in printed matter (and still more in manuscript material) that even apparently simple questions like ‘Who is the author?’ and ‘What is the title?’ frequently require the application of more-or-less subjective “cataloguer’s judgement”. A cataloguer rarely has the luxury of being able to start afresh and apply consistent rules to an entire collection. Standards and user needs and expectations evolve over time, as do technologies.

David Loggan, Bibliotheca Publica Bodleiana & Scholae sive Auditoria Artium Liberalium, ut ad Austrum Spectantur [Aerial view of the Bodleian Library], in Oxonia Illustrata (1675). Copper engraving, 297 x 397 mm.

In reviewing the history of the Bodleian’s catalogues through the ages, common themes which recur with each published attempt to record the Library’s collections, in 1605, 1620, 1674, 1738 and 1843 to the start of the transcribed catalogue in the late 1850s and beyond, include lack of funding, what to include and exclude, wild underestimates of the length of time such ventures would take, as well as the grappling with elementary principles of cataloguing such as the formulation of headings and levels of description. These are all issues which continue to exercise our minds today as we plan and carry out any cataloguing project, chief among them probably being the financial question. In the 17th century, the solution to the funding problem was for the Library’s Curators to insist that every person who was admitted as a reader must buy their own copy of the Library’s published catalogue! In the case of Thomas Hyde’s 1674 catalogue, that meant forking out 19 shillings for a copy before being allowed to set foot in the Library.²

When it comes to Music, the Library’s solution to the thorny problem of cataloguing seems to have been to ignore it for as long as possible. To be fair, the Library did not own much music until the late 18th century. Music was, of course, included in the medieval manuscripts that the Library acquired from the outset, and odd musical items were donated or contained in the large bequests that the Library received in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, although music was not specifically excluded from the agreement that Sir Thomas Bodley reached with the Stationers’ Company in 1610, that their members would deposit a copy of every item they published in the Library (or subsequent legislation on legal deposit), very little published music was received in this way until the latter part of the 18th century. Sheet music began to be received in quantity from 1759 but, in the words of Sir Edmund Craster, “though considerable in bulk, it lacked the merit of being either exhaustive or selective”.³ The legal deposit music was piled up in cupboards in the Logic School as it arrived and left well alone.

At that time, by far the more important collection of music was that held by the Music School, under the direction of the Heather Professor of Music, and stored in the Schola Musicae in the Old Schools quadrangle, but this was totally separate from the Bodleian’s own collections. The first really significant addition to the Bodleian’s own music holdings came in the year 1801 with the bequest of the Revd. Osborne Wight, Fellow of New College and an amateur musician.

In 1845, the Revd. Henry E. Havergal, a chaplain of New College and Christ Church and assistant in the Library, began to sort and arrange the legal deposit music. He categorised it as instrumental or vocal music, and had it bound, mostly alphabetically by composer, in some 300-400 volumes, although it remained uncatalogued. However, about a year later, Havergal did produce a catalogue of the Wight collection of manuscripts, at around the same time that he was working on a catalogue of the Christ Church collection.

In 1850, the Hebdomadal Board commissioned the Revd. Robert Hake, another New College man, to make a catalogue of the Music School collection,⁴ which includes both printed and manuscript material, and this, apart from a couple of early lists which used

² ibid., p. 51.
⁴ GB-Ob MUS. AC. 2.
to hang, framed, in the Schola Musicae, was the first complete listing of the collection, with the exception of the sequence of BMus and DMus exercises. Not long after the appointment of Sir Frederick Ouseley as Heather Professor in 1855, when Music began to be taken more seriously as an academic subject within the University, a resolution was passed which authorised the transfer of the Bodleian’s collection of music to the Music School. In fact, this never happened and in 1885, the Music School collection came under the control of the Bodleian, both collections being kept together in the Schola Musicae.

The appointment of E.W.B. Nicholson as Bodley’s Librarian in 1882 brought a new cataloguing culture to the Bodleian for, whereas previous generations had excluded certain categories of material (like music) from the catalogues, Nicholson was very keen that everything received by the Library should be included, although not all his colleagues agreed with him. It was therefore at Nicholson’s immediate instigation that new music acquisitions were catalogued and bound on receipt and efforts made to deal with the backlog.

Having grappled with the difficulties of published catalogues for the best part of 250 years, taking its lead from recent developments in the British Museum, the Library had adopted the principle of the ‘movable slip’ pasted into guard books for the wholesale revision of the 1843 catalogue of printed books which began in 1859. Leading on from that, the new catalogue of printed music was begun on hand-written slips, late in 1882, by a Mr W.R. Sims, with the eventual intention of its being transferred to cards and possibly published. In fact, the card catalogue was not begun until 1926, by which time the typewriter had taken over from handwriting to generate the finished product. By 1931, the more important music from the handwritten slips had also been transferred to cards although a significant number (in excess of 50,000 slips) remained and still remain unconverted, mostly the music of minor Victorian composers which was presumably considered to be not worth the effort.

The catalogue records on cards were based on the simplified rules that came into effect when the general Pre-1920 catalogue was closed. These were revised in 1939 when additional rules for cataloguing music were added as an appendix. The records from the general Post-1920 catalogue were to be printed by OUP who apparently charged by the character so the entries were characterised by their brevity, with the use of abbreviations wherever possible. Although the cards were typed rather than sent for printing, the brief approach was also applied to the Music catalogue. It was not until the 1960s when more detail was included in the music records that the rules were once again revised in the light of the international developments which led to the first edition of the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules in 1967. At this point, the music catalogue also became more colourful as a system of colour coded cards was introduced.

When the Post-1920 guard book catalogue was closed in favour of online cataloguing in 1988, Music did not immediately jump onto the automation bandwagon, preferring to wait a few years while teething troubles were worked out. In any case, at that time, far fewer music records were available in external databases to make the sharing of bibliographic data between libraries, one of the principal benefits of online cataloguing, particularly useful. Online cataloguing for music began at the Bodleian in 1992, at which point the card catalogue was closed, (with the exception of certain finite series, for which cards continued to be added for a few years). In common with the rest of the Library, the move to automation brought not only a completely different cataloguing culture but also entailed the learning of a new, international cataloguing standard, the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, 2nd edition and all new accessions of printed music are now catalogued on receipt to this standard. Nothing ever stands still, however, and we are now on the verge of adopting another set of cataloguing rules, RDA (Resource Description and Access).

Of course, online catalogues did not, and still don’t, please everybody. While, in many ways, they offer much greater flexibility than a manual catalogue and allow people to discover the Library’s holdings from a distance with multiple access points, it is not always easy to find known items and this can be particularly true for music, with its multiplicity of different editions, generic titles and variety of formats. Some people find it easier to browse through the structured order of a drawer of cards to locate a particular volume in a collected edition, for example, than to find it in the jungle of results which is very often retrieved from an online search. The recent trend away from ‘traditional’ OPACs (Online Public Access Catalogues), in which the ability to browse the indexes was a central feature, to what are termed ‘resource discovery tools’ (such as Oxford’s online catalogue SOLO),6 with their emphasis on keyword searching, is not seen by everyone to be altogether good news, but does have advantages and systems are constantly being developed to improve their capabilities.

Over the years, funding has been found for a few retrospective conversion projects to recatalogue certain sections of the card catalogue, including a large proportion of the Library’s opera scores, music hall songs and pre-1800 editions. In odd moments, cataloguers have succeeded in recataloguing many

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5 Craster, op. cit., p. 79.
6 http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
sets of scholarly collected editions and other major series, along with the complete holdings of a number of significant 20th-century composers. However, an estimated 75% of the Bodleian’s printed music holdings still remains accessible only via the card or slip catalogues and with existing depleted staffing rates, the scope for accommodating much retrospective conversion within the day-to-day work of current staff is practically nil.

A few years ago, the Bodleian and Cambridge University Library collaborated in a joint study, known as Harmonia Mundi, to investigate the possibility of a full retrospective conversion of their respective music catalogues, but this concluded that to do so along traditional lines would be prohibitively expensive. A back-of-the-envelope calculation had already suggested that a single cataloguer, working flat-out for 100 years, would be hard-pressed to recatalogue the Bodleian’s printed music holdings in this way. It is not surprising, therefore, that Library Management are anxious to pursue alternative strategies although, by virtue of being cheaper, they are also likely to be less than ideal solutions to the problem. Nevertheless, steps are being taken which should transform access to the Library’s music materials.

One experimental approach, instigated by Bodley’s Librarian in 2010, is to involve the public at large in contributing towards the creation of a catalogue. The crowd-sourcing project known as ‘What’s the score at the Bodleian?’ aims to engage the public in describing a group of around 4,000 pieces of Victorian piano music which didn’t, for one reason or another, even make it into the Slip catalogue in the 1880s (see http://www.whats-the-score.org/). The project is funded by Google and hosted by Zooniverse, leaders in the so-called ‘citizen-science’ field. The scores have been digitised and the scans made available via a platform adapted by Zooniverse from one of their other projects. Using a simple set of guidelines, people are invited to transcribe the information from the scores to build up descriptions which will eventually be associated with the digitised images and made searchable through an image database. While the results of this ongoing experiment have not yet been fully analysed, the complexity of even relatively simple printed music such as this is likely to be too great to result in high quality results. The most successful crowd-sourcing projects have generally involved the gathering of much simpler data but part of the experiment is to ascertain the level of metadata necessary to provide adequate access to this kind of material. However, this approach can be applied only to out-of-copyright material so is limited to older items. Nevertheless, much is being learned from the experience and any descriptive data gathered from this project will improve access to these scores which are, at present, completely uncatalogued.

The appropriateness of crowd-sourcing for constructing whole catalogues is debatable but elements of the approach can have a valuable role to play in enriching the basic bibliographic descriptions produced by librarians or, increasingly, by publishers or other bibliographic utilities at the point of publication. There is plenty of scope for academics or mere enthusiasts to contribute their specialist knowledge to enhance or correct the data that is already there and online catalogues provide the perfect environment in which this can be done. This is not a new idea in Oxford: in the 17th century, the Library Curators encouraged scholars to write the names of authors on the title pages of anonymous works, if they knew them!

Since the Harmonia Mundi report effectively put an end to a full recataloguing project for Music, another, less costly approach is being adopted in an exercise to convert the card and slip catalogues for printed music and maps to electronic form. Funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the cards and slips of both the Music and Map collections have been scanned and the information on them is being typed into a database by an external company specialising in such work. The data is initially being keyboarded into a simplified EAD format (Encoded Archival Description) and, after a certain amount of checking, correction and global enhancement where possible, the data will eventually be converted into basic MARC records which will then be made available for cross-searching within SOLO. Since the cards were created to different (and varying) standards, never intended for online searching, the records will not be consistent with current cataloguing and, while recognising that this approach is far from ideal, the availability of the records online in any form will be a major step forward. A pilot scheme will also be initiated to try to match groups of records against the WorldCat database in order to retrieve higher-quality records where possible. In addition, the scanned cards will shortly be made available for browsing online as a virtual card catalogue, providing remote access to a large part of the Library’s printed music collections for the first time.

Attention has focused so far on printed music. For manuscript music, Havergal’s catalogue of the Wight bequest (ca. 1846) and Robert Hake’s catalogue of the Music School collection (ca. 1855) are the earliest examples. In the Library at large, there had also been a tendency to create separate catalogues for each manuscript collection, several of which go to make up the so-called ‘Quarto’ series of catalogues. By 1876, a backlog of some 2,600 manuscripts had built up in the Library and by 1890, considerable pressure was being applied to address the problem by producing a ‘summary’ rather than a more detailed catalogue. The Sub-Librarian, Falconer

7 See http://mapsandmusic.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/project/about/ for more information.
Madan, regarded the detailed ‘Quarto’ catalogues as a luxury the Library could not afford but Nicholson, whose natural tendency was towards elaboration, did not want to waste time on a “makeshift summary”. Nevertheless, the Summary Catalogue was started and continued when Madan took over as Bodley’s Librarian on Nicholson’s death in 1912.

The Summary Catalogue\(^9\) was gradually published over a number of years, and includes the music manuscripts which the Library had acquired up to 1915. The entries in the Summary Catalogue still remain the primary descriptions for music manuscripts acquired to this time, the bulk of which are contained in the Wight collection (included in vol. 4) and the Music School collection (in vol. 5).

Since that time, the Library has acquired large numbers of 19th- and 20th-century manuscripts and most of these have been given summary-style typescript descriptions stored in loose-leaf binders, and partially indexed on cards in the Music reading room. Revised descriptions of some of the Music School manuscripts were made by Margaret Crum and others and these, too, are currently accessible only via a loose-leaf binder, along with a mass of other useful information, contributed by various people over the years but now crying out to be incorporated into a better system. Some collection-level descriptions for music manuscripts have also been added to the Online Catalogues of Western Manuscripts database but these provide no more than basic information that some of the larger collections exist.

The Tenbury collection has its own published catalogue,\(^10\) compiled by E.H. Fellowes and Watkins Shaw but this, too, is now greatly in need of revision.

The other major collection treated to its own published catalogue is the Mendelssohn collection,\(^11\) its three volumes compiled by Margaret Crum and Peter Ward Jones during the 1970s and 80s. Again this is now out-of-date, and, for the most recent information, Mendelssohn scholars around the world have to come to Oxford to consult the annotated copies in the Library.

Pre-1800 manuscripts were also recatalogued during the 1960s and 70s for the RISM project\(^12\) and revised when incipits became a requirement in the 1980s. The microfilm copy of the earlier set of RISM cards has provided probably the most complete index to these and manuscripts in other UK institutions to date. Owing to a quirk of fate which meant that the funding became available to revise the Oxford records before many other libraries, our RISM records, inscribed on paper slips and cards, were sent to Germany early on with the expectation that they would appear in future printed RISM volumes, although the manuscript series is now being issued online. However, due largely to funding problems within RISM, these records have languished unattended until very recently when a smattering of Bodleian records began to appear in the international RISM-OPAC. To date, only a handful of records for Bodleian manuscripts have been processed. In the meantime, RISM has, in a sense, splintered into several national groups who have set up their own databases, so libraries whose records were revised later than ours are now being included in the UK-RISM database. The Bodleian and Christ Church are left in the anomalous position of being among the few UK libraries to be included in the international database and it is the intention to incorporate the data into the UK database as well. However, some of the scholarship behind the RISM records is itself now already at least 20 years old so some of the RISM records themselves are likely to be in need of revision. The prospect of having the records for all the manuscripts in an electronic format so that they can be relatively easily updated as scholarship sheds new light on their contents is a goal towards which we are working but one which will require considerable resources and is not going to be easily achieved. Therefore, with the exception of the few records that have appeared in RISM-OPAC to date, there is currently no online catalogue of the Bodleian’s music manuscripts (unless the recently-digitised copy of the Summary Catalogue is taken into account) although the guides to the commercial microfilm sets of our manuscripts can also provide useful access.\(^15\) Neither of these provides anything like the level of detailed cataloguing which the Christ Church manuscripts enjoy, thanks to the efforts of John Milsom and Matthew Phillips in recent years.

So, as to the future, we are at a crossroads. It is not desirable that more paper descriptions should be created but the best way forward to a full online catalogue for music manuscripts is still not clear. More consultation is required with colleagues both in the Bodleian and in other institutions before any real

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8 Craster, op. cit., p. 206.
9 A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been Catalogued in the Quarto Series: with References to the Oriental and Other Manuscripts. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1953. 7 vols. in 8. (A digitized copy is now freely available online: see http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/diDisplay.do?vid=OXVU1&docId=oxfaleph010116452)
12 Répertoire international des sources musicales.
13 http://opac.rism.info/
14 http://www.rism.org.uk/
15 These are now searchable online, in a basic way, through the Gale-Cengage web pages (http://microformguides.gale.com/)
decisions can be made to enable future music manuscript cataloguing to be done online. Considerably more funding will then need to be raised if the retrospective recataloguing of the existing collections is to be achieved. As an interim measure, the intention is to mount PDF versions of some of the loose-leaf descriptions on the Library’s web pages. This is hardly an ideal long-term solution but making the physical resources which are currently available only to scholars who are able to visit the Bodleian’s reading rooms accessible to the wider world will be a substantial step forward.

However, an exciting development on the horizon is the prospect of a catalogue of the Music School collection to be created by Professor Jonathan Wainwright along the lines of the Christ Church catalogue. The two collections (or accumulations in John Milsom’s terms) are so closely related that a similar approach which can be integrated, or at least cross-searched, with the Christ Church catalogue makes perfect sense. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the experience gained in planning this project will help to inform the future direction for the Library’s music manuscript cataloguing in general. The intention is to seek relatively modest funding to help develop or adapt the Christ Church software, or repurpose existing software along the lines that Matthew Phillips would like to see it develop, in order to improve the data structure and make it more compliant with current standards. Other collections of western manuscripts in the Library are now catalogued using the EAD system (Encoded Archival Description) but this may not offer the best solution for music manuscripts. The UK-RISM database uses MARC, as does Cambridge University Library for its music manuscripts so it might make sense to follow that route, although there is no precedent for using MARC for manuscript cataloguing in Oxford. MARC is an aging standard, originally designed to encode data for the automated generation of catalogue cards, so adopting it at this stage might not be ideal. However, there seem to be increasing possibilities for accommodating and cross-searching varied formats and using a different approach for music is probably justifiable. RDA, the new cataloguing rules, also needs to be investigated as a potential descriptive standard. Whatever approach is chosen, it will be important to ensure that it will interact with other systems, allowing for the easy interchange and linking of data and digital images as they become available, and contributing to the vision, articulated by Julia Craig-McFeely in her presentation earlier, of everything being “joined up” in some way. Irrespective of what is decided, additional resources will be required and those resources will be substantial if retrospective conversion of the existing manuscript catalogues is to be attempted.

Martin Holmes
Alfred Brendel Curator of Music

On Plans for Cataloguing the Oxford University Music School Collection
Links with the Christ Church Collection

Alan Howard concluded his review of the Christ Church Music Catalogue by stating: ‘One can only hope that the custodians of other great collections of manuscript music around the world, many with published catalogues that are similarly long overdue for replacement, will rise to the challenge sooner rather than later.’

This article is concerned with the project to catalogue the Bodleian Music School Collection which begins in October 2013. I shall describe briefly the importance of the Music School Collection, mention some of its links with the Christ Church collection, and, using examples from the Christ Church collection, give a few examples of the sorts of things that can – and I am sure will – be revealed when undertaking the study of sources in the Bodleian Collection.

The Bodleian custodians have long acknowledged the need for a new catalogue and I am already grateful – even before the project has begun – to Martin Holmes and others on the Bodleian staff for their help in getting the project moving. It has, of course, long been recognized that the Bodleian Music School Collection of manuscripts and printed sources is one of the most important collections of 16th- to 18th-century music in the world.

The collection began with a bequest from William Heather in 1627 of 42 sets of madrigals and motets printed in England, Italy and the Low Countries between 1575 and 1624, together with the famous Forrest-Heather partbooks of Tudor church music. To this nucleus, additions were made throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the collection is especially rich in English and Italian music from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century (including a complete set of William Boyce’s Odes for the King’s Birthday and the New Year, 1755–79).

Of particular note is the substantial number of printed sources of Italian instrumental music from the mid to late 17th century (sonatas by the likes of Bassani, Castello, Cazzati, Degli Antoni, Legrenzi, Veracini and Vitali, and 14 of these sets are unique – a parallel there with the Christ Church collection which also contains many unique exemplars of printed sources from this period). These instrumental sources were written about as long ago as 1954 by Denis Stevens, but he was unable to provide any clue to their original provenance. Peter Holman has given me a lead to follow which suggests that they came from the Sherard collection (specifically via James Sherard’s brother William who may have collected them on the grand tour in the late 17th century). It is the study of binding and annotations that will reveal such information.

A key character who links the Christ Church collection to the Bodleian Music School collection (and supports the suggestion that the two catalogues should be closely aligned) is the Christ Church and Chapel Royal organist Edward Lowe (c.1610–1682). Lowe’s contribution to the Music School collection was immense. As Professor of Music he ran the Thursday afternoon Music School meetings and continued the development of the Music School collection. One of the early catalogues of this particular collection, made by Lowe’s successor Richard Goodson sr, outlines the holdings in 1682. It also lists ‘The Gift of Mr Lowe late Professor’ and notes the manuscripts purchased during Lowe’s professorship. Important information on, for example, provenance, is also revealed by the numerous extremely useful annotations that Lowe added to the covers of various collections. We find out, for example, that the North family’s manuscripts of music by John Jenkins and others were purchased in 1667 from ‘Mr Wood’ (most likely Anthony Wood) for £22 [Mus. Sch. C.81–91 & C.98–101 & E.406–9]. Lowe’s links with Court musicians also proved useful and explains the presence of music by, for example, John Hingeston [Mus. Sch. D.205–11] and important autograph sources of William Lawes – probably donated by Henry Lawes whose will Lowe witnessed in 1662 [Mus. Sch. D.229, D.238–40 and B.2 & 3].

The importance of codicological/bibliographical study does not, of course, need promoting, but I want to briefly look at two examples from the Christ Church collection that demonstrate the importance of careful bibliographical study.

The first is an apparently unassuming collection: Mus. 249–55 Giovanni Valentini’s Secondo Libro de Madrigali (Venice, 1616) with early 17th-century covers of thin white card. We have voice-names on the upper covers added probably by Malchair, but no immediately obvious signs of provenance. However, the upper cover of Mus. 254 is annotated ‘Giovanni Valentini Madrigales A 4. 5. voci Secondo Libro’ by George Holmes, one of Christopher Hatton III’s secretaries and, furthermore, when one turns to the basso continuo partbook, we discover that the pages were stitched in the wrong order. To facilitate performance (one assumes) some manuscript slips were glued to the ends of pages. These turn out to be in the hand of a copyist closely associated with Hatton: Stephen Bing. A likely provenance, then, of the Valentini is revealed and evidence for the performance of early 17th-century Italian secular music in some circle – Civil War court circles if you believe Wainwright – is suggested.

Evidence of the practical use of Hatton’s printed music is also to be found in another Hatton source, Christ Church Mus. 877–80.

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5 See note 3.

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Manuscript copied by Stephen Bing in the 1640s. The left-hand marks the end of a collection of basso continuo parts of motets by Italian contemporaries of Monteverdi. The right-hand page marks the start of a collection of madrigals by Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa.

John Milsom describes these partbooks as follows: ‘Works by Dering, Notari, Wilson, Porter, Gesualdo etc. A miscellany of manuscript and printed music, assembled in four volumes for Henry Aldrich in the last quarter of the seventeenth century [...] Mus. 877–80 contains a total of seven layers, five of which are manuscript, the remaining two printed. The printed layers and two of the manuscript layers are complete; the remaining three manuscript layers now lack a partbook, and may well have been incomplete by the time they came into Aldrich’s possession.’

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I could talk at length about the seven layers which include Dering and Notari, both the subject of my recent research, but I want to hone in on the last fascicle of the continuo book. Again I quote John in the catalogue: ‘Layer 7 (Mus. 880 only): manuscript. Basso continuo parts for three sets of five-voice madrigals by Carlo Gesualdo (books 2, 1 and 4), copied by Stephen Bing; English, 1640s. [...] This layer was presumably intended to complement printed editions of Gesualdo’s madrigals, and possibly the copies now bound within Mus. 908-12 [which I suggest were of Hatton provenance]. The continuo parts are often in effect short scores of three complete books of Gesualdo madrigals. We need to be clear of the significance here: it suggests the possibility, at least, that in court circles in the late 1630s or early 1640s, as the country moved inexorably towards Civil War, a group of English singers, perhaps in Oxford, were having a sing through of Gesualdo’s madrigals with some help from a continuo player.

These are just two examples of the numerous revelations that have come about through the cataloguing of the Christ Church music collection. I am confident that a complementary catalogue of the Bodleian Music School collection has the same potential to reveal exciting new discoveries. The following sections briefly outline the scope of the new catalogue.

Objectives and Methodology

Creating an accessible database-catalogue of the Music School printed music and manuscripts so that researchers and general readers have a ‘user-friendly’, wide-ranging guide to the materials prepared to the highest bibliographical standards.

The key datasets will be as follows:

Printed works: Title of publication (to display in either the original or modern uniform title form), composer (to display either as given in the source or standard modern form), printer/publisher, place of publication, date, titles of individual pieces in the collection (and pagination), incipits, key bibliographic references, and copy details (copy-specific information and shelfmark).

The key research elements of the project, however, will concern:

Manuscript materials: Full bibliographic description including: date, number of leaves, foliation/pagination, paper dimensions, details of blank pages, number of staves per page and rastra details, watermarks (briefly described and any bibliographical references noted), collation, script (division of scribal labour), binding, inscriptions and decorations. Manuscript inventory giving the following information: composers (to display either as given in the source or standard modern form), original numbering systems (where they exist), title &/or first line (original and modern forms), incipits, scoring, folios/pages, annotations, references to older Music School catalogues), and any major modern editions of the work in question.

In addition, information will be given about the physical appearance and provenance history of every item, and general pages will be given on the major scribes, original collectors/owners, and all keywords will be given as hyperlinks to enable users to cross-refer between entries. As there are many links between the Music School Collection and the music at Christ Church Oxford (through, for example, copyists, musicians, owners, etc.) this catalogue will be closely aligned and linked to John Milsom’s online Christ Church Music Catalogue. Links will be made to key bibliographical sources including: RISM, New Grove Online, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Early English Books Online, English Short Title Catalogue, and any OpenURL resolvers to link to full text of cited books and articles.

Technology

At a minimum, the Christ Church Music Catalogue database system (which concerns a complementary collection and is heavily used by scholars) will be utilized with the permission and support of its designer, Matthew Phillips. If, however, the Bodleian Library receives matching funding for this project, an improved and extended database will be created. Consultations have taken place with Matthew Phillips and with Martin Holmes (Bodleian Music Librarian) and Christine Madsen (Bodleian Digital Library Systems and Services) to ensure that the project has the support of the Bodleian and the data that will be created is compatible with the Bodleian’s current systems. Care will also be taken to enable the incorporation and linking of future online catalogues as they become available (e.g. to the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music as that expands to cover sixteenth- to eighteenth-century music manuscripts).

Outcome and Impact

The outcome will be a permanent accessible reference tool that will be used by students, scholars and general readers alike. The collection is of such importance that it will, like the Christ Church catalogue, be consulted regularly from around the world and the potential for it leading to new discoveries is immense.

Jonathan Wainwright
University of York
Creating online access to manuscript images
The future of the Christ Church Library Music Catalogue

Fourteen years ago I started work on DIAMM (www.diamm.ac.uk), an online resource delivering very high-resolution images of medieval music manuscripts. In 1998 having a website was considered frivolous, and 90% of libraries had no internet access. Since then the world has changed radically, and incredibly fast. DIAMM has become a byword in medieval manuscript image and metadata delivery, and a resource as essential to researchers as the printed catalogues of the Répertoire international des sources musicales (RISM) used to be (partly because it includes all of RISM relevant to medieval sources).

A deluxe colour facsimile of Eton College MS 1, The 'Eton Choirbook', compiled for use in Eton College Chapel in the early 1500s. Apart from its superb contents, the MS is unusual as it has never left its original home, although it was 'lost' by being stored in an old trunk in an attic for several centuries! It has been reproduced by DIAMM Publications with an extensive introductory study by Magnus Williamson.

The DIAMM website started as a simple image delivery site: a list of manuscripts where you clicked on a heading and then you got a page of pictures. This worked because we were digitizing fragments, and each page would consist of no more than 10 images. The images were delivered as pdfs, which could notionally be print-protected and which also made them zoomable.

In these early days if you wanted to see a very large image in a browser you might have to wait half an hour or so for it to load (particularly if you only had a modem connection), but since the point of what we were doing was to get really high-quality images of manuscripts – most had deteriorated or were quite damaged due to having been used for binding reinforcement – being able to zoom in on detail was essential but also an unusual luxury. Users were patient, and they got access to pretty good images, usually accompanied by the cup of tea and sandwich they had had time to make whilst waiting for them to load.

It didn’t take long before this became impractical, and user pressure and expectation forced changes. Fortunately the inexorable march of web development had opened up options and we were able to adapt. From simply creating access through a manuscript list (useful only to those who already knew what they were looking for), we found that ideally our images should be nested in a warm and comforting information environment. So we provided document descriptions that were taken from catalogues that had been published from the 1950s on, RISM series B IV and the 5 volume Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550.

Again, technology marched on, and our users began to get web-savvy, and very demanding. By 2002 people were expecting everything to be searchable, and what we delivered was beginning to be frustrating because the magic internet had given people the impression that they could have whatever they wanted and they could have it free too. Amazon really took off around 2002-3 (they turned their first profit in 2001); they created a paradigm for website delivery, with complex interlinked searching through an easy and intuitive interface: other books you might like; what other people who bought this book have bought; wishlists; custom user lists and so on. This started to be the norm around 2006, but it wasn’t until 2010 that sales of eBooks on Amazon outstripped the sale of hardback printed books.

Google books was launched in 2004, announcing partnerships with several high-profile university and public libraries (including the Bodleian). 2005 saw the start of the inevitable lawsuits (still ongoing), but by March 2012 Google had scanned more than 20 million books. Online access to books is therefore unstoppable, and it has pushed printed text OCR (Optical Character Recognition) forward to the point where it is now a reasonably reliable tool for searching text content in images of non-digital text.

In 2004 DIAMM was able to allow its user community to search for keywords in the document descriptions, and manage our growing lists of manuscript via staged access (country > city > library > shelfmark). Our content was growing steadily, but demand for the catalogue data had outstripped the demand for images – or at least people had realised that we were gathering images as fast as we could afford to, but that having online access to catalogues that were too expensive to buy and therefore had to be visited
in person in a library was just as useful in facilitating their work. DIAMM expanded its data content between 2004 and 2008 with funding from the Mellon Foundation so that information about all medieval and all early-modern music manuscripts was available, not only those we had digitized. In the process we began updating the catalogues, which had last been updated nearly 50 years ago, so anything that had been discovered since then was not listed. The DIAMM database is now the most complete source for information about all polyphonic music manuscripts prior to 1600.

By 2005 we realised that we needed to define our mission (something we’d never bothered to do before, perhaps partly in rebellion against caving in to buzzworditis), because we were in danger of expanding to the point where we could never hope to be comprehensive. Even having drawn a line under what we would deliver and what the user would have to find for themselves, our content is massive, and as a result massively incomplete. Opportunistically adding things had led to an expansion of content that, although useful for our research community had a number of problems: if we list information about every known manuscript containing polyphonic music up to 1600 we should be able to provide consistent and comparable information across all of those sources. Unfortunately we have neither the staff nor the expertise to do this, and even if the information is ‘donated’ by researchers, we still need the staff and time to input the data to the database.

Our original source list contained 885 manuscripts dating from around 800 to c. 1500, supplied by the RISM series BLV catalogues. 350 of those sources were also listed in the Census Catalogue. When we added everything else from the Census Catalogue that added a further 1,994 MSS. The project has added a further 469 manuscripts that have been discovered since the publication of the catalogues. The total source list is now 3348 MSS, dating from c. 800 to c. 1600.

The first issue in parity of information was a simple one: early volumes of RISM supplied inventories for all the manuscripts it listed, but the Census Catalogue did not (mainly for reasons of cost). Later volumes of RISM also fell foul of cost savings and discontinued music incipits in their inventories, so clefing and mensuration information is not available for later inventories.

The catalogues were written by a large corpus of scholars with a huge variety of expertise. RISM descriptions are reasonably consistent, but the Census Catalogue highlights the disparity caused by multiple contributors: one entry may give extensive detail about gatherings, binding tools, binding history and so on; another will describe and identify scribes or a string of past owners and patrons associated with the book and completely ignore the binding and makeup. One entry will provide extensive evidence for provenance, while another barely remarks on the origins of the book. We analysed the content of these prose descriptions to try and come up with a set of fields or criteria that we thought users might want to search on, and which we should try to provide consistently across all sources. Very quickly it became clear that this was not going to work. For some manuscripts we are able to provide not only descriptions about the manuscript as a whole, bibliography, inventory and images, but also, thanks to the RISM full music incipits, searchable information about individual pieces: language, layout, voice names, clefs, mensuration signs, concordances, full searchable text in original and modern spelling. At the other end of the spectrum we have sources with no more than the vaguest of dates, just a brief notification from a non-musicologist who happened to have noticed a fragment of music in a book they were examining.

In 2007 this granularity of information was available in the DIAMM database for a large number of MSS, but was hidden from the world because our website could not deliver that level of detail or content. Delivering it took 4 years of development, and even now with the new website online, the complexity of our data hampers access: we have reached the point where trying to deliver everything has resulted in a degree of overload, although if you can find your way around there are immense riches to be mined here, though the data is neither complete nor reliably accurate where it exists. There’s just too much of it to get it all right first time. We decided that some data was better than none, and we hoped that publishing information that we knew might have been superseded by more recent research would encourage the scholarly community to contribute corrections and new information.

Parity in description relies on the overarching work of a single scholar with sufficient expertise to examine all the sources holistically – as in the Christ Church Music Catalogue – thus unifying the content description for every source. That’s something we couldn’t achieve with the DIAMM content, spread geographically throughout the world and spanning nearly 10 centuries of music.

Although our original remit was to deliver images of manuscripts, users don’t just want a list of images, they want to go from a list of contents to the right image in a set for an individual work; to go from a composer listing to images where his music appears; to go from an image to bibliography about that work. Of course you don’t have to deliver all that, but we wanted to try.

We started with a simple model, and ended up with a massive expansion which then had to be whittled
back down: everyone who uses DIAMM wants to get something different out of it, but we can’t be all things to all people, and in the end I had to draw a line under the extent of data that we would provide.

All this however considers only source description; there is far more to data management and online delivery of information in a searchable medium. How do you connect one piece of information to another? How did we make the DIAMM website connect all those bits of information to each other so that you can click between them and follow links from one place to another without back-tracking? This requires data-modelling of a sort that is not understood by most non-musicologists, and paradigms from the text study world exemplified in TEI (the Text Encoding Initiative) are almost useless to musicology. So much so that there is now an MEI for music encoding, but even that is unable to establish an all-embracing template for the description of all music materials, manuscript and printed, from all periods.

We are not unlike other historical disciplines in having difficulty with proper names and variant spellings, but whereas larger corpora can rely on the Library of Congress Authorities, the music lists there are woefully inadequate for early music – that is, anything before 1700. Similarly standard titling for musical works is well advanced for compositions after 1800, but before that date is massively incomplete and inconsistent and gets worse the earlier in date you go. Most scholars still don’t attempt to use a consistent standard-titling model, and one of the big challenges for future projects is to expand and edit the Library of Congress lists (which are used as the Authority worldwide) so that they are comprehensive and reliable.

Even where a standard title exists it is not always ideal to use this and only this as the title of a work. It is necessary to list all the variants of a title in a search field, and that means knowing what those variants are – again a task for standard title authority, but more importantly for experts in the field, who rarely consider cataloguing and creating authoritative catalogue entries to be of primary importance. An example is Pierre de la Rue’s 6-part mass Missa Ave sanctissima Maria which is also known as

- Missa De beata virgine
- Missa De domina
- Missa Salve sancta parens
- Missa super Coronatum

The problem with all of this data – and of the way that we now rely on the web to tell us everything we want to know – is that if an inexperienced or non-expert user searches for something and doesn’t find it, they assume it doesn’t exist – so if DIAMM doesn’t list concordances for a work in its database then people think there are none.

This is not a mistake experts are likely to make, but we have all encountered undergraduates and others for whom information is something you get from the internet only. It is for the non-expert users that a resource like this is most important – the experts can see the flaws, others cannot. For them everything is available at the click of a switch, and physical interaction, even with other people, is unnecessary, or done through online chat. If it’s not on the computer screen, effectively it’s not there. A recent children’s film depicted a world extrapolated from these beginnings, where there is no longer any requirement to move or walk, and the very thought of doing so is quite shocking, leading to some interesting physiological changes.

The attenuated mobile scholar hasn’t disappeared from our lives yet, though: on the contrary, it is those who still visit archives in person who have been responsible for the discovery of the 469 new manuscript sources added to the DIAMM database, nearly 200 of those notified in the last 2 years.

We have to be aware though that we all want the world’s knowledge at the tips of our fingers, and we expect everything online to be complete, authoritative, user-friendly, interconnected and free.

The Christ Church content has an overwhelming advantage over DIAMM in having been written by one person. It has created a model that is likely to be followed in many future catalogues, not least the one in prospect for the Music School Collection in Oxford.

The catalogue links to other mature resources (Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians, the Dictionary of National Biography, Early English Books Online) in the ideal way that all web-connected data should do – not copying and ingesting data to its own repository but linking to it, so that updates in the linked material are instantly available. It also self-references to other books or manuscripts in the Christ Church collection containing works by the same composer but not yet to other instances of the same work. It does not connect to outside catalogues or online music resources, such as the DIAMM images of the Dow partbooks.

The most important link that is missing from this catalogue is the one that allows you to see the book that is described in the catalogue – where is the physical object? At the moment if you want to experience the music of these items, rather than simply the metadata, you have to come to Christ Church in the physical world and hope that Cristina will let you see and handle the real thing (or you might be able to use a facsimile in the rare instances where there is one).
Content digitization is massively expensive and massively time-consuming. Yet quite apart from creating access, it serves a preservation purpose, protecting books from unnecessary handling and creating a permanent record that should survive flood or fire if properly archived. It suddenly opens access for the world in a way that was unimaginable before. The closest parallel to the digital world is the invention of printing and the cultural earthquake that followed from mass production of books. Not only was information available, but suddenly there was a point in learning to read, so literacy took off.

If we create access to unique materials there is suddenly a reason to understand the notation and navigate our way around books that were created for a world with a very different mind-set from ours. Instead of relying on a single scholar’s interpretation of the materials exemplified by a modern edition, we can access the original sources ourselves, make our own edition or, more to the point, perform from the original so that we bypass the various tyrannies imposed by modern notation.

The next step therefore is to remodel the way the catalogue is delivered, incorporating as much as possible of the author’s and developer’s wish-list for linking to other resources, but more importantly creating links between the data and excellent pictures of the relevant pages in the books.

This activity, and the associated work of improving the LoC Authorities, is part of a large grant application being written at the moment, which we hope will create a single standard for delivery as well as cataloguing, embracing the recommendations of MEI, the needs of an interconnected web environment, and with the support of cataloguing experts from the Bodleian and British Libraries. The project plans to embrace collections of similar type, notably the Music School Collection, the Peterhouse partbooks, British Library collections and the Durham Cathedral Library collection.

One thing that DIAMM doesn’t yet do is provide a partbook viewer, and since much of the content this project would deal with is written in partbooks (where each voice part is written in a separate book) that technical development is one of the activities in the grant application.

Clicking on the title of a piece in any of the catalogues will open a window with frames showing the correct page for that piece in each individual partbook. Since many partbook sets lack at least one book, an obvious enhancement provided by semantic linking between institutions using the same technical standards would be the facility to access a missing voice supplied from a different set. This is not rocket-science, it just requires the correct data structure, and the co-operation of the other catalogues and cataloguers in adhering to an agreed data format.

We’re on the cusp of the next big change or advance (we hope) in web technology, the creation and use of the semantic web. It’s already there in many ways: ‘googling’ accesses data in a way that encourages us to produce it so that it is successfully found by Google search engines. The so-called semantic web encourages the use of common data formats to promote interconnectivity, and to allow complementary resources such as DIAMM, The Christ Church Music Catalogue, the Library of Congress Authorities, British Library and Bodleian online catalogues and Amazon and iTunes to talk to each other, share information and enable live linking of materials so that an update in one is instantly available to all the resources that link to it – this is not the same as ‘having a copy’ of someone else’s data, it is something much more dynamic.

The next big step in digital musicology though is to be able to search on music as if it is text – without first transcribing it, and we’re working on that too – in fact we can already do it in the Liber Usualis. (http://ddmal.music.mcgill.ca/liber)

I attended a conference in Edinburgh in 1999 where the participants were convinced they were about to see the demise of print culture: all access to document images would be online. That didn’t happen. On the contrary: the British Library found that putting manuscript images online stimulated the sales of paper facsimiles. Someone asked me just this year why a grant bid I was writing proposed ‘outmoded print outputs’. One might as well ask a choir, viol consort or orchestra why they still play from outmoded paper copies. Despite Amazon’s success with the Kindle, there is still no substitute for a paper copy from which to perform, for handling a physical object to understand the relationship of pages to other pages, and book to one another, and getting simple pleasure from ownership of something beautiful.

The demand for facsimiles, particularly of objects like the Byrd Masses and Dow Partbooks, which simply cannot be handled in the everyday way for which they were intended is still high, and will probably never be lost. As we create digital access to original music sources the need to handle surrogates of them will increase so that we can understand the physicality of performance enjoyed by those who wrote them. I may be a database and digital evangelist, but I’m also firmly rooted in the physical world.

Julia Craig McFeely
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“Never since the burning of the great library at Alexandria had there been such a holocaust of books as in the Great Fire of London,” says Walter George Bell in his *The great fire of London in 1666* (3rd ed., 1923 p. 139). The stationers and booksellers, whose premises were cheek by jowl around St. Paul's Churchyard, had carried their stocks into St. Faith's Church in the vaults under St. Paul's for safety. One account says that a bookseller, anxious about his books, opened the door of St. Faith's too soon after the fire had died down and the heated books with the rush of air immediately burst into flames. The estimated loss of books and paper was put at between £150,000 and £200,000.

One of the many stationers who faced ruination was James Allestry. In 1664 he had published Thomas Willis’s *Cerebri anatome* to wide acclaim. It had, as one of the illustrations, an engraving of Christopher Wren’s drawing of the base of a human brain showing what was to become known as ‘The Circle of Willis.’ Willis followed this Anatomy of the brain with his Pathology of the brain and it is likely that Allestry’s work on this was in progress when the fire struck on Tuesday 4th September 1666. What was he to do at this time of adversity? He turned to Oxford and to Christ Church in particular.

Since 1650, when Thomas Willis and William Petty had resuscitated Anne Green after she had been hanged on the castle mound at Oxford for infanticide, anything seemed possible and Oxford became a hotbed of scientific experimentation.4 Four of the polymaths who attended the meetings of the Oxford Experimental Philosophy Club at Wadham College were Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, Robert Boyle and Thomas Willis. All four had or were to have connections with Christ Church. Wren is immortalised by Tom Tower, Boyle’s brother was the grandfather of the 4th Earl of Orrery who bequeathed his books and scientific instruments to Christ Church, and Hooke and Willis were servants. The latter was assigned to Dr. Iles, a canon of Christ Church, whose wife was ‘a knowing woman in physic and surgery.’ It was she who taught Willis his medical skills which he put to good use attending the wounded and those suffering from camp fever during the civil war.

Throughout the Commonwealth period Richard Allestree, John Dolben, John Fell and Thomas Willis celebrated the banned rites of the Anglican church, firstly in Willis’s rooms at Christ Church and, after his marriage to John Fell’s sister, Mary, in 1657, at his house Beam Hall in Merton Street. At the Restoration Allestree became a canon of Christ Church and, three years later, Regius Professor of Divinity. Dolben, who had married the niece of Gilbert Sheldon, in 1656, also became a canon, John Fell became Dean of Christ Church and Willis Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy. Although Dolben had moved on in 1662 to become Dean of Westminster the remaining friends and relatives had no hesitation in assisting James Allestry, cousin of Richard Allestree, when he sought their help in 1666.

The previous year he had published with John Martyn Hooke’s *Micrographia* with its fine two-colour printed title-page and engravings of Hooke’s detailed drawings of his observations under a microscope. Somehow the stock of printed sheets and all the plates, except No.5, were saved from the fire. These were reissued in 1667 with a new title-page, printed in black only, and a reset licence-leaf with different type ornaments. Plate 5 (Schem.V) was re-engraved directly from Schem.V of the first edition and not from

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2. Genius of Britain: The Scientists who Changed the World by Robert Uhlig (2010) based on the TV series of the same name on Channel 4 in 2010. For the Christ Church Scientists see Some Scientists in the life of Christ Church, Oxford by P.W. Kent (2001)
the original drawing, so that it is a mirror-image of the one copied and page numbers were added to all the plates.

There was, however, a rift in the partnership with Martyn, presumably as a result of the fire, and they went their separate ways. The Royal Society's licence for printing Micrographia was for both Martyn and Allestry. Therefore they each took 50 per cent of the printed sheets. Martyn's half had a new title-page with the imprint '[...] at the bell a little without Temple Bar [...] and Allestry's had the imprint '[...] at the Rose and Crown in Duck-Lane [...]', both claiming the title Printer to the Royal Society.

The Rose and Crown in Duck-Lane was the shop of George Thomason, the master publisher of 'Tracts' fame, who had died six months before the fire started. Allestry, his former apprentice, had just taken over the premises when they too were damaged by the fire, but appear to have remained partly operational as Allestry printed the new title-page and licence-leaf to Micrographia there using the same type as that of the first edition.

His immediate concern was to publish Willis's book. An arrangement appears to have been made with the Oxford printer William Hall. The Hall family of printers, which survived in Oxford until the 1960s, had a close association with the university press. In the 1660s six apprentices were bound to John Hall, the foreman printer at the press, and in 1668 another one to William Hall who had to provide 'meate, drinke, washing, & lodging, shoes, and stockings.' This William's son, also William, bound himself to serve Dean Fell for seven years from Michaelmas 1672 to learn the art of letter-founding.\footnote{A History of the Oxford University Press by Harry Carter (1975) pp. 196-7.}

Willis's Pathologiae cerebri was published in 1667 with the unique imprint OXONII, | Excudebat Guil. Hall, Impensis Ja. Allestry, apud Insigne | Rosae Coronatae in Vico Vulgo dicto Duck-lane, MDCLXVII, an unusual combination of Allestry's Rose and Crown in Duck-Lane, London, being given as in Oxford.\footnote{The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard by Peter W.M. Blayney (1990) pp. 24-5.} More importantly, it has the imprimatur of John Fell, Vice Chancellor of Oxford University, dated Septemb. 25. 1667 and an engraved portrait of Willis ‘Aetatis sua, 45’ by David Loggan. Meanwhile Willis’s friend and patron, Gilbert Sheldon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had suffered a slight stroke and summoned Willis to London. In 1667 Willis moved there and set up his practice in St. Martin’s Lane, Westminster.

As with the Cerebri anatome the popularity of Pathologiae cerebri called for a reprint which resulted in a duodecimo edition of 1668 purportedly published in London by James Allestry but actually published in Amsterdam by Daniel Elzevir. The former has the imprint LONDINI, | Apud JACOBUM ALLESTRY, Regalis | Societatis Typographum. 1668. and the latter has the imprint AMSTELODAMI. | Apud DANIELEM ELZEVIRIUM, / MDCLXVIII. Elzevir's engraver copied the Loggan portrait of Willis from the 1667 quarto edition directly on to the copper plate so that the printed version is reversed. Apart from the imprints and the ornamental devices preceding them the copies are identical in every respect.

I have been unable to discover whether Daniel Elzevir had an arrangement with James Allestry to publish these copies, in which case it is an early example (the first?) of Elsevier’s global publishing, or whether, like many printers in Amsterdam at the time, he had succumbed to piracy. If the former those with the Allestry imprint were probably intended for the English market and those with the Elzevir imprint for the continental market. It should be noted here that Richard Allestree travelled frequently between England and the continent as a secret agent for Charles II. In 1659 he had carried orders from the King in exile to the surviving bishops in England instructing them to consecrate six named individuals to preserve the Anglican episcopal succession.7 Allestree was arrested, charged with treason, and imprisoned in Lambeth Palace until the Restoration.

Allestree’s burnt out premises in St. Paul’s Churchyard were not surveyed until 10 July 1668 (Survey … after the Great Fire … by Peter Mills and John Oliver Vol. II, fol. 120 verso) but they appear to have been rebuilt by 1670 for the publication of Willis’s next work Affectionum quæ dicuntur hystericae & hypochondriace, 1670, in which the frontispiece is printed from the same plate as that used in the Pathologiae cerebri of 1667. This was the last work published by Allestree as he died in the same year. Fell described him as Allestree’s ‘ingenious kinsman.’
that he had omitted the index and also found that he had some errata to insert. He then did as Madan indicates in items (1)-(3) above but he did not reverse the page he had torn off and instead he inserted it with the two other leaves of the Catalogue of books after the index. He then printed a separate errata slip and pasted it over the recto of the cancellandum. This is verified by (a) the watermarks, (b) the fact that not all the copies have the Errata slip, and (c) the copy at the Royal College of Physicians has the final gatherings as they were printed, namely, Zzz\(^2\) (includes the cancellandum Zzz2), Aaaa\(^4\) (includes the cancellans Aaaa1), Bbbb\(^2\) together with the Errata leaf at the end.

There is no doubt, as Mark Purcell suggests in his prize-winning article,\(^8\) that Richard Allestree and his cousin James influenced Fell's publishing activities in Oxford. Richard was a Delegate of the Press from 1673 and, in 1679, signed for thirteen boxes of Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Runic types which had been bequeathed to the university by Francis Junius (1589-1677) (Bodl. MS. Add. c.78, fol. 30).

Fell honoured Allestree and Willis by writing their biographies, both printed at his Sheldonian Press. The former\(^9\) is prefixed to the posthumous edition of Allestree's \emph{Forty sermons}, 1684 and the latter\(^10\) as a postscript to Willis's last work \emph{Pharmaceutice rationalis}, pars secunda, 1675. The imprimatur is dated Novemb. 12. 1675, the day after Willis's death. Both parts were published in 1674 and 1675 respectively in both quarto and duodecimo formats with the same engraved plates being used in both. A third edition in octavo, combining both parts, was published by the Sheldonian Press in 1679.

Fell's ambition for his learned press 'E Theatro Sheldoniano' certainly succeeded but one wonders what Wren thought of the inappropriate use of his Sheldonian Theatre and its subsequent neighbour, the wooden workshop, which is visible on Loggan's map of 1675. Fortunately it too proved inadequate and led, in 1711-13, to the construction of the Clarendon Building where the Delegates of the Press still have a room for their meetings. Wren managed to curtail Fell's other ambition of putting an observatory on the top of Tom Tower by saying it too was inappropriate. The observatory was eventually built over a century later and now forms part of Green Templeton College. It is to be the focal point of the proposed new building on the site of the old Radcliffe Infirmary which owed its existence to the benefaction of John Radcliffe who had inherited Thomas Willis's lucrative medical practice from Willis's pupil, Richard Lower.

\begin{center}John Wing Christ Church Library, 1962-1995\end{center}

\section*{Binding Stories and \textit{HYP} Pamphlets}

2013 is now under way, and so is the cataloguing of Christ Church's marvellous antiquarian collections. Early in 2012, I began to catalogue the collection of pamphlets known as \textit{HYP}, comprising donations made by noted Quaker author, Francis Bugg, and Church of England clergyman, Lewis Atterbury, a student of Christ Church and older brother of Francis Atterbury, who would later be Bishop of Rochester.

The collection, treated is arranged in alphanumeric sequences, i.e. A.1, A.2, A.3, ... B.1, B.2, etc. In the past year, I have been working my way through 'A' which is part of the bequest of Atterbury.

As I catalogue, I have been investigating inscriptions made presumably by Atterbury on the title pages of many of his pamphlets, usually a variation on: "Ex dono Reuerendi Authoris. | E libris Lud: Atterbury." An informal comparison has been made between this hand and an example which is known to be Atterbury's hand, found at the beginning of a group of letters donated by him to the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. 659).

An amusing point of interest involving Atterbury provenance is Hyp. A.159 (6), \textit{Remarks upon Mr. Pope's translation of Homer}, by dramatist, John Dennis, in which Atterbury plainly expresses his

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\(^8\) Mark Purcell, ""Useful Weapons for the Defence of That Cause" Richard Allestree, John Fell and the Foundation of the Allestree Library', \textit{The Library}, 6\textsuperscript{th} series (Vol. 21, 1999) pp. 124-147.

\(^9\) \textit{Forty Sermons} ... by Richard Allestree (1684) prefixed with Fell's unpaginated life of Richard Allestree.

views of the famously tense relationship between Dennis and poet, Alexander Pope: “In lyrical Poetry and life a pair of Snuffers | which snipe at others filth; but | retain it them selves.”

The condition of A.167 was noticed by NADFAS, a group of conservation volunteers. They recorded its state for future conservation, then replaced it on the shelf, tied into structurally sturdy archival cardboards to remove the burden of its own weight. There are other examples in the collection of this disparity between size of the binding and its contents. Their conditions, too, will be assessed by the Consortium, and they will receive at least as much preventative attention as did A.167.

Other volumes, I notice, have had pamphlets removed from their bindings. A practice sadly common in the past, this not only breaks apart a formal, named collection, but also ruins that volume’s structural integrity, necessitating repairs.

There is a cabinet in the Upper Library which contains miscellaneous ‘duplicate’ pamphlets which Janet McMullin believes to be the very pamphlets excised from these volumes by past Christ Church librarians between the wars. In time, I will test this theory, dive into old Christ Church Library records, and attempt to reconcile these cast-offs with their long-lost bindings.

The cataloguing, otherwise, moves steadily forward. Since beginning of the cataloguing of HYP, over 2000 pamphlet holdings have been added to records in the university catalogue, SOLO. This number includes items which were new to the university catalogue, resulting in 716 new records, and items that have never been seen anywhere in the world, resulting in 40 new records added to the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), 33 items from the period, 1641-1700, and 7 which are post-1700.

Dave Stumpp
Christ Church
Surface Cleaning and Conservation

While cleaning can be a technical necessity for proper conservation, it usually is done for aesthetic or other reasons. Cleaning as a technical necessity has been nearly overlooked in the past. In November 2012 we have started a systematic programme of cleaning the special collections in the Upper Library.

First in a long line of sections to follow was the William Wake collection. This collection is now all catalogued, with detailed antiquarian records being available on SOLO, the Oxford union catalogue. As a direct consequence of easier access and browsability, the Wake collection is becoming a much handled section. It comprises 17th-century printed books in some very interesting vellum and leather bindings, with some later additions from the 18th and 19th centuries. On the whole, the Wake books are in good condition. But since we have finalised the project of cataloguing them, the time was right to tidy up all loose ends and make sure everything is cared for properly.

We need a little more time to finalise cleaning the huge Wake collection, but an area in the Upper Library now complete is the so called ‘Arch. Sup.’. Among other precious early printed books, the room houses the unique Christ Church music collection. Its principal riches lie in manuscripts and early printed books of English and Italian music before 1700. Christ Church acquired these materials principally through two acts of bequest in the 18th century. The donors were Henry Aldrich (1648-1710) and Richard Goodson Jr (1688-1741). Their collections were amalgamated in the later 18th-century, and today are still shelved in the wooden presses custom built to accommodate them.

Despite efforts to keep the room clean, many of the books (particularly those belonging to other, less consulted, collections than music) had accumulated dust within their text-blocks. This surface dirt (defined as loose material which can be removed without rubbing and without the use of equipment other than brushes, vacuum cleaners, dusters and cloths) is not harmless for the books. It is likely to contain pollens, mould spores, pest detritus, textile fibres, degraded leather, skin cells and other organic matter as well as inorganic materials.

Dust is easily transferred to shelves, other items and internal pages during use. As volumes from the music collection are among the most frequently used, it is therefore important they are kept safe and spotlessly clean. Besides being harmful to the books and shortening their life, surface dirt may present a danger to health, either by triggering existing allergies or by sensitising the user.

In most cases it is difficult to undertake cleaning of the collection and/or storage areas inhouse, the work can be outsourced.
And indeed, Christ Church Library has frequently used external contractors for specific cleaning jobs, mostly related to the safe removal of occasional outbursts of mould in the basement and after building works.

In so far as the special collections cleaning programme however, the Library is very fortunate to benefit from the priceless help of Ermanno Sensibile, our exceptional scout. To start with, he has attended a special training class organised by the Oxford Conservation Consortium that has put him in a position to safely handle rare books. Much damage can be caused by a lack of sufficient knowledge to carry out what may be perceived as a straightforward task, so, in order to minimise risk and misunderstanding, more training by specialist conservators is offered and takes place on site.

Cleaning equipment may consist of simple brushes, vacuum cleaners or sophisticated machinery. In our case, it has been the un-sophisticated version that was adopted: natural bristle brushes, dusters, cloths and a vacuum cleaner.

It is important to keep books in sequence during cleaning, so Ermanno’s technique is to remove a shelf of books at a time, placing them on a trolley. First he cleans each volume externally, holding the book firmly closed and brushing away from the spine along the head first, then fore-edge and tail, and then the boards and spine. When brushing the boards, he fans the brush strokes out from a central point rather than brushing along the edges of the boards, as these are most likely to contain vulnerable areas. If the spine has raised bands, he brushes across it rather than up and down.

Not all books require internal cleaning (actually, there were very few here that did) and even if dust has found its way inside the covers, we found that it was in fact confined to the first and last sections of the text block. At the end of each session, Ermanno cleans all brushes. Dusters tend to get dirty very quickly, so they are are replaced with clean ones very frequently.

In historic interiors like that of Christ Church Library, it is normally a prerequisite that books are visible. The music collection however is in a fortunate situation. The priceless manuscripts and early printed scores are stored in cupboards, so although we monitor them for dust, we need to clean them less frequently than material on open shelves.

Apart from thoroughly cleaning the shelves, and every single book, Ermanno has been of invaluable help, as he is also identifying and listing all volumes in need of special attention from a conservation point of view. Some things we can put right on the spot. Others will be included in the conservation programme next year.

Cristina Neagu  
Christ Church

MONK STUDENTS AND THEIR BOOKS:  
Worcester Cathedral and Oxford in the Middle Ages

Having witnessed the rise of university education in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the emergence and subsequent dominance of Franciscan and Dominican friars in the sphere of preaching, Benedictine communities were under increasing pressure to pursue more rigorous courses of study. The monks at Worcester Cathedral Priory were generally educated within the confines of the cloister, but a number of students who showed intellectual promise were sent to Oxford to gain degrees.1 In 1291, Gloucester College in Oxford was established for the education of Black Monks in the province of Canterbury, and on average Worcester sent two monks a year to study here.2 The cost of supporting the scholars in 1434-5 was £12 according to the cellarer’s accounts. This was a considerable sum of money when the cathedral stable-boy was only earning 13s 4d.3 The lives of the monk students from Worcester have been investigated in great detail by Professor Joan Greatrex. Her work, along with the manuscripts surviving in the Cathedral library, enables us to shed light on the relationship between the Priory and the University.4

2 H. Wansbrough and A. Marett-Crosby (eds), Benedictines in Oxford, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1997, 22; Thomson, Catalogue, xxv.
3 WCM C.87 and A.XVII.
4 Greatrex, English Benedictine Cathedral Priories, and Benedictine Monk Scholars as Teachers and Preachers in the
Worcester Cathedral library, located in the south nave aisle roof space, still contains a collection of some 298 medieval manuscripts including monastic registers. These are almost all originally from Worcester Cathedral’s Benedictine priory that was closed in 1540. The cathedral library suffered the attentions of book collectors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 2001 Professor R. M. Thomson’s catalogue of the manuscripts was published, which is of great help to the students and scholars who visit the library every year.

There are thirty-two Worcester Cathedral manuscripts still at the Cathedral which Professor Thomson has identified as having some sort of connection with the University of Oxford. He has divided these into four groups; curriculum texts, copies of works by Oxford academics, collections of academic sermons, and lecture notes. As a separate exercise, Thomson identified thirty-six of the Cathedral’s manuscripts which he believed were made at Oxford, although some of these would not necessarily have been used by the Worcester monk students at University.

Curriculum Books

The Constitutions of Benedict XII instructed Benedictine houses to provide their scholars with the textbooks they required for their studies, as the early statutes of Oxford demanded. Cathedral records show that the Worcester monk students either took books from the cathedral, or were given the money by their communities to purchase them at Oxford.

There is not a great deal of evidence for monks borrowing books from Worcester and taking them to Oxford. One possible exception is a list of thirty manuscripts copied into MS. Q. 27, above which is written, ‘These are the books belonging to John Lawerne, Isaac Ledbury and John Broghton’. Scholars have suggested that these were the texts provided for their studies in the mid fifteenth century. The books on this list range from classical works by Plato and Boethius, to the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux, to Peter of Tarentaise’s Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard.

This shows that some attempt was made to provide curricular books for the monks.


6 Thomson, Catalogue, xxvi.

7 Ibid, p.xxvii.

8 Ibid, p. xxviii.

9 Ibid., p. xxvii.

10 MS. Q. 27, f. 2.


MS. Q. 27, fol.2.

It appears to have been more common for the Cathedral Priory to give the students money so they could purchase textbooks once they had arrived at Oxford. For example, in 1294 John de Aston was given the sum of twenty shillings by the cellarer of Worcester ‘ad libros’. There is also evidence that students clubbed together to buy books. MS. Q. 42, a thirteenth-century copy of Maurice of Ireland’s Distinctiones, lists eleven monks’ names with numbers which Thomson suggested denoted the amount in pence that they had each contributed.

Of the monastic student text books there are several very interesting examples. In MS. F. 96, Averroes’ Commentary on Aristotle’s Physics from the fourteenth century, there is a selection of wonderful aide-memoires by one of the monks to help him revise for his exams.

MS. Q 42, fol.378v.

12 Greatrex, Biographical Register, 772.

These drawings are of a very high standard and include such unusual images as the head of a bishop or pope on a donkey’s body, a king’s head on a bird’s body, and the badge of Sicily, as well as a bow and arrow, humorous faces, and beasts. The manuscript also has many monk student notes in an anglicana hand, no doubt copied in after his lectures.

Another early Oxford 'school-book' of interest is MS Q. 44, a late twelfth-century copy of Stephen of Tournai’s *Summa in Decretum* and Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*.

School Notes

Further books with an Oxford-Worcester connection are those which began life in the lecture room itself. Monk students produced notes and school-work on what they had learned, much like modern-day university students. Two of John de Aston’s 'notebooks' have been identified at Worcester (MSS Q. 13 and 33). De Aston took notes on a variety of topics, including classical poetry and mythology, grammar and logic, and his work gives some indication of the breadth of his studies.

Franciscans and Dominicans originally recorded by William of Gaham, was made by the Oxford monk John de Dumbleton (student between c.1290-c.1303). Dumbleton cannot have been the easiest man to get along with, judged by the other monks’ pleas that he should be sent elsewhere in a letter they wrote to Archbishop Winchelsey in 1301. After disappearing from the records for a while, he re-emerged at Oxford and seems eventually to have been readmitted to the priory.

The sermon collection in Manuscript F. 10, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, was probably made by monk students when at Oxford. It contains the names of two Worcester monks, John More, and Prior Thomas Mildenham. More was a Worcester monk in the 1530s, and held the post of cellarer of the cathedral priory in 1535. Prior Thomas Mildenham appears not to have gone to Oxford, showing that scholarly books could pass into the hands of those who remained in the priory.

Sermons

Sermon collections also provide useful insights into the education of the Worcester monks. The Cathedral library houses two particularly interesting examples. Manuscript Q. 46, a set of sermons by

An inscription in a sixteenth-century hand attributes it to John de Bromsgrove, a monk student of Worcester. The binding of this text is particularly striking, being made from a thick tawed skin which wraps around the front of the book. It also has a textile 'skirt' protecting the top and bottom edges of the pages, presumably for when it was being carried about.\(^{20}\)

**Works copied or composed by Oxford academics**

Worcester monks who became Oxford academics copied manuscripts in order to build up their College library or restock the Cathedral priory.

F. 69, a compilation of Duns Scotus from the thirteenth century, was written in part by Worcester’s most eminent monk student, John of St Germans, who was at Oxford in the late 1290s and later taught in Paris. It contains at least eight names, of which three have been identified as Worcester monks. The manuscript is known to have been taken to Worcester soon after it was made.\(^{21}\)

Manuscript F. 118, a collection of ‘Sophismata’ dating to the fifteenth century, is believed to have been a joint venture between Oxford academics and students. In it we find the signature of John Broghton.\(^{22}\) According to the Worcester obedientiary rolls, Broghton is known to have been at Oxford in 1435-6 and again in 1444-5, however, he died in 1449.\(^{23}\)

**The Movement of Books between Worcester and Oxford**

Then as now in the university environment, books were exchanged between students and institutions. Although the student monks were expected to return the books to the Cathedral Priory, or leave them at Gloucester College for successive scholars, many of the manuscripts in the library seemed to have been returned or obtained in a far more circuitous manner.

A number of the manuscripts associated with Worcester monk students at Oxford contain ‘pledge-notes’, suggesting in some cases that they were used as part-payments of debts. Impoverished monks would place their books in ‘pledge chests’ at university or promise them to other scholars.

For example, MS. F. 4, a translation of Averroes’ Commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* originally belonging to John of St Germans in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, appears to have been in the possession of a canon of Exeter in the mid fifteenth century, and was not returned to Worcester until much later.\(^{24}\)

However, there are instances of students selling manuscripts to other members of their community. Richard Bromwych, who was sent from Worcester to Oxford around 1302, is recorded as having sold a copy of Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* to Henry Fowke, subprior, for 20 shillings.\(^{25}\)

**Conclusion**

The Worcester Cathedral collection of Oxford-related manuscripts contains a range of material used by monk students when undertaking their university degrees, illustrating the processes of borrowing, purchasing, commissioning and writing.

The connection between the two institutions is shown to have been extremely close, and provides scholars who are interested in the early history of the University of Oxford with some fascinating and seldom-used sources.

And it may be some comfort to know that the academic endeavours of the Worcester monks did, on occasion, fall short of the ideal. At the back of one theology textbook is a recipe in Middle English entitled ‘A medecyne for dronkyn men’, proving that hangover cures are not the sole preserve of the modern-day student.\(^{26}\)

David Morrison and Tamsin Rowe
Worcester Cathedral Library

\(^{20}\)Thomson, *Catalogue*, 143-4

\(^{21}\)Thomson, *Catalogue*, 43.

\(^{22}\)Thomson, *Catalogue*, 82; MS. F. 118, f. 112.

\(^{23}\)Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, 790-781.


Forty years ago on the very day that Britain was accepted into the European Economic Community Christ Church welcomed to its Gaudy 1 the Prime Minister, Edward Heath, and the six other honorands who had earlier received their honorary degrees.

The speech which follows was given by the then Librarian, Dr J.F.A.Mason 2. The text below is a transcript from a CD made by Lost Sounds of Cumbria of a practice run by Dr Mason. It was recorded on a double-sided eight-track Dictaphone tape. Dr Mason's widow, Sally, has kindly presented a copy of the CD to the Library in his memory and has also given permission for this transcript to be published in the Newsletter.

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1 At the University of Oxford a Gaudy is a college feast, in most cases a reunion for its alumni from a number of (usually two or three) consecutive matriculation years. Gaudies generally involve a celebratory formal dinner, generally in black tie and academic gowns and may include events such as chapel services, lectures or concerts beforehand.

2 For details on Dr Mason, see Janet McMullin, 'In memoriam John Mason Librarian of Christ Church 1960-1987', Christ Church Library Newsletter, vol.6, issue 1, Michaelmas 2009, pp.1; 7-8.
I need not tell you, Mr Dean, what is the first duty of a Christ Church man when faced with news of a vacancy. It is, of course, to ask “Is there a member of the House, not necessarily excluding oneself, fit for it? “So, similarly, with a list of honorands, is a member of the House Included?”

Tonight, of course, one is and we are glad to welcome our own Dr Wystan Auden, for once in the role of guest. It may be that in the field of literature members of the House have been less distinguished than in many others. It is not for me to enquire into reasons for this. Some may not have formed the habit of writing at a formative age. Most have been far too busy doing other things. Dr Auden’s long list of publications, his many medals and prizes for services to literature show how much he has done to remedy this omission.

From America we also welcome Professor Lars Onsager who was born a subject of the Swedish Crown and is now a Professor at Yale, a Nobel prize winner and a scientist of world renown. I could not myself understand most of what Who’s Who said about him, but then it suddenly seemed to me that there was a sense in which tonight Dr Onsager would be among experts for I read that he has clarified the principle of the least dissipation of energy.

It is a pleasure to welcome him to a place where the least dissipation of energy has been practised with politeness and success. Another representative of the Arts here this evening is Sir Anthony Blunt. In him we welcome the successful Director of the Courtauld Institute, the exact Surveyor of our Visitor’s Pictures and a skilled writer on artists from Poussin down or up to Picasso. Sir Anthony is from Trinity College, Cambridge.

So too is Sir Steven Runciman whom we welcome as the great master of Byzantine and Crusading studies in this country for over forty years past. No one who was there can forget the ecumenia and the elegance with which he once delivered the Waynflete Lectures in Oxford and no one who has read it can forget the passages of controlled denunciation in the great last chapter of his great History of the Crusades. That chapter ought to be prescribed reading for all ideologues from the National Union of Students upwards. You may have wondered, Mr Dean, how I would classify our guests. What sociological categories I would place them in. Into what socio-economic groupings I would put them. Your acute mind, trained in patristic exegesis will already have spotted a fundamental distinction between the four honorands so far mentioned and the three who remain. The previous four admit to no recreations, the next three all have one thing in common, I mean, of course, an interest in the sea. Professor A.J. Marder is from the University of California at Irvine and recently was George Eastman Fellow at Balliol College. He once wrote a book on The Anatomy of British Sea Power. Now, a generation later, he has completed a five-volume work of great distinction on The Royal Navy from The Dreadnought to Scapa Flow. Definitive is an overworked word but it is surely in place here. We would like to add our congratulations to Dr Marder on the recent award to him of an honorary CBE and as an unrepentant imperialist, perhaps I may add a lament that his volumes on The Dreadnought outnumber the cruisers in the Royal Navy.

Sir William Armstrong is from Exeter College. He has been official head of the Civil Service since 1968. Three years ago this week the Fulton Report gave him the daunting task of producing a classless, numerate, professional Civil Service fit and, I quote, “to tackle the problems of the last quarter of the twentieth century with,” and I quote again, “an open road to the top and,” I quote once more, “a KBE in every clerk’s briefcase”. So daunting a task led a contributor to The Times three years ago this week to ask plaintively: “Can even Sir William Armstrong cope?” We are sure that he can. From many laudatory comments I need select only one because it was written by a member of the House, “Sir William is incomparably the best helmsman in Whitehall,” for Sir William’s hobby is sailing and we hope that he will continue to be fortunate in his crew. He will judge criticisms of the recruitment of Oxbridge men into the Civil Service that have predictably enough, been followed in the last two years by an actual increase in the number of Oxford men selected.

From the best helmsman in Whitehall I pass to the best helmsman in Westminster. It is a great pleasure and privilege to welcome the Prime Minister to the Christ Church Gaudy. We are very glad that he has found time to come among us on so historic a day. Not all Prime Ministers have found time to come. Some here tonight will remember, for instance, the great non-visit by Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev back in 1956. When we were ready for them, some here tonight will know how busy, but they were apparently not able to reach us. The Prime Minister could, after all, have shaken the dust of Oxford from his feet and celebrated elsewhere the historic news from Europe this morning. He could perhaps, if so inclined, have celebrated the National Day of Luxembourg which happens to fall today. What good cause should one put before the Prime Minister in this precious minute or two? The future of the kind of school that he and I both went to, the pros and still more the cons of further university expansion, the needs of libraries, the balance between the state and the universities, the balance between a collegiate university and its constituent colleges? No, I shall

4 Blunt was stripped of his knighthood in 1979 for spying for the Russian intelligence.
foreswear all these high matters and welcome Dr Heath as one more link in a long line of Tory statesmen who in various ways have entered the House. Among the earliest was Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, who was presented for his honorary doctorate from Christ Church in the High Tory summer of August 1702. It will be recalled that negotiations with the French later did him little good.

In 1853 Mr Disraeli dined at this table and the episode is not clear but he encountered a difficulty which will not be met by Dr Heath tonight for the then Vice-Chancellor spoke for two hours and ruined the proceedings. Whether Disraeli himself spoke here is not recorded. On the way out he found some compensation by addressing the undergraduates in Tom Quad. But I think that we have not yet been permitted to entertain a Prime Minister so soon after an electoral triumph and certainly not on so historic a day. We hope that a year ago even Dr Heath’s stern sense of duty allowed him to appreciate, however briefly, the great truth stated by the Chancellor’s favourite author, Anthony Trollope, the double pleasure of pulling down an opponent and of raising oneself is the charm of a politician’s life. The political outlook is unsettled, the water is choppy even in the Solent but we wish Dr Heath victory in the Admiral’s Cup, success in dealing with Morning Cloud and calmer weather as his premiership progresses.

Mr Dean, I hope our guests will agree with the immortal dictum of our late colleague, Mr Robin Dundas, “as a lodging-house Christ Church ranks high”. We shall not have the pleasure of lodging all our guests, but at least we have fed them. In this respect matters have improved since Mr Disraeli’s visit. It is recorded that Dean Gaisford who received him once addressed a meeting of the Dean and Canons in the following words: “It has pleased Almighty God to remove the college cook from our midst, had he not done so, I should have had to do it myself”. No-one I am sure will entertain such a view of the chef tonight. Let me quote one more Dean: “There seems to be no part of knowledge in fewer hands than that of knowing when to have done”. I have done, Mr Dean, and I ask you and all members of the House and everyone except the honorands to rise and drink the health of our guests.

Lost Libraries:
The Story of an Arabic Manuscript

As soon as we make out the meaning of this manuscript, the mystery will be gone. But the story behind it will still be there to remind us that there is a time to live, but many times and ways to tell the story, and so many storytellers to tell it.

This is the story of Stefan Mamulea and the last of his manuscripts. It seems to me rather strange and unusual to write about a book without being aware of what it contains. Who laid down these words in Arabic, and when?
Even more fascinating is the story of how the manuscript got into our hands. Descending from a Polish refugee family who fled Russian-occupied Poland after an anti-Russian rebellion, Stefan Mamulea was born around 1880 in Romania. He became a wealthy businessman, with most of his family involved in one way or the other with railways as engineers or managers. His passion for unravelling the secret meaning of the Holy Books was however the true story of his life. Having learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew alongside Polish, Romanian, French and German, he spent most of his life travelling in the quest of the book that one day would reveal the ultimate meaning of Creation. He even bought the exclusive rights to a carriage on the Orient Express to take him not only to France and Italy, but often also to Istanbul, from where he went by sea further and further away in search of new books.

Eventually Mamulea collected a fabulous library and spent his time in long discussions with the Rabbi of Buhusi, to the deep discomfort of his Catholic family. After his death, his house, too near to the Pascani train station, was bombed twice, once by the Germans in the First World War, and a second time by the Russians in the Second World War. His book collection disappeared in the fire that followed and the sole book that survived, retrieved from the ruins of the house, was the Arabic manuscript locked in a drawer of his desk.

Stefan Mamulea, the grandson named after the book collector is now the owner of the manuscript. And our storyteller. Eventually, the mystery will unfold, we will know what this manuscript contained. But with this we'll be confronted with a new story... Possibly about a journey on the Orient Express and the meaning of a life in search of books.

Alina Nachescu
Christ Church Library special collections volunteer

On Stories, Projects for the Future and the Arabian Nights Exhibition in Paris

My story starts from where Alina left it. The questions her short piece raised were a challenge hard to resist. It is difficult to assess a manuscript from a distance, so, having asked the present owner, we were sent photographs of a significant part of the volume.

This being Oxford, we didn't need to go far to start getting some answers. They quickly began materialising when we approached Alasdair Watson, Curator of Islamic Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library. After looking at the photographs, he could immediately say that the pictures appear to come from part one of the book entitled Kitāb Rabiʿ al-

Page from the Mamulea manuscript showing the beginning of a chapter on bondsmen and servants and the importance of treating them well.

Rabiʿ al-Abrar is an encyclopaedic work, bringing together several classical texts about Islam. The author, known widely as al-Zamakhshari, was a medieval Muslim scholar of Iranian origin, who lived most of his life in Bukhara, Samarkand and Baghdad.

His most discussed work is Al-Kashshaaf, a seminal commentary on the Qur'an. The commentary is famous for its linguistic analysis of the verses. Al-Zamakhshari's contribution to the history of language is huge. Most of the surviving vocabulary of the now extinct Iranian Chorasmian language is found in the form of interlinear glosses throughout a single manuscript of Zamakhshari's Arabic-Persian dictionary, the Muqaddimat al-adab.

The volume mentioned above is not in the Christ Church collection. We stumbled on the story of the Mamulea manuscript in the process of looking for information regarding our own stash of Arabic codices.

Finding new things about previously little known documents is something we do every day in this library. As it happens, this has been an exceptionally fruitful period in terms of discoveries. With the special collections of early printed books and manuscripts in such high demand and with two major ongoing projects in full swing (thanks to the efforts
and expertise of Dr David Rundle on the Western manuscripts collection and David Stumpp on the 17th and 18th century pamphlets), we are bound to start reaping the fruit of all this labour.

The demand for items in Christ Church collections is not only from scholars, but also from prestigious institutions. For instance, we recently received a request from the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris for two Arabic manuscripts (MSS 206 and 207) to go on loan to an exhibition inspired by the Tales from A Thousand and One Nights. Reviewed as one of the major events in Paris, the exhibition was open between 27 November 2012 and 28 April 2013.

Until the request came from the Institut du Monde Arabe, all we had about the Christ Church manuscripts in question were two brief descriptions mostly in Latin in G.W. Kitchin's *Catalogus Codicum MSS qui in Biblioteca Aedis Christi apud Oxonienses Adservantur* (Oxford, 1867), the only catalogue which mentions the Arabic collection.

Apart from the title ("Thousand and One Nights"), the descriptions contain just the following information: MS. 206: "Codex partim bombycinus, partim chartaceus, in octavo, ff. 96, A.H.1136 [=A.D. 1724]." MS. 207: "Codex bombycinus, in quarto."

Although it does not contain any colourful illuminations (the manuscript is copied in Naskhi script on good paper of medium thickness), MS. 206 is important in that it contains what is called the 8th section of the Nights. It begins with the continuation of the History of King Omar al Naomann, Queen Aberwezeh, and their children. This sets the Christ Church manuscript apart, as this is a rare tale, not among those translated by Antoine Galland. The binding is also striking for the Western eye. In the form of a leather wrapper with a flap surrounding the

While preparing the manuscripts for the exhibition in Paris we were bound to find more about their story and the context they were created, so the request was welcomed as a timely opportunity to scratch beneath the surface of what was until now one of rather neglected sections of the manuscript collections.

To start with, we approached Alex Day, specialist in Middle Eastern and Islamic manuscripts, asking him to examine the two volumes and see what more could he say about them. The time we had at our disposal and the financial resources we could spend at this moment on this project were limited, so, for now, the aim was just providing a little more basic information. We hope to bring detailed descriptions of the whole collection in a catalogue of the collection, hopefully in the near future.
textblock, this is however most commonly encountered in the Islamic world. In the case of MS. 206, what we have is a Levantine binding of blindstamped black morocco. And since the binding is contemporary, this may be an indication as to where the manuscript was copied. To be used in this type of binding, leather needed to be of high quality, flexible and easy to be painted and dyed. Together with leather, craftsmen in this period used cardboard made from papers of given strength and thickness. As a rule glue was then mixed with poison, so the binding couldn’t be eaten by worms.

MS. 207 was also copied in good clear Naskhi script. Chapter headings and important words are in red. Like in the case of MS. 206, there are no illuminations. The stories that MS. 207 contains include the Genius and the Lady in the glass case, the Merchant and the Genius, the first and the second Old Man, the King and the Physician, the Husband and the Parrot, the punished Vizier, the King of the Black Isles, the Porter, the Three Apples, Noor ad Deen and Little Hunchback. The manuscript is undated but it is probably early eighteenth century. This volume as well is in contemporary binding of blindstamped reddish brown morocco with onlays. It is however more difficult to localise it than the previous binding but it is thought to originate from the Levant rather than Turkey or Egypt.

Both these manuscripts were collected at a time when European interest in the 1001 Nights had been awakened by Antoine Galland's translations.

Manuscripts of the Arabian Nights are scarce on the market (it being largely an oral tradition). To give just an example of how rare these are, the Islamic Department of Bernard Quaritch Rare Books last handled one in 1987. Throughout the eighteenth century European orientalists eagerly sought manuscript copies of the Nights in order to find additional stories and to establish the authenticity of those that had already been found.

The Christ Church manuscripts belong to that endeavour. And as the curators of the Paris exhibition, Elodie Bouffard and Anne Joyard, had approached Christ Church with a very specific request, it was a good opportunity for us to try and find more information about them.

The preparations for the exhibition involved a great deal of work both for the team at the Institut du Monde Arabe and for us in the library. At our end, we were gracefully guided by the specialists from the Oxford Conservation Consortium to whom we owe a great debt of thanks. Once the manuscripts reached Paris they were met by the experts preparing the exhibition. It was immediately obvious it was going to be a rather spectacular event. In a building meant to impress, the space allocated for the Arabian Nights spread over more than one floor, and the way it was thought through in terms of design was clearly intended to take the viewer on a journey.


To start with, the impact of the exterior is both striking and intriguing. This is a large building. It houses a museum, library, auditorium, restaurant, offices and several exhibition spaces. The Institute is
also an architectural landmark in Paris. Designed by Jean Nouvel and opened in 1987 it received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. Its most striking feature the windows. Visible behind the glass wall, are metallic screens with moving geometric motifs. These are actually 240 photo-sensitive motor-controlled shutters which act as a sophisticated braise soleil that automatically opens and closes to control the amount of light and heat entering the building from the sun. The mechanism creates interior spaces with filtered light — an effect often used in Islamic architecture with its climate-oriented strategies.

This control of light to further suit those experiencing the space from the inside continues in the exhibition. Plunged into semi-darkness, carried along by the voice of the tales, to the rhythms of Night succeeding Night, visitors are invited to explore ancient manuscripts, sculptures, unusual paintings and extracts from films (such as, for instance, Pasolini's 1974 Arabian Nights).

The exhibition retraces the history of this collection of enchanting tales and its world of journeys and illusions that have been the stuff of dreams for centuries. Impressive looking and weighing several kilos, the exhibition catalogue takes the viewer even deeper into this bewildering and sophisticated world. It contains specially commissioned essays on many aspects of the stories, from their translation and initial reception in Europe to their complicated textual history and rich afterlife.

While preparing the exhibits for display, I spent some time with Anne Joyard and Elodie Bouffard, the curators of the exhibition, so I took the opportunity to engage them in an interview. Questions started from why were the Mille et Une Nuits chosen? They explained that the Institut du Monde Arabe has always favoured the idea of organising an all encompassing exhibition covering the topic, as this perhaps best reflects the connection between the Orient and the Western world. The project was launched in 2008.

As most people, I didn't know much about how the work known as the Arabian Nights came to life. I was curious to hear some details about the manuscript tradition.

Its origin, I was told, is Indo-Persian. Sometime during the 8th century in Baghdad, tales started being translated into Arabic. There is no trace however of anything approaching what may be described as the original. What we have, Anne Joyard says, is an anonymous series of tales, infinitely retold, adapted, changed by countless storytellers and copyists.


I wonder about the Nights beginnings in the West. Anne explains that the Nights were first introduced to Europe by Antoine Galland (1646-1715). The manuscript which served as basis for his first translation contains just 35 tales.

Following this, while searching for possible new stories, he encountered Hannâ Diyâb, a young Syrian maronite from Aleppo. This was the source for stories such as those about Ali Baba and Aladdin and the magic lamp. Between 1704 and 1717, Galland's corpus grew to 12 volumes (plus an extra 2 published posthumously), summing up 70 tales recounted during 281 nights. It was Galland's translation that launched the collection of texts on its European career.

The exhibition makes a special case of illustrating the history of the text's transmission. We learn that Galland made his translation from a 15th-century Syrian manuscript copy and we see the first three volumes of this, bearing Galland's original annotations. Now kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, they are on display, joined by pages from Galland's diary in which he records meetings with the above mentioned Hannâ Diyâb, who introduced the stories of Aladdin and Ali Baba. Interestingly, when Western orientalists eventually identified Arabic manuscripts of these particular stories, it became clear that they were backtranslations from Galland's French versions.

The earliest manuscript on show is a fragment from a 9th-century volume acquired in Egypt by the University of Chicago. Later manuscripts, such as that used by Galland for his translation, indicate that Syria became a centre for the transmission of the stories.

2 David Tresilian, A Thousand and One Images, accessed 17 April 2013, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Print/784.aspx
As I discover the variety and richness on display, I wonder about the particulars of organising an event on this scale. Anne explains that there are 360 major works in the exhibition. They range from manuscripts, objects of Islamic art, Western paintings and costume to audio visual material such as music and cinema.

All in all 60 institutions were involved, several in France, the UK and the United States, but also various places in Canada, Germany, Portugal and Russia. The highlights, according to the curators, are the oldest known manuscript, the above mentioned 9th century codex now in Chicago. And at the other extreme, works by Magritte, Picasso, Van Dongen and Chagall. The most difficult to identify and get on loan were a set of engravings by Alain Schmied and the lithographs of Marc Chagall.

... An enormous amount of material to think about. And a very difficult task for the scenographers Massimo Quendolo and Léa Saito. However, theirs is an inspired set design. It took almost 3 years to prepare the exhibition. Hundreds of people on 3 continents were involved.

In the end, the effort was worth it, as this is an original contribution to the topic. Like Sheherazade, the exhibition offers a new discourse, unwrapping some of the magic behind old, sometimes unknown texts. Seen from the perspective of an institution which participated with a loan, the exercise was a valuable one, as it told us once more what valuable and intriguing our own collections are and what exciting projects lie ahead.

Nicholas Cantilupe and Thomas Hearne in Christ Church
A Small Discovery from the Forthcoming Catalogue of the House’s Medieval Manuscripts

Before the rivalry between Oxford and Cambridge was a clash of blades on the Thames or won and lost on the playing field of Twickenham, it was fought out through recourse to history.

In the fifteenth – and on into the sixteenth – century, the universities debated their origins. Oxford claimed Alfred as their kind father, a ludicrous pedigree still remembered in the coat-of-arms of University College. But at least Alfred existed: Cambridge sought to stretch the time-frame (and credulity) further by declaring King Arthur their founder.

A foundation text for this foundation myth was the mid-century Historiola by Nicholas Cantilupe. It is a work which has received some recent scholarly attention in an article by Ad Putter that appeared in Medium Ævum, but there has been no edition of the work since the early eighteenth century when it was printed by the indefatigable Thomas Hearne (1678 – 1735).

Hearne was a giant among English antiquaries in the early eighteenth century, even if his politics and character made him as many enemies as friends. His work on Cantilupe did not necessarily raise his stock among his contemporaries – it was a Cambridge man, Thomas Baker, who commented to its editor that the Historiola was ‘one entire Fable, & the fruitful Invention of a teeming Monkish Brain, & you do it too much honor, in giving it an Edition’. But that did not stop Hearne working on it. What we do not know – or, rather, did not know until now – is on which of the ten or more manuscripts he based his edition.

Working in the Upper Library of my alma mater, assisting in preparing for publication the catalogue of medieval manuscripts begun by Jeremy Griffiths and, after his death, continued by Ralph Hanna, I had the opportunity to study the House’s copy of Cantilupe, MS. 138, which – from its fifteenth century folio numbering – is clearly an excerpt from a much larger volume.

Turning its leaves, I was struck that the antiquarian note recording details of the author of the Historiola was in a familiar hand: that of Hearne himself. I went to check the edition and noted that his transcription exactly matches that of the manuscript. The question then became how Hearne came by this slim fascicule – a question to which the answer, as so often with

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1 The description of MS. 138 is now available in pre-print format on-line. A draft of this note was published on David Rundle’s blog, http://bonaelitterae.wordpress.com.
Hearne, lies in his diaries, edited a century ago by the Oxford Historical Society.

In his entry for 9th March 1712, he mentions that some manuscripts he had perused ‘In the Dean of Xt Church’s Study amongst Dr Aldrich’s Books (all which I have examin’d lately)’ and he goes on to say ‘I … saw there Cantilupes Historiola Cantabrigiensis, & I am promis’d the loan of it’.

In other words, he was checking the collection of the recently departed Henry Aldrich, once himself Dean of Christ Church (1689 – 1710), and found there a copy of Cantilupe. Aldrich’s ownership of a manuscript comprising Cantilupe (and little else) can fortunately be corroborated, as Christ Church also holds his library catalogue in its archives and it is there, at fol. 9v.

Hearne, then, did indeed gain the promised loan and, clearly, returned it to its home at which point, presumably, it entered into the collection of the foundation over which Aldrich had once presided.

Indeed, what is interesting is that this new nugget of information also allows us to identify other manuscripts – Greek, Hebrew and early-modern – as having reached the institutional library from the same individual source.

So, for instance, Christ Church’s seventeenth-century transcript of Palladio, MS. 182, comes from Aldrich, as do the Greek mathematical manuscripts of Apollonius of Perga (MS. 84), Serenus of Antinopolis (MS. 85) and Pappus of Alexandria (MS. 86), the Letters of St Basil the Great (MS. 48), and the Hebrew volumes by Mordachai Nathan (MSS. 185 and 186).

Not all Aldrich’s books, it should be added, came to Christ Church: for example, the library-list of the man who designed Peckwater Quad includes what sounds very much like the autograph copy of the *Elementa Architecturae* by Aldrich himself, but they are not now with his other books in Christ Church’s collection.

In short, there is more to discover of Aldrich’s library, as there is of this rich and eclectic collection more generally. For the time being, we can take satisfaction that one brief note at the top of a folio has opened a window onto a world previously thought lost.

David Rundle
History Faculty, Oxford University

**Encounters of the Third Kind**
**Engraved Gems and the Classical Tradition**
23 January - 3 May 2013

It has been a privilege this term to have on show a very special exhibition in the Upper Library. On this occasion we collaborated with the Oxford Classical Art Research Centre and various private collectors and we took the opportunity to display gems and replicas we had on loan, alongside some of the treasures of the book-collection of Christ Church Library.

Gems may be modest in size but the engraving of them was a major art in antiquity. Starting in the Renaissance, these Greek and Roman intaglios and cameos were observed, collected and copied. Scholars were able to learn about them from printed sources, but scholars could also study them in 3D through the expanding production of impressions and casts of gems in a variety of materials. Our exhibition was thought in terms of presenting a wide range of examples of both originals, as well as books and copies cast for better assessing the originals.

Among the star exhibits on show was the famous sleeping leopard, also known as the *Zanetti cameo*. Antonio Maria Zanetti (1680-1757) was a Venetian Count, a highly influential collector and dealer. Looking into the provenance of the object, we discovered a very interesting history. This mottled jasper, it appears, was much coveted by the Duke of Marlborough, but it was sold it to the Duke’s cousin, the First Earl Spencer, at Althorp.

Another example of stunning beauty and craftsmanship is the so called *Cesati cameo*, representing Cupid taming a lion. This cameo was carved in sardonyx and signed in Greek letters ‘Alexander F(ecit)’ for Alexander Cesati (1510-1564). The artist was so admired at the time that in his *Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori*
Invented probably in Alexandria by the second century BC, cameos present in relief, on layered stones a wide variety of secular and religious subjects. Their main function was as jewellery, but also there are fantastic examples of cameos on a grand scale. These were among the favourite formats for Roman imperial portraiture and propaganda.

The most common gems however were seals. In their case, the stone was not carved in relief, but hollowed out, in intaglio, and designed to yield an impression in wax or clay.

Such is, for example, the Nicolo bull, dating from the first century AD. Images of rural scenes, in particular those showing domesticated animals, as a symbol of prosperity, were a popular choice for personal seals. Images of gods and divine personifications were also among the themes favoured by many. Equally popular were images of rulers, such as the one in the fragment of a Hellenistic intaglio amethyst. The oldest exhibit on show, dating from the third century BC, is also one of the most mysterious as to whom it might represent.

Many gems were worn as lucky charms and magical gems form a special class. These have a specific figurative repertoire as well as particular inscriptions.

Setting up an exhibition such as this might seem a balancing act too difficult to orchestrate, therefore a non-starter. In our case however it was a joy from the beginning to the end, as we benefited from the help and generosity of many people. Our deepest gratitude goes to Dr Claudia Weber. She directs the Beazley Archive's gem research program, and it was her curatorial insight and enthusiasm which made it all possible. Thanks are due to Sir John Boardman for his unfailing encouragement and invaluable advice. We also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Sanne Christensen, with whom we first discussed the idea to have a display of gems in the fabulously surrounded Upper Library. Richard Falkiner generously made his collection available. Alastair Scott-Villiers and Megan Price, who organized the loan of neoclassical gems from Gertrud Seidmann’s collection. We are grateful to all and to the wonderful, enthusiastic public who visited us.

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

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(1568), Vasari refers to him as surpassing “far beyond all others in grace, perfection and versatility.”