
CHRIST CHURCH LIBRARY NEWSLETTER

Volume 5, Issue 1

Michaelmas 2008

ISSN 1756-6797 (Print), ISSN 1756-6800 (Online)

Book Collections, Private Homes and Seventeenth Century England

Since private collections grew substantially in size during the seventeenth century, and since the ownership of books were increasingly felt to represent the fulfilment of a gentleman's social, cultural and moral responsibilities, collections began to move into the more public areas of the house.

The growing literacy in the idioms of renaissance classicism also encouraged a greater formality in house-planning and internal arrangement which fostered the development of the library as a grand apartment.

However, the movement towards the eighteenth-century formal library as a family room was never straight-forward; in part because the function of the closet/library space remained so fluid and nebulous.

The emphasis placed by English Protestantism, on private meditation, meant that a 'closet' was often dedicated to the reading of and reflecting on the Bible and a small number of theological texts, rather than an entire library.

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The Art of Science - Thomas Roberts' Navigation Instruments in the Upper Library

In 1760 Christ Church Upper Library, the building of which began in 1717 to the designs of Dean Henry Aldrich developed by the Oxford architect-academic Dr George Clarke, was completed with the applied decoration of its ceiling and walls. Light, airy and with its book-cases lining the walls rather than jutting into the rooms at right angles, the Upper Library resembled the audience chamber of a cultured Central European ruler rather than the dark, monastic rooms of Oxford's earlier libraries such as Merton and Duke Humfrey's, and of course, the original medieval library of the College, and the decoration enhanced the effect of refined classicism.

The applied decoration was the work of a local craftsman, Thomas Roberts. By 1760 he was well-established as one of the most competent exponents of stucco-work in the country, creating restrained but dynamic designs in the Rococo style.

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Thomas Roberts' Navigation Instruments

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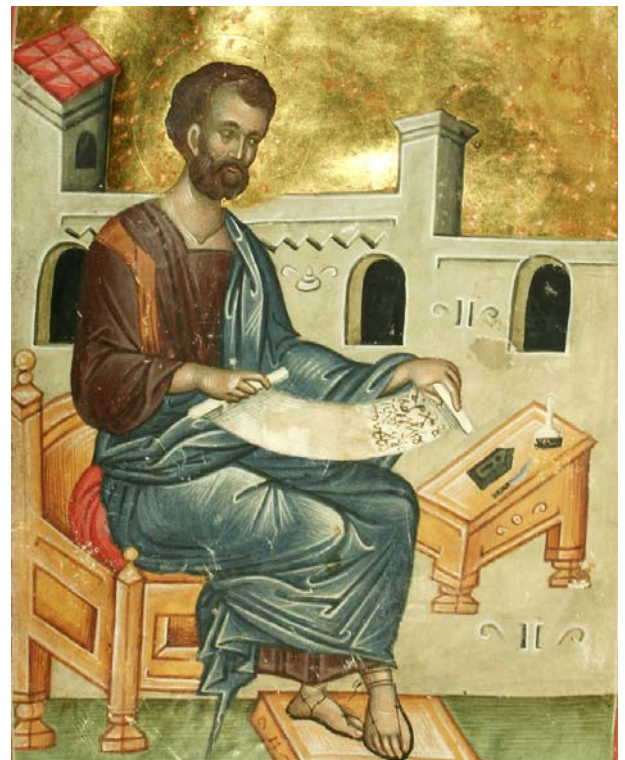
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The Archbishop as a Schoolboy

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Letters to the Editor

Hans Sloane Printed Books Project



Illumination from a 14th century *Greek New Testament*.
Christ Church Library, Wake Collection (Ms.28, f.59v).
The volume is currently on display in the Bodleian Library's exhibition
Beyond Work of One (24 May to November 2008).

His work for Sir James Dashwood at Kirtlington Park throughout the 1740s, notably the Dining Room now installed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York ensured a string of commissions for the embellishment of country houses in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, including General Dormer's private library at Rousham Park after its rebuilding by William Kent, and the Drawing Room and Library at Hartwell (1759), the Dining Room at Oving and ceilings at Thame Park.



Stucco-work ceiling, wall drops and picture-frames by Thomas Roberts 1742-45, for the Dining Room at Kirtlington Park, Oxfordshire, now installed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Roberts was also commissioned by Oxford colleges throughout his career, the earliest dated example of his work being the closely-packed Rococo shells on the ceiling of the Senior Common Room at St John's College in 1742, although the lively Rococo centrepiece and end panels of 1741 in the Hall at Jesus College may also be his work.

Although he was an outstanding decorative artist, Thomas Roberts does not feature much in architectural history. His early work appears to be to the designs of architects and interior designers such as John Sanderson (as at Kirtlington) and it is probable that he was brought to the attention of potential clients by his work for local builders on their commissions. The Townsends, Oxford leading architectural masons, who built Peckwater Quad in the middle decades of the Eighteenth century, were the main contractors at St John's College in the 1740s, and at Kirtlington and Thame Park and probably employed Roberts on each commission as a contracted craftsman, but when Roberts returned to St John's in the 1750s to embellish the Library ceiling with bold designs in shallow relief, he was working on his own account.

Indeed, commissions to decorate Oxford's libraries seemed to fall into his lap. Working with the leading decorative *stuccatori* Giuseppe Artari and Charles Stanley by 1748, Roberts added the stucco cartouches for the ceiling and drum of James Gibbs' Radcliffe Library (now the Bodleian's Radcliffe Camera). As Dr Geoffrey Tyack puts it, "there is no

finer classical interior in Oxford and few in England."¹ The original ceiling of Hawksmoor's externally neo-gothic but internally neo-classical Codrington Library (1750) at All Souls, and the delicate centre-pieces of the ceiling panels of Queen's College Library of 1756 were by Roberts. In 1753 Roberts was engaged to decorate the ceiling of the Tower Room in the Bodleian's Picture Gallery (now the Reserve of the Upper Reading Room) with a very beautiful classical centre-piece of garlands of flowers, rosettes and acanthus leaves, removed 200 years later and installed in the University Upper Archive Room at the top of the Tower of the Five Orders.

The Art of Stucco

Stucco is the outer layer of plaster applied to a wall or ceiling. Externally stucco is often left rough-cast, but on internal walls it is floated to a smooth, satin finish and often coloured. Stucco-work, the decorative medium in which Roberts worked, is the term used for moulded decoration applied to a flat surface, made of a plaster-like mix of dehydrated lime (calcium carbonate), powdered alabaster and resin gum, to make a very fine paste which can be spread into a greased carved wood mould, often with horsehair to strengthen the resulting form, or the paste is moulded over a wire armature by the craftsman's fingers, like the clay matrix used by the bronze-statuary.²

While stucco-work is not strictly carving, when it is set a moulded form is carved by the stuccoist using fine chisels or knives to achieve a finer shape and to incise fine detail, sometimes back-carving like the statuary or wood-carver to give an impression of lightness; the stuccoist then burnishes the final form to a very smooth finish, naturally cream or ivory in colour. The form is fixed to a wall or ceiling surface as low-relief decoration, or very often, as at Christ Church, with other forms to create a design in high relief. For the purposes of this article, I include stucco-work within the general medium of decorative carving.

Lime-plaster is malleable, so stucco-work is able to move with the natural flexing of a building and will last for a very long time if properly looked after. Roberts' stucco ceiling piece in the Tower of the Five Orders withstood being moved whole in the 1950s to a new position two floors higher, and was recently expertly cleaned, and this lovely piece looks today as fine as it was when first made.

The craft is technically difficult and time-consuming, and stucco-work decoration was the mark of a client's refined taste and deep pockets. The best

¹ Tyack, Geoffrey, *Oxford, an architectural guide* (Oxford: 1997), 171.

² Cennini, Cennino d'Andrea, *Il Libro dell' Arte*, trans. by Daniel V Thompson (New York: 1933), vol VI chapter CXXVI and vol XIV passim.

exponents were more than artisan craftsmen and can be called artists, bringing their knowledge of form and *disegno* and their own artistic sensibility to create work which still delights us today. Thomas Roberts was one of the best stuccoists working in England, and in the Library at Christ Church his work can be seen at its finest. The restrained classical ceilings of the Lower Library and the ceiling above the staircase were his, and the great ceiling and the panels and decorative garlands on the outer walls of the Upper Library were described by Nikolaus Pevsner as “one of the most gorgeous stucco displays in England”.³ Roberts’ Rococo wall panels strike the eye and excite the imagination on first entering this delightful room.

The Rococo style was a development of the Baroque in the early eighteenth century, in which designs, light in form, dynamic and often asymmetrical, are composed of elements from nature such as flowers, leaves, sea-shells and occasionally man-made objects, and the natural forms of rock from which the style derives its name – a conflation of “rocaille” and Baroque.

Roberts’ stucco-work panels above the bookcases between the windows of the north wall, have as their subject elements of the Arts and Sciences which were the interest of the Library’s original instigator, Dean Aldrich, particularly music and mathematics. Two are formed of open drops mounted on the wall without framing, but the remaining four drops are set within elegant bell-shaped cartouches of ribands and swirling leaves supporting scallop-shaped basketwork. These cartouche panels are particularly interesting, because their main elements, celestial navigation instruments, are extremely rare as subjects for decorative art. Such instruments were everyday items used by mariners of the period, found on every large vessel sailing more than a few miles from the shore, and some designs are of great antiquity while others were sophisticated reflecting instruments invented and refined during the Eighteenth century, the age of maritime discovery and global trade when navigation became an important science.

Navigation Instruments in Art

Although quite common as border decoration on sea-charts and prints of sea-battles or famous officers, navigation instruments have been used only rarely as subjects for higher forms of art. Telescopes, sea-charts, globes and the occasional astrolabe can be seen in English, Spanish and Dutch portrait paintings of important sea-farers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but celestial navigation instruments – used to determine a vessel’s position

at sea – are not common in painting and are very rare in carved decoration.

The statuary and wood carver Grinling Gibbons used navigation instruments as the theme for several of his commissions, most notably in the Board Room of the Admiralty Office in London completed in 1695, on the side panels of an earlier statue of Charles II in the Quadrangle at Windsor Castle, and in the Arts and Sciences panels at Lyme Park Hall, Cheshire of 1696. Gibbons was the greatest exponent of applied carved wood decoration, and his large set of navigation instruments carvings at the Admiralty, now mounted as an over-mantel but originally made as a picture-frame on an otherwise blank wall, are exceptional.⁴ They comprise a martial trophy supported by two large Baroque drops on an appropriately nautical theme, with *putti* riding toothed dolphins above festoons of sea-shells, flowers and ropes of pearls entwined with intricate high-relief arrays of celestial navigation instruments.



The Board Room over-mantel carved in lime-wood by Grinling Gibbons 1695, Old Admiralty Office.

Gibbons’ navigation instruments are three-dimensional, accurately observed, life-size, incised with the correct measuring lines and have articulated parts. Probably influenced by his early career as a decorative carver in a Rotterdam shipyard, Gibbons is the most prolific exponent of carved navigation instruments, producing nearly half of all examples of

³ Pevsner, Nikolaus and Jennifer Sherwood, *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire*, 5th edn (London: 1999, 51).

⁴ the Admiralty Board Room carvings are discussed in detail in Reay, Justin, *The Great Ship Ashore: the buildings and people of the Admiralty in London*, forthcoming

the genre known in Britain, but even he only made perhaps six, four of which were carved in low relief for stone statues or funerary monuments. Peter Scheemakers, Henry Cheere, Louis François Roubiliac and Sir Robert Taylor produced between them another six examples of carved navigation instruments, on funerary monuments, and these, with an anonymous carved picture frame displaying a small number of such instruments (on the staircase at the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford) together with Gibbons' and Roberts' work, are the sum of all known carved representations of these instruments. The anonymous picture frame (dated to c.1710), Gibbons' carvings at Lyme Park and the Admiralty, and Roberts' stucco-work at Christ Church are the only known examples of navigation instruments as carved decorative art. The dearth of navigation instruments in decorative carving is surprising, given the preponderance and popularity of marine subjects in Dutch and English art, and this scarcity gives them added importance. Gibbons' navigation instruments at Lyme Park are shown in perspective, to be viewed from below, and are not as well observed as those at the Admiralty where, as Alan Stimson, formerly Curator of Navigation Instruments at the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, wryly points out, the artist's clients demanded: "carving in sufficient detail and proportion so as not to offend the professional expertise of the naval persons who were bound to examine them when assembling in the Board Room."⁵

Perhaps the same was true amongst the mathematical cognoscenti at Christ Church. Thomas Roberts' instruments, while not to a consistent scale, are realistic, in full relief and often have incised surface detail, and rival Gibbons in their representation of the real objects. As Dr Stephen Johnston recently observed: "It's impossible not to have the strong sense that what we are seeing are simply white-washed instruments fixed up on the wall."⁶

Roberts' Navigation Instruments

Roberts six panels at the Upper Library are comprised of simple ribands, stylised acanthus leaves and cut boughs of bay underlying and intermingled with their main subjects exemplifying the Arts and Sciences in three-dimensional high relief. The two centre panels exemplify the arts with musical instruments, and are open drops without framing. The sciences panels are primarily mathematical, and the majority of instruments shown on each of these were used for celestial navigation,

an essentially mathematics-based discipline. They include other implements used in measuring and recording angles and heights. These four panels are within the elegant bell-shaped cartouches described above.

The *disegno* of the science set is assured with the visual weight perfectly balanced, although two are noticeably more complex than their partners. The central elements are carefully moulded representations of the instruments commonly used in celestial navigation before the Georgian period, but include geometry measuring instruments used by land and maritime artillery gunners as well as navigators, chart-making implements, and also measuring tools used by architectural masons.⁷

The navigation instruments in the first panel at Christ Church are: a gunner's quadrant; a vertical disc dial; a night telescope; a table globe; a mariner's astrolabe; a scioptic ball; a cross-staff; a equinoctial ring-dial; and chart-making instruments including a splendid pair of measuring compasses, sectors and a scissor-link parallel rule. The second panel has: a short Galilean telescope; a scioptic ball; a charting implement case; two table globes; an astrolabe with incised lines; a cross-staff (with some vanes missing); a night telescope; artillery pendulum level (?possibly a mason's level); a Davis quadrant (often called an English back-staff); a universal equinoctial ring-dial, and various charting instruments including protractors and sectors.



Stucco-work navigation instruments by Thomas Roberts 1760, Christ Church Upper Library (panel 1 and 2)

The third panel has: a Galilean telescope; a scioptic ball; a level; a night telescope; a gunner's quadrant; a table globe; a mariner's astrolabe; a cross-staff (with some vanes missing); a triangulation instrument with graduated arc; a nocturnal; a scissor-link parallel rule; a mis-located item which resembles the

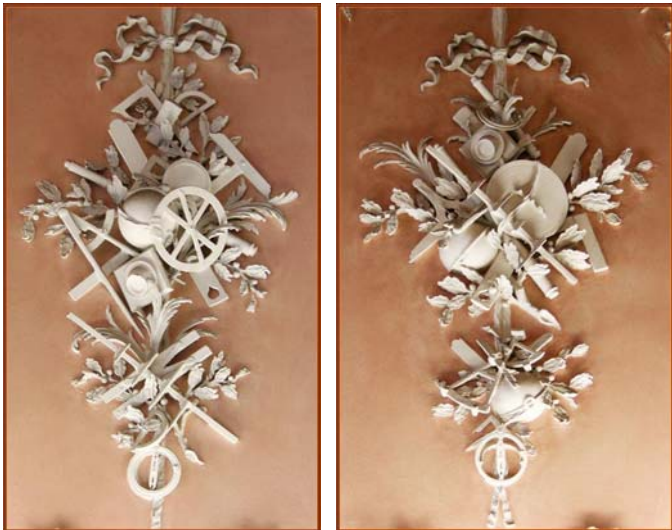
⁵ Stimson, Alan, "The Old Admiralty Board Room Carvings", *Kuersvast: vijf eeuwen navigatie op zee* festschrift for Willem Mörzer-Bruyns, page 11 of typescript draft shown to the author in 2004.

⁶ Johnston, Stephen, "Christ Church Library: mathematical instruments and architectural space in 18th century Oxford", paper at SIC XXVII, Lisbon, September 2008.

⁷ For descriptions of design and use of common celestial navigation instruments, see entries in William Burney, *Falconer's Universal Dictionary of the Marine*, London 1815 edition, and the illustrated Epact catalogue on the Museum of the History of Science website at www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/epact/catalogue.phs.

measuring arc of a Davis quadrant, and various charting instruments including protractors, a pair of compasses and sectors.

The fourth panel has: a nocturnal; two scioptric balls; a level; a Davis quadrant; two table globes; a vertical disc dial; a triangulation instrument with graduated arc; a cross-staff; a telescope; a small parallel rule, and a charting implement case amusingly depicted with its top open; the cross-staff has some vanes missing and the staff itself is slightly bent, which helps us to determine that these forms are stucco-work over a wire armature and not white-washed instruments of wood.



Stucco-work navigation instruments by Thomas Roberts 1760, Christ Church Upper Library (panel 3 and 4)

In his composition Roberts follows the model of Gibbons' carved drops in wood with which he demonstrates some familiarity.⁸ Did Roberts see the carvings at the Admiralty, or the Arts and Sciences cartouches at Lyme Park, which have similarities with all the Christ Church panels?



Detail of Navigation instruments, Admiralty Office 1695 and Lyme Park, Cheshire 1696, by Grinling Gibbons

We may never be certain, but it is clear that he either knew them, or drawings of them. In this context it is

noteworthy that all of Roberts' celestial navigation instruments appear in Gibbons' sets made 65 years before. Roberts does not include examples of more recent navigation instruments such as Hadley's octant (from the 1690s) or Captain John Campbell's marine sextant of 1758.

What Roberts does that Gibbons does not, is to cover the gamut of scientific navigation with the addition of measuring devices and charting implements including the fascinating scioptric ball, a *camera obscura* projector invented in 1636 by Daniel Schwenter at Altdorf which comprised a small square or round wooden frame holding a hollow ball of wood which could be rotated as a universal joint. Long-focus lenses were fitted into the ball and a telescope or a microscope could be attached. The frame was inserted in a window shutter of a darkened room, and the image resulting from light coming through the lenses was thrown onto a surface almost anywhere in the room by rotating the ball. A telescope was connected to assist in drawing panoramic views accurately and swiftly, an important aspect of marine chart-making. It is probable that when given the commission for the Upper Library, Roberts used as models the mathematical and navigation instruments collected by Christ Church's great benefactor the Earl of Orrery, some of whose collection may be seen today at the Museum of the History of Science, including the scioptric ball, which in Roberts' work is uniquely represented in decorative art.⁹

Roberts' restrained Rococo designs at Oxford perfectly complemented the Baroque buildings for the University and colleges by Wren, Hawksmoor and Gibbs and the symmetrical Palladian neo-classicism which followed them during the middle part of the Eighteenth century. But by the end of his career the Gothick was already coming into favour amongst college benefactors and building committees and would dominate architecture and decoration in the city for 100 years. In a sense this was a return to the original mediaeval, Tudor and Jacobean gothic Oxford, which was never fully usurped in this conservative city by classical architecture. Although Rococo designs fit in well in some Gothick interiors, Roberts' stucco-work was sometimes destroyed in the making of the new *faux* mediaevalism or considerably reduced, as at All Souls, but elsewhere its delicacy, fine workmanship and artistry were sufficient to ensure that his work was incorporated into any remodelling. Happily, at Christ Church Roberts' magnificent stucco-work in the Upper Library can be seen complete and in its original context.

⁹ The museum has several scioptric balls, including one from the Orrery Collection (MHS inventory 78216) which closely resembles the stucco-work depiction; it can be seen on the Museum website : <http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/cameras/index.htm?item14> accessed 27 September 2008.

⁸ See Hiscock, W G, *A Christ Church Miscellany* passim.

Like Gibbons at the Admiralty, Roberts transcends the mere competence of acute observation and deft craftsmanship in a difficult medium, to give us copies of the mariner's workaday instruments, which at Christ Church become beautiful images of high art.

Justin Reay, FSA

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Dr Stephen Johnston, Assistant Keeper of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford; Simon Bailey, Oxford University Archivist; John Wain of the Britannia Naval Research Association; and Cristina Neagu for their help in research for this article. Any remaining mistakes or lacunae are the author's responsibility.

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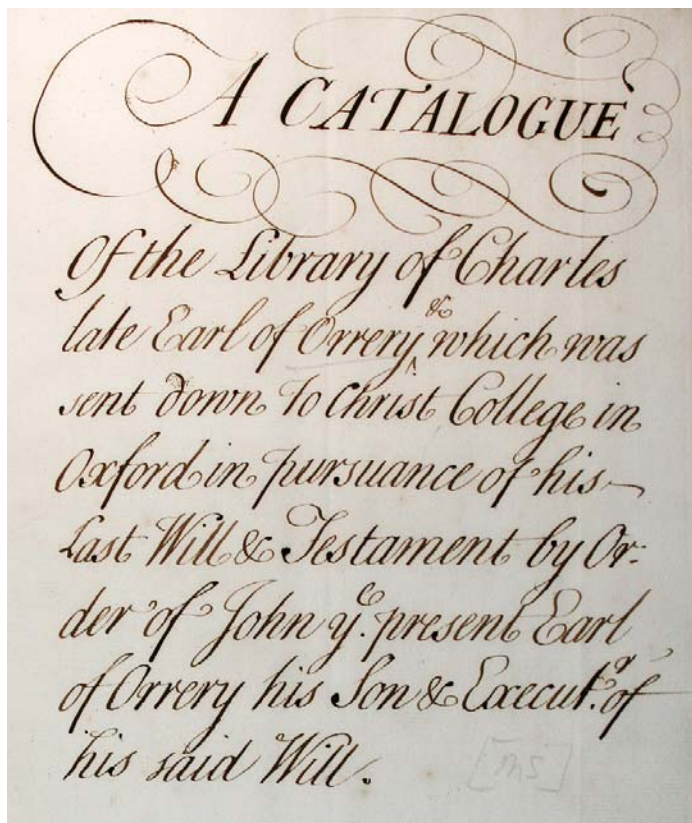
Notes on the Orrery Collection (2)

Christ Church Library has benefited from the generosity of many old members over the centuries. The books of Charles Boyle (1674–1731), fourth Earl of Orrery, arrived somewhat fortuitously.

The Dean of Christ Church in Orrery's time, Henry Aldrich, had bequeathed his books, prints and music to the House in 1710; Lewis, the brother of Orrery's tutor Francis Atterbury, gave his significant collection of pamphlets in 1722¹. Another of Orrery's associates and a fellow Christ Church man was Christopher Codrington, benefactor of the library at All Souls. Despite these examples, Orrery had intended his library to go to his son, but in November 1728, during a period of estrangement, he made a new will in favour of his college, and failed to revert his intentions before his death in 1731.

The fifth Earl did not challenge the will but intended 'to send the Library of his deceased Father to *Christ-Church* in such a *Manner*, as will fully convince that learned Society, how sincere a Respect he has for them'². The bequest was of 'all his noble Library, save only the *Journals of the House of Lords*, and such Books as relate to the English *History* and *Constitution*, which are left to the present Earl his Son; who is likewise allowed the Term of two Years, to separate *these* from the other Books'³. The preface to his son's *Letters from Italy* (London, 1774) confirms this but changes the term to three years. An inventory of Orrery's books was drawn up. The handwritten *A Catalogue of the Library of Charles*

late Earl of Orrery (Library records 22) is a folio volume bound in contemporary gilt-tooled red morocco. The books are divided into Latin & Greek, English, and French & Italian – corresponding to the three rooms of Orrery's London library – and then by bibliographic format.



Title page of the Orrery Catalogue (Library Records 22)

A note towards the end of the volume in which the Registrar of Christ Church acknowledges receipt from Budgell is dated 6 March 1732, so perhaps the inventory was made at Orrery's house rather than at Christ Church. There follows an appendix headed 'A Catalogue of Books sent down to Christ's College Oxon after the preceding Receipt was transmitted to London.' It is not apparent why these books had been separated; perhaps they came from Orrery's country residence?

In any event, the books were transported from London to Oxford in 1733³:

1733 Apl. 3.	Pd for cases for Ld. Orrery's Books	19. 7. 0
	" Mr. Pittard Steward to Ld. Orrery	5. 5. 0
	" for Carriage of ye s Books	26. 6. 10

The Chapter Minute Book records: 'Agreed that some proper room or rooms be pitched upon by ye Dean & Subdean & the Ld. Bp. of Asaph wherein to place ye Ld. Orrery's books & that they agree with ye Student & Students on whose rooms they shall so pitch upon at some reasonable rent for ye same'⁴. It appears that the books were not unpacked until at

¹ Paul Morgan, *Oxford Libraries Outside the Bodleian: A Guide*. 2nd ed (Oxford: 1980), 31.

² Eustace Budgell, *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Earl of Orrery, and of the Family of the Boyles* (London: 1732), 254.

³ *Ibid.*, 250.

³ Disbursement Books, quoted in Hiscock, W.G. *A Christ Church Miscellany* (Oxford: 1946), 66.

⁴ Hiscock, 66.

least October 1734, when they were stored in Tom 1.2⁵. The New Library was still being built at this time, so it was not until 1763 that the collection was moved to its current location⁶.

A previous shelving arrangement, presumably that used in Tom Quad, may be inferred from the original shelfmarks. Although the first inventory does not include shelfmarks, it was transcribed in 1735⁷ with the same organisation and headings, but with full alphabetisation rather than only the first letter and with the important addition of shelfmarks. These take the form A.1.1, where the letter ranges from A to Z (excluding I and U, but including W and with the addition of Æ), the first number ranges from 1 to 4 and the second from 1 to as high as 100. If these are arranged in the same way as today's shelfmarks then they imply 25 long, low bookcases. These old shelfmarks can be read, cancelled, on the endpapers of several books, though far from all of them; the suffix 'Orr' (sometimes 'Or') has been added to correspond with Old Library shelfmarks ending Art. or Th.

Estimating the size of a library is a black art. The *DNB* describes Orrery's library as 'ultimately consisting of 10,000 volumes', of which the books on English history went to his son. Hiscock's figure is that the bequest 'comprised 2,500 volumes' yet 'only a few gaps remained in the Orrery gallery'⁸. A count of the titles in the inventory helps to assess the size of the bequest. It lists 4,319 titles, of which 58% are in Latin or Greek, 27% in English and the remainder in French or Italian.

The fifth Earl, whose literary connections merit study in their own right, had meanwhile assembled his own library at the family estate in Marston, Somerset⁹. The library was sold in 1905¹⁰ at the same time as the contents of the house, so those of Orrery's books on English history which did pass to his son may have survived outside Christ Church. Certainly a number of books belonging to John Boyle (such as his copy of the *Epistles of Phalaris*) returned to Christ

Church during the 20th century, presumably following this sale.

Maria Franchini of the Early Printed Books Project has drawn my attention to a 1572 edition of the legal treatise *Controversiarum illustrium* recently bequeathed by John Latimer Barton to Merton College. Inside the front board is the inscription "Orrery. This book was left to me by my Father 1731". It is not listed explicitly in the sale catalogue of the Marston library, so we do not know when it returned to circulation, but it is good to know that it has ended up so close to Christ Church!

Orrery also left his scientific instruments to accompany his library. They were inventoried by the London instrument-maker Thomas Wright in September 1731¹¹ for John Fanshawe at Christ Church. In 1732, the Library Accounts record¹²:

May 20	Carriage & porters for L ^d Orrerys instruments	01 03 –
31	M. Wrights bill for packing & mending &c	04 08 6

When the New Library was ready in 1763, the instruments were housed in the 'small south rooms'¹³, presumably Arch. Inf. and Arch. Sup. Later instruments were incorporated into the collection while it remained at Christ Church. The 'Orrery Collection' has been on loan to the Museum of the History of Science in Broad Street since 1925, where it is displayed in the entrance gallery. A display panel hints that the instruments, perhaps like the books, may have been for display as much as enquiry, observing that 'some seem to be for practical purposes, such as calculating or surveying, but show little sign of wear'. A more generous assessment is that of Gunther, who calls Orrery 'a wealthy scientific amateur, a patron of good work rather than an original investigator'¹⁴. The original orrery named in his honour was not part of the bequest; it is currently on display in the Science Museum in London¹⁵.

Although Orrery's library contains as much theology and history as science, and although mathematical books were included in the bequests from Aldrich and Stratford, the gallery has often been considered the home for early science in Christ Church Library, along with the adjoining room known as Arch. Sup. Thus important books from other sources have been moved into the gallery, such as John Aubrey's copy of William Harvey on embryology and the first edition of Newton's *Principia*. Scientific books now occupy

⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁷ The transcription is now Library records 23. The Library Accounts note: 'P^d M^r Sandford for transcribing L^d Orrerys Catalogue 05 05 –': Library records 16, fol. 27v.

⁸ Hiscock, 72.

⁹ McGarvie, 101.

¹⁰ Catalogue of the valuable and extensive library and collection of autograph letters of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Cork and Orrery removed from Marston, Frome which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods at their great rooms 8 King Street, St. James's Square on Tuesday, November 21, 1905 and two following days at one o'clock precisely (London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons). It consists of 736 lots in 109 pages, mostly itemised. The Bodleian copy (shelfmark 2591.d.6[7]) is marked up with the purchasers of the letters, though not of the books; the four names Dobell, Maggs, Quaritch, and Sabin predominate, all book dealers, suggesting that they were also the purchasers of the printed books.

¹¹ The inventory is transcribed in Gunther, R.T. *Early Science in Oxford. Vol. I. Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics and surveying*. Facsimile reprint. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1967, appendix A, 378–382.

¹² Library records 16, fol. 25v.

¹³ Hiscock, 72.

¹⁴ Gunther, 378.

¹⁵ Inventory no. 1952-73

(<http://www.sciencemuseum.org.uk/objects/astronomy/1952-73.aspx>).

two areas: one section contains mathematics, physics and astronomy and a second group contains medicine, physiology and chemistry (including alchemy). Botanical books are now in Arch. Sup.

Notable books include, in astronomy, the 1566 edition of Copernicus' *De revolutionibus* and the Rudolphine tables of Kepler; in physics, the second edition of Gilbert's *De magnete* 'even more rare than the first'¹⁶ together with second editions of Newton's *Principia* and *Opticks*; in biology, Leeuwenhoek's *Arcana naturæ detecta* and the first edition of Hooke's *Micrographia*; in medicine, Paré's surgical works in Latin, 1582 ('considered the choicest of all'¹⁷); and in botany, Parkinson's *Theatrum botanicum* and the second edition of Gerarde's *Herball*.

At least half the books shelved as Orrery's in the Upper Library gallery have now been catalogued to modern standards, with details accessible on the University's online catalogue; but much remains to be discovered about Orrery's collecting and his collection.

Owen Massey
Worcester College

These notes are excerpted from the full report written for the Early Printed Books Project, available on application.

READING COPERNICUS

Giordano Bruno's Lectures at Oxford

Copernicus' early presence in Oxford libraries is significant. Several colleges hold copies of the first and second edition of *De Revolutionibus* and, more importantly, this book stirred quite a few heated debates in the University at the time.

Among the most vitriolic ever was the one between the Italian writer and philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) and a series of high ranking figures in the University, among whom Tobie Mathew (1544-1628), then Dean of Christ Church.

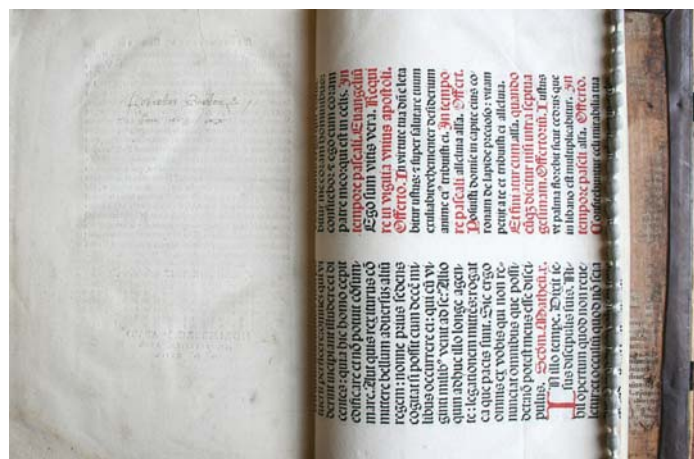
Although not unique in Oxford, the Christ Church copies of the first and second editions of Copernicus' famous book have a telling story of their own.

The first edition¹ is part of the Robert Burton (1577-1640) bequest. He was a distinguished scholar and writer, whose *Anatomy of Melancholy* is a

masterpiece of style and a valuable index to the philosophical and psychological ideas of the time.

Burton was educated at Oxford, elected a student of Christ Church in 1599 and appointed librarian in 1624. Not widely travelled, but widely read, Burton had a huge personal library for the time. It is one of the most important surviving English private libraries from the period before the Civil War. In his extensive research, Nicolas Kiessling² has identified 1,738 books that are known to have once belonged to Burton, 780 books from which are at Christ Church (the rest at the Bodleian).

Bearing Kiessling's number 388, this copy of *De Revolutionibus* is a beautiful example of a sixteenth century blind tooled roll binding on wooden boards. It also displays chain holes at fore edge of upper board and remains of clasps. To make it even more interesting, there is an offset from manuscript waste inside the upper board and early printed waste bound at the end of the volume.



Early printed waste (possibly an incunable liturgical text in red and black letter), on the blank page, Robert Burton's signature, in the first edition of *De Revolutionibus*; (f.1.3)

Sadly, the copy lacks the preliminary gathering and gathering a; also gatherings b-c are mutilated at the head with loss of text. This damage however occurred before Burton acquired the book in 1607, his markings suggest.

Although the volume is now rightly shelved together with the rest of the Burton collection (f.1.3), *De Revolutionibus* is one the few books which previous librarians couldn't quite decide where to put.³ It has no less than three previous shelfmarks (Arch. Inf. G.2.1., R.1.1.5, OP.2.16), the last of which being right next to the second edition.⁴

¹⁶ Thornton, John L. & R.I.J. Tully. *Scientific Books, Libraries and Collectors*. 3rd ed (London: Library Association, 1971), 71.

¹⁷ Thornton, John L. *Medical Books, Libraries and Collectors* (London: Grafton, 1949), 44.

¹ *Nicolai Copernici Torinensis De revolutionibus orbium caelestium libri VI* (Norimbergæ : Apud Ioh. Petreium, Anno M.D.XLIII).

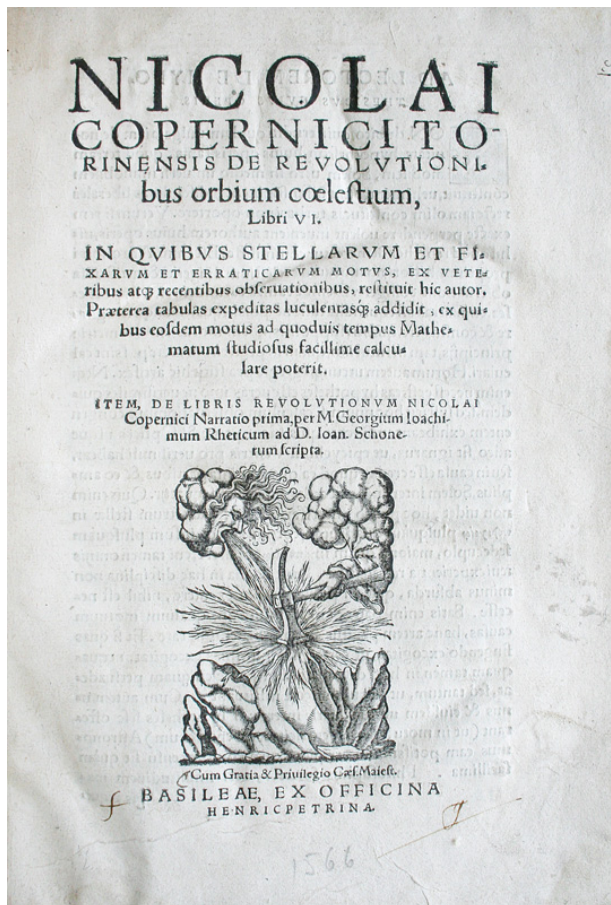
² Nicolas Kiessling. *The Library of Robert Burton*. (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1988).

³ Incidentally, a number of other volumes had been dislocated from the Burton collection, as, in the late eighteenth century, Christ Church held several sales of duplicates.

⁴ *Nicolai Copernici Torinensis de reuolutionibus orbium caelestium, libri VI* (Basileae, : Ex officina Henricpetrina., Anno M.D.LXVI).

This volume has a noteworthy history itself. We know one of its first owners, as, inscribed on the title page, there is a brief inscription: "1634 Januarij, 7. Bs.-Vd. Samuel Foster."

Foster (d.1652) was an important mathematician, who devoted much of his time to making astronomical observations, concentrating especially on solar and lunar eclipses. He also designed and modified instruments, mainly for the use of artisans and seamen. Copernicus' book was therefore a natural addition to his library. From there the volume resurfaced in the collection of Charles Boyle, the fourth Earl of Orrery (1676-1731) bequeathed to Christ Church.

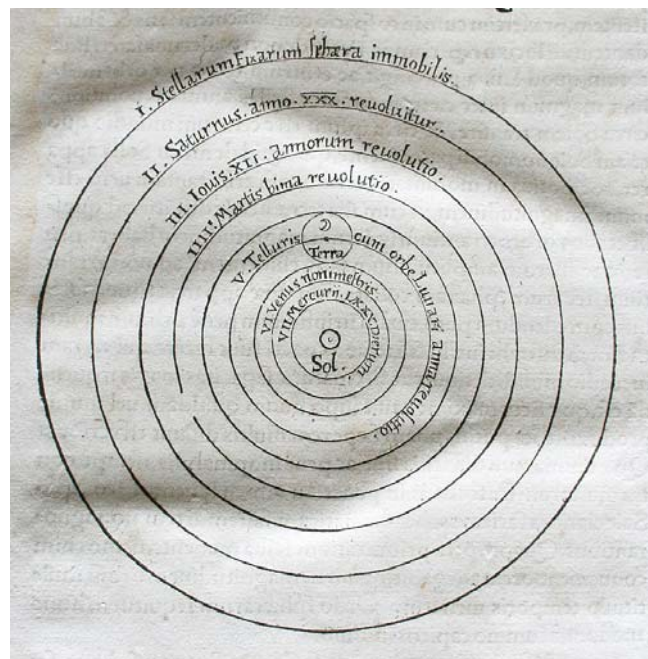


Title page of the 1566 edition of *De Revolutionibus* (OP.2.14)

In so far as Giordano Bruno is concerned, he was by no means the first significant Italian writer to have visited England. Poggio Bracciolini, Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Baldessare Castiglione had done it before. However his stay there (between 1583 and 1585) was plagued by such controversy that it was perhaps more noticeable than that of other people. More importantly however, Bruno was the first major author to write extensively while in England and the first to enter into noteworthy association with English men of letters.

To focus on one particular aspect of the drama that he always managed to instil and the impact he had on the English academic scene, let us look at the way he received and disseminated one particular

theory the importance of which cannot be over-estimated.



Copernicus' famous depiction of the sun at centre of the system (p.9v)

Let us look at Bruno's interpretation and defence of Copernicus's heliocentric system, as introduced in *De Revolutionibus*. The choice of this particular theme is motivated by the fact that Bruno refers to Copernicus throughout his writings, particularly in *La cena de la cenere*⁵ and in *De immenso*⁶.

Again, Bruno was not the first to have dwelled extensively on the Copernican system, but dramatic events around the series of lectures he gave at Oxford University in 1583 brought the theory very much in the public eye.

What happened then at Oxford troubled Bruno so much that he cut his visit short and left before finishing the series. It remains a debated point whether the main topic of these controversial lectures was Copernican astronomy (as Bruno himself suggests in *La cena*), or an unacknowledged presentation of Marsilio Ficino's *De vita caelitus comparanda* (as some of the audience seem to infer).

The documentary evidence offers only one extended account of the episode, under the penmanship of George Abbott, a Fellow of Balliol at the time, later Archbishop of Canterbury. This is a remarkable text uncovered and commented upon by Robert McNulty.⁷ In a volume written as a response from

⁵ Giordano Bruno, *La cena de le ceneri: descritta in cinque dialogi [...]* ([London]: [J. Charlewood], 1584).

⁶ Giordano Bruno, *De innumerabilibus immenso et infigurabili: sive de universo et mundis libri octo [...]* (Frankfurt: J. Wechel & P. Fischer, 1591).

⁷ Robert McNulty, 'Bruno at Oxford', *Renaissance News* (4, 1960), 300-305.

the perspective of Protestantism⁸ to a treatise on Catholicism,⁹ George Abbot describes what, from his point of view, happened during Bruno's lectures at Oxford:

When that Italian Didapper, who intitulated himselfe Philotheus Iordanus Brunus Nolanus, magis elaborata Theologia Doctor, & with a name longer than his body, had in the traine of Alasco the Polish Duke, seene our University [...] his hart was on fire [...] to become famous in that celebrious place. [...] he undertooke among very many other matters to set on foote the opinion of Copernicus, that the earth did goe round, and the heavens did stand still; whereas in truth it was his owne head which rather did run round, and his braines did not stand still. When he read his first Lecture, a grave man, & both then and now of good place in that University, seemed to himselfe, somewhere to have read those things which the Doctor propounded; but silencing his conceit till he heard him the second time, remembered himselfe then, and repaying to his study, found both the former and the later Lecture, taken almost verbatim out of the works of Marsilius Ficinus. Wherewith when he had acquainted that rare & excellent Ornament of our land [...] then Dean of Christs-Church, it was at the first thought fit, to notifie to the Illustrious Reader, so much as they had discovered. [...] (F4^v-F5)

The criticism against Bruno could not be fiercer. Abbot's point of view is one of articulate contempt for everything the Italian philosopher seems to have said and he appears to speak in the name of the University, as he foregrounds the intervention of one member of the audience, a 'grave man' of 'good place' in the University who dutifully denounced Bruno to Tobie Matthew, then Dean of Christ Church.

The question which immediately arises is why Tobie Matthew? The answer may be suggested by the history of public lectures at Oxford in the late sixteenth century, several of them being initiated by Christ Church, in accordance with a tradition encouraged by Cardinal Wolsey.¹⁰ It is therefore possible that Christ Church, through its Dean, invited Bruno to the University. This may explain in part Tobie Matthew's involvement.

Interestingly though, Abbot's text does not mention any criticism against Bruno being channelled to the

Chancellor (Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester), or the Vice-Chancellor (Thomas Thornton, Canon of Christ Church). What he highlights is, in effect, an unofficial point of view, that of a distinct group of scholars, stern defenders of Aristotelianism.

Bruno's own account of his what happened at Oxford is equally vitriolic:

Have them tell you how learnedly he answered their arguments and how fifteen times, for fifteen syllogisms, the poor doctor,¹¹ whom they put before the Nolan [...] felt like a fish out of water. Have them tell you with what uncouthness and discourtesy [he] acted [...]. Have them inform you how they put an end to his public lectures [...].¹²

The fragment above is from *La cena de le ceneri*, the work the humanist composed in London immediately after his furious return from Oxford. One feels it is in part anger that made the philosopher collect his thoughts and write it. Behind this undeniable frustration however, this first of Bruno's dialogues published in England excels in control. The tract consists of a carefully balanced conversation between four friends, Smith, the pedant Prudenzius, Frulla, and the philosopher Teophilo (an *alter ego* for an author whose name on the title pages of his works usually reads Philotheo Giordano Bruno Nolano). The work puts together two distinct events: a description of a supper held at Fulke Greville's house on Ash Wednesday (14 February) in 1584, where Theophilo is asked to provide details of the second event, namely the story of Bruno's experience at Oxford and the theories he defended.

There are four main moments focusing on the Copernican issue in *La cena*. To begin with, in the first Dialogue, there are several paragraphs of praise discussing Copernicus's contribution. Parts of the debate between the fictionalised character of Bruno and the neo-Aristotelians Nundinio in the third Dialogue, and Torquato in the fourth Dialogue are dedicated to aspects of heliocentrism. Finally there is the controversial exposé about the movement of the Earth developed by Theophilo at the end of the fifth Dialogue. On the whole, the pages dedicated to Copernicus's theory are proportionally substantial. This is not the place to discuss them in detail, especially as the topic is among the critics' favourites. Summing up the pages on Copernicus present in *La cena* is no easy task, but although faulty and

⁸ *Reasons Which Doctour Hill Hath Brought, for the Upholding of Papistry, Which is Falselie Termed the Catholike Religion: Unmasked, and Shewed to Be Very Weake, and Upon Examination Most Insufficient for That Purpose* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, Printer to the University, 1604).

⁹ Thomas Hill, *A Quartron of Reasons of Catholike Religion* (secretly printed in England).

¹⁰ One in a very distinguished line of lecturers was Juan Louis Vives whom Wolsey sent to Oxford in 1523 and for whom the University was duly grateful. For further details, see *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. by James McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), III, 335-347.

¹¹ According to Gabriel Harvey, the above mentioned 'doctor' and stern opponent of Bruno was John Underwood. Underhill was Bishop of Oxford and, at the time of Bruno's visit, Rector of Lincoln College and praelector in moral philosophy. For further details see Gabriel Harvey, *Marginalia*, ed. by G.C. Moore Smith (Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1913) quoted by R. McNulty, "Bruno at Oxford", 301.

¹² Giordano Bruno, *La cena de le ceneri - The Ash Wednesday Supper*, ed. & trans. by Edward A. Gosselin and Lawrence S. Lerner (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1977), 187.

confusing in places, Bruno's interpretation is rather unique. Reading carefully through his pages, it seems to me that the author fully intended to create as much havoc as possible and thus turn people's attention to a theory, which (although in the public eye already) was surprisingly low-key.

The rhetorical nature of *La cena* is more than evident, and as a consequence, had it not incensed spirits, it would have been a failure.

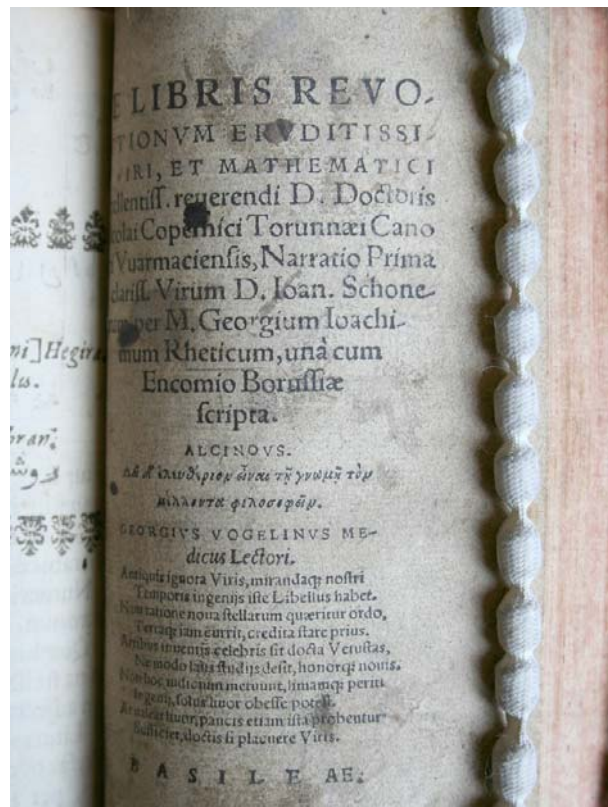
By comparison, the publication of *De Revolutionibus* appears to have originally produced far less anger and confusion. The Copernican theory has often been taken as the ultimate model of spectacular intellectual change. There is no question, the system is an undisputable paradigm of intellectual change. But whether it was in fact as spectacular as we now think of it, this is much more debatable. The story of how Renaissance heliocentrism emerged onto the public arena is quite different from what most of us would expect. When the question of the earth's movement and position relative to the rest of the visible cosmos was raised by Copernicus, the context could not have been more unfavourable and discrediting. His system was confronting three weighty authorities: the Church, the Aristotelian orthodoxy of the universities and the astronomers, all of whom were working in a broadly Ptolemaic tradition.

De Revolutionibus only appeared at the end of Copernicus's life, in 1543. One might think this ensured the author a relatively carefree life of research, perfecting the theory without the distraction of ignorant intrusions and public scandal. All this is true. The scholar did enjoy a puzzlingly quiet existence. I say puzzling, because at the time of publication, a summary of Copernicus's ideas were already in print. The key figure in their disclosure was a young mathematician, Georg Joachim Rheticus.

In 1539 he visited Copernicus, who, swept along by the young man's enthusiasm, allowed Rheticus to pass his theory on to the learned world in the form of an informative communication addressed to Johann Schöner. Rheticus's elegant summary, *Narratio prima* (First Account) was quickly printed twice, in Gdansk in 1540, then in Basel in 1541.¹³

The latter edition is now among the other early printed science books (shelfmark: OP.6.42/2), although not obviously listed in the catalogue of the Orrery collection. Very much like the first edition of *De Revolutionibus*, *Narratio prima* had several locations in the library (previous shelfmarks: OK.6.11

and Arch. Inf. G.6.27), so it is not entirely inconceivable that the text may have accompanied Copernicus' volume in Robert Burton's collection. This, at the moment, is difficult to prove, but conjecture and the Burton's interest in astronomy and keeping up to date make it plausible.



Title page of the 1541 edition of *Narratio prima*

Despite the revolutionary nature of the argument, the publication of *Narratio prima* created no major shockwaves. Indeed, this rather unusual preview of heliocentrism offered by Rheticus went almost unnoticed.

This lack of response after Rheticus's text however, does not mean that Copernicus was not worried about the outcome of voicing his ideas. Their reception, especially in religious circles deeply concerned him. So much so that in 1533 the Papal Secretary, Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt, was apparently presented with a valuable Greek manuscript on behalf of Copernicus for explaining the latter's ideas to Pope Clement VII.¹⁴

As a result, in 1536, one of the Cardinals, Nicholas Schoenberg, asked Copernicus to make his ideas public. The scholar would oblige soon enough, very cleverly prefacing *De Revolutionibus* with Schoenberg's letter and a long dedication to the new Pope, Paul III. To reassure himself even more, in 1540 he wrote to Andreas Osiander, a well connected Lutheran theologian. In his reply, the latter rather interestingly noted that astronomical theories were not articles of faith, but devices for representing

¹³ Rheticus, Georg Joachim, *De libris reuolutionum eruditissimi viri, et mathematici excellentiss. reuerendi D. Doctoris Nicolai Copernici Torunnæi canonici Vuarmaciensis, narratio prima* (Basileae. : Apud Robertum Vuinter, Anno 1541) Basileae. : Apud Robertum Vuinter, Anno 1541.

¹⁴ John North, *The Fontana History of Astronomy and Cosmology* (London: Fontana Press, 1994), 283.

observed phenomena. Their truth or falsity, Osiander suggested, was of no importance.

These views have a long philosophical history and may in part explain the initial reception of Copernicus's system. Rather tellingly, as in the case of the Cardinal's letter, the theologian's point of view found its way through in the un-signed introduction of Copernicus's book. How do we know it was Osiander who wrote it?

There were two people involved in the publication of this volume. In May 1542 it was Rheticus who brought the manuscript to Petreius in Nürnberg. No objections were raised and printing began soon. Rheticus corrected the first set of proofs. In October however, he is documented to have left the city to take up a professorship in Leipzig, leaving Osiander to finalize the project. When Rheticus received the printed volume in the spring of 1543, he must have been rather upset,¹⁵ as in his own copies he crossed out the anonymous introduction, which, while praising Copernicus's achievement, introduces the theory within a very specific framework:

I have no doubt that certain learned men, now that the novelty of the hypotheses in this work has been widely reported – for it establishes that the Earth moves, and indeed that the Sun is motionless in the middle of the universe – are extremely shocked. [...] But if they are willing to judge the matter thoroughly, they will find that the author of this work has committed nothing which deserves censure. For it is proper for an astronomer to establish a record of the motions of the heavens with diligent and skilful observations and then to think out and construct laws for them or rather hypotheses, whatever their nature may be, since the true laws cannot be reached by use of reason.¹⁶

Osiander's comments on the nature of hypotheses did annoy Rheticus. The nervous marginalia on his copies of the first edition of *De Revolutionibus* prove it. However, when presenting the ideas to the public for the first time in the *Narratio prima*, he had in fact made recourse to the same strategy:

With regard to the apparent motions of the sun and moon [...] if anyone desires to look either to the principal end of astronomy and the order and harmony of the system of spheres [...] by no other hypothesis will he demonstrate more neatly and correctly the apparent motions of the remaining planets.¹⁷ Both texts introducing Copernicus's ideas

agree on one essential thing, wisely and tactically deciding to present the system as a *hypothesis*. This may at least in part explain why *De Revolutionibus* had such a smooth reception. It was seen as just another possible theoretical scenario imagined by a mathematician.

In contrast, the theory, as interpreted by Bruno, is no longer judged to be a mere hypothesis, but the truth: impossible to avoid, blatant, undeniable. When in *La cena*, Theophilo refers to the placating preface opening *De Revolutionibus*, he does it in unforgiving terms. The preface must have been added – Bruno's fictional *alter ego* infers – by some "ignorant and conceited ass". The assumption is based on the perceived discrepancy between the introduction and the text itself, a text where Copernicus clearly asserts that the earth really moves, "performing the task not only of a mathematician who supposes, but also of a *fisico* [natural philosopher] who demonstrates the movement of the earth."

Bruno's outspoken rhetoric has predictably created enormous opposition. So much so that, although *La cena*, like most of the Nolan's other writings finalised in England, quickly found their way to the printing press, this was an exercise fraught with danger. From the impact they had on Elizabethan letters, Bruno's Italian dialogues seem to have been among the bestsellers of their time, but, unlike the rest of his writings, these works are all under false imprint.¹⁸

This is not without significance. Both the author and the printer – identified as John Charlewood – were aware of the highly volatile context the books were going to meet, a context only to be made worse by the explosive rhetoric of the text itself. However, if one steps back and looks at all this with a certain degree of detachment, one may notice a good amount of wisdom in Bruno's apparent madness.

The volume's deceiving imprint, may well have been part of Bruno's scheme to convey a certain type of subtext, the nature of which he was trying to signal in more than one way. One thing is certain. The publisher was easily identifiable to contemporary audiences, so Bruno's hint was falling on eyes already open¹⁹. His strategy to draw public attention to Copernican heliocentrism seems to have worked brilliantly.

¹⁵ See Owen Gingerich, "From Copernicus to Kepler: Heliocentrism as Model and as Reality", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, (117, 6: 1973), 514.

¹⁶ *Copernicus: On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*, ed. & trans. By A.M. Duncan (Newton Abbot; New York : David & Charles; Barnes & Noble Books, 1976), 22.

¹⁷ Georg Joachim Rheticus, "Narratio Prima", *Three Copernican Treatises*, ed. by E. Rosen (New York: 1971), 165, 192.

¹⁸ The *Cena de le ceneri* doesn't reveal much. The author is not mentioned and neither is the place. *De la causa, principio et uno* and *De l'infinito universo et mondi* both assert Venice as the place of publication, while *Spaccio de la Bestia Trifante*, *Cabala del cauallo Pegaseo* and *De gl'heroici furori* state Paris. In all cases the publisher is anonymous.

¹⁹ Charlewood was involved in other risky enterprises (such as the unauthorized 1591 printing of Sidney's sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella* and, through his Catholic connections, the support of Philip Howard, thirteenth earl of Arundel).

Several years before the high drama staged by the Inquisition following the publication in 1632 of Gallileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*, Bruno managed a very intelligent production of his own.

By making ample and unapologetic use of a whole arsenal of rhetorical devices, he was among the first to bring heliocentrism centre-stage. His detailed presentations of the theory were more than once faulty. He was no mathematician and has no interest in becoming one. He was not concerned with exactitude, or repetition for that matter. What he was concerned with was forcing a truth he believed in to a world which up to that point didn't seem to care. He did it by unconventional methods, sometimes disconcerting, always noticeable. A master of style and courageous expression, Bruno turned rhetoric into his trademark. He applied its principles passionately whenever he felt the need to attract attention to ideas. In the end Bruno's particular kind of rhetoric cost him his life. Literally. But the truth beneath the troubled surface of his various fights, is still living, bewildering every generation of readers ever since.

Cristina Neagu
Christ Church

Early Printed Books Cataloguing The Archbishop as a Schoolboy

It is the year of our Lord 1662.

Let's imagine a boy, a five year old boy. He is the second born, but the only living son of a couple from a small village in Dorset. He bears an illustrious and ancient name, and can even trace his genealogy to the legendary Hereward the Wake. His family is at last seeing its fortunes ascending. During the turbulent years of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, they had suffered a great deal. His father, a staunch Royalist and a Colonel in the royal army, was imprisoned over 20 times. He was in prison in Exeter Castle even on the day his son was born, on the 26th of January 1657, his wife travelling home briefly to give birth, before returning to the side of her man. She was a smart woman, capable of agreeing to leave her husband free to join any attempt to restore the King, and taking upon herself the chore of providing for the family during his spells in arms or in prison. Using her dowry to purchase a wagon and some horses, she started a successful "stapling" business, bringing raw wool from the Dorset countryside to the nearest staple towns of Wareham and Dorchester.¹ Her husband

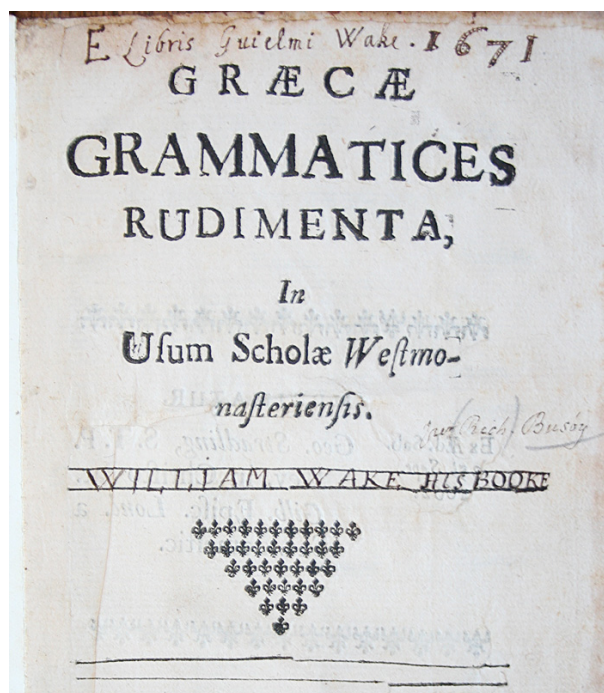
¹ A staple is "a town or place, appointed by royal authority, in which was a body of merchants having the exclusive right of purchase of certain classes of goods destined for export; also, the body of merchants so privileged." -- OED.

joined her upon release, and at the time of the Restoration the business was thriving.

It is now time for our boy, young William, to start school. "I was scarce six years Old when I was sent to the Free school at Blandford; the Master of it was mr Welstead, a Cornish man, & once a Dissenting Minister; but an excellent Master; and whom I unfortunately lost a few years after, by his Removal to Bristol. This occasion'd a breach in the Corporation, who could not agree upon his Successor: part of the Magistrates being for mr Curgenven, who had been mr Welsteads Usher, and was used to his Method of Teaching; but the greater part for one mr Trussel, who was accordingly chosen in his place. Upon this Occasion I was, with severall others of my Scholefellows, sent to a Village called Ewerne, about five miles off the Town, where mr Curgenven taught a private Schole, for about two, or three years. At last, the Corporation agreeing, and mr Trussell leaving the Schole at Blandford, mr Curgenven was nominated to succeed Him, & return'd with his Scholars to the Town."²

How did young William do at school? What sort of pupil was he? What did he study?

In the Wake collection there is a copy of Richard Busby's *Græcæ grammatices rudimenta, in usum scholæ Westmonasteriensis*, published in London in 1663, at about the time he started school (shelfmark: Wk.6.6). There are two ornamental rules printed on the title page of this book. Between these rules there is a manuscript inscription, in ink, in capital letters, in a distinctively childish hand: "William Wake his booke".



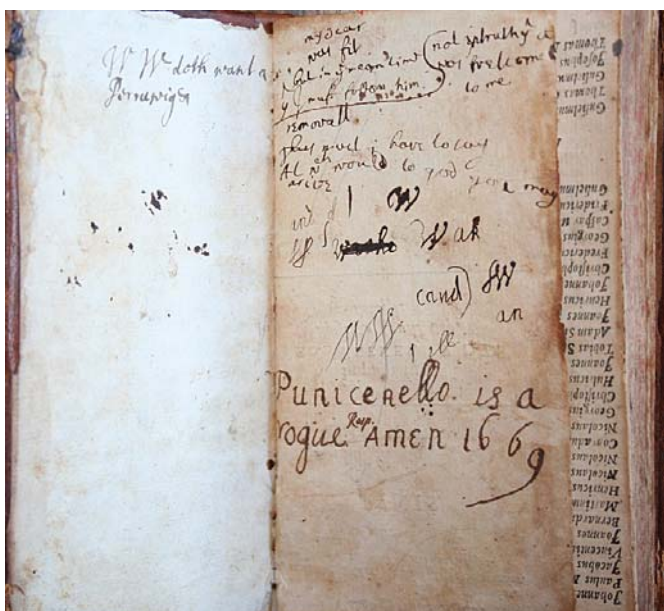
Inscriptions on title page (Wk.6.6)

² Page [5]-[6], Archbishop Wake's autobiography, MS. 541a.

What appears to be the same scribe has repeated the inscription in pencil on the verso of the last leaf, this time in a lower case "printed" hand, having the affectation of using a little circle for the dot of the "i". William must have used this book for a long time. A third manuscript inscription on the title page, in a rather more teenager-y hand, reads: "E Libris Guielmi [sic] Wake. 1671". The date is doubled, and filled with a thick linear pattern. Teenagers will always be teenagers.

Another book apparently having belonged to this really gifted pupil is a copy of Thomas Farnaby's *Index rhetoricus et oratorius, scholis & institutioni tenerioris ætatis accommodatus. Cui adjiciuntur formulæ oratoriæ, et index poeticus*, published in London in 1659 (shelfmark: Wk.8.5). In 1667 William thought it was worth it to state his ownership on this volume. He wrote on the first free upper end-paper: "William Wake His Booke Anno Do[m] 1667."

At this time, aged 10, he was already using the sort of fancy, ornate "W" which he used till late in his 20s. Surely he learned a great deal from this book. He also decided to immortalise in it some of what was going on in his mind. So apart from seeing that at the time he was practicing his signature, we can learn that "WW doth want a Perruwig" [i.e. periwig], and that "Punicello is a rogue. Resp. Amen 1669". Quite comparable to a modern 12 year old wanting a Nintendo DS or writing about football players on his textbooks...



Various hands covering the end paper of another book owned by Wake (Wk.8.5)

The same year he started studying Greek poetry. On a copy of *Poetæ minores Græci*, edited by Ralph Winterton and based on the work of Henri Estienne, published in Cambridge in 1667 (shelfmark: Wm.7.1), we can see a manuscript inscription: "Will: Wake his book: pretium 3s 8d [capital alpha] [mikron] [contraction for "eta nu"] [i.e. "Amen" in Greek characters] 1669", and a second inscription, "Willi", with a fancy "W". One wonders whether this second

inscription was intended like that, or was maybe never completed. Certainly young William Wake was interested in his studies: on the verso of the second lower free end-leaf of this volume there is a list of further reading in his hand.

In 1671-1672 two important events happened in William Wake's life. His mother died, and he reached a level after which a University education was called for. "In this time I had the misfortune to loose an excellent Mother, who dyed the 16th of May: 1671. [...] Having continued at Schole some time longer, I was about the end of the year 1672: carried to Oxford by my Father, being but just turn'd of fifteen years of Age: He had carried me with Him to Wells the Michaelmas before, and presented me to the Rd Dr Bathurst then Dean of Wells, & President of Trinity College in Oxford: Who gave him all the Encouragement that could be desired to place me in his College. But it pleased God to order it otherwise: For when my Father came with me to Oxford, the very next morning going to see one of his Old Cavalier Friends at Xt-Church, the Dean met us in the Quadrangle, took us to his Lodgings, & immediately entred me into that College; ... I was matriculated in the University March: 22: 1672: by Dr Barlow, then Prevost of Queen Coll. afterwards Bp of Lincoln: Dr Peter Mew, of St Johns College, then newly Consecrated Bp of Bath and Wells being Vice-chancellor."³

Three more items in the Wake collection throw light onto the habits and character of a boy who was to become a renowned scholar and an Archbishop. His copy of Camden's *Institutio Graecae grammatices compendiaris*, published in London in 1667 (shelfmark: Wk.8.4), has a very pretty ms. ink inscription at head of title page: "William Wake 1672". This is a nice calligraphic hand, the "W"s show an elegant and expert use of the quill, and the letters don't quite look like having been written by the Archbishop when compared to his other signatures at this age. Was it written by his father? His old master? His new tutor? The volume is interleaved, and on the blank pages there are copious manuscript ink additions in both Greek and Latin, clearly in a child's hand, possibly traced by two different persons, or at different times, and in two different inks; the book is however very scarcely annotated after gathering E. All pupils get tired of summarising their books, even Archbishops-to-be.

The standard textbook for Latin at the time was Lily's Grammar. Wake owned a copy, printed at Oxford, dated 1673, the year after his matriculation (shelfmark: Wk.6.3). Quite interestingly, there are no annotations on this book. This is consistent with the habit he seemed to have followed later in life, of not annotating his books, but rather using separate

³ Page [6], Archbishop Wake's autobiography, MS. 541a.

sheets of paper, sometimes inserted at end of the volumes (see e.g. his copy of "Provinciale, (seu constitutiones Angliæ,)", published in Oxford in 1679 and now held at shelfmark WS.2.18: bound at end there are three folded leaves bearing copious ms. ink annotations in the hand of the Archbishop, then just having obtained or being on the verge of obtaining his MA, one of which apparently bears a scheme of the whole work, in Latin.)

One more thing is worthy of attention, before we leave the 15 year old William Wake to his University studies. At front of his copy of the *Parecholæ sive Excerpta è corpore statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis*, we can find a very interesting document.

As a condition of entry to the University, all those who matriculated were obliged to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, to perform an oath recognising the supremacy of the King, and to promise to observe the University's statutes and privileges. At completion of this duty, and as a proof of its having taken place, the students were given a slip of paper, their own subscription form to the University of Oxford, completed with the date and year of the subscription, and the name and College of the matriculant. The University did not keep a copy of these forms, but maintained a register with the signatures of the subscribers. The registers are today kept in the University Archives.



William Wake's subscription form to the University of Oxford (in Wd.8.8)

Very few subscription forms have survived. Wake's form reads: "Oxoniae. [Mar: 22] Anno Domini [1672/3] Quo die comparuit coram me [Gulielmus Wake ex Aede Xti Gen: fil:] subscripsit Articulis Fidei, & Religionis; & [mark of insertion, and at side: Feb: 13. 1673/4] juramentum suscepit, de agnoscenda suprema Regiae Majestatis potestate; & de observandis Statutis, Privilegiis, & Consuetudinibus hujus Universitatis. [Ra. Bathurst vice]".

The man who saw it fit to hold on onto his schoolboy textbooks till his death, also considered this ephemeral piece of paper worth preserving.

Maria Franchini

Early Printed Books Project, Christ Church

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Book Collections, Private Homes

continued from page 1

The translator of the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611) makes the secret and religious nature of the closet clear – 'when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou has shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.'¹ The significant number of autobiographical writings produced in the seventeenth century reinforces the notion of the closet as a space for privacy and self-examination. The closet was also used for security purposes, in order to store precious objects and money,² or for gentlemen to carry out business.³ Within the seventeenth century house it also had the attraction of being relatively easy to heat, on account of its small size. The versatility of the closet, and the personal nature of its use, makes its contents, decoration and location within the house particularly interesting. The terms 'study' and 'library' become more frequently used during the seventeenth century, a sign that the room intended for housing and studying books was more widely recognized and more easily defined. But there is a certain haziness about the closet and its contents that makes tracing its transition into the library far from straightforward.

Without a formal library room, the storage of books was to a large extent dictated by practicalities and makeshift arrangements. Books might be kept in chests, on tables or on shelves dotted around the house. Frequently probate inventories (the chief source for lists of privately owned books) show that they were kept in the bedchamber.⁴ Sir William Ingleby kept his books in Ripley Hall spread between the new study, the old study, and the dining parlour.⁵ Inevitably, the growth of collections inhibited any attempt to create a single formal room devoted to books, particularly if that room was a small one, and the accumulation of books led to accommodation being constantly rearranged and new shelving being purchased. Samuel Pepys was surely not alone in piling his books on chairs ('I lose the use, to avoid the trouble of removing them when I would open a book') until new bookcases could be contrived.⁶ Even at such an important library as the Harleian at Wimpole, with a professional librarian to care for it, Humphrey Wanley spent a good deal of time in the

¹ Matt. vi. 6. (Authorized Version, 1611).

² As did Sir John Oglander, who kept his money tucked behind his books. See F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: 1994), 281.

³ For example at Tunstall in Kent. N. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680* (New Haven: 1999), 301.

⁴ Sharpe and Zwicker, 'Introduction', 32, n. 49.

⁵ J.T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: 1999), 163.

⁶ S. Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys : A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: 1970-1983), 23rd July 1666, v. vii, 214.

1720s chasing his joiner Mr Hazard for promised book presses, demonstrating that even as the library began to have an architectural identity, elegant arrangement was often compromised by the pressure for more shelf space.⁷ In addition to the problems of finding shelf-space, few people had the luxury of being able to build or convert a room into a library, despite the enthusiasm for building amongst the nobility and gentry in this period. The evolution of the library as a distinct space was a matter of compromise as well as aspiration.

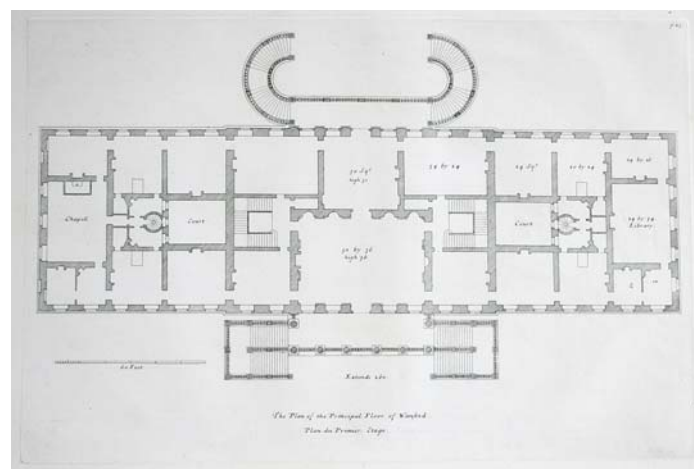
Where libraries and studies were part of a renovation or new building, the choices made about their position within the plan can be revealing. There is an impulse to make the library as isolated as possible, which continues the Vitruvian tradition espoused in the Renaissance, in which the scholar is to be cut off from all worldly distractions. Sir Thomas More had famously built a gallery, library and private chapel separated from his family home in Chelsea, under the influence of Pliny the Younger's *dieta* at Latium,⁸ and the same source may have influenced the positioning of the library in a separate pavilion, as at Stoke Bruerne.⁹ Gabriel Naudé, in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, recommended that the library should be as far as possible from the noisy areas of the house, chiefly the kitchens and offices.¹⁰ The isolation of the library appears to have been as much for the sake of providing a view to alleviate study as to avoid distraction; at Thorpe Hall, Oliver St John's study was placed in the corner of the house overlooking the garden and the yard.¹¹ The placing of studies and closets away from the centre of the house was also partly dictated by the planning of the formal house, as exercised by Roger Pratt and Hugh May in the second half of the century. In this arrangement, seen at Coleshill in Berkshire, the public rooms, with the highest ceilings, are at the centre, and the smaller, more private rooms are pushed around the edge.¹²

The tendency towards seclusion was balanced by a growing appreciation of the book as a precious and aesthetically pleasing object, and the collection as a symbol of social and intellectual prestige. At Oatlands a very grand library was added by Sir Edward Herbert, although John Evelyn, always dismissive of overt display, did not approve – 'I went

with my Lord Chiefe-Justice Herbert, to see his house at Walton on the Thames: It is a barren place, he had built, to a very ordinary house a very handsome Library, designing more building to it, than the place deserves in my opinion'.¹³

It is striking that in some houses the library is associated with the chapel – at Melton Constable, the closets are next to the chapel, and the large library room immediately above it.¹⁴ At Ragley Hall, following the advice of Robert Hooke, the library was placed opposite the chapel, on either side of the hall.¹⁵

This trend continued into the early eighteenth century, with Colen Campbell's designs for Wanstead, published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715, placing the library and chapel balancing each other in the extended wings.¹⁶



Campbell's plan for Wanstead, with the library at the extreme right end, *Vitruvius Britannicus* vol.1 (Arch.Inf. L1.9a), plate 23.

At Ham House, the library and its adjoining closet were constructed at the same time that the chapel was being fitted, but instead of being located near the chapel, they formed part of a complex designed to display the treasures possessed by the Lauderdals, leading off the Gallery, and near both the Green Closet, a sort of cabinet of fine art, and the Duchess's Closet.¹⁷ By the 1730s, William Kent was designing libraries (such as that at Rousham, which was of double-height) that were undoubtedly 'great rooms' within the house.¹⁸

The move towards grandeur and display in the creation of a library can be identified more readily in

⁷ H. Wanley, *The Diary of Humphrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, ed. By C.E. Wright and Ruth C. Wright (London: 1966). Entries relating to new book presses include 23rd March 1722, v. ii, 213, and 9th October 1724 to 5th December 1724, v. ii, 317-323.

⁸ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 300.

⁹ O. Hill and J. Cornforth, *English Country Houses : Caroline, 1625-1685* (London, 1966), 61-64.

¹⁰ G. Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, trans. by Evelyn, 71.

¹¹ G. Worsley, 'Thorpe Hall in context', *Georgian Group Journal* (1993), 5.

¹² R. North, *On building : Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, ed. by H. Colvin and J. Newman (Oxford: 1980), 69.

¹³ J. Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by E.S. de Beers (London: 1953), 20th December 1687, v. iv, 656-6.

¹⁴ A. Maguire, 'The Joy of Building as shown by the 'disposition within' through the seventeenth century' in *The Seventeenth-Century Great House*, ed. by Airs and Chaney, 33.

¹⁵ M.I. Batten, 'The Architecture of Dr Robert Hooke, FRS' *Walpole Society* 25 (1937), 101 and Girouard, *Life in the English country house*, 135.

¹⁶ S. Jervis, 'The English country house library', *Library History* 18:3 (2002), 178.

¹⁷ National Trust, *Ham House, Surrey* (London: 1995), 25-30.

¹⁸ J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian interiors* (New Haven, 2004), 70.

its furnishings than in its location within the house, as there was a greater freedom of expression in fittings than location and size.

In many libraries there was a continuing emphasis on practicality, and the libraries in private houses, like those in the Oxbridge colleges, were designed for function more than for decoration.¹⁹ Whilst the book remained a relatively rare and expensive object, methods of storage were focussed on security – even a large library at an extremely fashionably decorated house like Petworth was still being kept in 52 chests in 1632.²⁰

Larger collections were also stored in cupboards fitted with shelves, which occasionally lined the entire room. However, the increasing status of the library can be seen even where books were concealed behind doors, since considerable attention was sometimes given to painted trompe l'oeil effects (as at the Kederminster library at Langley Marish)²¹, or ornate panelling (as at Chicheley Hall, where even the finely carved Corinthian pilasters swing open to reveal bookshelves).²²

Although Pratt's designs for Clarendon House have been lost, we know from his accounts that the library he built for Lord Clarendon must have been richly decorated, with the joiner providing strings of great leaves, small leaves, bunches of leaves and berries, a double palm branch, 'double Golosse', and ribbon, for what was clearly not solely a functional retreat for the single-minded scholar.²³ Clarendon's other library at Cassiobury Park is described by John Evelyn as 'large, & very nobly furnish'd, & all the books richly bound & gilded', and of all the fine decoration in the house he singles out the chimneypiece in the library carved by Grinling Gibbons for special mention.²⁴ The library was becoming a place where the owner might be comfortable, and where the fittings were fine enough to show visitors.

The most important shift of the seventeenth century, and one which had most visible impact upon the arrangement of the library, was the growing appreciation of the appearance of books as objects, and the aesthetic effect of neat rows of bindings on their shelves.

¹⁹ J.N.L. Myres, 'Oxford libraries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in *The English Library before 1700 : Studies in its History*, ed. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright (London: 1958), 236-7.

²⁰ Jervis, 'The country house library', 177.

²¹ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 169.

²² J. Lees-Milne, *English Country Houses : Baroque, 1685-1715* (Feltham: 1970), 234.

²³ R. Pratt, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt: Charles II's Commissioner for the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire : Now Printed for the First Time from his Note-books*, ed. by R.T. Gunther (Oxford: 1928), 157.

²⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, 18th April 1680, v. iii, 200.

In the sixteenth century, books tended to be kept in piles or on lecterns, as depicted in the famous trompe l'oeil marquetry in Federico da Montefeltro's *studiolo* in Urbino, and the many portrayals of St Jerome and other scholar saints.²⁵



Inlaid, illusionistic trompe-l'oeil wood paneling in Montefeltro's studiolo

John Dee's library at Mortlake, one of the largest in England in its time, was kept in piles, papers and books and manuscripts stored without any attempt at a consistent order.²⁶ Robert Smythson's design for a closet, dated from around 1600, shows a move towards greater order, but the shallow shelves are divided into compartments, suggesting that the books were intended to sit flat within them, possibly with other objects and instruments as well.²⁷

By the mid-seventeenth century, uniformity and book-lined walls were fast becoming the ideal. This was expressed by both Pepys and Evelyn – for instance, although Evelyn, in his translation of Naudé's *Advis*,²⁸ had emphasised the benefits of saving money on bindings in order to buy more books, he himself paid significantly more than trade prices for bindings with gilt decoration.²⁹ Pepys had almost all his books rebound to match each other in early 1665, and on the 5th February 1665 went "down to my chamber among my new books, which is now a pleasant sight to me, to see my whole study almost of one binding".³⁰ The beautiful glazed-front book presses that he designed with his joiner were even provided with little blocks to sit the books on, to ensure that they all reached the same height.³¹

²⁵ B. Mak, 'On the myths of libraries' in *The Library as Place : History, Community and Culture*, ed. by J.E. Buschmann and G. Leckie (Westport: 2007), 212.

²⁶ W.H. Sherman, 'The place of reading in the English renaissance : John Dee revisited' in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by J. Raven, H. Small and N. Tadmor, (Cambridge: 1996), 64.

²⁷ Royal Institute of British Architecture, Smythson, II/13. cited in Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 301.

²⁸ Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, 83.

²⁹ M. Foot, 'John Evelyn's bookbindings' in *John Evelyn and His Milieu : Essays*, ed. by F. Hunter and M. Harris (London: 2003), 70.

³⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, 5th February 1665, v. iv, 31-2.

³¹ E. Leedham-Green and D. Mckitterick, 'Ownership, private and public libraries' in *The Cambridge History of the Book; vol. 4 :*

Pepys's bookcases started an enduring fashion, being imitated for the cases at Dyrham Park as late as 1710.³² And his determination to have precisely ordered rows of books can be seen reflected in Lord Tyrconnel's library at Belton, fitted up in the 1720s, where dummies conceal the vertical supports for the shelves, and fill empty spaces.³³ Open shelving fitted into the wainscoting also begins to appear in the latter half of the century. Denham Place has a library in which the shelves are set back into the walls; one of the earliest surviving instances of this practice. Here, too, the woodwork is of the highest quality, both in design and execution.³⁴

The decoration of library rooms shifted from simple practicality towards ornamentation, and the arrangement of books in private libraries and studies became more uniform, but the renaissance model of the studio/closet, with its mix of instruments and curiosities, still persisted, albeit in a more orderly fashion than before.

John Evelyn clearly considered portraits, medals and prints of the famous, worthy and wise an essential part of a library collection, telling Pepys that 'men curious of Books and Antiquitie have ever had Medalls in such estimation, and rendered them a most necessary furniture to their Libraries'.³⁵ The same impulse provoked the frieze of paintings of eminent philosophers and scholars in the Upper Reading Room of the Bodleian, dating from 1620, and can be seen in Pepys' library in Buckingham Street, at Clarendon House, and later libraries at Belton and Wimpole.³⁶

The classical busts used by Robert Cotton and Lord Lumley to demarcate their presses are also part of this trend. The arrangement of the library or closet adopted some of the functions of the *wunderkammer*, intended to be a representation of the cosmos, its objects, including books, representing and stimulating ideas.³⁷ Pursuing this idea did not always lead to the restrained, cerebral collection envisioned by Evelyn, and on occasion the richness of the interior was designed to act as a setting for jewel-like objects, including fine paintings,

1557-1695, ed. by J. Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge: 2002), 326.

³² Jervis, 'The English country house library', 177.

³³ Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 70.

³⁴ Hill and Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline*, 210.

³⁵ Evelyn, J, letter to Samuel Pepys, 29th August 1689. From *Particular friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn*, ed. by G. de la Bédoyère (Woodbridge: 2005), 190.

³⁶ G. Barber, *Arks for Knowledge: A Short History of Oxford Library Buildings* (Oxford: 1995), 78; Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interiors*, plates 295 and 296; Evelyn, letter to Samuel Pepys, 29th August 1689, in Bédoyère, *Particular Friends*, 189; Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 70; D. Adshead, '“A noble musaeum of books”: the Harleian library at Wimpole', *Library History* 18:3 (2002), 193.

³⁷ A. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: 2007), 56.

medals, and curiosities. Sir George Mackenzie describes this sort of room in 'Caelia's Country House and Closet', with its mosaic floor, walls covered with paintings by Lely, Raphael, Coraggio and Steenwick, cupboards packed with amber, coral, diamonds and rubies, and with books by Tasso, Jonson and Donne.³⁸

Ham House is especially interesting because the arrangement of its closets show the urges towards display and towards austerity simultaneously. The Green Closet is a tiny and very Italianate cabinet of treasures, whilst the Library Closet, lined with plain wainscot and with no furniture other than a desk and chair, with two windows and no fireplace, is a place for hard intellectual labour.

By far the most striking thing about the architecture of the library in this period is the fact that it was so much more than a place to keep books, irrespective of the quality of the fittings or design. The greater order being imposed upon the books, and the more common attempts at classification, were intended to allow the mind to be stimulated, to make connections and absorb ideas without even having to open a volume, simply by regarding and reflecting on the titles.

In this respect the library functioned in a similar way to the cabinet of curiosities, so that each book or object triggered an idea in the mind of the beholder, to be related to the things represented by its neighbours. The library formed a miniature universe, a spatial web of ideas, with all the material world, the nature of humanity, the rationale behind existence, God himself, manifested in its contents. Sitting and working in the library meant absorbing the qualities of one's surroundings – hence, order, beauty and harmony were insisted on. The reader could look up at portraits or busts of ancient worthies or contemporary scholars, ponder the knowledge and wisdom these images represented, and turn these thoughts back into his interpretation of the book he held in his hand. Maps, instruments, ostrich eggs, wasp nests, bones, globes, crucifixes; all fed into the functioning of the space as a machine for thinking. The planning of the library might be restricted by ordinary practicalities like available space or the increasing number of books, or be influenced by personal tastes and vagaries, but the goal for readers remained constant; to provide a space in which to discover the world, and to find themselves within it.

Lucy Gwynn

The Huguenot Library, University of London

³⁸ G. Mackenzie, 'Caelia's Country House and Closet', in *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-century Estate Poems and Related Items*, ed. by A. Fowler (Edinburgh: 1994), 348-9.

Wren and ... “the greatest jigsaw puzzle in the history of architecture”

The sight of a church steeple reaching towards the heavens is a common occurrence in Missouri, the midwestern state home to the second most churches per capita in the United States. Despite this, the Church of St. Mary of Aldermanbury, with its prominent turret and exterior of distinctive Palladian and Baroque features, stands apart from neighbouring megachurch complexes and diminutive country chapels. As can be determined upon first glance, St. Mary’s is no ordinary Missourian church.

Erected in 12th century England, reconstructed by famed British architect Christopher Wren following the Great Fire of London and saved from complete ruination exactly 300 years later, St. Mary’s has completed a remarkable historical journey ending in the unlikely town of Fulton, Missouri. But it was in Fulton, at a small college named Westminister, that Winston Churchill delivered his famous “Iron Curtain Speech” in 1946. To commemorate this occasion, Westminister College transported St. Mary’s stone by stone across the Atlantic to Missouri. The church now holds the distinction of being the only Christopher Wren structure in existence outside of England.

The origin of the Church of St. Mary of Aldermanbury dates back to medieval times, as the earliest known reference is a mention in the 1181 Inquisition of London Churches. Archaeological excavations of the church site completed by W.F. Grimes following the removal of the structure to Westminster College reveal three separate foundations, with the earliest being a small, rectangular church and the latest a 1437 Gothic Church.

It is the latter’s foundations that Wren used in reconstruction following the Great Fire. The church’s pre-Wren years were marked by the fact that, at the turn of the 17th century, William Shakespeare resided within a block of St. Mary’s and frequently associated with two Aldermanbury parishioners. Although no records exist to confirm that Shakespeare ever worshiped at the Church of St. Mary’s, it is certain that he spent a great deal of time in the parish.

During this same period Aldermanbury became one of the Puritan centers of London. Beginning in 1620, the church selected a series of Puritan clergymen. Edmund Calamy, the most notable, assumed his post in 1639. Superior oratory abilities led Calamy to become a prominent leader amongst the London clergy. Although he was not a political agitator, Calamy’s “revolutionary rhetoric” called for a complete transformation of Stuart society. Calamy remained a firm supporter of the Parliamentary cause during the English Civil War, and the

Aldermanbury parish was one of the first to adopt a Presbyterian form of government in 1645—a full two years before the Presbyterian government was established city-wide. Calamy opposed the execution of Charles I, remained a moderate voice throughout the Commonwealth, and, following Oliver Cromwell’s death, supported the restoration of Charles II. Calamy, however, was ultimately dismissed from the parish for his failure to comply with the 1660 Act of Uniformity that mandated the ouster of any ministers not in episcopal orders. Jailed for three months for giving one final sermon at Aldermanbury in December of 1662, Calamy died four years later of despair, in the immediate days following the 1666 Great Fire’s devastation of his beloved parish.



Print of the Chapel of St Mary, Aldermanbury, by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1793-1864)

Forced to hold services in a Brewers Hall following the destruction of their church, parishioners welcomed the 1670 decree of Parliament authorizing the rebuilding of the London churches. Dr. Christopher Wren, a former Oxford scientist turned architect, was named Surveyor General of the project. He ultimately rebuilt 51 of London’s 87 churches destroyed in the Great Fire. Construction on St. Mary’s began in 1672 and was completed some seven years later.

Although no plans for the church can be found in Wren’s archives, a description of the Wren design for St. Mary’s can be found in *Parentalia*, the biography of the architect’s life compiled by his son: “...rebuilt in 1677, of stone, with the Steeple, consisting of Tower and Turret. The Roof within is cambered. and supported with twelve columns of the composite order, at the East end is a large Cornice and Pediment; also two large cartouches, and Pineapples of stone carved, the inside of the roof is adorned with arches of Fret-work, and the said columns with an Entablature; the Cornice Cantalever”.

Christian Hauer and William Young provide a useful architectural analysis of Wren’s work in *The Phoenix of Aldermanbury*. They explain that a close view of St. Mary’s reveals evidence of Wren’s transition from the Classical to his own English Baroque style during the church’s reconstruction. For instance, the

structure's north and south walls are in the Renaissance classical tradition with roundhead windows. Alternatively, the east face of the church overlooking Aldermanbury is "unashamedly Baroque" according to Hauer and Young, as its vaulted scrolls serve no structural purpose. Wren's greatest accomplishment, however, may have been his economical building style, as he saved time and money by reusing existing walls and foundations. His ability to reconstruct the new St. Mary's on its Gothic foundations allowed for far quicker completion and led Wren to return a portion of the money allocated to the project to the parish for its general use.

St. Mary's eventful seventeenth century was followed by a period of relative calm and prosperity that extended until the Second World War. On the evening of Sunday, December 29, 1940, the German Luftwaffe commenced a devastating firebombing raid on East London. Almost the entirety of the Aldermanbury parish was ravaged; at dawn the next day, St. Mary's stood as a blackened shell. It was to remain in rubble for the next quarter of a century as London's massive civic rebuilding project failed to include a number of the Wren churches destroyed by the second Great Fire of London.

In the spring of 1946, U.S. President Harry Truman, acting on behalf of Westminster College President Franc McCluer, invited Winston Churchill to deliver a speech at the college. Churchill, concerned about Fulton's location in a dry county, agreed on the stipulation that Truman could secure him a bottle of whiskey for his quarters. Truman delivered, as did Churchill. His "Iron Curtain" address remains one of the most renowned speeches in modern history.

Fifteen years later a committee of Westminster administrators began contemplating a fitting memorial to Churchill's stirring address and ultimately settled on a new chapel for the campus. The possibility of bringing a redundant Wren church stemmed from a photo essay in *Life* magazine entitled "The Realm of Christopher Wren", which documented the many parish churches in ruins throughout London.

Westminster President Robert Davidson sent an emissary to London in 1961 to consider 21 separate churches and, the next year, confirmed St. Mary's as the college's choice. As fortune would have it, the little that remained of the Aldermanbury parish church had been scheduled for complete demolition years earlier, but bureaucratic errors had led to delays. The scheme was officially presented to Parliament in December of 1963 and confirmed that same year.

Harry Truman—Missouri's native son—was the first to thrust his spade at a groundbreaking ceremony

held on April 19, 1964. A little over a year later the first stones began to be dismantled back in England at the Aldermanbury site. Each was numbered and packaged in such a manner to match the detailed blueprints of Marshall Sisson, the reconstruction architect responsible for dismantling St. Mary's and then rebuilding her over 4300 miles away. Sisson took additional stonework from other Wren churches facing destruction throughout London and the stones were divided into six 100 ton shipments that arrived in the shipyards of Norfolk, VA, before being transported by rail to the midwest United States.

Upon their arrival in Fulton the stones were laid out in field adjacent to the building site, thereby forming what the *Times* called "the greatest jigsaw puzzle in the history of architecture." Fittingly, Lord Bishop of London laid the foundation stone for the reconstructed St. Mary's on October 6, 1966—the 300-year anniversary of the Great Fire that occasioned Wren's handiwork. The construction of the outer shell followed Wren's 17th century design, with the exception of a window in the tower to provide natural light into the undercroft.



The restored interior of St Mary, Aldermanbury, by Marshall Arnott Sisson (1897-1978)

As the interior furnishings were completely destroyed in the blitz, Sisson based his designs on pre-war drawings and even reproduced wood carvings in the pulpit, baptismal font and balcony based on Wren's own carver, Grinling Gibbons. On May 7, 1969, St. Mary's was reconsecrated by the Bishop of Dover, who, after following tradition and knocking three times on the church's door, was welcomed by President Davidson to the words "Come into America's oldest and newest church."

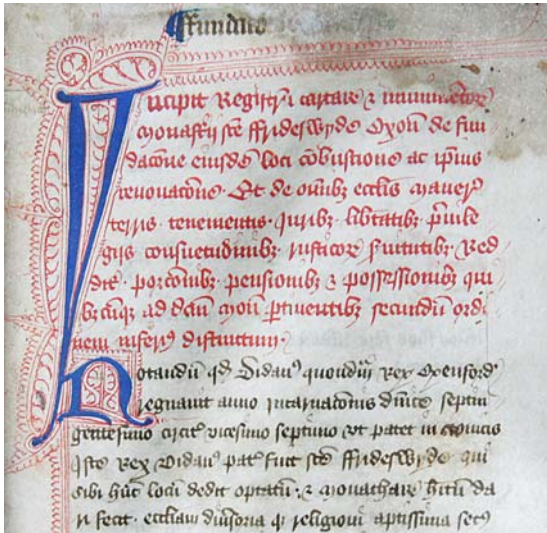
In addition to serving as Westminster College's chapel, St. Mary's is a Winston Churchill Memorial Museum and Library. Housed in the church's undercroft, the site is a tourist destination for thousands each year and hosts a prominent lecture series on the state of Anglo-American relations. It is only appropriate that St. Mary's of Aldermanbury—a participant in such epic moments in English history—stands witness to the spring day in 1946 when the British lion roared in America's heartland.

Scott Erwin
Christ Church

Exhibitions in the Upper Library

ST FRIDESWIDE: TEXTS AND CONTEXTS (September-November 2008)

'It is virtually certain that Oxford developed around a mid-Saxon monastic church (the predecessor of the present cathedral) at a major crossing over the Thames, and that the first head of the church was a princess named Frideswide. Beyond this, certainty fails.' John Blair



Copy of the charter of Ethelred the Unready in the *St Frideswide Cartulary* (MS 340, early 15th century)

The fullest and best account of St Frideswide is by John Blair, 'St Frideswide reconsidered,' in *Oxoniensia* 52 (1987), 71-127, which contains editions of the two earliest Latin Lives, A and B.

Frideswide's name is first recorded in a charter of Ethelred the Unready issued in 1004 making grants to her foundation to compensate for their losses, including the burning of the church (on the site of the cathedral) on St Brice's Day, November 13th, 1002 during the massacre there of the Danes of Oxford.

The first brief surviving account of her life, c.1125, was by William of Malmesbury, followed shortly by the fuller Life A, which in turn was re-written more stylishly and expanded by Robert of Cricklade, Prior of St Frideswide's, Life B, written c. 1140-70.

Early in the 14th century separate English verse translations were made of Lives A and B and inserted in a few copies of the South English Legendary, and in turn several English lives from this legendary including Frideswide were inserted in mid 15th century into an English translation of the *Legenda Aurea*, the *Gilte Legende*, but having been carefully unrhymed to look like prose.

Meanwhile John of Tynemouth, a monk of St Albans, compiled between about 1325-1350 a *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae*, in which he included a Frideswide based on Life B, and a modified 15th century version of this, the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, was severely abbreviated and

translated into English and printed under the title *Kalendre of the Newe Legende* by Pynson in 1516.

Chaucer referred once to St Frideswide, in the *Miller's Tale*, when John the Oxford carpenter invokes her aid when he thinks his student lodger is going mad. In view of the subsequent development of the story she cannot be said to have done John much good.

Cardinal Wolsey included St Frideswide among the illuminations of his Epistolary (MS 101) of 1528, and of the matching Lectionary (Magdalen College MS lat. 223). Displayed are the above texts (or parts of the longer ones) with translations and a number of reproductions of MS pages of these texts; also a 15th century Cartulary with copy of the Ethelred charter, a Chaucer MS showing the reference to Frideswide, and the Wolsey Epistolary.

Richard Hamer
Christ Church

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN REVISITED (July-September 2008)

An exhibition about the legendary air defence of Great Britain during the summer / autumn of 1940 was held at Christ Church College Library from 7 July to 19 September. The material came from a personal collection, relatives of Squadron Leader Cedric W. Williams and from Richard Hillary Archive at Trinity College. The exhibition coincided with a one-week course 'The Battle of Britain Revisited' during the Oxford Experience summer school. The course will be repeated in 2009.

The exhibition was divided into eight sections. Section 1 focused on the subject of my personal research, Squadron Leader Cedric Williams (1910-40), with photographs of him at age 6 with mother and siblings; in a sports group; as an RAF cadet about 19; on an airfield at Singapore, age 23 (early 1934); cigarette card emblems for 32, 84 and 17 squadrons, with whom Williams served; three 1930s Christmas cards; passing out entry for Cranwell 1931; two pictures in ceremonial uniform for presentation to the King, summer 1937; a photo of Williams when leading 17 squadron with a grounded German bomber (August 1940); and several published 17 squadron group pictures. Section 2 displayed materials relating to the death of Cedric Williams on 25th August 1940 and included a photo of Cedric Williams with his wife Nell and baby Tudor at Stanmore in early June 1940. Williams took control of 17 in mid-July. Also shown were a xerox of the Ops Record for 25 August, fellow pilots G. E. Pittman's account of Williams' last sortie and Denis Wissler's diary entry. (Wissler's story was featured (with his fiancée Edith Heap) in the BBC book / DVD *Finest Hour*.)

Sections 3-4 focused on Spitfire pilot Richard Hillary and his memoir *The Last Enemy*, with several pictures of Hillary (one including his 'wings'), a first edition of *The Last Enemy*, and three subsequent editions; medals, including 1939-45 with Battle of Britain clasp; the telegram giving news of Hillary's being shot down on 3rd September 1940, and a photo showing damage to his hands. *The Last Enemy* mentions a number of Hillary's friends. Also pictured were fellow pilot Peter Pease (with an account of his death on 15th September) and his fiancée Denise Maxwell-Woosnam, plus Hillary's friend Noel Agazarian. There was a group shot taken when Hillary returned to active service in the winter of 1942 and a rowing shot dating from his time at Trinity College Oxford. Section 5 represented the early books about the Battle of Britain, mostly published around 1941-42, including poems by A.N.C. Weir who studied at Christ Church Oxford, and the official Air Ministry pamphlet. The photos of Brian Lane with other 19 squadron pilots up-dating the Intelligence Officer are among the most famous from the Battle of Britain, exposing the strain of flying. Section 6 was a miscellany of books from the 1950s to the present, including Derek Robinson's revisionist novel *Piece of Cake*, turned into a TV series in the 1980s, and Paul Richey's account of the RAF in France in the early part of 1940. The literature of the Battle of Britain is enormous. Section 7 contained larger books, including a catalogue by war artist Paul Nash and one signed by eight surviving pilots. Section 8 provided a brief survey of memorials and museums connected with the Battle of Britain. The summer of 1940 also survives and is constantly flown and re-fought in the virtual reality of computer flight-simulation, represented by a magazine article and a keypad command sheet for A2A's flight-simulation *Battle of Britain: Wings of Victory* (screen-shots taken from the simulation can be found on the web at A2A's forum). Players can either take Hugh Dowding's role at the head of Fighter Command and run the whole campaign, or fly sorties against incoming raids – complete with the realism of having only 15 seconds of ammunition!

Rikky Rooksby

Letters to the Editor

■ My comment relates to Maria Franchini's article headed 'Profession: Archbishop's Wife', and in particular to the footnote 1 on page 14.

I have an earlier record of the inscription on the Wakes' tomb in Dr Ducarel's History of Croydon (from *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* No XII) published in 1783, page 93 in Appendix XXI, which confirms the date of Ethelreda Wake's death as 11 April 1735. This was however 'communicated' to Ducarel by a Mr Lewen, the Church Vestry Clerk, in 1782, together with the texts of many other epitaphs.

If the dates on the epitaph are correct (and of course he could have made a mistake which was then copied by the later authors she mentions) may I suggest that Mrs Wake was indeed born in 1669 and did actually die in 1735.

Perhaps like many ladies of a certain age she was bit coy about her age and had put it about, at some earlier stage, that she was four years younger than she actually was so that when she died in 1735 her age was recorded as 62 when she might actually have been 66?

Richard Faircliff

■ Regarding 'The case of the Lost Torah': What is especially fascinating is how it ended up in the Library, given that it is quite late and has no real scholarly significance.

I will add that the possibility that this scroll was ever in the possession of Fraenkl or Jacoby is just about impossible. They both had no connection at all to Jewish ritual life; Jacoby in fact was a quite self-hating Jew, rather anti-Semitic. (I know nothing of the third scholar you mention, but given the reality of Jewish-German assimilated academic life in the first half of the twentieth century, I would take it as probable that it was not his either).

My own suggestion would be quite different, and is partially based upon the last words in the catalogue entry you quote "(with Phylacteris)". In Jewish life and ritual, phylacteries are called "tefillin"; and every observant Jew puts on two of them (one on the hand and one on the forehead) every morning during prayer.

The phylacteries and Torah scroll were then probably the private property of a Christ Church student. There is indeed even a sort of obligation for every Jew to have his own Torah scroll (an obligation not often observed in our day and age, for the simple reason that few have the expertise to write a scroll themselves nor can afford the \$30,000 that a Torah scroll costs), and so this student was given by his family a scroll to take to college with him. Were they used perhaps for services in Oxford? I think it possible, but doubtful; at any rate, I know just about nothing of Jewish communal life among Oxford students in the first half of the previous century.

At any rate, I would further suggest (and now I am getting a bit fanciful) that these items were left in his college rooms by this student, who during his years in Oxford had sufficiently separated himself from Jewish ritual observance that they were simply items to be discarded and had no significance for him whatsoever.

Chaim Milikowsky
Professor of Talmud, Bar Ilan University
Visiting Fellow, All Souls

THE SLOANE PRINTED BOOKS PROJECT

This is a two-year project (April 2008-2010) led by the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL in collaboration with the British Library, and funded by the Wellcome Trust Research Resources in Medical History. The main aim of the Sloane Printed Books project is to locate as many books as possible that once belonged to Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) and to enter them in the catalogue, in order to give a complete listing of the collection.



Sir Hans Sloane, by John Faber Jr, published by Philip Overton, after Thomas Murray, mezzotint, 1728

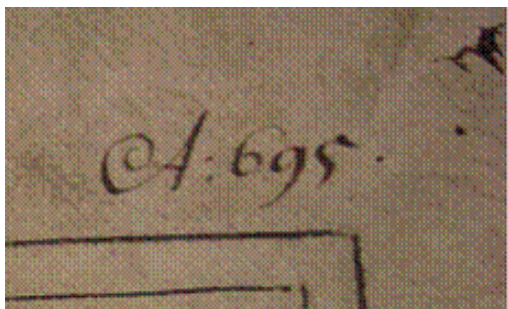
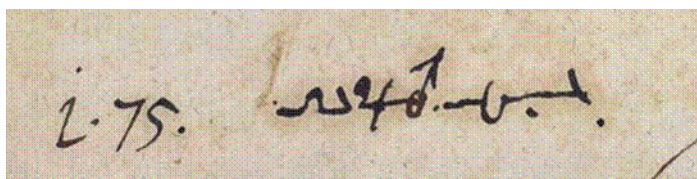
Born in Northern Ireland in 1660, Hans Sloane moved to London in 1679, and trained as a physician both in London and in France, receiving a doctorate from the University of Orange in 1683. A stay in Jamaica in 1686-7 as personal physician to the Duke of Albemarle allowed him to extend his study of natural history, and his *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers, and Jamaica, with the natural history ... of the last of those islands* (London, 2 vols, 1707-25) records his experiences and findings. After his return to London, he established a successful career as a physician in London while continuing scientific investigations and, increasingly, collecting objects, specimens, books and manuscripts in his fields of interest. He received many honours and was elected to many scientific societies, most notably as Fellow of the Royal Society in 1685, its second Secretary in 1693 and President in 1727, which office he held until the age of eighty-one, in 1741. He died in January 1753 at his home in Chelsea. Sloane's collections were well known and much used, and his was one of the largest libraries in Europe of its time, particularly significant for its holdings of medical and scientific

material. In his will, Sloane specified that his collections should be offered to the nation on provision of £20,000 for his heirs, which effectively catalysed the creation of the British Museum. His collection of books and manuscripts was estimated at 50,000 volumes, of which 136 were books of prints, 2666 volumes of manuscripts and the remainder printed books. At the foundation of the Museum, his books were moved from Chelsea to Montague House, but by the end of the eighteenth century, were interspersed with items from other sources. In many cases, evidence of identity was lost by the early practice of binding or re-binding in a Museum style which involved removing the preliminary leaves where Sloane's identification marks are often found. The identification of Sloane's printed books is therefore not entirely straightforward - unlike his manuscripts, the books were never kept together in the order in which they had been during his lifetime. Those that remain in the British Library are now scattered in various parts of the collections: moreover, some of them are no longer in the British Library, having been sold or otherwise disposed of as duplicates and many of those remaining have lost their identifying marks through wear and tear and repair. The British Museum also held a number of sales of duplicate items, in 1769, 1788, 1805, 1818, 1819, 1831 and 1832. Items sold at these sales were normally stamped as British Museum duplicates.

In the project catalogue, bibliographical records are being enhanced with Sloane's own numbers or other identifying marks, and with information about previous owners. This catalogue opens up Sloane's library for research into what he owned, how he used it, from whom he acquired items, and how the collection was managed. It is a resource for the historian of science or medicine, the intellectual historian, and the historian of information.

So, what are these 'identifying marks'? There are a number of ways to identify an item as being one of Sloane's - the Sloane number, his codes, the black British Museum stamp, previous owners, manuscript notes and labels. The most common form of marking used by Sloane to number his books is an alphanumeric marking, a letter and a number. Generally speaking, they were numbered sequentially within each letter category, in order of acquisition. Upper case letters were used for folio and larger books; lower case for quarto and smaller. There were also special categories, such as Min. (indicating Miniatures; illustrated books) and Pr. (indicating Print, followed by a Roman numeral; books with many illustrations or engravings). Sloane's numbers are the principal means of identifying his books, and they may have more than one number if the number was changed during his lifetime. He also used coded dates and prices to record the purchase of books, which occur in two different forms. Firstly, recording dates from 1682

and possibly earlier, until 1686, he noted the place of purchase and sometimes the price, the price being expressed in an alphabetical code. This form of code was noted and described, with a list of known examples, by J.L. Wood, in *Factotum* (Newsletter of the XVIIIth century STC), No.2, June 1978. The price codes were clarified by Margaret Nickson, in 'Sloane's codes: the solution to a mystery', *Factotum*, No .7, December 1979. The second form of code was used from 1686 to 1699. Here the place of purchase is not given, but both the date and the price are coded, using symbols. Nickson's article explains how she arrived at their significance, and what the symbols mean. In the project catalogue, the letter price codes have been entered as they appear in the books, but all symbols in the purchase codes have been transliterated. The octagonal 'Museum Britannicum' stamp was intended to be stamped with black ink on Sloane's books alone, while other colours were used for purchased or donated material, and for the Royal collection. The picture is confused, however, by the continuing use of the stamp on later acquisitions, and by the use of similar but re-cut stamps as late as 1829. As evidence for Sloane's ownership the presence of the stamp alone is not conclusive, but highly indicative. Books with the stamp but no other definite evidence of Sloane ownership are probably Sloane's.



Images of coded price, alphanumeric marking and black stamp.

The catalogue also lists the previous owners of his books where they can be identified. The owner's name is standardised for searching, and also transcribed as found. Names which are difficult to

interpret are left as transcribed but may be standardised subsequently as evidence emerges. Manuscript notes or inscriptions often indicate Sloane ownership. The book may have been sent to Sloane, bearing his name or address, or he may have written his name on the book. Quite commonly his books are inscribed "Bibliothecae Sloanianae", often followed by his number. This note appears particularly on prestigious and attractive items. A small number of Sloane's books bear small paper labels on which are written the Sloane numbers. Typical examples show the number at the top left-hand corner of the cover, and the letter at the bottom. Labels sometimes appear on the titlepage. Of particular interest to the readers of this newsletter are the two items which were found in Christ Church College Library which may be assumed to have once owned to Sloane, since the first, *The boke of common praier : and administracion of the sacraments*, 1552 (shelfmark WM.4.22), has the British Museum Duplicate Sale stamp (dated 1787) on the title-page, and the second, *Andre Duchesne, Bibliothèque des auteurs qui ont escript l'histoire et topographie de la France divisée en deux parties, selon l'ordre des temps et des matières*, 1618 (shelfmark SG.8.07), has the black British Museum stamp and the British Museum Duplicate Sale stamp (also dated 1787) on the verso of the title-page. The latter work also bears the name 'Stephanus Baluzius Tutelensis', i.e. Etienne Baluze, Colbert's librarian.

Shauna Barrett
Alison Walker

Additions to the catalogue will be made regularly throughout the period of the project, and the project team will report on developments and events. Comments and correspondence about all aspects of the catalogue and studies based on it are very welcome, and can be sent to the Project Researcher (Alison Walker) at alison.walker@bl.uk, or the Research Assistant (Shauna Barrett) at shauna.barrett@bl.uk

Newsletter

Illustrations for this issue from material in Christ Church Library Collections, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ministry of Defence Art Collection, London, British Library and the National Trust. Original photography by Cristina Neagu. Proofreading Ioana Costache (Lady Margaret Hall).

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Journal produced on a Rex Rotary MPC2000 colour MFP
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