John Donne Journal,
Vol. 5 (1986)

Bodley's Bookcases: "This goodly Magazine of witte"

David Sturdy

I

After brilliant academic and diplomatic careers, Thomas Bodley (1544-1613) "concluded at the last to set up my Staffe at the Library doore in *Oxford*; being throughly perswaded, that in my solitude and surcease from the Common-wealth affaires, I could not busy my selfe to better purpose, then by reducing that place (which then in every part laye ruined and wast) to the publique use of Students."[1] Situated above the great vaulted Divinity School, the University's large library room (completed in 1489 to house the manuscript collections sponsored by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester) stood empty, despoiled of its contents since the mid-sixteenth century; one sketch of this library survives, from about 1566 (Figure 1).[2] On 23 February 1598 Bodley wrote to the head of the University, the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Thomas Thornton:

> Where there hath bin heretofore a publike library in Oxford: which you know is apparant, by the rome it self remayning, and by your statute records I will take the charge and cost upon me, to reduce it again to his former use: and to make it fitte, and handsome with seates, and shelfes, and Deskes, and all that may be needfull, to stirre up other mens benevolence, to help to furnish it with bookes.[3]

Three weeks later he wrote again from London "of the fittest kinde of facture of deskes, and other furniture," telling of his intention to visit Oxford "sometyme before Ester" to discuss with

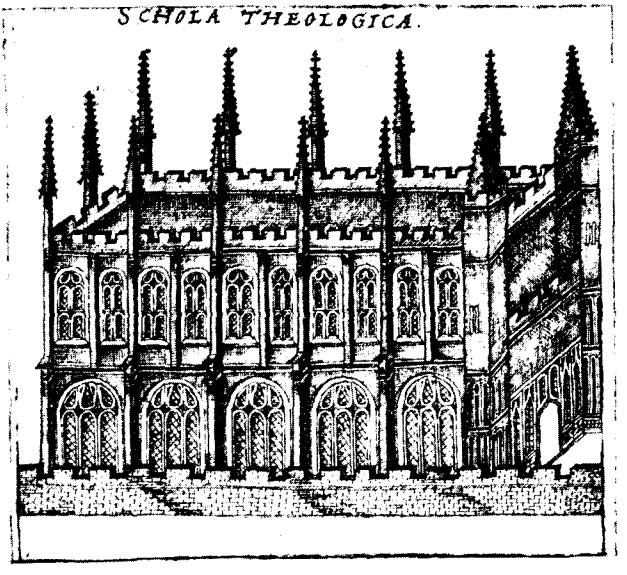

Fig. 1. Old Library, Oxford

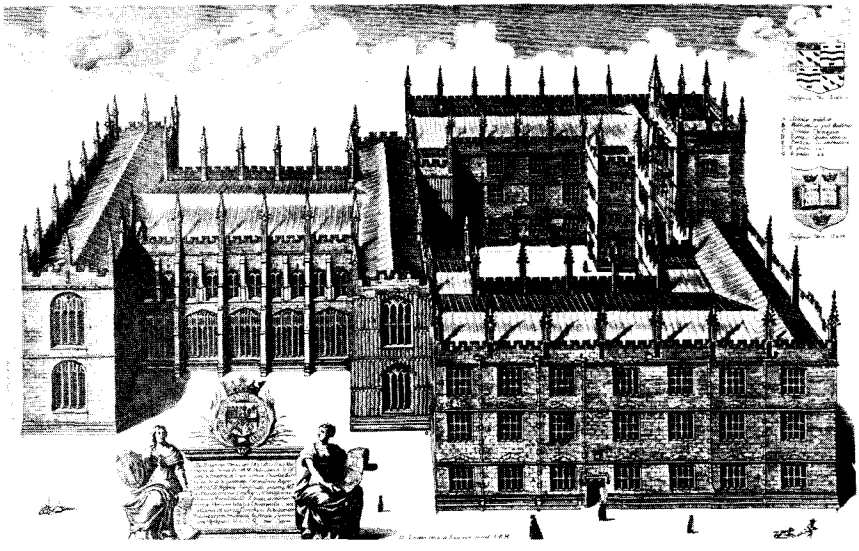

Fig. 2. Bodleian Library, from south. Engraving by David Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675

the committee appointed "some notes of a platforme, which I and Mr Savile have conceaved heere betweene us: so that meeting all togeather, we shall soone resolve upon the best, as well for shewe, and statly forme, as for capacitie and strength and commoditie of Students."[4] Bodley's old friend Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622) was well equipped to help draw up a plan or "platforme" for the new undertaking. As Warden or head of Merton (Bodley's own college as a Fellow) he had in 1589-90 refitted the west wing of the fourteenth-century library there. Merton also provided Bodley's project with an initial stock of timber, which was already in March of 1598 being sawn and seasoned.[5]

During 1599 Duke Humphrey's library was overhauled, largely reroofed, and perhaps rewindowed. The great bookcases were installed and Bodley wrote to his designated librarian, Thomas James of New College, on 24 December: "Within this fortnight, I trust, I shall have ended with my carpenters, joiners, glasiers, and all that idle rabble."[6] Next, the bookcases were equipped with amazing security devices: all books on open access (the great bulk of the collection) were to be chained to locked rods on the cases. Bodley continued his letter: "and then I goe in hand, with making up my barres, lockes, haspes, grates, cheines, and other gimmoes of iron, belonging to the fastning, and rivetting of the bookes: which I thinke I shall have finished, within two or three monethes." It took twice that time, but on 25 June 1600 he could announce to the University that the "mechanicall workes" had been brought "to some good passe."[7] Over the next twenty-nine months, a great reference library was assembled by hook and by crook, listed, shelved and chained until at last on 10 November 1602, nearly five years after his first proposal of plans, Bodley was able to write to his librarian James: "Sir, Your Last upon Munday, brought me the best tidinges of any that yow sent, at any time unto me. For nowe me thinkes my long designe is come to some perfection."[8] The founder had modestly stayed away from the ceremonial opening of his library on 8 November.

Not long after—probably in 1604, when Bodley was knighted—Samuel Daniel, himself an Oxford man,[9] greeted the new library on behalf of the world of letters, presenting a copy of his *Works . . . Newly augmented* (1601) with, pasted in, a specially printed dedication "to the Li- / *brarie in Oxford erected by* / Sir Thomas Bodley / Knight":

> Heere in this goodly Magazine of witte,
> This Storehouse of the choisest furniture
> The world doth yeelde, heere in this exquisite
> And most rare monument, that dooth immure
> The glorious reliques of the best of men;
> Thou part imperfect work, voutsafed art
> A little roome, by him whose care hath beene
> To gather all what ever might impart
> Delight or Profite to Posteritie,
> Whose hospitable bountie heere receives
> Under this roofe powers of Divinitie,
> Inlodg'd in these transformed shape of leaves.[10]

Daniel sees Bodley as "the holy guardian of this reverent place / Sacred to Woorth" and harks back to the late medieval library of Duke Humphrey's time:

> And therefore did discreet Antiquitie
> Heere (seeing how ill mens private cares did speede)
> Erect an everlasting Granery
> Of Artes, the universall State to feede
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . where every childe
> Borne unto Letters, may be bolde to stand
> And claime his portion.

Bacon paid his own tribute, a copy of *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), referring to Sir Thomas in an accompanying letter as having "built an Ark to save learning from deluge," and developing in his text the image of Daniel's fourth and fifth lines: "libraries . . . are as the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed."[11] That same year Bodley's librarian James, in his introduction to the first general printed catalogue, announced to the world that "Ianua Musarum aperta est" (the Door of the Muses is opened).[12] And the King himself on a visit in August is said to have declared:

> were I not a King I would be a University-man; and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would have no other prison than

> this library, and be chained together with these good authors.[13]

The massive oak shelves still hold a great many of the volumes that were arranged on them before the library first opened its doors, in an attempt to comprise all the knowledge and almost all the culture of the age. Bodley wrote scathingly of ephemeral writings: "I can see no good reason to alter my opinion, for excluding suche bookes, as almanackes, plaies, & an infinit number, that are daily printed, of very unworthy maters & handling, suche as, me thinkes, both the keeper & underkeeper should disdaine to seeke out, to deliver unto any man. Happely some plaies may be worthy the keeping: but hardly one in fortie."[14] Other sorts of books—including books on the arts—were eagerly sought, from donors and the authors themselves. Bodley wrote to Thomas James in 1601: "If I could gette Lomazius in Ital. to be joined with Mr Haidockes English"—G. P. Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (1584), and Richard Haydocke's translation of 1598, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Carvinge & Buildinge*—"it would deserve a good place in the Librarie."[15] Haydocke's translation, the first treatise on art published in England, with a richly allegorical title page designed and engraved by the translator himself, had been dedicated to Bodley "in all hartie love and affection"; and Haydocke's donation of five books in 1601 in fact included a Lomazzo in Italian, as well as Serlio's architecture and Vasari's *Vite*.[16] Among distinguished benefactors in 1600 were Lords Buckhurst, Essex, Hunsdon, Montacute, Lisle, and Lumley; others would include Ralegh, Sir Francis Vere, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Thomas Roe, and Sir Kenelm Digby. By an agreement of 1610 with the Stationer's Company, a copy of each book henceforth published by the Company's members was sent to Bodley's library, making it "virtually a deposit library 150 years before the British Museum was founded."[17] The librarian James played his own part in the shaping of the collection; equal quarter shares of book space allotted to Theology, Law, Medicine and the Arts were soon changed so that Theology won half the space and Medicine and its allied practical sciences were sharply cut back.[18]

II

At the heart of the Bodleian, the bookcases installed in 1599 (or "Deskes" as the founder called them in his letters) still have a

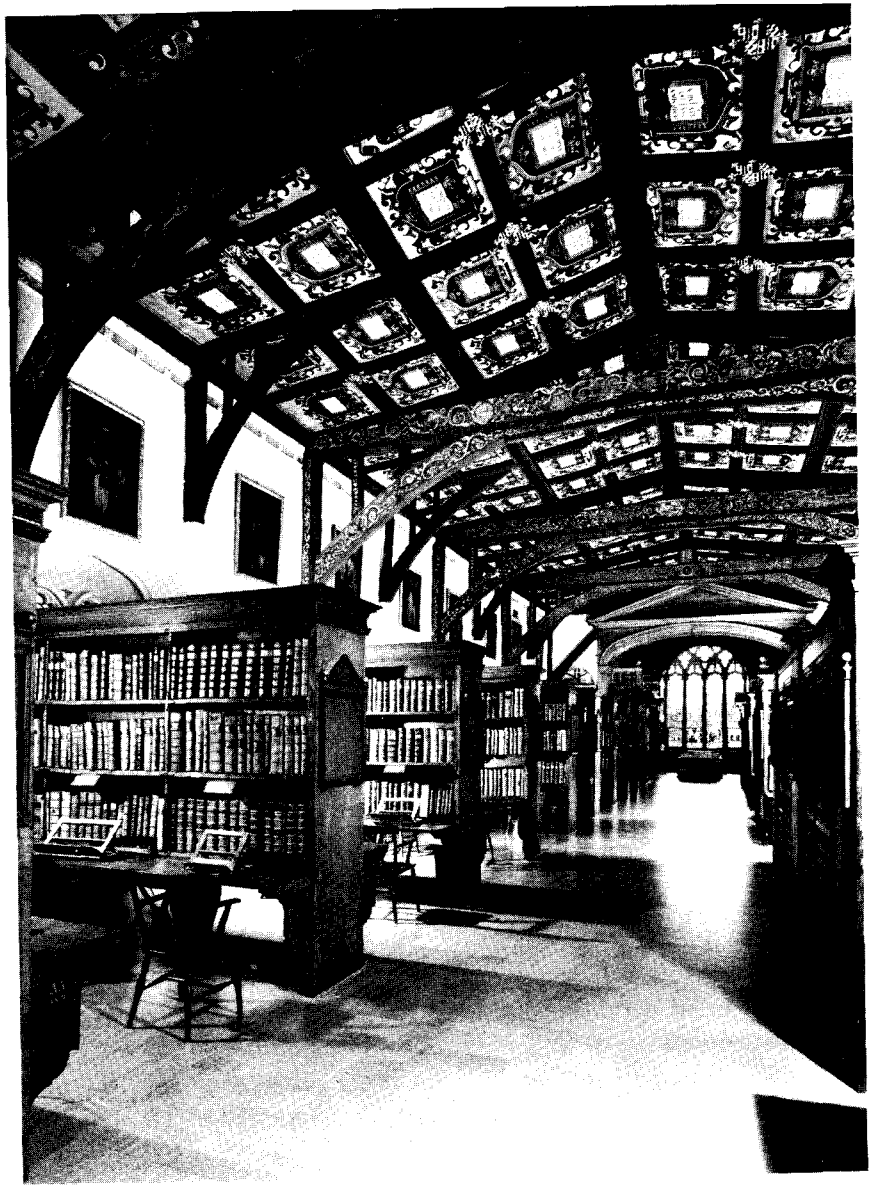

Fig. 3. Duke Humphrey's Library, looking west

powerful aesthetic and emotional impact on scholars and visitors. Unpainted and unpolished, with the plainest moldings and minimal decoration, they form a monument to that age, a work of art equal in its way to any poem, play or painting. Their somber double ranks divided the whole space on either side of the broad central corridor into bays forming almost private studies for groups of up to six readers (Figure 3).[19] There was no need to bend down or to climb up on stools and ladders: all books were between waist and head level. At waist level on every press was a broad shelf to serve, as it still serves today, as a reading desk. Almost all the books were instantly available on open shelves and could be located from the "tables" or printed shelf-lists in pedimented panels on the corridor-ends of the presses (Figure 4).

Thus refitted, Duke Humphrey's library—a room nearly thirty yards long, east to west, by nine wide—contained eighteen double bookpresses, each 11 ft. 3 in. wide, 8 ft. 3 in. high, and 2 ft. 2 in. deep, with two more single presses the same size, but half the depth, on the west wall. These great presses together contained enough timber to build several complete timber-framed houses, every upright and shelf being made of three oak planks edge to edge. Each side of every press was divided into nine compartments for books all about 3 ft. 6 in. wide, with three shelves at 2 ft. 8 in., 4 ft. 5 in., and 6 ft. from the floor, and a top member holding the decorative cornice; between them two lesser vertical members had simple ornament, their lower parts being cut in the silhouette of a pear or urn with a spreading base, indicated in the drawing by thin dashes. The pedimented panels or aedicules on the corridor-ends of the presses held the printed shelf-lists; a vertical member up the middle originally separated each side's list from the other's, and should have been replaced in the 1962 restoration. The reading shelves, projecting immediately below the bottom bookshelves, were supported by large wooden brackets projecting from the end uprights and carved in a complex outline. The shelves were hinged to lift upwards to allow easy access to the lowest chain-rods, for adding or moving books. The drawing also shows, to the right, iron hinges, bars and locks for the rods that held the book chains and, to the left, the existing marks and patches that suggest these original features.[20] This type of bookpress clearly evolved from Merton's smaller presses, with two bookshelves and fixed reading-

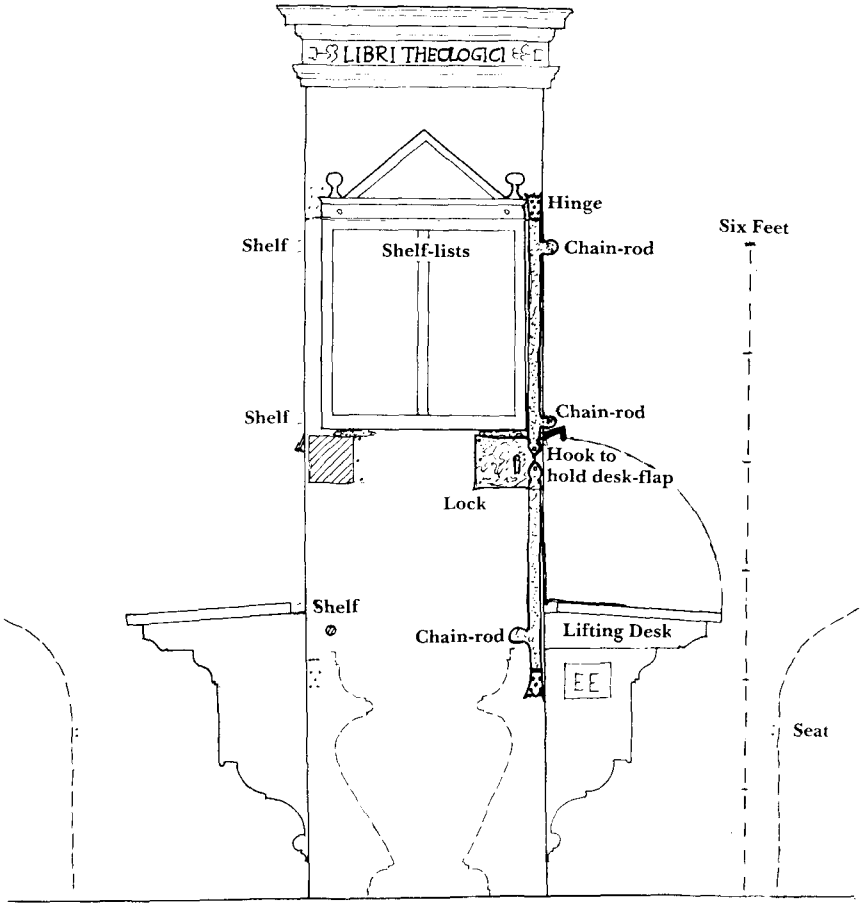

Fig. 4. Bookcase, Duke Humphrey's Library

shelves, which (as we have seen) Savile installed in the narrow ancient library there in 1589-90 (Figure 5).[21]

Access to Bodley's library room was originally by stone spiral staircases at the west end, but for some reason the book sequence arranged by faculty and author began (with A of Theology) at the east end. There, on either side of a large window, the end compartments were screened off to hold lesser volumes, those small quartos and octavos held to be of little scholarly interest and accessible only by request. The remaining eighteen compartments, nine on a side, were open to readers; they were all shelved alike and held only folios and large quartos, on the principle that big books were more important. On the same principle, thin books were bound up two or three together, and total capacity was, ignoring the small books, something over 5000 large volumes.[22] (The shelves were less than half full when the library opened in 1602.) The "little bookes," more popular and produced in greater numbers than expected, soon overflowed the end compartments, which had in any case to be used as librarians' studies, a detail forgotten in the first enthusiasm; and in 1605 a gallery had to be built for them above the west door. Loggan's view from the east, engraved in 1675 (Figure 6), shows the studies thus converted, and cupboards for storing precious books.[23] Also in 1605, and seen at upper left in Loggan's view, the library's first work of art for display was presented by Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Chancellor of the University: the founder's bust "carved to the life by an excellent hand at London," a work of one of the prolific Anglo-Flemish sculptors of Southwark that still looks down on readers today (Figure 7).[24] Several early painted portraits of Bodley also survive, among them a three-quarter-length showing him wearing a sword, and a half-length in roundel, crude but vivid, one of fifteen panels from the ceiling (painted 1618; dismantled 1830) of the old Gallery, now the Upper Reading Room.

As the books continued to pour in, Bodley had to expand, and in 1610-12 he built an east wing, the Arts End, to house the books of the lesser disciplines. This new wing lay at right angles to Duke Humphrey's Library, and was much the same size, only a yard longer and a yard and a half narrower, but with fewer windows, unevenly spaced (single four-light windows on the north and south being each offset to the west); it is now entirely unused for study. The Arts End bookpresses, ranged as they are along the walls, with

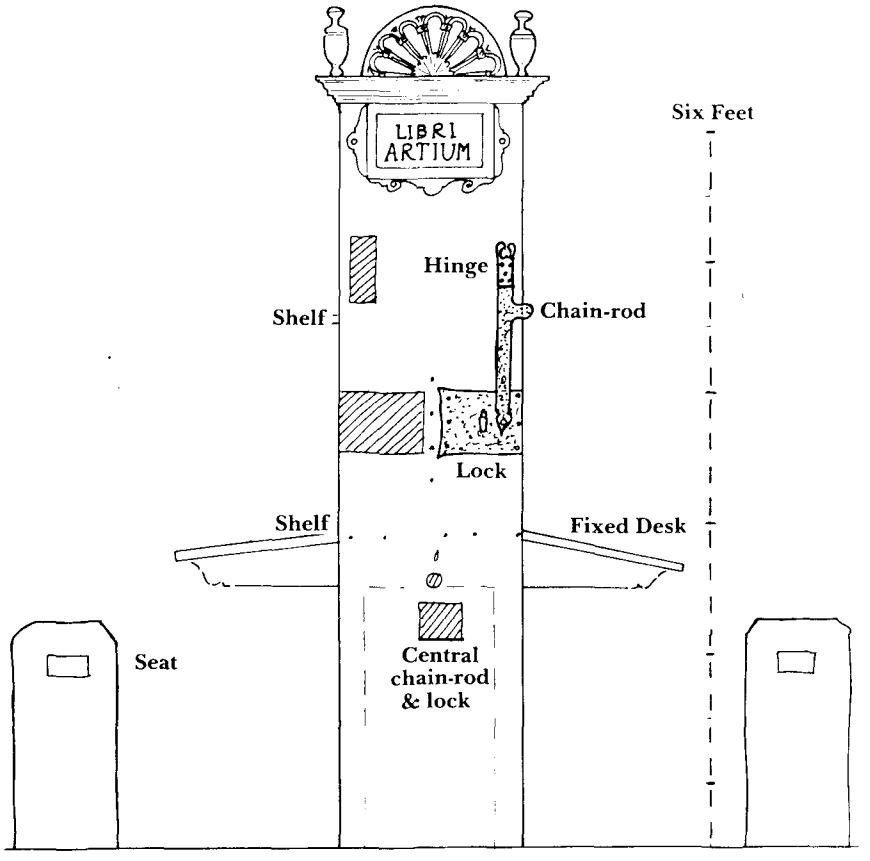

Fig. 5. Bookcase, Merton College Library

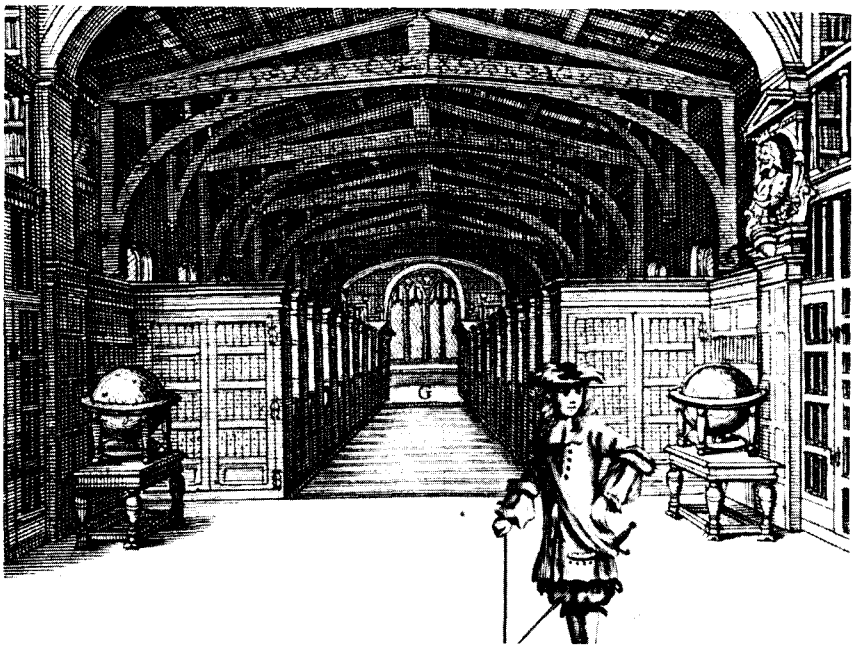

Fig. 6. Duke Humphrey's Library, looking west. Detail of Engraving by David Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675

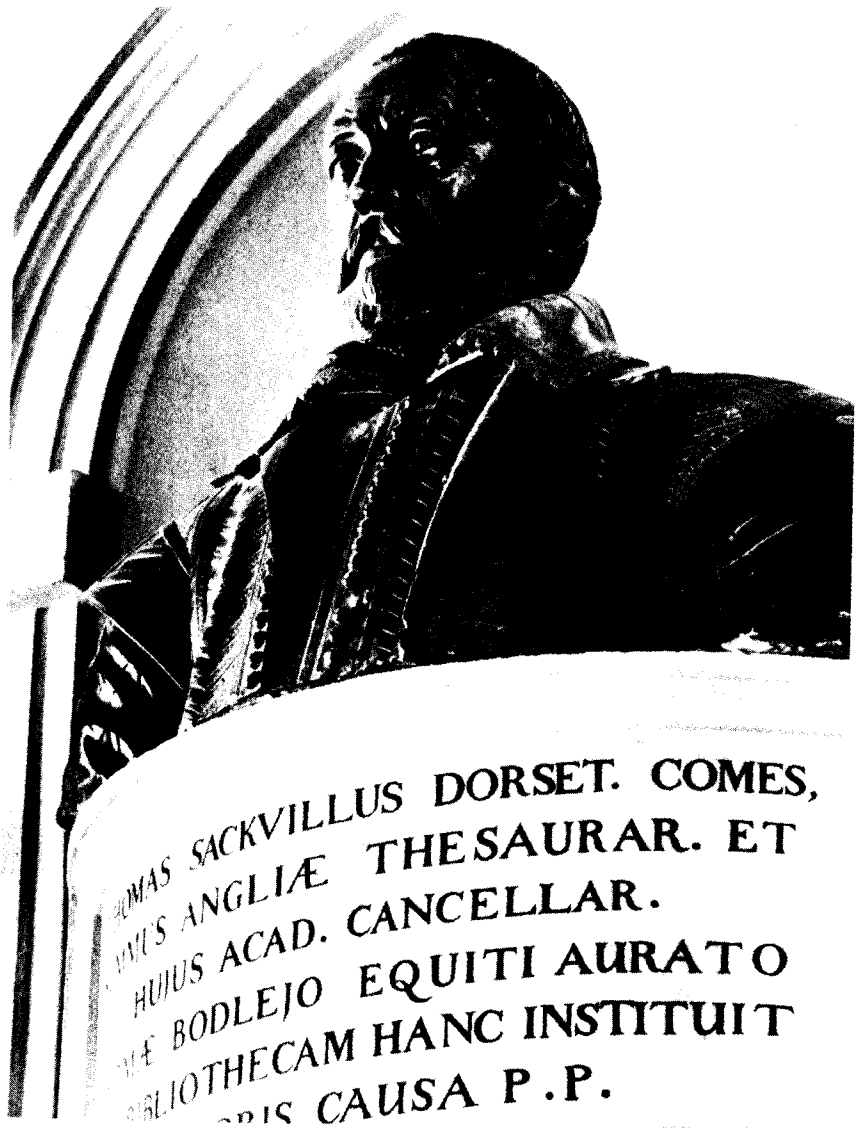

Fig. 7. Bust of Thomas Bodley, 1605

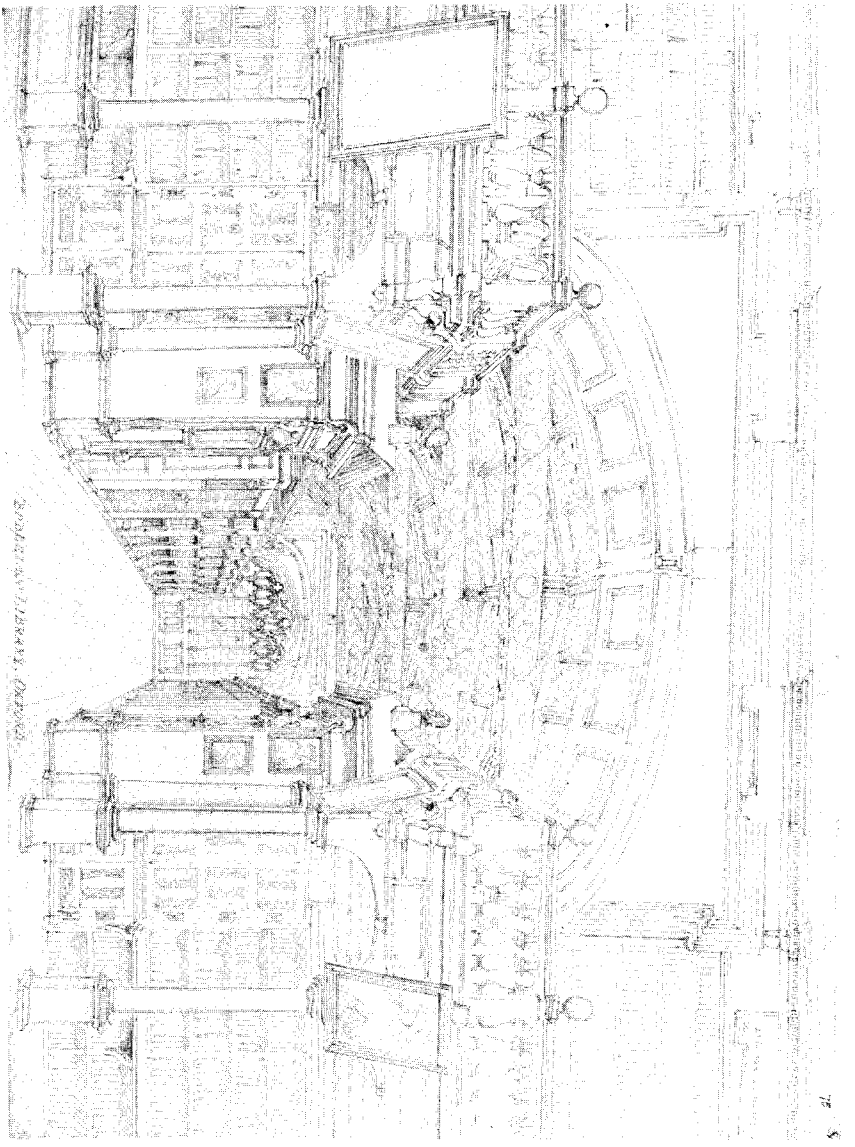

Fig. 8. Duke Humphrey's Library, looking east. Drawing by J. C. Buckler, 1815

a gallery and high shelves above (visible in Loggan's view, Figure 6 above), have been hailed as the earliest example in England of a library fitted up on the "Wall-system." The most cursory examination of the presses and of the early shelf-lists makes it clear that this is not the case. As originally fitted out in 1612, Arts End did not have a gallery or any high wall-shelves. The main presses standing on the floor closely resembled the presses of 1599 in the old library; there were six of them and they must have projected from the east wall, to account for the offset end windows. As first constructed, the Arts End bookpresses were 8 ft. 3 in. wide, a yard less than those of 1599. There was only one upright member apart from the ends, instead of two, so that each side of each press had six compartments for books just under 4 ft. wide, instead of nine all about 3 ft. 6 in. wide.[25] At a later date they may have been sawn in half lengthways, pushed back against the walls and incorporated in wall-shelving with new timber to fill gaps sideways and above, to bring them up to the level of the galleries. But details of this process must be left for another time.

In a final expansion of Bodley's library, a quarter-century after his death, a west wing (of the same dimensions as Arts End on the east) was built and fitted out in 1638-41, with arcaded and galleried wall-shelving. This came to be known as Selden End, from the collections of the great jurist that were deposited there. In the years between the construction of Arts End and Selden End (in the decade or so from 1613) the Schools Quadrangle took shape to the east, perhaps to Bodley's own plans, as a square block of three stories with the ground floor and the one above for the use of the "Schools" or faculty lecture halls, and the top floor for "stowage of books." This square block was taller and larger than the old library, with a still taller tower and sumptuous frontispiece facing inward on the court. The completed group of buildings appears in Loggan's engraved aerial view of 1675 from the south (Figure 2).[26]

III

In Duke Humphrey's Library, the "idle rabble" that carried out in oak the designs of Bodley and Savile were two "companies" or family firms of Oxford joiners, headed by Thomas Key and William Bennet. Key, of the senior firm—to whom Bodley refers often in his letters—was not locally trained and apprenticed, but came to Oxford in 1585 to set up his joinery business,[27] perhaps

from one of the villages around Wychwood Forest a dozen miles to the northwest, where there were various husbandmen and yeomen and a cook of that name. It was Key who made the bookcases for Savile's library at Merton in 1589-90,[28] evolving the double- and triple-shelved press with writing-shelf discussed above. He does not seem to have been one of the many Yorkshire craftsmen brought by Savile to Oxford from his native county, who included the group of masons that built the Fellows' Quadrangle at Merton in the summer of 1610, some coming gradually to dominate the Oxford building world for the next thirty years (they made, for example, the whole of the Schools Quadrangle). Instead, Key was the leader of the vested interest, the Oxford craftsmen who formed a Guild in 1604 so as to profit from the growing pressure of building.[29] Key had a large firm, taking thirteen apprentices between 1589 and his death in 1610.[30]

William Bennet, who often worked with Key as his junior partner, was another outsider—and an illiterate one, unable even to write his name—who came to the city and set up as a joiner in 1588;[31] he had links with villages a few miles east of Oxford and may have come from one of them. Bennet and Key together held a virtual monopoly of library work, making the bookcases at St. John's College in 1596-99, the Bodleian in 1599, Corpus Christi College in 1604, and Christ Church in 1610. Some weeks after Key died in that year, an estimate—which can only be his—for bookcases in the Cathedral Library at Hereford was passed on to the Dean and Chapter there.[32] At Wadham College in 1612-13 Bennet made the library bookpresses, chapel pews and so on in partnership with a former associate of Key, Bartholemew Emerie alias How.[33] Bennet also worked on his own on the most prestigious jobs of the time in Oxford. In the five years after 1600, he installed massive new pews in the Cathedral (some of which are now to be seen, incongrously grand, in the small nearby village church of Cassington); the Cathedral still contains his pulpit of 1608 and his Vice-Chancellor's seat of 1613,[34] both boldly carved with pattern-book motifs and a slight regard for the niceties of the classical canon. In 1611-12 Bennet was concerned in the bookpresses for Bodley's new Arts End, though it is not clear whether he actually made them. Bodley wrote on 4 September 1612 to his Librarian: "I am sorie for Benet, whose skill I shall want in many respects: but yet my trust is in Bolten."[35] Bennet

continued later to carry out various jobs for the Library, as indicated by payments in the Accounts.[36] He also installed new bookpresses in the south wing of the library at Merton in 1623, as a further stage of the modernizing of the ancient library;[37] like the presses of 1589-90 for the west wing described above, these still survive.

Of all the craftsmen, masons, smiths, carpenters, plumbers, glasiers, plasterers and painters who worked for Bodley, Key and Bennet as joiners were most intimately concerned with scholars and writers—the work held theirs and formed a frame for it. Bennet was also curiously linked with their world. One of his wife's sisters was married to the University printer, Joseph Barnes, who produced Haydocke's *Tracte* amidst a flow of other books and bequeathed £5 to Bodley's library.[38] Another of his wife's sisters had a daughter who married a petty country squire, Richard Powell of Forest Hill near Shotover a few miles east of Oxford; it was their eldest daughter, Mary Powell—the joiner's greatniece—who was so unhappily to marry John Milton. All this arose because Bennet, an illiterate town craftsman, had married the sister of a prosperous country squire, Abraham Archdale of Wheatley, who also owned the Roebuck Inn in Oxford and himself left the Bodleian £10 for books.[39]

Bennet was clearly both enterprising and likable. He had been involved in tragedy when in 1590, two years after coming to Oxford, he killed a college cook in some affray or accident. All Bennet's possessions were seized by the city, but his friends stood by him and the City Council eventually decided that the goods and chattels "forfayted in the mysadventure of killinge Barnard Wilkins" could be redeemed for forty shillings, a payment which shows that he was considered largely, if not completely, blameless.[40] This incident did not stop Bennet from being preferred for University and College work above the dozen or so other master-joiners active in the city. Nor did it greatly affect his standing with his fellow-citizens, who elected him to the Council in 1605.[41] As was usual for councillors, he served until his death (in 1624), but did not reach the highest offices, which passed only by great wealth or extreme old age. At different times he lived in all three of the northern parishes of the city; a son seems to have died young; and his two grown-up daughters both married other Oxford joiners. All his assets and household goods, valued at £199

14s 6d, are listed in the inventory accompanying the will, in which are set out all his family and neighborhood concerns.[42]

The business continued under one of the sons-in-law, Thomas Richardson, who made the Cathedral organ-screen in 1624, the year of Bennet's death. Richardson did many minor jobs at the Bodleian, overhauling tables, putting up shelves, mending globes and so on. He helped to fill the shelves too, in 1640, when "2 of Richardson's people" were paid "for carriage of Mr. Burtons bookes from Christ Church."[43] The author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* had left the Library first choice of his books and the joiners carried 580 of them there; another 500 went to Burton's own college (where he had been librarian), to stand on the firm's shelves of 1610. Richardson's bold Italic signature matches the robustly classical woodwork that he designed and made. At the Bodleian in 1639-41 it was he who fitted out Selden End, with its fine arcaded and galleried bookcases and paneling—as seen, viewed from the west, in a drawing of 1815 by J. C. Buckler, looking down the old library toward Arts End (Figure 8).[44] For this and the fine seating in Convocation House, the University's assembly hall below, Richardson was paid well over £1000,[45] a vast sum and easily the largest joinery-contract of the century in Oxford. When he died in 1644, perhaps in one of the epidemics of the Royalist occupation during the Civil War, he was among the more prosperous of Oxford craftsmen, his possessions carefully listed and valued at £326 2s 2d. His will[46] mentions many distant relatives, but alas, not his wife's first cousin or her new son-in-law, the author of *Lycidas*.

IV

When Bodley died in 1613, a fit monument already existed in the form of the bust of the library's founder set up in 1605. But a fitter still was now provided, in the chapel at Merton (Figure 9),[47] designed and made in alabaster and marble by the sculptor Nicholas Stone at his Longacre works in London for the fee of "100£ of good mony."[48] Minerva surmounts the whole with Geometry and Astronomy above the pediment, while the rest of the Liberal Arts surround the bust, Grammar below holding the key to learning.[49] At left and right, supporting the pediment above, are columns of books (with clasps serving as strapwork ornament), piled on their sides as in one's old tutor's study—or better, like rows of books

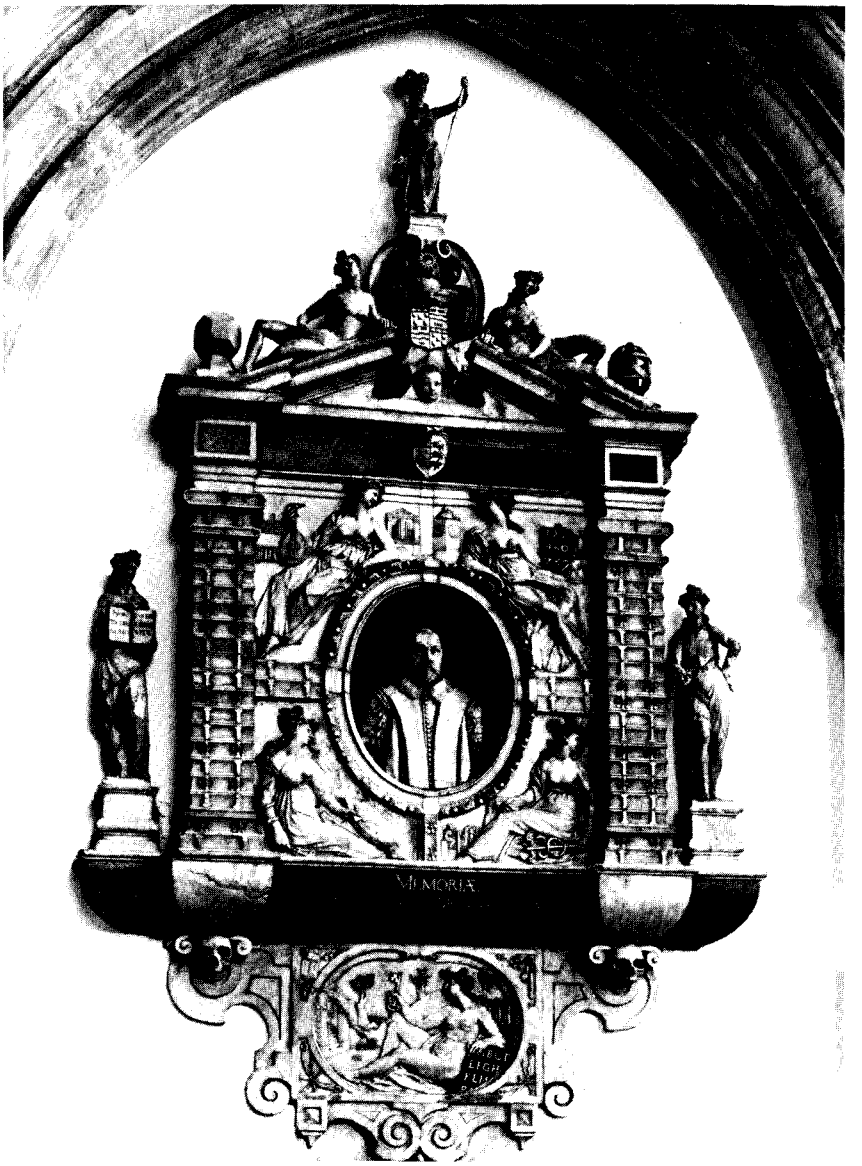

Fig. 9. Nicholas Stone, monument to Bodley, Merton College

shelved spine to the back (as always in the period) that have been wittily upended into columns in a Mannerist conceit.[50] He who splendidly housed so many volumes was at last housed by them.

47 Ulfgar Road, Wolvercote, Oxford

Notes

1 *The Life of Sr Thomas Bodley . . . Written by Himselfe* (Oxford, 1647; photo-reprint, 1983), p. 15. (In all English quotations throughout, use of i and j, u and v has been normalized.) Bodley was fresh from his crucial role as resident envoy to the United Provinces, in revolt against Spain.

2 By John Bereblock, in MS. Bodley 13 (S.C. 3056) accompanying a poem of greeting to Queen Elizabeth; reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library. See *The Bodleian Library and its Friends*, exhibition catalogue (1969), no. 1, pp. 17-18. Duke Humphrey died 1447. Dispersal of the collections followed the visitation of Edward VI's commissioners in 1549-50.

3 *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to the University of Oxford 1598-1611*, ed. G. W. Wheeler (Oxford: J. Johnson, Printer to the University, for private circulation, 1927), p. 4. On Thomas Thornton see below, n. 21.

4 *Letters to University*, p. 6 (19 March 1598).

5 Ibid. Savile, once the Queen's Greek tutor and briefly envoy to the Dutch, was Warden of Merton from 1585 until his death. Bodley became Fellow of Merton in 1563 following study at Magdalen Hall 1559-63 (Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* [Kraus reprint, 1968], I, 143).

6 *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James*, ed. G. W. Wheeler (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), p. 1.

7 *Letters to University*, p. 7.

8 *Letters to James*, p. 60.

9 Daniel matriculated in 1581 at Magdalen Hall (Foster, *Alumni*, I, 371), where Bodley had studied (see above, n. 5).

10 Bodleian Library, Arch. G.d.47 (New S.T.C. 6236); bibliographically a2 replaces A2 canceled and is unpaginated. (In all other copies the dedication is to Queen Elizabeth.) Daniel's volume, which arrived too late to be included in the catalogue published 1605 (see below), was first shelved as Arts D.1.16 and bears at least three other pressmarks.

11 *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, 7 vols. (London, 1861-74), III, 253 (this was one of several "second copies" distributed after sending the first to the King); *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. G. W. Kitchin (London: Dent, Everyman, 1915), p. 63 (Bk. II, para. 5). Cf. Milton, "Ad Joannem Rousium," ll. 50-55.

12 *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae publicae . . .* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, Printer to the University, 1605), p. iv.

13 John Nichols, *The Progresses . . . of King James the First*, 4 vols. (London, 1828), I, 554 n.

14 *Letters to James*, pp. 221-22.

15 *Letters to James*, p. 6 (4 June 1601), cited by K. J. Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke: Translator, Engraver, Physician," *The Library*, 5th ser., 33 (1978), 15.

16 On the title page see M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece* (London: Routledge, 1979), pp. 66-78, and Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke," pp. 20-21 (also 17-18, on Haydocke's donation of books). In 1602, Bodley asked that Haydocke "procure claspes assoone as he can, for Mr Vic. [Vice-Chancellor's] 2. great volumes, to

the end they may be chained with the rest in the Librarie"; this presumably refers to a large bound Bible manuscript whose brass clasps seem to have been of Haydocke's own design (Höltgen, p. 15, pl. Ia).

17 *The Bodleian Library and its Friends*, pp. 10-11; Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1945), p. 32.

18 Curiously enough, this matter of the library's early holdings has scarcely been examined, except for manuscripts; a detailed study of the printed books would be rewarding, with so many of the original volumes and early catalogues and shelf-lists still surviving. Such an obvious question as when English books first outnumbered those in Latin seems never to have been looked into.

19 Photo by permission of J. W. Thomas, Oxford; taken in 1963, after restoration.

20 These bookpresses were made by Thomas Key and William Bennet (see below). Seats and ironwork were discarded 1756-69.

21 Photos in e.g. Christopher Hobhouse, *Oxford*, rev. ed. (London, 1952), fig. 10, and Felix Markham, *Oxford* (London, 1967), p. 34. These presses also were made by Thomas Key (see below); sill-beam and seats however date from 1378. Thin dashes indicate plain posts, corresponding to the pear- or urn-shaped ones at the Bodleian. Another possible influence on the design of the Bodleian fittings was the Vice-Chancellor for 1599, Dr. Thomas Thornton, Canon of Christ Church, Hereford, and Worcester (and former tutor of Sir Philip Sidney). At Hereford Cathedral and Christ Church he was involved in installing bookpresses like Bodley's, which still survive at Hereford (though not in their original setting in the Lady Chapel) with their ancient chains, rods, and locks intact.

22 G. W. Wheeler, *The Earliest Catalogues of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: University Press, 1928), p. 59, gives the figures for each faculty. The total in fact matches that reached by counting the actual volumes now standing on half a dozen shelves and multiplying.

23 David Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675), pl. vii (detail); photo reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

24 University Archives, *Convocation Register M*, fol. 88b; photo by Penny Tweedie (reproduced by permission of Weidenfeld and Nicholson, Ltd.). Its present niche under the arch, which was a window in 1605, dates only from the 1690s; but the original niche remains, largely hidden by a picture, above the second window from the east on the south wall, just above the start of the sequence, the A's of Theology. The inscription on the base is the University's oldest museum label. (Opposite above, seen also in Loggan's engraving, is the bronze bust of Charles I installed 1639.) Dorset, author of the famous "Induction" to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, was Chancellor from 1591 until his death in 1608.

25 There are a number of minor differences in details of woodworking as well, and the central uprights are cut in a somewhat different pear-shaped outline at the base. On the maker or makers see below.

26 Loggan, *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675, pl. iv; reproduced by permission of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

27 *Oxford Council Acts 1583-1626*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society or Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 18. For Bodley's references to Key see *Letters to James*, pp. 27, 49, 51, 52, 99, 103, 138.

28 F. Wormald and C. E. Wright, *The English Library before 1700* (London: Athlone, 1953), p. 239.

29 T. W. Hanson, "Halifax Builders in Oxford," *Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions*, 1928, p. 266; the Guild met much opposition and was gradually disbanded between 1610 and 1613.

30 Oxford City Archives, L.5.1, *Apprenticeship Book 1590-1613*, passim.

31 *Oxford Council Acts*, p. 46. Bennet seems to have taken only nine or ten apprentices during a working career much longer than Key's, but was rather casual about enrolling them in the City books.

32 B. G. Charles and H. D. Emanuel, "Notes on Old Libraries and Books," *National Library of Wales Journal* 6 (1949-50), 364.

33 Wadham College Archives, *Building Accounts 1610-13*, passim.

34 W. G. Hiscock, *A Christ Church Miscellany* (Oxford: printed at the University Press), p. 214 and pls. 68-69.

35 *Letters to James*, p. 226; John Bolton, a skilled carver of an old Oxford family, had perhaps trained in London and joined Bennet's "company" in the 1590s. He set up on his own account in 1604 and was the only Oxford craftsman of the early seventeenth century to work consistently in the classical style. The very fine Hall screen at Wadham (1612) is his (*Building Accounts*), as are, to judge from the very close similarities, those of Magdalen (1607), Jesus (c. 1617) and Exeter (1618), all of them triumphal arches with twin openings. What seems to be his distinctive style is lacking in the Arts End woodwork, so it would seem that Bennet made the bookpresses there, leaving some minor finishing-off to Bolton.

36 In 1614, 1620 and 1622; G. Hampshire, *The Bodleian Library Account Book 1613-1646* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1983), pp. 9, 35, 47.

37 B. W. Henderson, *Merton College* (London, 1899), pp. 232-33.

38 S. Gibson, *Abstracts from the Wills . . . of . . . Printers . . . of Oxford from 1493 to 1638* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907), p. 26. The very large rear wing of Joseph Barnes's house still stands, as the St. Mary's entry block of Brasenose College. Further study may reveal whether it was his wine-tavern or his printshop.

39 Bennet, in other words, was married to Archdale's sister Margarett; another sister married the printer Barnes; and a third sister's daughter married Richard Powell. (Their daughter Mary became Milton's wife in 1642, left him the same year, but returned in 1645; she died in 1652.) Powell was a hard-working timber-agent and dealer who appears regularly in Oxford college building-accounts of the 1630s, as personally supervising the felling and loading of timber from the royal forests of Stowwood and Shotover. On Archdale see W. O. Hassall, *Wheatley Records 956-1956* (Oxford: Oxon Record Society 37, 1956), p. 60. Archdale's manor house at Wheatley still stands, and has been the home for many years of one of the Bodleian staff.

40 *Oxford Council Acts*, pp. 59. 368. John Winckley, blacksmith, the friend who stood surety for the payment, had grown up as a boy in the shadow of tragedy; his father Thomas was one of the City Bailiffs obliged to entertain and then burn to death the martyred bishops of 1555.

41 *Oxford Council Acts*, p. 171.

42 Oxon, County Record Office, *Wills Oxon* 5/1/43.

43 Hampshire, *Bodleian Library Account Book*, p. 122.

44 British Library Add. MS. 36374, fol. 75; reproduced by permission.

45 Oxford University Archives, W P β 21(4), *Vicechancellors' Accounts 1550-1663*, p. 243.

46 *Wills Oxon* 56/1/27.

47 Photo by permission of J. W. Thomas, Oxford.

48 *The Note-book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone*, ed. Walter Lewis Spiers, *Walpole Society* 7 (1919), 40; this was "set up," according to Stone, in "May 1615."

49 Perhaps the closest parallel to the elongated figures and oval low-relief of Bodley's monument appears on the hall fireplace of Newburgh Priory, Yorkshire, with figures of Apollo and Diana between columns on either side of a medallion of Venus (reproduced in Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding* [Harmondsworth, 1966], p. 265, fig. 32). Monument and fireplace alike show the persisting influence of the school of Fontainebleau of the earlier sixteenth century.

50 Bodley's monument evidently inspired a fashion. Pillars, frames or backgrounds of books are found on the monuments of Thomas Harris, d. 1614, at Wadham College; John Boys, d. 1625, in Canterbury Cathedral; Sir Henry Yelverton, d. 1631, at Easton

Maudit, Northants; Francis Catesby, d. 1636, at Hardmead, Bucks; Richard Davies, d. 1639, at Brailes, Warwickshire; and Sir Thomas Lucy, d. 1640, at Charlecote, also in Warwickshire–this last, like the first for Bodley, designed by Nicholas Stone (reproduced in Nikolaus Pevsner and Alexandra Wedgwood, *Warwickshire* [Harmondsworth, 1966], fig. 29b), though perhaps executed by John Schoerman (p. 227; also *Note-book of Stone*, ed. Spiers, Introduction, p. 34). In a related architectural use of the motif by a later Oxford master mason, William Byrd, books as columns support the doorhood of the chapel at St. Edmund Hall (1680-82), indicating that the library lies over the antechapel. On the use of books as columns in a painting given to New College in 1630, see Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke," pp. 28-29, n. 45, pl. VIa. In William Marshall's engraved title page for Henry Isaacson's *Saturni Ephemerides* (1633), columns are formed by books alternating front and back as well as horizontally and vertically: the accompanying verses develop the idea of finding "more than one Booke"–in the creation, in history, and chronology (A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pt. III, *The Reign of Charles I*, by M. Corbett and M. Norton [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1964], pp. 167-68, pl. 78).