

## The Painted Roof of the Old Library, Christ Church

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### PART I: HISTORY OF THE BUILDING

By D. STURDY

THE Old Library at Christ Church forms the south range of the cloister buildings of the former priory of St. Frideswide. It was the Augustinian Canons' Refectory, built first in the 12th century with the other cloister buildings and the church, now Oxford Cathedral. Soon after 1500 the Refectory and Cloister Walks were rebuilt and a Prior's House added to the south of the Dormitory in the east range of cloister buildings.<sup>1</sup> The rebuilt Refectory still stands, much altered. It contains six bays which will be referred to as 1 to 6, counting from the west. Beams and buttresses called 1 to 6 are those on the west of each bay.

The ground floor, an undercroft of the main Hall, abuts on the east on the Dormitory, now the Priory House, and retains the north wall of the former Refectory, both largely of 12th century date. The west and south walls were rebuilt from the footings, which can indeed be seen along the south wall, inaccurately laid out. In the west wall is a 15th century doorway leading towards the former Kitchen. Bay 6 has been a passage since the 15th century; of this date are the arch through the north wall, the west wall of the passage with two doorways leading into the undercroft of the Refectory and the string-course and doorway in the east wall, leading into the undercroft of the Dormitory. The passage leads south towards the meadows through the remains of the Prior's House, now part of the 'Priory House', which overlaps to the south of Bay 6.

The Refectory above, the height of the present three upper storeys, had six windows on each side (PL. XXXIV) with a large west window, whose upper half was repeated in the east wall above the Dormitory. Four windows survive, 3 to 6 in the north wall, and also the east window and window 6 in the south wall, a half window above the Prior's House. The main entrance

<sup>1</sup> *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xxix (1879), 25.

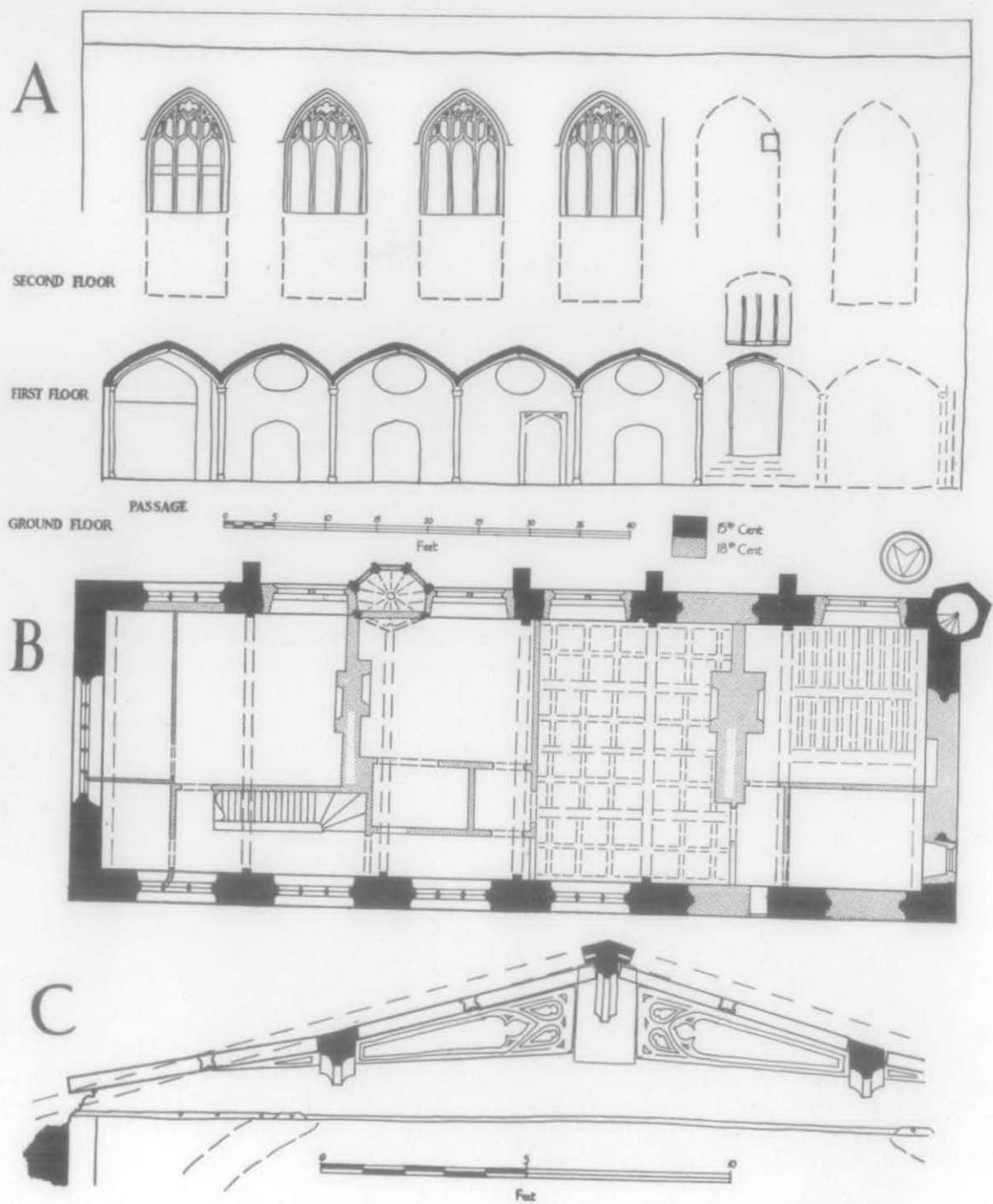


FIG. 1

The Old Library, Christ Church. A. Elevation of north wall. B. Plan at third floor level with pulpit projected from second floor; original roof timbers in Bay 1 to right and 17th century beams and panels (now restored) in bays 2 and 3. C. Section of roof with original rafters dotted.

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from the cloister on the north survives, much mutilated, in bay 2. Under the west window were two doorways leading to the Kitchen, the only trace of which is the roof-line visible on the turret with a blocked spiral staircase at the south-west corner of the building. Along the south wall, but not the north, are six projecting buttresses; buttress 5 supports the projecting pulpit for reading at mealtimes with corbels carved as a woman's face and a small crouching man. The pulpit (PL. XXXIII) still has an elaborate fan-vault inside, painted blue with gold stars. The ribs of the vault were painted red and sprang from red marbled pilasters. Small traceried windows on the outside of the pulpit had been glazed with diamond-shaped quarries. It was approached by an internal staircase, now destroyed. The roof had massive tie-beams, low king-posts flanked by traceried spandrels, and shallow-arched ridge-beam and purlins with nine rafters to a bay (FIG. 1B and PL. XVI).

In Wolsey's foundation of Cardinal College in 1525-30 the great new Dining Hall replaced the Refectory, which was retained and at this time or later linked with the new Quadrangle by an annexe built against bays 1 and 2 on the north and a large spiral staircase that gave onto the Hall Staircase and perhaps also the former Refectory.<sup>2</sup> This building was used from about 1560 for the College Library perhaps with bookcases brought from Duke Humfrey's Library.<sup>3</sup>

By 1610 the building, little more than a century old, was 'collapsed'. It was partly rebuilt and completely refitted in 1610-12 and served as a Library for a century and a half. On the ground floor, converted into undergraduates' rooms, the doorway in the centre of the north wall, and perhaps window 5 in the south wall, were inserted. Fireplaces were made, their flues running up buttresses.

In the Main Hall the Library fittings were renewed on the pattern of Duke Humfrey's Library:<sup>4</sup> the western doorways were blocked and a new central one pierced, with a stone porch outside of extravagant design. Upper storeys were built over the south and east cloister walks abutting on the main ranges, the one built probably as Library space, and used since 1681 to house the Allestree Library,<sup>5</sup> the other built as the Chapter Archive Room. The carpenters altered the roof, removing the rafters and fitting new moulded beams on the old purlins and ridge-beam to take 32 square panels in each of the six bays, the painted decoration of which forms the main subject of this paper. The old tie-beams were also painted. The old rafters formed a true roof above the new beams, which kink at the purlin on each slope, a feature

<sup>2</sup> W. Williams, *Oxonia Depicta* (1733), PL. XLI.

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Hiscock, *A Christ Church Miscellany* (1946), 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Bodleian Library Record* IV, no. 3 (1952), 145.

<sup>5</sup> W. G. Hiscock, *op. cit.*, 14-15, 215.

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also of Duke Humfrey's Library where the roof was reconstructed in the same way and of the adjacent roof of Arts End built in 1610-12 where the mouldings and spandrel panels are like those at Christ Church.

The books, which had long since overflowed the Old Library, despite a gallery inserted in 1712,<sup>6</sup> were moved in 1763 to the Library built in Peckwater Quadrangle in 1717-39 and fitted out in 1752-62. In 1777 the Old Library was converted into 12 sets of undergraduates' rooms by Henry Keene.<sup>7</sup> Two central chimneystacks were built, two new floors inserted above the first floor and the roof ceiled off. A staircase was built in the north of bay 5 with passages to the rooms, unusual at this time, separated by balusters from the four remaining north windows which were preserved. On the south wall however new two-light Gothic sash-windows were inserted on three floors in bays 1, 3, 4 and 5. The porch was demolished, the western doorway and window blocked and three small windows cut through. The undercroft was made into two lecture rooms with the north wall pierced by three glazed arches with four oval windows above, the west wall by a small window and the south wall by two-light Gothic sash-windows in bays 1, 3 and 4, and a large arched entrance in bay 2.

The southern arch over the passage and the ceiling of the passage were rebuilt in 1891.<sup>8</sup> Later the upper east wall and portions of the south wall were refaced. The roof was rebuilt in 1958-9, with the painted ceiling restored over parts of bays 2 and 3. The north and south walls were cleaned and partly refaced in 1959-60, when the painting of the pulpit was discovered.

<sup>6</sup> A. Wood, ed. J. Gutch, *History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*, vol. III (1786), 459.

<sup>7</sup> W. G. Hiscock, *op. cit.*, 74.

<sup>8</sup> A. Wood, *op. cit.*, 456.

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## PART II : THE PAINTED ROOF SCHEME

By E. CLIVE ROUSE

### DISCOVERY : CONDITION : SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

**M**R. STURDY has discussed the architectural history of the Old Library at Christ Church, and with it, the structural vicissitudes of the painted roof or ceiling which is the main subject of this paper. The discovery, or perhaps more accurately, re-discovery, of this painted roof was made in 1954, and resulted from a chance remark by a workman (luckily overheard and reported) who had been doing some electrical re-wiring in the roof. Mr. F. A. Gray, the Treasurer, at once investigated, and confirmed, this report of colouring in the roof, and communicated with Bodley's Librarian.

Dr. Myres asked me if I would inspect the discovery; accordingly on 12th November, 1954, the Treasurer, myself and Mr. A. T. Kennard (then Clerk of Works at the Bodleian) entered through a small trap-door, the only means of access, the extremely confined space between the upper side of the ceilings of the top sets of rooms, and the slope of the roof itself. The height at the ridge was only about 4 ft. 6 in., tapering to nothing at the two eaves, and everything was thickly covered in soot and dust. And since our only light was an inspection lamp on a long flex, it will give some idea of the difficulty of the task of inspection and identification.

This first, and one or two subsequent visits, did, however, enable a plan to be made, and some idea of the scheme and its importance to be formed.

The plan of the roof as found, now corrected and slightly modified in the light of subsequent knowledge and analysis, is reproduced in FIGS. 2 and 3. The subjects shown on the missing panels have been included in italics. From these it will be seen that the roof consisted of six bays, each having thirty-two painted panels, or a total of one hundred and ninety-two panels, painted with a remarkable series of Royal coats of arms, crests and badges, all in a rich variety of strapwork cartouches. The tie-beams were also painted on both faces with scroll-work and devices.

The roof was evidently in poor condition when modified from the medieval

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close-raftered pattern of about 1500 (as Mr. Sturdy has shown, p. 217) to the square panel design about 1610.<sup>1</sup> Seriously decayed areas in the main tie-beams had been covered with thin boards and painted over (PL. XIV): and other defective areas were papered before being painted. Great damage was done in the 18th century when the great painted roof, or what was left of it, was ceiled off and forgotten, and chimney-stacks inserted (it will be seen from the plans that the majority of the missing panels are accounted for by areas of damage in the position of these chimney-stacks). A further 200 years also took their toll, and, in 1954, only about 100 complete panels plus numerous fragments survived out of the original 192. The survival of about 18 tops and bottoms of panels without any centre-piece (each panel is composed of three very thin tongued and grooved oak boards) suggests that the workmen at the time of the 18th century alterations, took away many of the middle boards from the panels as souvenirs, since the device, the most interesting part of each panel, usually occurs almost entirely on the centre board.

The extensive repair programme was not embarked upon by the College until some years after the discovery of the painted ceiling. When the Old Library roof was examined in detail it was found to be in very poor condition, due to beetle infestation, rot, damp and general decay (PLS. XIV, XV, XVI). It was decided that the roof as a whole could not be exposed, or even preserved *in toto*. There would have been grave difficulties in exposing any large area of the roof and its paintings by removal of the ceilings in the upper set of rooms on account of the large number of missing panels, the imperfect state of many of them and the very large replacements needed structurally. It was, however, decided to expose, restore and preserve one bay out of the six, all the surplus remaining painted panels, being removed, unfortunately without any identification mark being put on them in spite of my numbered plan being available. Many of the panels were smashed into anything up to twelve pieces. In extenuation it must be allowed that the work of removal must have been very difficult; for the panels were nailed in from below, and the rusted ends bent over on the backs. When the College asked me to clean, treat, and select 32 panels sufficient to restore one bay (and subsequently to deal with the balance of more than sixty spare panels) I was faced with a heap of over one thousand disjointed fragments, which took me and several helpers nearly two weeks to sort out and re-assemble (PL. XVII).

The 18th century plaster ceiling was removed in one room on the top floor and the old roof suspended beneath the new steel and concrete structure.

<sup>1</sup> In support of this date for the furnishing of the Old Library, and presumably for the decoration of the reconstructed roof see Geoffrey Bill in *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. iv, no. 3 (1952), pp. 145-9.

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Unfortunately the 18th century partition walls took no account of the bay structure of the old roof above: and the one remaining tie beam *in situ* therefore has to split one set of the 32 panels gathered to restore one complete bay (FIG. 4).

The College generously agreed to present one panel of the Jacobean Royal Arms to Fulmer Church, Bucks., which was built in 1610 and had not got an example; and one panel of the Scottish Royal Arms (of which all six survived) to myself, which I have passed on to the National Trust for Scotland for display in one of their properties. Subsequently, fifty-two panels have been re-assembled, and are to be placed in three groups in the roof of Selden End, where they will be readily compared with the series in Duke Humfrey and Arts End.

### THE SCHEME: A. THE HERALDRY

We may now consider the painted scheme itself. The timbers were given the same rather uninteresting treatment as those in the Tower Room of the Bodleian Schools' Quadrangle—namely the beams painted brown with the mouldings picked out in black and yellow.<sup>2</sup>

The great tie-beams had free-scroll-work and fantastic creatures almost exactly similar to those on the main beams in Duke Humfrey (PLS. XVIII and XIX). Each beam had on each side, in the centre, one of two devices—the arms of Wolsey as used by the College to-day, and incidentally the only reference to the first founder: and the initials H. R. surmounted by the figure 8, on a lozenge, for the second and Royal founder King Henry VIII (PLS. XX and XIV). One of the latter survives in the restored section; but all the beams having Wolsey's coat were destroyed. A very complete photographic record of all the details was made.

At the intersections of all the minor beams framing the panels there must have been small bosses in the shape of oak plates, cut out in the shape of and painted to represent Tudor roses alternately red and white. Three half-roses only of this series survived, two red and one white (shown on PL. XXVI A.) They were lying loose, but must have been placed where the smaller beams met the wall plate. (Compare the flat bosses with Bodley's arms in Arts End and Duke Humfrey. PLS. XXXII A and B.)

Reference to the plan (FIGS. 2 and 3) will show that the scheme on the panels consisted of an extensive series of royal arms, crests and badges, ob-

<sup>2</sup> See J. N. L. Myres and E. Clive Rouse in *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. v, no. 6 (1956), p. 307.

viously intended to emphasize the Royal foundation or patronage of the College and to pay particular compliment to James I and VI, the Stuart sovereign in whose reign the work of re-fitting the library was carried out.

It will further be seen that each bay of 32 panels is actually a repeat, but that the devices start from alternate sides, thus giving variety throughout. It would thus appear immaterial whether, in reading the panels, one starts with the arms of the Sovereign, James I and VI, and works back to the early badges of Edward III and Richard II, or *vice versa*. The tops of the panels were all placed towards the central ridge, so that, standing at one end, in the middle, the whole scheme was visible.

From a comparison of the placing of the various subjects gathered from what remained in each of the six bays, it was possible to make a confident re-construction of one bay, although there had at some time been misplacements or re-arrangement, perhaps after roof repairs or alterations. (For example, panels 120, 124, 126 and 128; and panels 161 and 165 had got transposed.) By a curious chance the same *one* panel was missing in every bay, so that Nos. 13, 49, 77, 116, 141 and 180 remain a mystery. It might well have been the White Hart of Richard II, or even the White Rose for the House of York—there are two varieties of the Red Rose of Lancaster, and the Double Rose of the combined Houses, but no single white rose. To make up the bay I merely included a repeat of one of the more attractive panels and have placed this at No. 32 instead of No. 13 to give better continuity, with a little re-arrangement (Plan, FIG. 4).

Analysis produces quite a logical scheme, and I prefer to start with the Arms of James I and VI. The panels are meant to be read *along* the roof, bay by bay and not across—that is to say, from east to west, and not north to south, each bay, as pointed out, being divided by the ridge beam. Thus, commencing at the east end of the south eaves we have a row of four panels representing the Royal House. First, the sovereign, James I and VI, the the Stuart Royal Arms within the garter and surmounted by a crown (PL. XXI A). Second, his consort, Anne of Denmark (PL. XXI D): third, the Royal Arms, but without garter or crown and with a white label of three points (PL. XXI B); fourth, the same, but with the label having on each file three torteaux or red roundels (PL. XXI C). This last raises an interesting point of heraldry, which even Mr. Spokes, to whom I am indebted for much heraldic assistance, cannot entirely solve. I also discussed the point with the late Dr. Stanford London: he was unfortunately not able actually to see the panels before his death: but he was likewise unable to quote a parallel case or give any complete explanation. The plain label is normally reserved for the eldest son, and this, before 1612, would be for Prince Henry. The second

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BAY I

BAY II

BAY III

1 Royal Arms James I	2 Anne of Denmark	3 Royal Arms with label	4 <i>Royal Arms with label differenced</i>	33 Crowned thistle	34 Sun in splendour	35 <i>Tree stump</i>	36 <i>Sunburst</i>	65 Royal Arms James I	66 <i>Anne of Denmark</i>	67 Royal Arms with label	68 <i>Royal Arms with label differenced</i>
5 France	6 England	7 Scotland	8 Ireland	37 Red rose with Rays	38 Two feathers crossed	39 <i>Beacon</i>	40 <i>Double Rose (plain)</i>	69 France	70 England	71 Scotland	72 <i>Ireland</i>
9 Wales	10 Cornwall	11 <i>Denmark</i>	12 <i>Norway</i>	41 <i>Portcullis</i>	42 <i>Double Rose (crowned)</i>	43 <i>Fleur de lys</i>	44 <i>Falcon &amp; Fetterlock</i>	73 Wales	74 Cornwall	75 Denmark	76 <i>Norway</i>
13 HENRY VIII	14 Crest of England	15 <i>Crest of Scotland</i>	16 <i>Crest of Denmark</i>	45 <i>Rose &amp; Thistle part only)</i>	46 <i>Crest of England with label</i>	47 <i>Crest of Ann Boleyn</i>	48 <i>Prince of Wales feathers</i>	77 H.R. VIII	78 <i>Crest of England</i>	79 Crest of Scotland	80 Crest of Denmark
17 Rose and thistle	18 Crest of England with label	19 Crest of Anne Boleyn	20 <i>Prince of Wales feathers</i>	49 ARMS OF WOLSEY T.W.	50 <i>Crest of England</i>	51 <i>Crest of Scotland</i>	52 <i>Crest of Denmark</i>	81 H.R. VIII Prince of Wales feathers	82 Crest of Anne Boleyn	83 Crest of England with label	84 Rose and thistle
21 Portcullis	22 Double rose (crowned)	23 Fleur de lys	24 <i>Falcon &amp; Fetterlock</i>	53 Norway	54 Denmark (half only)	55 <i>Cornwall</i>	56 <i>Wales</i>	85 Falcon and Fetterlock	86 Fleur de lys	87 Double rose (crowned)	88 Portcullis
25 Red rose with rays	26 <i>Two feathers crossed</i>	27 Beacon	28 Double rose (plain)	57 Ireland	58 Scotland	59 England	60 France	89 Double rose (plain)	90 Beacon	91 Two feathers crossed	92 Red rose with rays
29 Crowned thistle	30 Sun in splendour	31 <i>Tree stump</i>	32 <i>Sunburst</i>	61 Royal Arms with label differenced	62 Royal Arms with label	63 Anne of Denmark	64 Royal Arms James I	93 <i>Sunburst</i>	94 Tree stump	95 Sun in Splendour	96 Crowned thistle

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FIG. 2

Diagram-plan of the Painted Roof of the Old Library, Christ Church.  
Surviving panels are shown in Roman type, missing ones in italics.

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label would therefore normally be for Prince Charles, later Charles I. But neither Sandford<sup>3</sup> nor other authorities give such a label for the second son. It can hardly be for Princess Elizabeth or the arms would be on a lozenge, although it must be admitted the arms of Anne of Denmark are placed on a shield. If Prince Henry and Prince Charles are indicated, this gives us a most valuable date as a *terminus ad quem*: for Prince Henry died in 1612. Other evidence, dealt with by Mrs. Cole in her section, suggests that the painting was in fact executed not later than the early part of 1612, and probably before.

The next two rows (Nos. 5 to 12 on my plan FIG. 4) comprising eight shields (PLS. XXII, XXIII) are straightforward, being Arms of Dominion mostly extracted from the Royal Achievements—namely, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales (out of compliment to the Tudors presumably), Cornwall (unusual this, but logical if the Princes are considered), Denmark and Norway, the latter two to represent the Queen.

The next two rows (Nos. 13 to 20) are Royal crests and badges, mostly of the House of Stuart, with some others, though the precise order is a little doubtful (PLS. XXIV, XXV and XXVI, not in strict sequence). We have Denmark (PL. XXIV A, part of panel missing, a crowned black demi-lion issuant from a crown): England (plain, PL. XXV B): Scotland (PL. XXV D; we retain this today in the 'Queen's shilling' reverse): the Scottish crowned Thistle badge (PL. XXVI A): Union of England and Scotland in 1603 represented by the Crowned Rose and Thistle conjoined (PL. XXVI B): England with a white label round the neck of the crowned lion standing, not on a crown, but a cap of estate, for the eldest son (PL. XXV C): Anne Boleyn (PL. XXIV C): (she married Henry VIII in 1532 and was therefore the current wife when the College was re-founded, and as the mother of Elizabeth I is important in the Royal genealogy, which explains this otherwise rather curious inclusion): and the three feathers badge of the Prince of Wales (PL. XXIV B). The emphasis on Scotland and the Union is of interest. The Fleur-de-lys, actually included in the next row, might well appear here, for it could be taken as the crest or badge of France: but it also appears, though uncrowned, as one of three crests in the achievement of James I reproduced in Willement (PL. XXIX).<sup>4</sup>

The last three rows (see nos. 21—31 on my plan FIG. 4) represent Royal Badges covering the Houses of Tudor, York, Lancaster and Plantagenet as

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. Hist. of the Kings of England, 1707*. It may be noted that actual representations do not always tie up with MS. sources. Thus the carved labels on the Royal tombs (of Edward and Richard, Dukes of York, actually of Elizabethan date) at Fotheringhay are plain, and of five points, quite unlike the labels for these two persons quoted by Sandford. The Falcon & Fetterlock badge is used extensively all over both monuments: see post pp. 224 and 225.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Willement, *Regal Heraldry*, 1821, PL. XXI.

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far back as Edward III. A number of these badges were used by several sovereigns, so that the selection is a somewhat arbitrary one.<sup>5</sup>

We come first to the Portcullis, a badge used by Henry VII and Henry VIII (PL. XXVI C). Next, the double rose, white superimposed upon red, and crowned. This was used by a number of sovereigns in various forms, including Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I (PL. XXVI D). The crowned Fleur-de-lys, no. 23, has been discussed above, and might also represent a number of items or individuals both as crest and badge (PL. XXV A). The next badge, the Falcon and Fetterlock, might also stand for a number of people including Edward IV and Henry VII (PL. XXVII B). The seventh row, No. 25, commences with a rather puzzling device—a rayed red rose, or red rose-en-soleil (PL. XXVIII A). The plain rose gules, found as a badge for Henry IV, V and VI, would represent the House of Lancaster. One wonders if this could possibly be an error for the white rose-en-soleil of Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III, representing the House of York, though Fox-Davies<sup>6</sup> does give a reference for it also used by Edward IV. No. 26 is the flaming beacon badge of Henry V (PL. XXVII D). Henry VI is probably represented by the two ostrich feathers in saltire (PL. XXVII C). No. 28 is white rose on red, but uncrowned (PL. XXVII A), and this again is somewhat difficult to account for. It, of course, represents the Union of the Houses of Lancaster and York, and is found in various forms associated with Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. The last row shows (No. 29, PL. XXVIII D) the sunburst, associated with Richard II, Edward III and Henry IV.<sup>7</sup> The tree stump eradicated (PL. XXVIII C) also represents the first two sovereigns above. Finally no. 31 is the sun in splendour, again a badge of Richard II and sometimes Edward IV (PL. XXVIII B). It will thus be seen that, however arranged, there is a series of badges covering all the Royal Houses from Plantagenet to Stuart, and representing every sovereign from Edward III to James I.

It may be asked what was the contemporary or near contemporary source for this collection or selection, and if there are any parallels. Prince Arthur's Book in the College of Arms shows a similar and extensive series of badges and devices, but is earlier, and the treatment is completely different.<sup>8</sup> The display of various Royal Devices as a group was a favourite form of architectural embellishment and perhaps originated with the various series of

<sup>5</sup> A. C. Fox-Davies in *Heraldic Badges*, 1907, for instance, lists no fewer than 14 different badges from various sources as having been used by Henry IV, and 10 by Henry VII, several of the devices also being used by other sovereigns: pp. 109 and 111-113.

<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that this curious device is represented in two ways, with the rays issuing both upwards (Fox-Davies, *op. cit.*, Figs. 34 and 37, both from 'Prince Arthur's Book'), and downwards from the cloud (G. G. Napier's Elizabethan Armorial MS. quoted post, p. 225), and elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> It is extensively quoted and illustrated in Fox-Davies, *op. cit.*

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BAY IV

BAY V

BAY VI

	97 Crowned thistle	98 Sun in splendour	99 Tree Stump	100 <i>Sunburst</i>	129 <i>Royal Arms James I</i>	130 <i>Anne of Denmark</i>	131 <i>Royal Arms with label</i>	132 <i>Royal Arms with label differenced</i>	161 <i>Crowned Thistle</i>	162 Sun in Splendour	163 Tree Stump	164 Sunburst	
	101 <i>Red Rose with rays</i>	102 Two feathers crossed	103 Beacon	104 <i>Double Rose (plain)</i>	133 <i>France</i>	134 <i>England</i>	135 Scotland	136 <i>Ireland</i>	165 Red rose with rays	166 Two feathers crossed	167 Beacon	168 <i>Double Rose (plain)</i>	
	105 <i>Portcullis</i>	106 <i>Double Rose (crowned)</i>	107 Fleur de lys	108 <i>Falcon &amp; Fetterlock</i>	137 <i>Wales</i>	138 <i>Cornwall</i>	139 <i>Denmark</i>	140 <i>Norway</i>	169 <i>Portcullis</i>	170 Double rose (crowned)	171 Fleur de lys	172 <i>Falcon &amp; Fetterlock</i>	
E	109 <i>Rose &amp; Thistle</i>	110 <i>Crest of England with label</i>	111 Crest of Anne Boleyn	112 <i>Prince of Wales feathers</i>	H.R. VIII	141	142 <i>Crest of England</i>	143 <i>Crest of Scotland</i>	144 Crest of Denmark	173 <i>Rose &amp; Thistle</i>	174 <i>Crest of England with label</i>	175 Crest of Anne Boleyn	176 (part only)
	113 <i>Crest of Denmark</i>	114 <i>Crest of Scotland</i>	115 <i>Crest of England</i>	116		H.R. VIII	145 <i>Prince of Wales feathers</i>	146 <i>Crest of Ann Boleyn</i>	147 <i>Crest of England with label</i>	148 <i>Rose &amp; Thistle</i>	177 <i>Crest of Denmark (half only)</i>	178 Crest of Scotland	179 Crest of England
	117 <i>Norway</i>	118 <i>Denmark</i>	119 <i>Cornwall</i>	120 <i>Wales</i>		149 <i>Falcon &amp; Fetterlock</i>	150 <i>Fleur de lys</i>	151 <i>Double rose (crowned)</i>	152 <i>Portcullis</i>	181 <i>Norway</i>	182 <i>Denmark</i>	183 <i>Cornwall</i>	184 <i>Wales</i>
	121 <i>Ireland</i>	122 <i>Scotland</i>	123 <i>England</i>	124 <i>France</i>		153 Double rose (plain)	154 Beacon	155 Two feathers crossed	156 <i>Red rose with rays</i>	185 <i>Ireland</i>	186 <i>Scotland</i>	187 <i>England</i>	188 <i>France</i>
	125 Royal Arms with label differenced	126 Royal Arms with label	127 Anne of Denmark	128 Royal Arms James I		157 Sunburst	158 Tree Stump	159 Sun in Splendour	160 Crowned thistle	189 <i>Royal Arms with label differenced</i>	190 Royal Arms with label	191 Anne of Denmark	192 <i>Royal Arms James I</i>

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FIG. 3

Diagram-plan of the Painted Roof of the Old Library, Christ Church.  
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Royal Beasts such as those on the Royal Pavilion on the Expedition of 1513, Rochester Bridge, Greenwich Palace, Windsor Castle and St. George's Chapel, Hampton Court Palace and King's College Chapel, Cambridge.<sup>9</sup>

A remarkable series of badges is reproduced from an Elizabethan armorial, showing a series of Royal Arms with supporters, and badges above, by G. G. Napier.<sup>10</sup> A series of six of these is given here; and they cannot be very far from the date of the Christ Church paintings (PL. xxx). But perhaps the most interesting series and closest in date to the Christ Church panels, showing precedent for an extensive set of badges going back many centuries, occurs on an illuminated parchment Patent for the creation of Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, by James I, and dated 13th March 1603/4. This most interesting document is exhibited in the Great Hall at Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent, and is here reproduced by the courtesy of Lord Sackville who most kindly allowed it to be photographed (PL. xxxi). Round the margin of the Patent, in addition to the Royal Arms at the top, occur 13 badges (four are shown twice), and all are also shown on the Christ Church roof, and in very similar form. These are: the falcon with sceptre on a tree stump: the fleur-de-lys (2), the portcullis, the two feathers (2), the sun in splendour (2), the tree stump, the flaming beacon, the sunburst (2), and the double rose. There may well be a significant connexion between Oxford and the Sackvilles, to which Mrs. Cole refers (below, p. 239, n. 20).

### THE SCHEME: B. THE STRAPWORK: THE SCHEME AS A WHOLE AND ITS PLACE IN OXFORD DECORATION

It remains to say something of the decorative and artistic aspect of the work and its parallels in Oxford, though Mrs. Cole in her section on the documentary evidence and the inspirers of the scheme and the craftsmen responsible will have much more to say.

The work at Christ Church is executed on panels of three tongued and grooved oak boards, many of which have split or warped, being very thin, and biscuit-brittle with worm or other infestation. In size they average some 2 ft. 9 in. square. The arms or devices described above are set in a great variety of strapwork. Analysis of all the surviving panels or parts of them has shown that there are actually only 32 basic designs of strapwork, a different one for each panel of a single bay, though in fact no two are identical, the colouring and some smaller details being varied in every case. All are on a rich, plum-coloured background. The painting is bold, almost coarse in

<sup>9</sup> See H. Stanford London, *Royal Beasts*, 1956.

<sup>10</sup> George G. Napier, *English Heraldry, 1215-1930, grouped and arranged*. Privately printed 1935.

some instances, an exaggerated scheme of arbitrary lighting being adopted to obtain contrast and effect almost like a scene-painting technique. This can hardly be appreciated in the restored section, for it is seen at much too close quarters, and one must remember that it was originally viewed from some 30 feet away, when the effect must have been admirable. In the details of the painting, especially in some of the faces, masks, baskets of fruit, etc., there are considerable differences, some being of great delicacy, and others crude. One can therefore postulate at least three hands at work—a point which Mrs. Cole will elaborate. The painting of the timbers with scrollwork, grotesques and other devices and heraldry, and the use of small, flat painted 'bosses' at the intersections, has already been mentioned. The whole was painted *in situ*, as ridges of paint at the edges of the panels, and traces of the brown and yellow from the beams on the panels themselves prove. There was some suggestion of a re-painting at some time, or of alterations to a roughed-out design on some of the panels. For instance the fifteen bezants of the Arms of Cornwall had been re-spaced, and some of the originals painted out.

The sources for the strapwork motifs and similar late Elizabethan and Jacobean painting in the 'grotesque' or 'antique' manner have not yet been positively established: but as I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>11</sup> apart from some obvious inspiration from Italian and Low Countries book title-pages, cartouches on maps, etc., a great deal of it is meaningless, purely decorative, and deliberately fantastic.

The Christ Church ceiling forms part of a remarkable group of work in Oxford, closely dated and to some extent documented, and covering only a period of some 20 years, its like not being found elsewhere in the City, though a great deal of work was going on at this time. The full implications of this Mrs. Cole discusses; and the close connexion of Christ Church with the Bodleian was first noticed in Mr. Bill's paper in *B.L.R.* already referred to.<sup>12</sup> The first roof of this type is that of Duke Humfrey's Library, re-fitting by Bodley in 1598-1600, and opened to readers on 8th November 1602. Here the panels and strapwork cartouches holding the University Arms are all the same, but the scrollwork on the beams and the use of small, flat bosses is present (PLS. XXVIII and XXXII B). Recent work (1961/2) has shown that structurally this roof was modified from an older one in the same way as the Christ Church Old Library roof. Many mortice holes for the ends of the medieval rafters were noted in several places; and behind several roof panels the actual close-set rafters survived, being hollow-moulded.

<sup>11</sup> *Oxoniensia*, vol. xx, 1955, pp. 87, 88. *Bodl. Lib. Record*, vol. v, no. 6 (Oct. 1956), p. 305 and note.

<sup>12</sup> *B.L.R.*, vol. iv, no. 3, 1952, pp. 145-9.

SOUTH EAVES

1 Royal Arms James I & VI	2 Anne of Denmark	3 ?Prince Henry (Royal Arms with plain label)	4 ?Prince Charles (Royal Arms with differenced label)
5 France	6 England	7 Scotland	8 Ireland
9 Wales	10 Cornwall	11 Denmark	12 Norway
13 Crest of Denmark	14 Crest of England (plain )	15 Crest of Scotland	16 Badge of Scotland
17 Badge of Union of England & Scotland	18 Crest of England (differenced)	19 Crest of Anne Boleyn	20 Prince of Wales
21 Badge of Henry VII (Portcullis)	22 Badge of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth) (Double rose)	23 Crest of France or Badge of Henry VII (Fleur de lys)	24 Badge of Edward IV and others (Falcon & Fetterlock)
25 Badge of Edward IV and others (red rose en soleil)	26 Badge of Henry V (Beacon)	27 Badge of Henry VI (Two feathers crossed)	28 Badge of Henry VII (double rose plain)
29 Badge of Edward III (Sunburst)	30 Badge of Edward III Richard II (Tree stump)	31 Badge of Richard II Edward IV &c (Sun in splendour)	32 Absent. (Stuart Royal Arms substitute)

NORTH EAVES

FIG. 4

Diagram-plan of one bay of Painted Roof of Old Library, Christ Church.

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By 1610 an extension was needed at the Bodleian; and Arts End was building 1610-12; though it is not certain that it was completely furnished by Bodley's death in 1613. This is almost exactly contemporary with the work at Christ Church. The strapwork and its variety and elaboration has advanced, and the two series are almost precisely the same (PL. XXXII A). Following Bodley's death, and from then until almost 1620, the Schools' Quadrangle was under construction. The top storey, known as the Picture Gallery, had as part of its decorative scheme the famous painted frieze of 202 portrait medallions, each medallion on the wall being placed below the end of a beam of the great timber ceilings, which were also completely painted. All but 36 panels, which survived above an 18th century plaster ceiling in the Tower Room, and 14 panels spelling out the name THOMAS BODLEY, plus two more, were entirely destroyed by Smirke in 1830.<sup>13</sup> These panels, again, exhibit nothing but the University Arms in the centre; but the strapwork setting is even more elaborate, and developed to the degree of fantasy. But there is much of the feeling of the previous artists, and it is a logical development in the same series. This is sufficient to summarize the stylistic evidence for a common origin or inspiration for the whole group, the implications of which Mrs. Cole carries further (p. 236).

### TREATMENT : CONCLUSION : ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A very brief word should perhaps be said about the methods of treatment employed and the general policy of restoration.

As I have said, the Christ Church panels are of oak and very thin, and often biscuit-brittle. The problem at the Bodleian for the Tower Room panels was very different and in some ways much simpler, since the panels there are of deal, much thicker, and hardly warped at all.<sup>14</sup>

At Christ Church, the wood had first to be cleaned of about half an inch of accumulated soot and dirt on the backs. Then, badly decayed parts had to be scraped and the whole treated with insecticide (Wykhamol) and fungicide (formalin). After the painted surfaces had been cleaned, some kind of preservative treatment had to be devised which would fulfil the treble function of bringing up the colours, fixing any unstable areas, and feeding the timber. In the Tower Room panels all that was needed was a thinly sprayed double application of a special grade of Presafix. This would obviously not do at

<sup>13</sup> J. N. L. Myres and E. Clive Rouse in *Bodl. Lib. Record*, vol. v, no. 6 (Oct. 1956), pp. 303-306, and PL. XXI.

<sup>14</sup> It may be noted that at the Bodleian also paper was used on the panels to conceal knots and other blemishes.

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Christ Church, being too volatile; nor would size give the needed nourishment to the timber. After several materials had been tried I decided on two applications of fine white beeswax dissolved in pure turpentine, which seemed to fulfil all the requirements.

The 32 panels which were to go back into the roof (the least warped specimens having been selected) Mr. Clarke fixed to a backing board, and secured from below with half-round bead mouldings. Missing parts were made up in oak, and, beyond being toned down, have been left untouched. No kind of re-painting or even re-touching to the original pigment was done.

The structural timbers, after being cleaned down, presented such a patchy appearance that I felt justified in applying a light coat of water-paint in the original colours, and this seems to have brought the whole composition together (PL. XIX; frontispiece). A series of the little red and white rose bosses has been made and fixed on the evidence of the three half-roses surviving.

The balance of the panels, some sixty or more, plus fragments, have all been cleaned and treated: and the College has agreed to the securing of the boards of each panel so that they will not again be dismembered, once they have been re-assembled. As has been stated above (p. 221) 52 of the best-preserved remaining panels have been assembled for placing in groups of 16, 20, and 16, below some of the plain oak panels in the Selden End roof. There remain a number of badly damaged or incomplete panels and many fragments still at present in the keeping of Christ Church. It is a matter for satisfaction that all the surviving panels of this great and almost unique heraldic decorative scheme are preserved, and one bay restored to its original setting.

In conclusion, I must make formal acknowledgment of my indebtedness to many in the course of the work of dealing with the Christ Church panels, elucidating their story and preparing this paper. First to the authorities of the House, and in particular to the Treasurer for constant help and interest and no little hospitality. Then to Bodley's Librarian for allowing me facilities in the basement of the New Bodleian to set up a studio and workshop to cope with the panels and store them, and to several of my friends in helping to re-assemble the dismembered fragments. To Mr. Spokes for much help and encouragement on the heraldic aspect and for taking a number of photographs specially for me (acknowledged to him where they are used): and to Mr. Sturdy and Mrs. Cole for generous co-operation in the preparation of this paper. The Clerk of Works of Christ Church and Mr. Clarke, the joiner, showed much skill and ingenuity in the re-fixing and replacing of the roof and its panels. Mr. Thomas's superb photographs make by far the largest contribution to the pictorial record of the roof as a whole.

## The Painted Roof of the Old Library, Christ Church

### PART III: THE EXECUTION OF THE WORK

By J. C. COLE

THE story of Otho Nicholson's restoration of the Old Library at Christ Church has always been somewhat obscure. Of Nicholson himself little was known to later writers on Oxford, and even the date at which the work was carried out has been in some doubt owing to an unfortunate mis-statement. A stone tablet still standing in the north wall of the Cloisters at Christ Church records that Otho Nicholson, the donor of the Oxford Conduit, repaired the library, then falling into ruins, in 1613.<sup>1</sup> The stone on which this inscription is cut is not so old as that date; it was probably put up when the Old Library was converted into undergraduate lodgings in 1775 to replace the original, carved on a black marble tablet, which existed as late as 1706 at the east end of the south wall of the Library. This gives the year 1612, not 1613, as the date of the restoration, and records that the library was then restored 'foris' and 'intus'.<sup>2</sup>

From the Disbursement books in the Treasury at Christ Church we learn that in 1610-11 the College, hard pressed for accommodation, began to 'make up' the Chambers under the library. The regular College masons and carpenters were employed upon this work<sup>3</sup>—Wetherall,<sup>4</sup> Styles,<sup>5</sup> Edwards<sup>6</sup> and Austin.<sup>7</sup> At the same time the College drew up a contract<sup>8</sup> with William Bennet<sup>9</sup> and Thomas Key,<sup>10</sup> two well-known Oxford joiners, to make 14 double desks, or half desks, of oak equal in form, etc., to 'the desks in the Public Library, saving that there shall not be any manner of Flanders wainscotte either for crests, freize, architrave or outward head'<sup>11</sup>—the work to be finished by Michaelmas 1611. These men had worked for Christ Church before, but were probably chosen because they had made the Bodleian Presses. It seems probable that this contract was made before Nicholson's generous offer of help had been received, but there is no reason to suppose that the same craftsmen were not employed.

While the workmen were busy on the structure, Samuel Fell,<sup>12</sup> who had recently taken his M.A., seems to have been occupied in 'new binding and mending' the library books, and it was he who handed on to the auditor the account charged by the marbler for putting up the tablet to commemorate

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Nicholson's benefaction. A librarian, John Smith, was paid for keeping the library from April 1612, and Nicholson's monument was erected about July in that year, so that we may conclude that the work was by then virtually finished, and that the date 1613 on the later commemorative tablet is erroneous.<sup>13</sup>

About Otho Nicholson himself it has been possible to gather a little additional information. He sprang from a family of well-to-do tenant-farmers, some probably engaged in trade, who came originally from Cumberland, but were then living in and around Stockport. We know nothing of his early life, but we are told that he was much skilled in the oriental tongues and had travelled abroad into several countries.<sup>14</sup>

In 1594 he was appointed an Examiner in Chancery, an important and lucrative post,<sup>15</sup> and in 1600 he became a member of Gray's Inn.<sup>16</sup> During the early years of the 17th century he was the first to point out to King James and his ministers, always hard pressed for money, the financial possibilities of assart land,<sup>17</sup> and from 1605-16 he served both as informer and receiver to the Commission set up to exploit this project. He raised in all about £37,000 of which about £25,000 was paid into the Exchequer. He seems to have performed his task reasonably well, but to have incurred some inevitable odium and hostility. One of his enemies complained that Nicholson knew little of the work and was 'an estranger except to measure silks and fustians'.<sup>18</sup> In this rather delicate position it was important for him to stand well with the learned circles in which he was moving, and to continue to attract the King's favour. He may, therefore, have deemed it prudent to bestow some of his wealth in a way which would further these two objectives.

It does not seem that he had any direct connection with Christ Church,<sup>19</sup> but he must have been well acquainted with Bodley's generous plans, and the opportunity of benefiting in like manner a College library would obviously attract him. It is possible that the idea was suggested to him by Dr. John King;<sup>20</sup> it might however have been proposed by any of a large circle of interested friends, and it seems clear that Sir Henry Savile<sup>21</sup> had some hand in the affair. It was commonly said that Nicholson bestowed £800 in restoring and refurnishing the library both within and without. He seems to have given a further £100 for the purchase of books. He also left £50 in his will for the releading of the library roof.<sup>22</sup>

In 1614 Nicholson married for the second time the elderly but wealthy widow of a prominent City merchant. It was perhaps owing to this addition to his wealth and also his desire to extend his popularity amongst the merchants and citizens of Oxford, since he now moved in these circles also, that Nicholson built the Oxford Conduit. We have it on the authority of a poem by Dr.

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John Wall<sup>23</sup> that the conduit was built to coincide with James' ceremonial visit to Oxford in 1617 'in adventum regis extractum'. We also know that the House of Stuart received the lion's share of honour on the library ceiling; thus Nicholson contrived to flatter the King. Since Wood described him as 'a gent well beloved whose death was very much lamented' we may conclude that he also attained the popularity he desired in other circles.<sup>24</sup>

Before his death in 1622, Nicholson was associated with one more building, this time in London, and the details of this episode are interesting. In 1617 the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn finally decided to build a new chapel to replace the old one which was ruinous, with William Hackwell,<sup>25</sup> Bodley's cousin and executor, acting as Treasurer for the building fund. During the next year while the matter was still under consideration, a Commission was appointed to lay out Lincoln's Inn fields under the guidance of Inigo Jones.<sup>26</sup> It may have been for this reason that the Benchers commended 'the consideration of a model to Mr. Inigo Jones'. From the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn we learn that 'Mr. Otho Nicholson was called in to a consultation on 'what manner of windows are most fit for the chappel' and also 'on the merits of Oxford freestone'. In return for his advice and help, which must surely have been considerable, Nicholson was allotted a pew and the freedom of the chapel. This however was not consecrated until 1624, too late for him to enjoy his privilege.<sup>27</sup>

### THE CRAFTSMEN EMPLOYED BY NICHOLSON

There is little documentary evidence for either of the architectural enterprises with which Nicholson was associated in Oxford. Presumably he received and paid all bills himself and these have therefore not survived. There is, however, some circumstantial evidence to help us in determining what master-craftsmen he employed on the restoration of the Old Library, but, before we discuss this, we must consider briefly the conditions which prevailed in the building trade in Oxford during the early years of the 17th century.

When in 1598 Sir Thomas Bodley 'set up his staff' at the door of the Public Library, two colleges, St. John's<sup>28</sup> and All Souls'<sup>29</sup> were also pre-occupied, the one with the building, the other with the restoration of their libraries. Whether either had called in outside help and so temporarily reinforced the labour market we do not know, but Bodley's moderate demand for craftsmen seems to have been met largely from local sources—'the idle rabble of carpenters, joiners, carvers and glaziers' that he was so glad to be rid of in the winter of 1599.<sup>30</sup> It was therefore not until 1608 when Sir Henry Savile, the Warden of Merton, persuaded his Fellows to build a large new quadrangle, that the real scarcity of work-people became apparent. This was the first

major building operation in Oxford for many years and work upon it ceased for almost 18 months until Savile's master-mason could muster enough skilled man-power—mostly from outside the city—to finish his interrupted contract.<sup>31</sup> The completion of Merton quadrangle was the prelude to a burst of building activity which lasted unabated for the next twenty years and beyond. Not only did Bodley and his executors carry out lavish extensions to the original plans for the University library, not only did Dorothy Wadham build a wholly new college between the years 1610-13, Lincoln, Jesus, Exeter, St. John's, Hart Hall, Oriel and Pembroke, among other colleges, produced more or less important building programmes during this period. Rivalry over craftsmen ran high between employers, and many skilled workmen, once attracted to Oxford, lingered on, sure of more work than they could reasonably undertake.

It was under these circumstances that the repairs to the Old Library at Christ Church were undertaken and so lavishly carried out.

Let us now consider in more detail some of the craftsmen thus attracted to Oxford during the early 17th century, especially those who worked at Merton, at Wadham, at St. John's, at Christ Church and on the construction of Arts End and the Schools' quadrangle, since it is with these that we shall chiefly be concerned in this paper.

Sir Henry Savile was a Yorkshireman, staunchly devoted to his county and disposed to favour anyone who came from his own neighbourhood.<sup>32</sup> At his home near Halifax he had employed two masons, John Acroyd and John Bentley, and found them to be most satisfactory workmen.<sup>33</sup> Ignoring the fact that they were trained in very different conditions and accustomed to work on totally different building stone, he invited them to take charge of his new building at Merton. How much local labour Acroyd had counted on employing we do not know; in the event he imported into Oxford a large company of Yorkshire craftsmen who were destined to influence its architecture for many years.<sup>34</sup>

Dorothy Wadham, alarmed by Savile's reverses, largely supplied her own labourers, at least in the initial stages of the building of Wadham College, but her master-mason, William Arnold, soon found that the dearth of workmen had been somewhat exaggerated and called in several skilled local craftsmen.<sup>35</sup> Arnold's chief carvers, however, John Spicer and John Blackshaw, were both West Countrymen with London connections. John Spicer<sup>36</sup> seems to have come straight to Wadham from his task work at Whitehall, and Blackshaw<sup>37</sup> went on from there to work at the Charterhouse in 1613. With the exception of John Bolton,<sup>38</sup> who probably had Banbury connections, the Wadham work people had no great influence in Oxford and few stayed on to work there.

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St. John's employed some men of good London status in the early part of the century, notably Soulsbury,<sup>39</sup> John Benson,<sup>40</sup> John Parsons<sup>41</sup> and John Clark.<sup>42</sup> The chief Christ Church masons were also men of some standing outside Oxford. As we have seen, Thomas Wetherall's name appears several times in the Declared accounts, and John Style had come to Christ Church from Windsor upon a special commission. He was probably a kinsman of Thomas Styles of Westminster, a distinguished London carver.<sup>43</sup>

I have said that the labour employed by Sir Thomas Bodley in the restoration of Duke Humfrey's library was largely local, but I think it is highly probable that here, as later, Sir Henry Savile had found employment for two imported craftsmen, the painter Henry Diamond<sup>44</sup> and the plasterer Thomas Medcalf,<sup>45</sup> since both are described as Yorkshiremen in the lists of Privileged Persons. Under Bodley's fostering care the University library grew so fast that it was soon apparent that further expansion would be necessary, and by 1610 his plans for an extension of the building were mature. John Acroyd had barely finished his work at Merton when he was summoned by Bodley (or more probably in reality by Savile) to begin work on 'Arts End', which was built between September 1610 and the Spring of 1612-13. The progress of this work can be traced in some detail through Bodley's letters to his librarian Thomas James.<sup>46</sup>

During the building of Arts End a new name appears among the craftsmen mentioned in the letters. This was the painter employed by Bodley; his name was William Davis.<sup>47</sup> His background is very obscure and it does not seem that he had roots in Oxford.

In all that we know of his work he is closely linked with the Yorkshire circle and may well have been imported with them. Bodley's letters are not easy to interpret in this matter. He complains, in January 1612, that if his painter were there he might begin to paint in Arts End. 'How be it', he writes, 'you shall do well to procure his return wheresoever he work' (Letter 221). In May (Letter 224) he writes again, 'I utterly dislike my painter's long absence, besides that I am informed his colours are nothing so lively and good as those in the other library . . .' By September Davis is obviously free again and Bodley wants to know when he can begin painting, because of the dust raised by the carpenters. In October, Davis had promised to begin his work out of hand, to be a continual workman himself and to finish the whole before Christmas Day, and patterns of his panels and battons were to hand. He had thus clearly finished his former task in the summer.

Bodley's words 'wheresoever he work' seem to indicate that Davis was employed upon some contract of which James believed he must approve, and this would aptly apply to the Christ Church ceiling. It is tempting to guess

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that 'the other library' also refers to Christ Church, but I do not think that the facts will bear this interpretation. In Letter 216 Bodley speaks of Arts End as 'the new library' making it clear that he regards the two parts of his building as separate entities. He is probably, therefore, referring to Duke Humfrey's in this passage. It seems that critics in Oxford may have compared Davis' colouring unfavourably with Diamond's earlier work. This view is strengthened by the fact that Bodley goes on to ask James to remind both Mr. Principal Hawley and the painter of their bargain—or contract—which probably bound Davis, after the fashion of the times, to make his work 'fair and conformable to the ceiling in the Public Library at Oxford'. That James was obviously in close contact with both parties is another point in favour of Davis being at work in the vicinity and, therefore, most probably at Christ Church.

We do not know whether Arts End was indeed finished before Christmas Day as promised, but it was probably because he was being hardpressed by Bodley that Davis took a partner in the work. Mr. Rouse has pointed out to me the close similarity of the painting in Arts End and in Christ Church Old Library, and the presence of this partner, in addition to Davis, may help to explain this likeness, since we must suppose that he would naturally have been selected from among the workmen so lately employed at Christ Church. I believe that we know his name—he was a well known London painter-stainer, John Knight.<sup>48</sup>

Even before Arts End was finished Bodley had conceived a plan for a still further extension of his library, but the foundation stone of this last great undertaking was not laid until the day after his funeral.<sup>49</sup> Again John Acroyd was the mason in charge and he doubtless continued to employ the men whom he had brought to work upon the Merton quadrangle.

The Merton building accounts record the names of many craftsmen. A few can be identified as local, many more belong to families living in the neighbourhood of Halifax at this time,<sup>50</sup> and their owners are therefore probably fellow Yorkshiremen who had been summoned to Oxford by Acroyd. It must be remembered, however, that the Merton accounts refer to only a fraction of the men actually working upon the site, since each craftsmen had with him his 'company' often composed of kinsmen and of his apprentices or journeymen, described as 'servi' in the accounts. All these men are in general unnamed and it is only by a fortunate chance that we learn any more about them.

Such a chance did occur during the building of the Schools' Quadrangle. John Acroyd died in September 1613 and John Bentley, his partner, in December 1615. Both left wills which are unusually informative.<sup>51</sup> Acroyd's will was drawn up in Oxford shortly before his death and witnessed there by a

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group of his relatives and close associates, all, doubtless, fellow workmen on the Bodleian contract. Their names in order were: Martin Acroyd, John Bentley, Michael Acroyd, Arthur Bentley, John Royley, John Clark and Richard Deyce.<sup>52</sup>

We know a good deal more about the John Clark whose name occurs in this list. He was a Yorkshireman<sup>53</sup> and was one of the important craftsmen working on the Schools' Quadrangle;<sup>54</sup> Acroyd had a daughter Prudence, born at Methley in 1594, and John Clark, as we shall learn later, had a wife of the same name, so he was probably Acroyd's son-in-law. We know something of Clark's work both in Oxford and in London. From the Oxford Council Acts we learn that John Clark, 'he who now builds the Conduit', was admitted on April 4th, 1617, to the freedom of the Oxford Guild. About 1617 he was also working with Richard Edwards on the extension of the dining hall at St. John's.<sup>55</sup> In the same year he was privileged to Christ Church. His age was then given as 32.

Between June 1618—February 1619 the large sum of £155 was paid to John Clark and Thomas Knight towards the painting of the third storey over the new Schools.<sup>56</sup> In 1621 Clark signed an agreement with Lord Danvers to build half the wall round the new Physic Garden,<sup>57</sup> the other half being divided between two Oxford masons and Thomas Thorn, Senior and Junior, John Usher, Thorn's son-in-law and William Church.<sup>58</sup> In 1623 the University Delegates contracted with John Clark and James Partridge to make a gate in the new Schools quadrangle 'towards Brasenose'.<sup>59</sup> Clark died in 1624 before this gate was finished. While under contract for his work in Oxford, he was also engaged on the building of Lincoln's Inn chapel where he was a mason in charge from 1618-24. After his death a payment was made to his widow Prudence by the Benchers.<sup>60</sup>

There are two documents in the Bodleian library which tell us a little more of Clark's connections. The first is one of the usual bonds exacted from privileged persons.<sup>61</sup> In it he undertakes to make a personal appearance in the Vice Chancellor's Court and not to bring a case in which he was involved before the mayor and bailiffs. His sureties on this occasion were Thomas Holt,<sup>62</sup> the master-carpenter at the Schools, and George Barton,<sup>63</sup> a well established mason and stone merchant in Oxford. The second is his contract with Lord Danvers. In this he calls himself 'freemason of London' and produces as sureties Thomas Metcalf,<sup>64</sup> the University plasterer, a fellow Yorkshireman, and Thomas Styles of Westminster in Co. Middlesex, freemason.<sup>65</sup>

Of Clark's apprenticeship and early work we know nothing. The records of the Painter-Stainers' Guild only survive from 1623 so we cannot tell if he was ever mentioned in Guild records, but he was on the livery of the London

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Masons' Guild from 1620 when these records began.<sup>66</sup> From the fact that he produced as a surety Thomas Styles, a well known and distinguished carver who did the carving for the great gate at Oatlands and worked closely under Kerwen and Stone, we may well guess that Styles had been his master. We also know that Edward Marshall<sup>67</sup> served part of his apprenticeship under Clark. Since Edward Marshall designed and built houses as well as carved effigies and was of course in the forefront of his profession we may, I think, rank Clark in a line of distinguished and versatile craftsmen; and we can perhaps begin to understand Wood's description of the Conduit: 'Such for its images of ancient kings about it, gilding and exquisite carving the like except in London not to be found in England'.<sup>68</sup>

As we consider the foregoing paragraphs, we must realize that the question we have asked ourselves seems to be answered; for Clark has in a striking degree the qualifications necessary in the man whom Nicholson would have chosen to be in charge of the restoration of the Old Library. As a mason and carver he could undertake the repair of the structure; as a painter able to select his partners among members of the London Guild, he could devise and carry out an elaborate scheme of painting with confidence; as a northerner he would be acceptable to Nicholson, and as a Yorkshireman to the all-powerful Savile. Unlike Acroyd, he could work harmoniously with leading Oxford craftsmen, because his training and connections were approved by them and because he was willing to become a member of their Guild. Finally, he was the mason chosen for both the other buildings with which we know that Nicholson was associated. We may, therefore, I think, conclude with the probability that Clark played a leading part in the restoration of the Old Library, assisted by the regular Christ Church workmen and by two well known members of the London Painter-Stainers' Guild, and with a band of lesser painters.

We have become aware in recent years that four separate painted ceilings as well as a magnificent painted frieze existed in Oxford in the early 17th century, all more or less contemporary, since all were produced between 1600 and 1620.<sup>69</sup> If we are justified in attributing the ceiling in the Old Library to John Clark, we must also realize that in all these ceilings the two north country patrons<sup>70</sup> and a band of Yorkshire craftsmen were involved. It is therefore to the north that we should possibly look for parallel examples remembering that such decoration of ceilings had become the rage in Scotland by the time of James' succession, and that this fashion persisted there until superseded by the 'English type of plaster ceiling', about the middle of the 17th century.<sup>71</sup>

It should also be remembered that Sir Thomas Bodley, Savile and,

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presumably, Nicholson had spent some time on the continent where they would have become as intimately acquainted with the painted rooms of the Italian renaissance as with the gay gilded woodwork of the more northern countries. This would, no doubt, incline them the more easily to a fashion which was already growing a little old fashioned in cultured English circles. That it was alien to the general taste of Oxford is abundantly apparent, since in spite of its loudly acclaimed magnificence it was never, as far as we know, copied by other colleges or by succeeding patrons.

### APPENDIX TO PART II NUMBERS OF PANELS SURVIVING

Royal Arms .. .. .	4
Anne of Denmark .. .. .	4
Royal Arms with white label .. .. .	5
Royal Arms with charged label .. .. .	2
France .. .. .	5
England .. .. .	5
Scotland .. .. .	6
Ireland .. .. .	4
Wales .. .. .	2
Denmark .. .. .	2½
Norway .. .. .	1
Cornwall .. .. .	3
Crest of England .. .. .	2
Crest of England with label .. .. .	2
Crest of Scotland .. .. .	2
Crest of Denmark .. .. .	1½
Crest of Anne Boleyn .. .. .	4
Portcullis .. .. .	2
Fleur-de-Lys .. .. .	4
Thistle .. .. .	5
Rose and Thistle .. .. .	2 (1½)
Prince of Wales Feathers .. .. .	1
Falcon and Fetterlock .. .. .	1
Double Rose (plain) .. .. .	3
Double Rose (crowned) .. .. .	3
Red rose-en-soleil .. .. .	4
Tree Stump .. .. .	4
Beacon .. .. .	5
Two feathers in saltire .. .. .	4
Sun in splendour .. .. .	6
Sunburst .. .. .	2

In addition there are 16 tops or bottoms of panels, some with parts of the devices. Two half red roses and one half white rose bosses remained. There are numerous fragments and splinters with pigment on them.

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### NOTES TO PART III

<sup>1</sup> A. Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*, vol. 1, ed. Clark (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xv, 1889), 62. Note the inscription reads: Perpetuo esto intra hos parietes memoria Othonis Nicholson, Arm. qui urbem hanc Hinxianis aquis irrigavit et pristinam hujus aedis bibliothecam vetustate collapsam instauravit instruxit benefactor A.D. M.D.C.XIII. For a drawing of this monument see Bod. Lib. MS. Top. Oxon. c.299, PL. XVII B.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the tablet, Wood, *op. cit.* 1, 442. The inscription reads: Hospes quisquis es, circumfer oculos: Perantiqui & praenobilis hujus Domicilij Corpus intermortuum, foris intus refinxit, Unis impensis suis, & nova donavit anima Totius, quam vides, exquisitae pulchritudinis, Otho Nicholsonus, Armiger, armarijque istius Literarij Memorabilis Instaurator. A/Deo LlibrorVM opVtentIa. MDLLVVII=1612. The capital letters in gilt in the last line record the date. Wood, *Hist. of Ant. Colls. & Halls*, ed. Gutch, III, 458.

<sup>3</sup> In compiling these and subsequent notes on individual craftsmen I have used H. E. Salter, *Oxf. Council Acts 1583-1626* (1928); A. Clark, *Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc., x, 1887), vol. II, pt. 1; the tax assessments for privileged persons in the University archives (W.P.Y. 28, 5); W. G. Hiscock, *Christ Church Miscellany* (1946); P.R.O. Declared Accounts of the Office of Works. It should be remembered that in general only the names of the leading craftsmen appear in these accounts.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Wetherall. See *Berks. Arch. Journal*, 57, 94. Probably a son of Thomas Wetherall, mason, whose will was proved in 1581. The younger Wetherall was privileged to Christ Church in 1601 and worked there between 1599 and 1616. He was a member of the Oxford Masons' Guild. He lived on college property in Binsey. In 1624 he paid his privilege tax from St. Ebbe's parish. His will was proved in the Vice Chancellor's Court in 1628. He worked upon the Schools' quadrangle and many other Oxford buildings. His name occurs in the Declared Accounts. He was working at Somerset House with John Benson and John Record 1612-13, and he also worked at Woodstock in 1623.

<sup>5</sup> John Style, Stile or Styles, a mason, seems to have come to Christ Church from Windsor in 1582, *Oxonienia*, xxv (1960), 70. He may, however, have worked at Jesus in 1581, as a man of that name was privileged to the College in that year. He was probably a kinsman of John Styles who was a member of the London Guild in 1536. See below.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Edwards, a mason, obtained his freedom in the Oxford Guild in 1601. From a suit in the Vice Chancellor's Court in 1615 in the University archives, we learn that he was born c. 1575. He lived in St. Aldate's and worked at Christ Church, St. John's, on the Schools, etc. Both he and Thomas Edwards, probably his kinsman, were founder members of the Oxford Guild Council. Thomas was discommoded during the dispute between the University and the Town in 1609. He worked at Woodstock under William Cure in 1623-24. A John Edwards worked on the Schools' quadrangle and other buildings; he was probably a son.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Austin, a carpenter, was privileged to Magdalen in 1594 at the age of 32. In 1598 Thomas 'Augustin' and Edward Thornton were appointed *fabri lignarii universitatis* on the usual condition that they cared for the wooden stage set up in St. Mary's for University ceremonies. It seems extremely likely that Bodley used them for the ceiling of Duke Humfrey's Library. Since this ceiling corresponds in workmanship with those in Christ Church Library and Arts End, they probably worked on these ceilings also. They were paid for carpenters' work at the Schools. Austin worked at Christ Church between 1600-19, at St. John's, and with Thornton at Wadham where they received payment for battening the chapel roof in 1612-13: T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College* (1893), 51, 48 and 157. Austin's will was proved in the Vice Chancellor's Court in 1620, Thornton's in 1626. George Thornton and Francis Thornton were timber merchants used in the building of Sutton's Hospital at the Charterhouse c. 1613, and a Peter Thornton was a member of the London Guild c. 1604. A Henry and Thomas Thornton worked in Oxford in the early 17th century. Thomas also worked at Theobalds.

<sup>8</sup> The contract was signed on January 3rd 1610-11. *Bodleian Library Record*, IV, no. 3, 147-9.

<sup>9</sup> William Bennet was one of the most popular joiners in Oxford. He and Key both worked at Christ Church and St. John's. He was one of the joiners employed on the Schools. He left Bodley in the summer of 1612 either for another contract or because of some disagreement. G. W. Wheeler, *Sir Thomas Bodley's letters to Thomas James* (Clarendon Press 1924), letter 227. William Bennet was probably related to John Bennet, a carpenter working at York House in the reign of Henry VIII, and to Henry Bennet who was on the livery of the Carpenters' Company in 1604.

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<sup>10</sup> Thomas Key was master of the Guild Council at its foundation.

<sup>11</sup> Probably this was merely a prudent economy.

<sup>12</sup> Later Dean of Christ Church, Vice Chancellor and Bishop of Oxford.

<sup>13</sup> It is to be noticed that the date of the Conduit was also confused when the structure was repaired in the late 17th century.

<sup>14</sup> Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. e.6 quoted. A. Wood, *op cit.*, 441.

<sup>15</sup> The Court of Chancery (till quite lately) never heard oral evidence, but accepted only documents—wills, etc., and the sworn statements of witnesses put into writing. An examiner in Chancery was an officer of the court, probably a barrister of some standing, who heard a witness examined and had his evidence reduced to writing for the use of the court. This work would be done in London and would not require the examiner to go into the country (e.g. to Oxford) to hear the examination of a witness.

<sup>16</sup> *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, 3rd August 1600.

<sup>17</sup> Assart lands were really medieval encroachments on the Forest. They gradually became small separate closes; their owners paid a fine to the Crown. Such 'fines' or rents had become unreal by the time of James I or often were not paid at all. Nicholson was granted 1/5th of the money raised.

<sup>18</sup> Information from Mr. Pettit's thesis, see p. 243; 'Acknowledgements'. John Thorp acted as a surveyor to this commission.

<sup>19</sup> Miss Taylor discusses the evidence for this. See below, p. 243; 'Acknowledgements'.

<sup>20</sup> Dr. John King, Dean of Christ Church 1605-11 and later Bishop of London. He was also Rector of St. Andrews, Holborn, from 1592 and had a licence to preach in Gray's Inn of which society he was made a member in 1598. Anthony Wood (*History of Colleges and Halls*, III, 458-9) records that the Earl of Dorset was one of the first donors of books to Christ Church Library. This was Richard, the third Earl, who matriculated at Christ Church in 1605 and became a member of the Inner Temple in 1609. He was a friend of Henry King, the eldest son of John King, the Bishop, and thus may well have been involved with the Kings in the discussion of plans for Christ Church Library, and have offered his family's patent, shown in Mr. Rouse's illustration (PL. XXXI), as a model for the design for the painted ceiling.

Bodley's Librarian has further pointed out to me that Thomas Sackville, the first Earl, must have been closely connected with Otho Nicholson as one of the Commissioners for Assart Lands and Lord Treasurer (Pat. Rolls. 2 Jas. I, C66/1657), and that the Sackville family transferred their allegiance from Hart Hall to Christ Church in the early 17th century. He may therefore even have suggested the benefaction to Nicholson before his sudden death in 1608.

<sup>21</sup> See below, note 32. It should be remembered that two of Savile's brothers were members of the Inner Temple at this time.

<sup>22</sup> Among Nicholson's other bequests were: a gilt cup to Philip King of Christ Church, and £20 to Laud to extend fresh water to St. John's. Unfortunately his fortune was found to be inadequate to meet all his bequests. £800 is a large sum to have spent on the library unless it includes the purchase of books. The books which Nicholson gave to Christ Church were bound in calf and stamped with his arms in gilt. For details see Miss Taylor's MSS.

<sup>23</sup> 'Ara Jacobi' (1617).

Dr. John Wall, 1588-1666, of Christ Church, Rector of St. Aldate's and benefactor to the city.

<sup>24</sup> A. Wood, *City of Oxford*, I, 442.

<sup>25</sup> *Records of the Hon. Soc. of Lincoln's Inn, Black Books*, ed. J. D. Walker, 1898, II, 238. I am grateful to the authorities for allowing me to consult the originals. William Hackwell, 1574-1655, eldest son and heir of John Hackwell, merchant of Exeter, legal antiquarian. His brother George was tutor to Prince Charles, Fellow and later Rector of Exeter College, where he gave money to build the chapel in 1623.

<sup>26</sup> J. Lees Milne, *The age of Inigo Jones* (1953), 119-22 and J. A. Gotch, *Inigo Jones* (1928), 109-11.

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<sup>27</sup> *Black Books*, II, 196, 199, 205, 209, and preface vi-viii.

<sup>28</sup> *V.C.H. Oxon.*, III, 261.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186. It should be remembered that the late 16th and early 17th centuries were great periods for the building up of European libraries and that the Jesuits laid much stress on this. Bodley wished to build up a library for Protestant theologians. Nicholson's choice of books does not indicate that he had any such special motive.

<sup>30</sup> *Letters to James*, letter 1.

<sup>31</sup> *V.C.H. Oxon.*, III, 102.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Henry Savile of Methley near Halifax, 1549-1622, for a short time resident for Queen Elizabeth in the low countries. Tutor to the Queen in Greek; Warden of Merton 1585-1622; Provost of Eton 1596.

<sup>33</sup> John Acroyd of Halifax, 1556-1613.

John Bentley of Elland near Halifax, 1574-1615. Perhaps a kinsman of Robert Bentley, Warden of the London Carpenters' Company, 1604. Together these two masons built Heath Grammar School at Halifax and probably worked at Methley and Bradley Hall for the Savile family. They found Oxford stone hard to judge and to work; and in consequence exposed themselves to jeers from their enemies the townsmen. *Letters to James*, letter 207. For Thomas Holt, Acroyd's master carpenter, see below, note 62. 'Twyne records 'Merton College are now erecting a goodly quadrangle of building for which they have all their workmen out of the North Country'. This was, of course, not entirely true: H. E. Salter, *loc. cit.*, introduction, 11. For a detailed discussion of Savile and the Yorkshire masons see T. W. Hanson's article on Halifax Builders in Oxford, *Trans. Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1928).

<sup>34</sup> Richard Maud can doubtless be identified with the 'Maude' who was paid for measuring stones in the Merton Building Accounts. There was a well known family of that name living in the Halifax neighbourhood in the early 17th century, and Maud was the leading builder in Oxford during the 1620's-30's. He built at University College, Jesus, St. John's, the Convocation House and on other contracts. He was closely associated with the Booths, the family of Michael Bentley's illegitimate son and with young Holt and Hugh Davis—all probably legacies of the Yorkshire invasion.

<sup>35</sup> Notably Holt, Will Davis, Thornton and Austin, Metcalf and John Bolton. T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College* (1893), index.

<sup>36</sup> John Spicer was probably a kinsman of William Spicer who came from Nunney in Somerset, worked for Thynne at Longleat in 1559 and preceded Simon Basill as Master of The Royal Works. A John Spicer, perhaps the Wadham mason's son, was apprenticed to Nicholas Stone. James Lees Milne, *Tudor Renaissance* (1951), 103-4. The elder John is named frequently in the Declared Accounts.

<sup>37</sup> John Blackshaw signs the receipt book for work done at the Charterhouse with his mark. He worked on the Canterbury quadrangle at St. John's, 1633-34, and here he was paid for his 'changes backwards and forwards to Cirencester'. Blackshaw had a son, William, who also worked at Wadham.

<sup>38</sup> John Bolton, carver, was made free of the City Guild in 1604. He was privileged and seems to have lived in Holywell in 1624. He came of a family of craftsmen: *Berks. Archaeol. Journal*, 57 (1959), 95. He may have had a Banbury origin because Anthony, son of John Bolton of Banbury, carpenter, was apprenticed to Thomas Moor in 1629. Warden's Count Book, London Co., Guildhall library.

<sup>39</sup> William Soulsbury was paid for mason's work in the Declared Accounts in 1603. He worked with John Wetherall and was a carver.

<sup>40</sup> John Benson was privileged to St. John's in 1607. He lived in St. Giles. From the Declared Accounts of 1612 we learn that John Benson worked with John Record, Edward Austin and Thomas Wetherall at Somerset House and he worked there again with John Record in 1613. This is probably the John Record who was one of the Wardens of the Company of Marblers in 1585. He was admitted City Mason to James I in 1614. *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, XLVIII, 147 and 151. George Benson was working at the Charterhouse c. 1613, perhaps a kinsman.

<sup>41</sup> John Parsons came from Fyfield in Berkshire, but was buried in Elsfeld and probably lived there in later life. He died in 1617. He worked for Christ Church in 1612 and at Wadham and St. John's. He was also employed with Gilbert Arnold at Lincoln's Inn on the new Chambers for Sir Henry Hobart in 1613. *Black Books*, II, 153.

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<sup>42</sup> John Clark, see below.

<sup>43</sup> I have not discussed craftsmen working at Christ Church or the other colleges who do not directly concern us here.

<sup>44</sup> Henry Diamond is described in the Register of Privileged Persons in 1601 as 'Henry Diamond, Yorks, plebs, 45, servant to the University and painter', and in the tax lists of 1602 as 'Mr. Diamond, painter, of Holywell'. He worked intermittently at St. John's between 1602 and 1618, painting and gilding. In 1608 he was employed by the City to paint the King's Arms. Diamond is, however, a Devon name, and he may have had links with Bodley.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Metcalf, or Medcalf. In 1608 Thomas Metcalf, a Yorkshireman, aged 35, was privileged to Jesus and in the same year he was offered the freedom of the Oxford guild, but refused to join and only became a member in 1623. It looks as if Metcalf was already established by 1608 and may well have been attracted to Oxford by an invitation from Savile to work for Bodley.

<sup>46</sup> 'Arts End' was not the only contract which Acroyd and Bentley undertook in 1610-11. On the 12th November 1610 they entered into an agreement with University College to rebuild their street front 'fair and proportionable like Merton or All Souls'. Though this contract was never actually carried out it is clear from Bodley's letters that Acroyd had accepted yet another piece of work during the latter part of 1610 leaving Bentley in charge of the building. What this contract was we do not know, but it seems probable that it was at the Savile's House, Methley Hall, in Yorkshire. We do not know whether Acroyd abstracted any of his other workmen for the undertaking. It seems that Bentley also turned his attention to outside work while 'Arts End' was building. In 1611 he was down at Kyre Park in Worcestershire where he drew a new plot of the house for Sir Edward Pytts, which his own mason, Chance of Bromsgrove, seems to have carried out. T. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (1953), 25-6, and Nicholas Pevsner, *Yorkshire, the West Riding*, 336 (The Buildings of England). Penguin Books, 1959. No plan for 'Arts End' has survived except a small sketch plan of the windows, later modified. Bod. Lib. MS. Wood, F. 87.

<sup>47</sup> It is not clear what part William Davis played in Oxford. The editor of Bodley's letters to James assumes that he is the Mr. Davis referred to in letter 35, dated June 4th 1602, but from the context I am inclined to think it is William Davis the bookseller who is referred to here and not the painter. If this is so, Davis the painter only appears upon the scene in 1611-12. Davis continued to work in Oxford after finishing 'Arts End'. In the summer of 1613 he was at work at Wadham and in September he was finally paid for painting the chapel and laying the library bays; with the versatility of a Renaissance craftsman he was evidently a carpenter as well as a painter. T. G. Jackson, *op cit.*, 43 and 156. In 1617 he became a member of the Oxford Guild. This makes it extremely likely that he was employed by Clark on the decoration of the conduit and that, in the interval, he had been working on the Schools' quadrangle, perhaps helping to gild the statue of King James on the Tower of the Five Orders. Davis' name does not occur in the records of the London Painter-Stainers' Guild, but these only begin in 1623 and he may well have died before that date. Since Bodley entrusted him with the painting of 'Arts End', Arnold with the chapel at Wadham and Clark—most probably—with the decoration of the conduit, he must have been a painter of considerable standing even if not a member of the London Guild. Hugh Davis who first appears as a journeyman working upon the Schools' quadrangle and later became a leading Oxford craftsman may well have been his son. He was probably one of Clark's apprentices as he was working for him at Lincoln's Inn. He later worked at Whitehall. I. G. Philip, *Oxoniensia*, XIII (1948), 39-48.

<sup>48</sup> University Archives, Convocation Register, N. p. 58. Among the outstanding bills discharged by Bodley's executors at his death was one from William Davis and John Knight 'due for painting'—£6. John and Thomas Knight were both members of the London Painter-Stainers' Guild. A John Knight was Warden in 1578 and this may possibly have been their father. Thomas was on the Council of the Guild in 1632 and in 1641 he presented to the members a picture of Prince Charles. W. A. D. Englefield, *The London Painter-Stainers' Guild* (1936), 108.

<sup>49</sup> 30th March 1613.

<sup>50</sup> *Trans. Halifax Ant. Soc.*, *passim*.

<sup>51</sup> For these wills see Hanson *loc. cit.* and references. Bentley appointed as a trustee Thomas Dobson of the Stones near Halifax and left money to his apprentices Ralph Whitehead and Henry Langley—all men who worked at Merton. He also provided for his 'brother Michael's base son George Booth', later a well known Oxford craftsman.

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<sup>52</sup> Martin Acroyd was John's brother and Michael his son. Arthur was a younger brother of John Bentley who worked with him in Oxford. John Royley was probably a carver and one of the Royleys of Burton who were statuary at this period. Richard Deyce was a fellow Yorkshireman who was also a witness to John Bentley's will.

<sup>53</sup> The Register of Privileged Persons for 1617 records that John Clark, Yorks, 32, '*caementarius sive lapidarius*' was privileged to Christ Church. '*Plumbarius*' was written at first, but was crossed out. A Clark held land in the common fields at Halifax next to Acroyd's father.

<sup>54</sup> With Thomas Knight in 1618. I think it is probable that Clark was earlier employed, among other tasks, on the carving and gilding of the statue of King James, apparently an after-thought to the original plan for the Tower of the Five Orders. This was so dazzlingly gilded that the King beholding it declared it 'ower braw for Jamie' and had the gold removed and a coat of limewash substituted to protect the stonework. The conduit seems also to have been heavily gilded.

<sup>55</sup> St. John's College Archives. Bursar's private account book.

<sup>56</sup> *Bodleian Library Record*, IV, no. 1, p. 31, note 2.

<sup>57</sup> University Archives S.E.P., f.5.

<sup>58</sup> The Thorns had worked for Danvers at Cornbury. Vernon Watney, *Cornbury and the Forest of Wycheood* (1910), 99. The younger Thomas was one of the Strong's carvers, brought in at special rates, to work on the Canterbury quadrangle at St. John's; John Thorn and Elias Usher were apprentices of Stone's. William Church was also a local mason.

<sup>59</sup> I. G. Philip, *Oxoniensia*, xvii-xviii, 1952-53, p. 186. James Partridge was perhaps related to Thomas Partridge, one of a family of masons living at Bloxham where they owned property. John, Charles and James all worked on the Schools' quadrangle. James was an important mason and contractor who worked in London generally on Northamptonshire stone with Thomas Style and Edward Kinsman. His name is associated with Thomas and William Smith who may have been his journeymen. He was privileged in 1624 and then lived in St. Ebbe's. A William Partridge worked at Cardinal College and a later William with him on the Canterbury quadrangle, so there seems to have been a long series of masons in this family.

<sup>60</sup> *Black Books*, II, 252. The chapel was much admired in fashionable London circles and the crowd at the opening was so great that many fainted. Clark's principal workmen at Lincoln's Inn were all well known members of their respective London guilds. It should be remembered that the plumber who made the water works for the conduit was Hugh Justyce, a London man, and that another London plumber, Jeremy Laws, was brought down to work upon the Schools' quadrangle. All this emphasizes Clark's London connections.

<sup>61</sup> University Archives. Cases in the Vice Chancellor's Court, Trinity Term, 1622.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Holt was Acroyd's master carpenter at Merton. He was privileged as *faber lignarius* *Coll. Novi* in 1618 when his age was given as 40. He was living with his wife, Margaret, in Holywell in 1624, the year in which he died. From his will, we learn that he also worked at Jesus and Hart Hall and, from his tombstone, that he considered himself to be '*Scholarum Publicarum architectus*'. T. W. Hanson, *loc. cit.* His epitaph clearly refers to the '*laqueata tecta*' of the Schools. A. Wood, *City of Oxford*, III, 191. Holt's wife was an Oxfordshire woman. Her brother was Clement Facer of Britwell. They had several children of whom the eldest (also Thomas) became a well known Oxford craftsman. There was a Richard Holt who was a member of the London Carpenters' Company in 1602. Holt is a Lancashire name. A Thomas Holt is said to have worked at Stonyhurst and the neighbouring Browsable Hall at the turn of the century, perhaps our master's father. Much more work must be done on this family.

<sup>63</sup> George Barton was the son of Thomas Barton. *Oxoniensia*, xxv (1960), 69. He was a well established Oxford mason and stone merchant.

<sup>64</sup> See above, note 45.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Styles was a very well known London mason and carver who worked directly under Kinsman and Stone. It is recorded that in 1616-17 he rode in haste all the way from St. Albans to finish the great gate at Otlands. J. Lees Milne, *Age of Imigo Jones*, p. 65.

<sup>66</sup> Court Minute Book. London Masons' Company, Guildhall Library.

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<sup>67</sup> Free 1626. Stone cutter and tombmaker, died in 1675, aged 77. *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, XLII, 85 and J. Lees Milne, *Age of Inigo Jones*, 141 and note. Marshall was the Stones' great rival.

<sup>68</sup> A. Wood, *op cit.*, I, p. 62 and J. Lees Milne.

<sup>69</sup> Mr. T. G. Jackson, *op cit.*, 157, says that the ceiling panels of Wadham Chapel seem to have borders painted round them in a sketch by the 'Rev. Mr. Eagles', a friend of William Turner of Oxford, made before Blore's alterations. He adds that 2 sketches by Mr. Eagles existed, one, the larger, belonging to the Warden of Wadham, the other to himself. No pattern is visible on the Warden's picture, but Jackson may have been describing his own sketch. I do not feel that we can lightly dismiss the evidence of so careful a witness.

<sup>70</sup> Savile rather than Bodley may be regarded as the real arbiter in the initial choice of workmen for 'Arts End' and the Schools' quadrangle.

<sup>71</sup> M. R. Apted, *Proc. Scot. Ant. Soc.*, 101 (1957-58), 144. But the Scottish ceiling differs markedly from ours.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In my account of Otho Nicholson I have used extensively an unpublished manuscript on the Carfax Conduit written many years ago by Miss M. V. Taylor, which she has kindly put at my disposal. This manuscript is now in the library at Christ Church. I should also like to thank Mr. P. A. J. Pettit for permission to quote passages on Nicholson from his D. Phil. thesis on the Royal Forests of Northamptonshire; the Treasurer of Christ Church for allowing me to see the College Disbursement Books; Bodley's Librarian for lending me photographs of the painted ceilings in the Bodleian Library; Miss Coral Wicks for letting me use her lists of craftsmen employed upon the Royal Works; Mr. Croft Murray for allowing me to read a chapter of his unpublished book on Decorative Painting in England 1530-1830; and lastly Mr. Spokes for his constant advice and help.



A part of the restored roof of the Old Library, Christ Church. (See page 228.)

[Frontispiece

PLATE XIV



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. The roof of the Old Library during dismantling. The device of Henry VIII. Note decayed area in 15th century beam boarded over and painted, *c.* 1610.

*Ph: J. W. Thomas*

OXONIENSIA, VOLS. XXVI/XXVII (1962)

THE PAINTED ROOF OF THE OLD LIBRARY,  
CHRIST CHURCH

PLATE XV



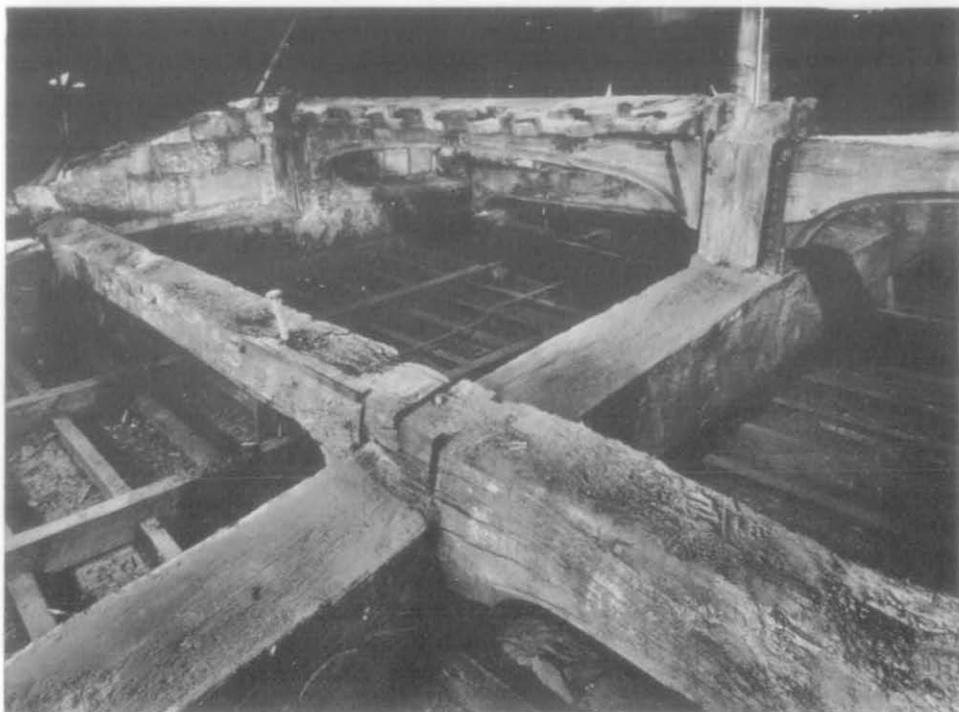
CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof. Decay of one of the main timbers.

*Ph.: J. W. Thomas*

OXONIENSIA, VOLS. XXVI/XXVII (1962)

THE PAINTED ROOF OF THE OLD LIBRARY,  
CHRIST CHURCH

PLATE XVI



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof during dismantling, showing main structural timbers of 15th century roof with mortices for close rafters, superseded in 1610, and general decay.

*Ph.: J. W. Thomas*

OXONIENSIA, VOLS. XXVI/XXVII (1962)

THE PAINTED ROOF OF THE OLD LIBRARY,  
CHRIST CHURCH

PLATE XVII



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Dismembered panels from the Old Library roof being re-assembled.

*Ph.: P. S. Spokes*

OXONIENSIA, VOLS. XXVI/XXVII (1962)

THE PAINTED ROOF OF THE OLD LIBRARY,  
CHRIST CHURCH

PLATE XVIII



Duke Humfrey's Library, to show scroll-work on tie beams.

*Ph.: J. W. Thomas, by permission of the Bodleian Library.*



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. The restored bay of the Old Library roof. Compare the painting on the tie beam with PLATE XVIII.

*Ph.: J. W. Thomas*



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Arms of Wolsey on tie beam of Old Library roof before dismantling.

PLATE XXI



A



B



C



D

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

*Phh.: J. W. Thomas*

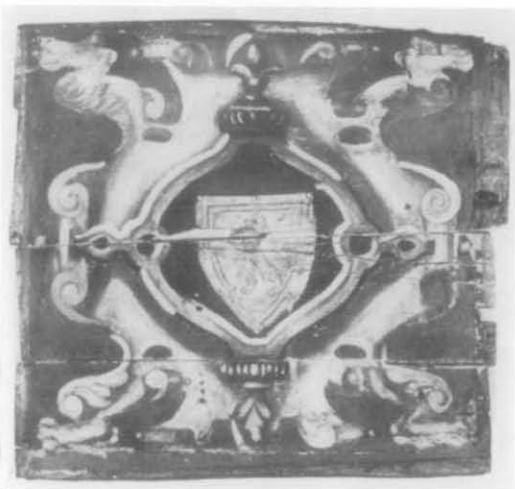
PLATE XXII



A



B



C



D

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

*Phh.: J. W. Thomas*

PLATE XXIII



A



B



C



D

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

*Phh: J. W. Thomas*

PLATE XXIV



A



B



C

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

PLATE XXV



A



B



C



D

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

*Ph.:* J. W. Thomas

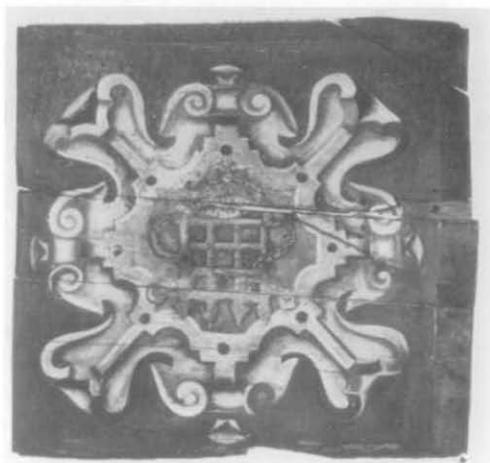
PLATE XXVI



A



B



C



D

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

*Ph. J. W. Thomas*

PLATE XXVII



A



B



C



D

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

*Phh.: J. W. Thomas*

PLATE XXVIII



A



B



C



D

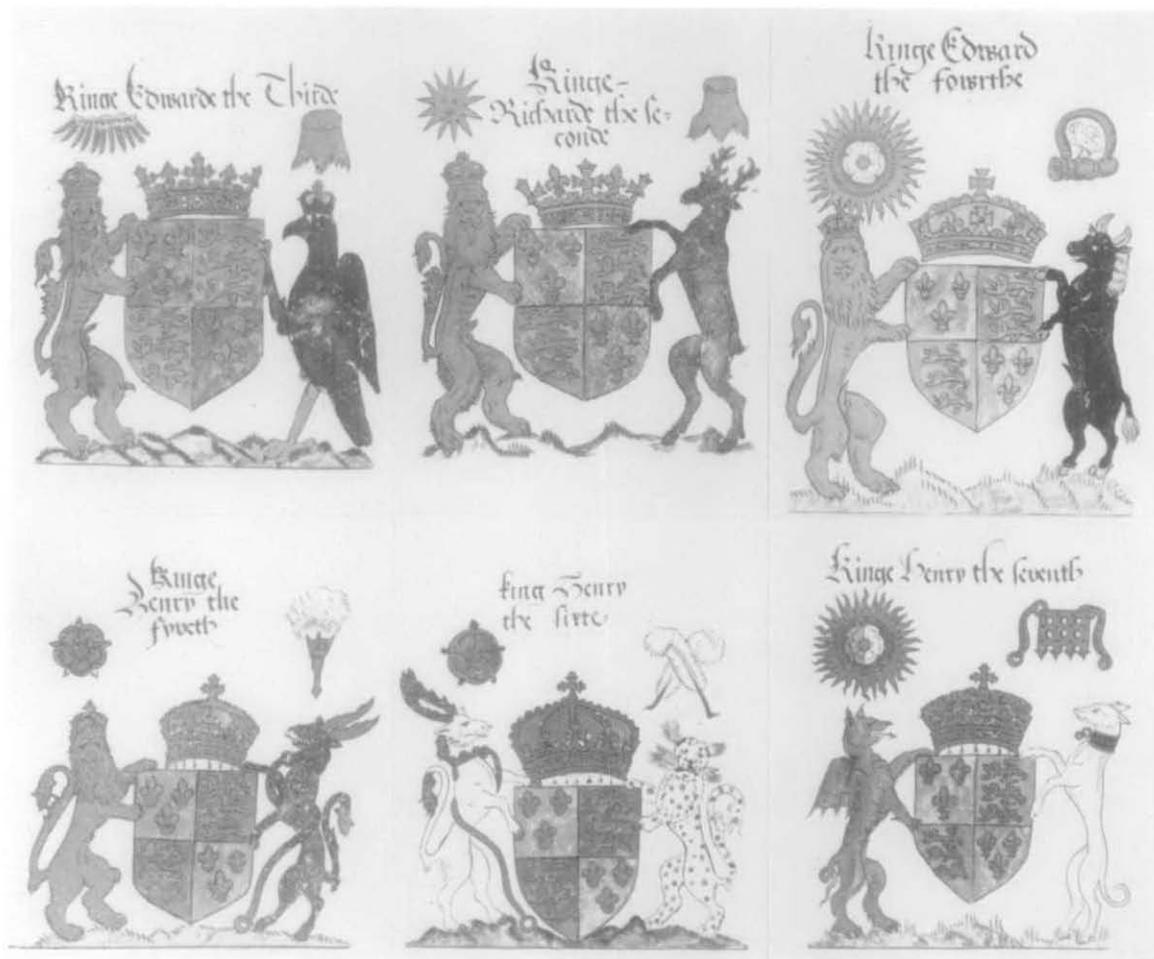
CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD. Old Library roof panels—details.

PLATE XXIX



James I.

The Royal Arms of James I reproduced from Willement's 'Regal Heraldry': note the three crowns.



Royal Arms and Supporters, with badges above, of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and Henry VII.

*From an Elizabethan armorial published by G. G. Napier*

Ph: G. P. King, by kind permission of Lord Sackville



Illuminated patent for the creation of Thomas Sackville as Earl of Dorset, 1603-4, at Knole, Kent, with Royal Badges in the margin.



A

Arts End, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Detail of roof panels, bosses, etc.

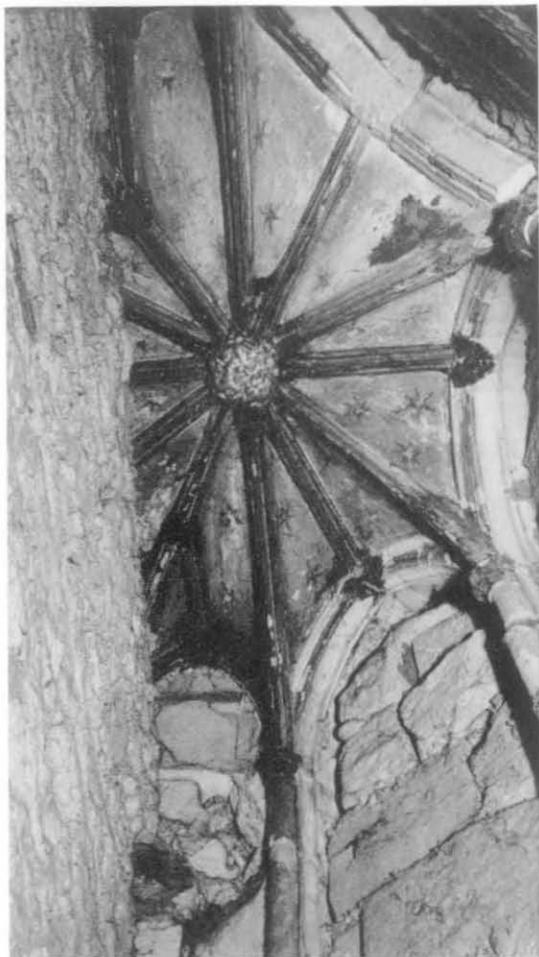


B

Duke Humfrey's Library, Oxford. Detail of roof panels, etc.

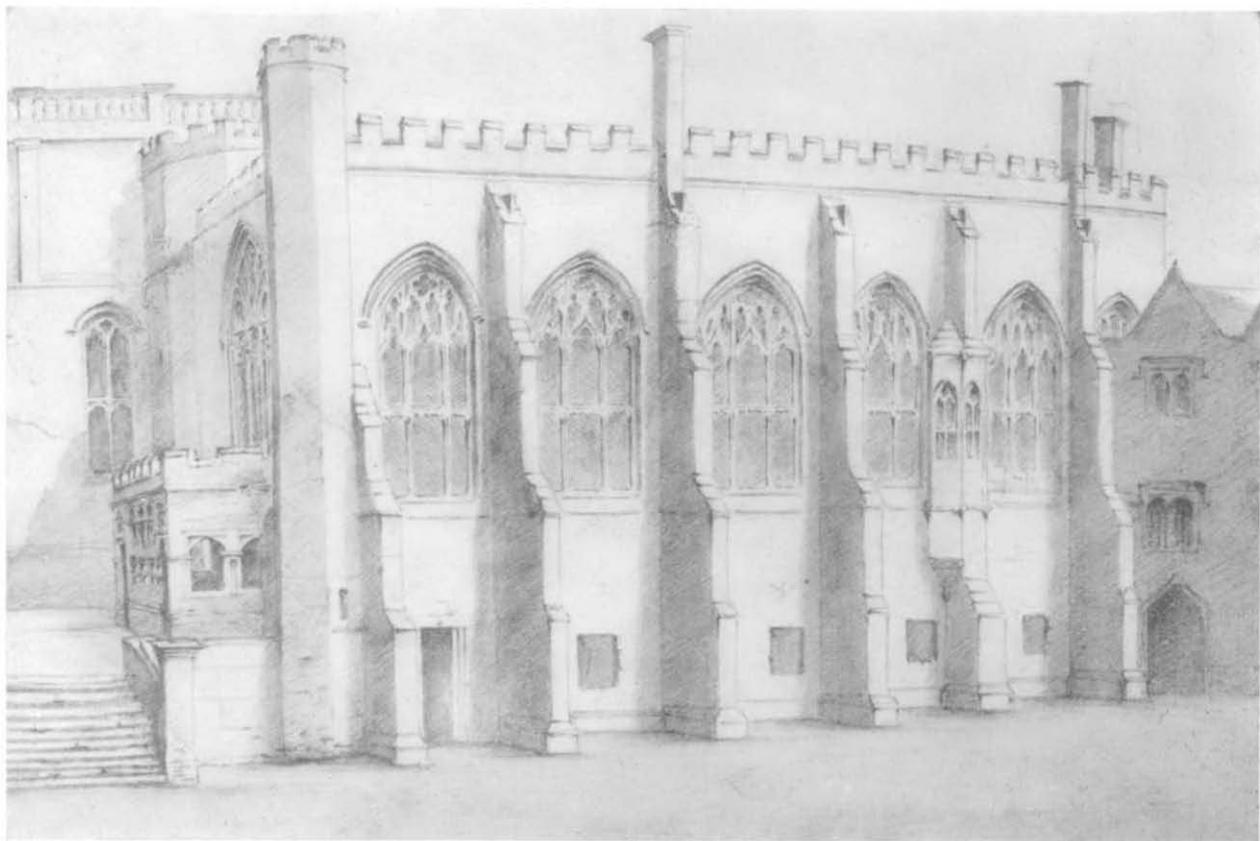
*Phot. : P. S. Spokes*

PLATE XXXIII



Vault and interior of the Reader's Pulpit  
in the Refectory.

*Ph: P. S. Spokes*



The Old Library, Christ Church, from south-west.

*Drawing by Archdeacon Googe*