

John Aubrey's Oxfordshire Collections: An Edition of Aubrey's Annotations to his Presentation Copy of Robert Plot's *Natural History* of Oxford-shire, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1722

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SUMMARY

An edition of an unpublished manuscript of the antiquary John Aubrey (1626-97), with Commentary. The manuscript consists of several pages of notes, mostly on Oxfordshire subjects, which Aubrey copied on to the fly-sheets of his copy of Robert Plot's The Natural History of Oxford-shire, being an Essay towards the Natural History of England (Oxford, 1677), before presenting it to the Ashmolean Museum. Manuscript notes in the volume by other readers, including Edward Lhuys and Anthony Wood, have also been transcribed. Aubrey's notes provide additional evidence to support or undermine some of Plot's statements and speculations, e.g. on Roman gold-mines, and on Oxford's claim to be the site of the earliest blood-transfusion experiment. He adds an account, with a map, of the ruins of 'Rosamond's Bower' at Woodstock, and other details of Woodstock Manor. Aubrey also gives an account of antiquities at Eynsham Abbey, Bibury Roman villa, and Christ Church Cathedral, and of the water-works at 'Bushell's rocks' in Enstone. As well as this there is a collection of Oxfordshire folk-customs, a note on the Wolvercote paper-mill, and some notes on the history of place-names. There are also details of trees and shrubs growing in Oxfordshire, and a reported sighting of scorpions at Bampton Castle.

INTRODUCTION

In a letter of 23 October 1688, the antiquary, biographer and topographer John Aubrey (1626-97) wrote to his fellow antiquary Anthony Wood, informing him of his decision to donate most of his books, manuscripts and papers to the Ashmolean. He says, 'At the later end, and beginning of Dr Plots History that I sent to you, you will find some Notes of mine, that are not trivialis'.¹ What were these notes, what had they to do with Plot, and why did Aubrey choose to transcribe them on to the fly-sheets of a printed book?

In 1642, as a sixteen-year-old undergraduate at Trinity College, Oxford, Aubrey began to visit sites of antiquarian importance, and to make notes and sketches of them. He went to Abingdon in 1642 and admired the Henry VI market cross, pulled down by Waller two years later;² and in September 1642 visited Woodstock Manor with some undergraduate companions. They objected to being asked to wait while he sketched 'Rosamond's Bower', and although he returned at a later date, he always regretted not having made a record of the ruins before they were slighted by the Parliamentary troops. Aubrey's grandfather, Isaac Lyte, had a copy of the programme for the visit of Henrietta Maria in August 1636 to Thomas Bushell's famous hermitage and grotto at Enstone, given him by John (known as Jack) Sydenham, a servant who had once worked for Bushell. Aubrey obtained the pamphlet

¹ Bodl. MS. Tanner 456a, f. 35.

² J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark (1898), i, 185.

and set about discovering the context for the entertainment.³ He discussed the discovery of the grotto at Enstone with Sydenham, and visited the site on 8 August 1643, when he made notes and sketches of the waterworks. These recorded features which were lost in the earl of Lichfield's restoration of the site in 1674. In 1643 he visited the ruined 9th-century abbey of Osney, and was appalled to see the state it was in and that it was about to be demolished. Determined to make a record of it for posterity before it was too late, he commissioned four 'draughts of Osney ruines', presumably from the north, south, east and west, from the studio of William Dobson. He drew the shapes of windows at his college, Trinity, and recorded details of stained-glass windows there, nearly 'all the Scutcheons in glasse about the House',⁴ and religious emblems in the windows of undergraduate rooms. As these depicted crucifixes, canonized saints and the instruments of the Passion, they were smashed during the Parliamentary Visitation of 1647, when 'downe went Dagon'.⁵ In 1647 Aubrey visited Eynsham Abbey and admired the twin towers, then standing.

The notes Aubrey made on these and other subjects were initially stored in a trunk at his Wiltshire home of Easton Piercy, and he continued to add to them throughout his life. After his father's death in 1652, Aubrey was employed in the unwelcome task of administering his inheritance of severely encumbered estates in Brecon, Monmouthshire, Herefordshire and Wiltshire, and in going to law over them. This involved considerable travel, but allowed Aubrey to pursue his interests in his leisure hours, observing natural phenomena, medieval architecture, neolithic antiquities and heraldry, and discussing these subjects with people he met, such as his counsel, Walter Rumsey, at whose house he stayed in the 1650s. Rumsey showed him his horticultural experiments, his ponds and vines, and his prized invention: a foot-long stick of whalebone, padded at the tip with rag, for putting down the throat to induce vomiting. Rumsey had published a pamphlet demonstrating the healthfulness of this device, and the pamphlet and several whalebone sticks joined the notes in Aubrey's trunk.⁶

Aubrey's discoveries and collections were, as this example suggests, rather piecemeal; and Aubrey never resolved the difficulty of how to record, publicise and structure them. Although some of what he found out he stored in his memory, which perhaps explains his lifelong interest in mnemonic systems, from at least the early 1650s Aubrey began to carry a pocket-book with him wherever he went. It has been claimed that Aubrey relied entirely on memory, writing 'without notes or books',⁷ but the evidence suggests otherwise: to take one example of many, Aubrey confesses that in compiling *Villare Anglicanum*, his study of English place-names, he 'did neglect to insert out of my note-booke' a remark about a Cornish manuscript.⁸ In fact it is the ruthless way in which he would insert antiquarian or natural-philosophical 'Remarques' from his note-books into his larger works regardless of relevance, context or genre, but purely to ensure their survival, which gives an impression of illogicality, lack of method, and eccentricity.⁹ Summing up his life's achievement in his

³ *The Severall Speeches and Songs, at the presentment of Mr Bushell's Rock to the Queenes Most Excellent Majesty*. Aug. 23. 1636. (Oxford, 1636).

⁴ MS. Aubrey 6, f. 58v. These heraldic papers have not survived, and Anthony Wood's notes on them suggest they were incomplete (Bodl. MS. Wood F 29a, f. 286ev.).

⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, ff. 156v., 159; Bodl. MS. Aubrey 8, f. 3.

⁶ Aubrey's 'Life of Rumsey' is in *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, 206-7.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 4.

⁸ Bodl. MS. Ashm 1814, f. 101.

⁹ Hence Aubrey's *Life of Wolsey* contains his notes on the architecture of Christ Church and Magdalen College, Oxford; his *Life of the poet Richard Corbet* his observations on Gothic crosses, and in his *Life of Sir William Davenant*, a comment on the the history of dress-fastenings (the supplanting of points with hooks and eyes) is supplied in the middle of a description of the stabbing of Sir Fulke Greville by a servant (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 185, 205; ii, 309-10).

autobiography, Aubrey complained that he had never in his life had one clear month to spend on his chosen studies but that nevertheless:

My head was alwaies working, never idle and even travelling (which from 1649 till 1670, was never off my horse back) did gleane some ϕ observations, of which I have a collection in folio of 2 quires of paper + . a dust basket some whereof are to be valued.¹⁰

The ϕ here denotes Aubrey's *Adversaria Physica*, a manuscript collection of observations on natural philosophy.¹¹ *Adversaria Physica* is now lost, but some of its contents are incorporated into the notes in Ashmole 1722 which are edited here. Others were copied in 1675/6 by Robert Plot, whose notes were themselves carefully transcribed by Thomas Hearne in what is now Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries. Still others survive among the Occasional Papers in the library of the Royal Society.¹²

Aubrey's later works derive from this and other early collections. Hence the 'Somersetshire Proverb', a husbandman's mnemonic verse which was transcribed into Ashmole 1722, is also found in Aubrey's notes on agriculture and farming in his *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire*.¹³ In his autobiography Aubrey says that he 'began to enter into pocket memorandum bookes, Philososphicall, and Antiquarian Remarques Anno Domini 1654. at Llantrithid', that is, while staying with his cousin, John Aubrey.¹⁴ As we have seen, Aubrey's practice of making 'philosophical and antiquarian remarks' pre-dates 1654, so we may perhaps assume that one event of 1654 had a special importance. This was Aubrey's trip to Caerleon, near his cousin's home at Llantrithid, where a Roman bath complex had been discovered, 'very curiously built and adorned with mosaique work, which the rude people within a moneths time utterly spoyled ... Then was digged-up also a great deale of Roman coine, and an Altar stone, the Inscription I luckily came to take as the woemen were battering it to pieces, to make use of the dust for scowring: it was of Freestone of which there is no quarry in those parts'. Aubrey measured the altar stone and transcribed it. When he copied it into a much later work, his *Monumenta Britannica*, he commented, 'I did intend to have presented this draught to Mr John Selden, but he fell sick, and never recovered'.¹⁵

This is typical. Aubrey always intended his material to be published by other people, but also to survive in manuscript form. He put immense effort into cultivating contacts with people he considered more distinguished than himself, whose projects he could contribute to. This method of publication was in almost all cases unsuccessful. In 1661, he did arrange for one of his Oseney sketches to be engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar and published in Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon*. But the other three he lent to Anthony Wood, the antiquary and historian of Oxford University, in the hope that they might similarly illustrate Wood's work on the antiquities of Oxford. Aubrey was to regret giving the sketches to Wood. They were never engraved, or published, and Wood later refused to return them when Aubrey

¹⁰ MS. Aubrey 7, f. 4. Clark's transcription is inaccurate and excludes the ϕ .

¹¹ See M. Hunter, *John Aubrey and the Realm of Learning* (1975), 95, 237-8.

¹² These were edited by J. Buchanan-Brown, *Three Prose Works* (1972), 336-56.

¹³ Bodl. MS. Aubrey 2, f. 99.

¹⁴ MS. Aubrey 7, f. 3v. Clark's transcription is inaccurate.

¹⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 24, f. 219.

wanted instead to donate them to the Ashmolean Museum. As Aubrey had feared, they are now lost.¹⁶

Aubrey sought out Wood in August 1667, when he made a visit to Oxford to see friends and browse the booksellers' stalls. Wood, a fine medieval scholar of the Dugdale school, an outstanding pioneer in bibliography, and a great chronicler of his own time, was to become his most important and influential collaborator. The only account of their meeting is Wood's diary entry, added years later after his quarrel with Aubrey, and after his publication of material given him in confidence by Aubrey had resulted in his expulsion from Oxford University and the public burning of his life's work. It is notoriously abusive. Wood's contempt of Aubrey's habit of dressing and behaving like the prosperous middle-aged squire he then was, and his characterisation of him as 'roving and magotie-headed' have formed the popular view of Aubrey for a century. Wood, who had scarcely ever left Oxfordshire, clearly disapproved of Aubrey's 'roving' to Ireland and to France, and extensive travels in Wales and the South of England; he made snide remarks about Aubrey's arrival in Oxford, dressed in a 'sparkish' outfit, with his French manservant and two horses. It is a piece of rhetoric designed to portray Wood as a victim of Aubrey's misinformation. Wood is careful to emphasise that it was Aubrey who took the initiative to call on Wood at his lodgings, 'and telling him who he was, he got into his acquaintance, talk'd to him about his studies, and offer'd him what assistance he could make, in order to the completion of the work that he was in hand with.'¹⁷

We need to consider what Aubrey was hoping to achieve through this meeting. We know its outcome: in the Preface to *Brief Lives* twenty-three years later, Aubrey thanks Wood for directing his talents towards biography.¹⁸ Wood saw in Aubrey, at that first meeting, an extremely valuable ally; one with an immense range of acquaintance and the social position to extend the range even further. Wood, of low birth, little money and lacking Aubrey's considerable charm, was to become increasingly dependent on his research assistant, first for the biographical part of his *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1674), and then for the bio-bibliographical survey of Oxford writers, *Athenae Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1691). However, at that meeting, it would have been Aubrey's agenda which was the main focus of their discussion. This was to find a home, in Wood's work, for some of those earliest discoveries, the miscellaneous descriptions of Oxfordshire antiquities.

By 1667 these were stored in various places. Some of them were still in the form of loose papers in Aubrey's trunk at home, but many were in Aubrey's Wiltshire collections, both his *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire* (begun 1656) and his *Hypomnemata Antiquaria* Liber A and Liber B (begun 1660). Liber B has been lost since 1815. Aubrey sent Wood a sketch and plan of 'Rosamond's Bower' at Woodstock, which was in Liber B, and later wrote up his notes on

¹⁶ Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii (1661), 136. In a letter to Wood of 19 August 1672, Aubrey reminded him of the '3 other faces or Prospects of Osney abbey, as good as that now in the Monasticon' (Bodl. MS. Wood F 39, f. 183; see also 190v.). Aubrey begged Wood in early 1694 to 'keep all my papers safe:...I would have the draught of Osney...<to> be deposited in the Musaeum: and not be cast-away as Rubbish after your decease' (Bodl. MS. Wood F 51, f. 8). 'Draught' here presumably means the sequence of four prospects; when Aubrey wrote to Lhuyd in September to complain about Wood's treatment of his reputation and the manuscripts Aubrey had lent him, he said, 'he hath also 3 draughts of the Ruines of Osney-abbey which cost me xxs when I was at Trin: Collt:' This was many years later, but 20s. for the set sounds plausible (Bodl. MS. Ashm. 1814, f. 116).

¹⁷ A. Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ii (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxi), 116-17; for the fullest account of Wood's expulsion from the university, see *ibid.* iv (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxx), 1-50. For an account of their quarrel, see A. Powell, *John Aubrey and His Friends* (1988), 221-42.

¹⁸ *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 10.

Bushell's rock at Enstone and sent it to him with the programme for the entertainment of Henrietta Maria. In a letter of 22 October 1672, Aubrey told Wood that he had a 'Description of Mr Bushells Grott at Enston' and the pamphlet of verses printed when Charles I and Henrietta Maria 'were so Romancely entertained there; things not now to be had: Mr Bushells servant then was borne neer us, and an acquaintance of my grandfather Lytes, and gave the book to him.'¹⁹

It was the first of a long correspondence. On 10 March 1672/3 Aubrey announced that he had the description of 'Mr Bushells wells at Enston' and the pamphlet, 'which will be of use to you when you write the Description of Oxonshire', Wood's survey of the topography and antiquities of Oxfordshire.²⁰ Aubrey eventually sent the promised material on 18 August 1674, with other books and papers. He urged Wood to 'keepe safe' the precious pamphlet.²¹ Wood wrote to Aubrey on 6 September 1674 to announce the arrival of 'Einston wells ... which I shall safely keep and restore at your summons', a promise he did not keep and which caused Aubrey great anxiety.²² Aubrey reminded Wood on 6 June 1678 that he was to 'keepe safe' the pamphlet and stated that his wishes were to have it bound-up among the pamphlets for the 'Publique Library', that is, the Bodleian.²³ However, after eight months' work on the *Lives*, Aubrey had a better idea, and told Wood on 3 November 1680 that he wanted the entertainment sewn into the just-completed *Life of Thomas Bushell*.²⁴ However, as late as 23 January 1693/4, Aubrey wrote anxiously that he wanted 'the verses upon Mr Bushells Rocks' to be 'deposited' in the Ashmolean Museum 'and not be cast-away as Rubbish' after Wood's death.²⁵ Finally, on 2 September 1694, Aubrey wrote to Edward Lhuys, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, to complain that Wood was holding on to 'the Entertainment of the Queen at Bushells Rock at Enston, in print, which was given to my Grandfather ... which I have ten times over desired him to putt into the Museum. for when he dies, it will be lost and torne up by his sisters children.'²⁶ The pamphlet survives in the Wood collection in the Bodleian Library, Bodl. Wood 537 (13).

Aubrey also lent Wood the Liber B manuscript, from which Wood extracted heraldic and antiquarian details, such as an account of a knight in full armour who was allegedly discovered beneath the floor of Christ Church Cathedral in the 1630s. A version of this note was later transcribed in Ashmole 1722, but its fullest form was in Liber B, as transcribed by Wood:

Mr Edmund Wild when a yong Commoner of Christ Church Oxford was in digging found the body of ... in Armour with garbs — wheatsheafs thereon which were also in the windowes before the new glass was put up Mr Wild saith that the tradition was that this Gentleman was kild in a battle at Heddington neare Oxon somebody in christ church kept the buckles. This Aubrey in his book B. inter p. 272, 273.²⁷

¹⁹ Bodl. MS. Wood F 39, f. 190v.

²⁰ *Ibid.* f. 258v.

²¹ Bodl. MS. Ballard 14, f. 108; repeated in a follow-up letter of 26 August (*ibid.* f. 110).

²² Bodl. MS. Wood F 45, f. 171.

²³ Bodl. MS. Wood F 39, f. 307.

²⁴ *Ibid.* f. 350.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Wood F 51, f. 8.

²⁶ Bodl. MS. Ashm. 1814, f. 116.

²⁷ Bodl. MS. Wood F 29a, f. 379a.

There are several variants of this text, suggesting Aubrey thought it particularly valuable and interesting, and there is in fact some reason to believe Wyld's account.²⁸ Edmund Wyld matriculated at Christ Church in November 1633. Aubrey, who matriculated in 1642, was not Wyld's contemporary at Oxford, but knew him later. The story concerns John de Nowers (d. 1386) whose tomb, between the Latin Chapel and Lady Chapel on the north side of Christ Church Cathedral, shows him in full armour on which is displayed his escutcheon of three garbs or (i.e. golden wheatheaves). Sir William Dugdale says that as part of the repair and 'beautifying' of the cathedral in 1630, 'divers' marble grave-stones were removed from the choir and replaced as a pavement in the 'middle Ile on the North parte the Quire', suggesting some cause for digging in the cathedral at that period. His description of the Nowers monument supports Wyld's claim that the escutcheon was depicted in the old glass windows: 'Betwixt two pillars in the Ile on the North part of the Quire stands an antient Monument with the statue in freestone of a man armed: On his brest plate are 3 garbs betwixt a fesse antiently depicted, videlicet the coat blew the fesse argent and the garbes or, as is to be seene in glasse in the 4th window of the Chappell abovementioned'.²⁹ A good deal of glass was removed to accommodate Abraham van Linge's series of stained-glass windows (the Jonah window is the only survivor of Victorian changes to the cathedral glass). In his treatise on architecture, Aubrey sketches one of the new cathedral window-frames and comments that 'the Windowes at Christ-church in Oxon were made of this fashion, for the more convenience of shewing the painted glass, which was donne tempore Caroli I about 1638'.³⁰ Dugdale made a careful record of those coats of arms which 'stood in the old windows of Christchurch in Oxford and were taken downe with the old glasse Anno Domini 1630. when the church was beautified. And were in the hands of Dr Maurice (one of the Cannons) 14o Augusti. 1644', as well as of escutcheons 'taken downe with the rest of the old glasse and ... then taken notice of by Mr Washburne one of the Chapleyns of the church. (though now not to be found)'.³¹

Initially, Aubrey wrote happily to Wood of his satisfaction in knowing that this precious material would, duly acknowledged, appear in Wood's publications: his name would, he said, 'remayne for ever there like an unprofitable elder or Ewe-tree on some Noble structure'.³² But it soon became apparent that Wood's topographical survey of Oxfordshire might never be printed in full, and some time in the 1670s Aubrey met another person whom he hoped would publish his discoveries.³³ This was Robert Plot (1640-96), Tutor of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and the first curator of the Ashmolean Museum from 1683 until Edward Lhuys succeeded him in 1691. Plot was a chemist and antiquary, with many influential friends in the Royal Society. His interests in antiquities, natural philosophy,

²⁸ Another copy is in Bodl. MS. Wood F 49, f. 153, and yet another copy of part of this memorandum is written on the verso of a fragment of Aubrey's pocket-book which is pasted into the third volume of *Brief Lives*. The fragment is very small and badly damaged: all that remains is a note saying 'memorandum since<?> on the escutcheon was wheats<heaves> I <bele>eve 'twas Bur<nell> Brian Twyne said, he was <killed> at Hedington' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 8, f. 30bv.; not in Clark's edition).

²⁹ Bodl. MS. Dugdale 11, ff. 144v., 145.

³⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, f. 157v.

³¹ Bodl. MS. Dugdale 11, f. 144v.

³² Bodl. MS. Wood F 39, f. 183.

³³ Wood had been engaged since 1661 on an historical survey of the university and the city of Oxford. Although some of his material was original, his main task was to put into order the 60 manuscript volumes of the late Brian Twyne, first keeper of the university archives. He published some of the materials, the annals of the university and the antiquities of the colleges, as *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1674), but the rest, on the city and the churches, remained in manuscript. This was edited by Andrew Clark, as *Wood's History of the City of Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xv, xvii, xxxvii).

numismatics and heraldry were reflected in his two published works, *The Natural History of Oxford-shire, being an Essay towards the Natural History of England* (Oxford, 1677), and his *Natural History of Stafford-shire* (Oxford, 1686). These works existed in the context of an unrealised antiquarian and natural-philosophical work, a comprehensive project of a regional study of all the English counties, 'to make search after the Rarities both of Nature and Arts afforded in the Kingdome, for the Information of the Curious, and in order to an Historical Account of the same'.³⁴

Aubrey tried to get his Oxfordshire materials from Wood to lend them to Plot; in a letter of 1676 Plot details problems he has experienced in getting Aubrey's books and papers from Wood, who had sat on them for several years.³⁵ Aubrey encouraged Plot to ask Wood for Aubrey's prospects of Oseney and the nunnery at Godstow, but Wood refused to give them up. Wood promised (falsely as it turned out) to return the 'printed account of the Queens Entertainment at Bushells rock'. Aubrey helped Plot circulate his standardised query-sheets, and supplied him with contacts and with his own material.³⁶ Thus Aubrey wrote to Wood in November 1675, asking him to tell Plot that he had 'writt out for him' the 'Natural History of Wiltshire, and of Surrey; and a sheet or two of other counties. and am now sending to my cosen Henry Vaughan' the poet, to send him the natural history of Brecknockshire 'as also of other circumjacent Countres. no man fitter'. He lent him his Liber B, where he hoped Plot would notice the Christ Church material, and the sketch of 'Rosamond's Bower' at Woodstock.³⁷ Aubrey then wrote to Wood on 'Twelfeday 1675' that 'I have written of Naturall History (for Dr Plotts) of Wilts and Surrey besides pieces of other Counties Ten sheetes closely written and shall send him more. as I was sending it to Oxon, Our Secretary hearing of it, thought fitt the Royal Society should first be made acquainted with it, which gave them 2 or 3 dayes Entermaint, which they were pleased to like'.³⁸ These papers survive in Henry Oldenburg's transcript in the Library of the Royal Society.³⁹

Most of all, Aubrey meant his *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire* and *Perambulation of Surrey* to be printed and supplemented by Plot; only after Plot had made it clear in 1685 that he would not be publishing Aubrey's work did Aubrey put it into some kind of order (according to Plot's method in *Oxford-shire*) to be left in the Ashmolean Museum.⁴⁰ Aubrey was shocked when he received a copy of Plot's *Oxford-shire* upon its publication in 1677 and found it made no mention of his assistance. Aubrey's response was to add to his copy the corrections and annotations transcribed in this article. He did this in several stages, the greater part being before 3 December 1684, when Aubrey transcribed the notes and gave them to Plot, presumably still hoping to see them included in a second edition of *Oxford-shire*. (Plot's copy of these notes seems not to have survived.) Then Aubrey gave the annotated copy (now Ashmole 1722) to the Ashmolean Museum, the only form of publication by then available to him. He exchanged Ashmole 1722 for Plot's donation copy, presumably presented when he became curator of the Museum. In 1692, Aubrey presented Plot's original Ashmolean donation copy to New Inn Hall, Oxford. It was later sold, and eventually bought by R.T. Gunther, who gave it to the Museum of the History of Science at Oxford, where it now

³⁴ Vice-Chancellor Ralph Bathurst's letter of recommendation for the project, quoted in R.F. Ovenell, *The Ashmolean Museum* (1986), 31.

³⁵ Bodl. MS. Aubrey 13, f. 139; the manuscript is damaged and the only visible date is 1676.

³⁶ Hunter, *op. cit.* note 11, p. 71, n. 8.

³⁷ Bodl. MS. Tanner 456a, f. 19. The Surrey notes were later transcribed in Bodl. MS. Aubrey 4, f. 235f, and Aubrey's Herefordshire notes are Bodl. MS. Aubrey 21, f. 68a.

³⁸ Bodl. MS. Ballard 14, f. 116, January 1675/6.

³⁹ London, Royal Society, Classified Paper VII (1), ff. 1-8v., edited by J. Buchanan-Brown, *Three Prose Works*.

⁴⁰ Hunter, *op. cit.* note 11, p. 100.

remains. Ashmole 1722 was kept in the Ashmolean Library until 1860, when the Ashmolean books and manuscripts were transferred to the Bodleian Library.⁴¹

I am grateful to the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, for permission to reproduce the illustrations from MS. Ashmole 1722 for this edition.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The paper on which the annotations are written is fragile, creased, and eroded at the edges. Hence the main aim of this transcription is to make a full record of the annotations before they suffer further damage, and thereby to make consultation of the manuscript pages unnecessary for most readers. This is a transcription of the annotations to Ashmole 1722, not a collation of Aubrey's many surviving notes on antiquarian subjects. Where copies of passages in Ashmole 1722 appear in other Aubrey manuscripts, this is stated either in the Commentary or in the Introduction. The transcription records the text as it stands, with duplication of material, and with amendment, and in its inchoate state. It records all manuscript notes added to Ashmole 1722, not just those in Aubrey's hand. It excludes only absolutely minor manuscript corrections and additions to the printed text, that is, where a reader has made marginal corrections of literal printer's errors, and where a reader has added, in the headline of each page, the chapter-number for his convenience of reference. Aubrey originally made a number of black-lead notes, most of which he later inked over or transcribed in ink elsewhere in Ashmole 1722. Not all of these are now legible. As much as possible has been transcribed, and a summary of the content of the semi-legible material has been attempted.

To distinguish his quotations from early texts, Aubrey used an archaizing hand, with a high proportion of Secretary forms. He also used the 17th-century convention of marking each line of quoted text with inverted commas. I have not distinguished the archaizing hand, and have imposed the modern convention of marking the beginning and end of quoted text with inverted commas.

Abbreviated material has been expanded using an italic font, with some exceptions. The following abbreviations have been silently expanded throughout: 'w^{ch}' has been expanded to 'which', while 'w^h', and 'wth' have been expanded to 'with'. 'S^r', 'B^p' and 'L^d' have been expanded to 'Sir', 'Bishop', and 'Lord'. Abbreviations which are readily understood today, which are not usually expanded in modern texts, such as 'B. D.', 'Esq', 'No.', and 'pag.', have been left as they appear in the manuscript. R. S. S. for 'Regalis Societatis Socius', Fellow of the Royal Society, has been left unexpanded. However, raised letters in 'M^r', 'S^r', 'D^r' and all numerals have been lowered (so 4th is printed 4th; 14^o 14o). 'Ye' and 'ye' have been printed as 'the', 'y' expanded to 'that', and ampersand expanded: thus '&' has been printed 'and', '&c' 'etc'. Where a bar is used as a mark of contraction in an abbreviated word in the MS, it has been omitted in the printed text, e.g. 'Oxon̄' is printed 'Oxon'.

In quotations from printed sources, capitalisation, spelling and punctuation have been retained, but italics have been changed to Roman.

Where a phrase in the manuscript is followed by a full point and stroke, . / a paragraph has been inserted by the editor.

Where paragraphs in the manuscript are separated by a rule, a larger paragraph space has been substituted by the editor.

⁴¹ R.T. Gunther, 'The Ashmolean Copy of Plot's "Natural History"', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vi (1930), 165-6; Hunter, *op. cit.* note 11, p. 244.

⟨*Angle brackets*⟩: surround editorial insertions.

Italic type: editorial material: an expansion of an abbreviation, or a spelling-out of a symbol such as a shield.

Underlining: a word in the manuscript is underscored with one or more lines.

(Parentheses) and [crotchets]: such brackets appear in the manuscript.

^: a caret appears in the manuscript.

{Braces}: the manuscript is damaged, or text is lost in the margin, and the editor has supplied material conjecturally.

~~struck through words~~: material has been deleted in the manuscript, by whatever means.

with another in smaller type above it

~~a deleted word or phrase~~ Where Aubrey has deleted a word and written another above it, the cancelled word is shown struck through, and its replacement above it.

interlineation

interlined material: Additional material above or below a line in the manuscript which is not intended to form part of the main text. (Often such material provides a commentary on the text or suggests alternatives for words or phrases which have not been deleted.)

⌈half square brackets⌋: Additional material inserted between the lines or in the margins of the manuscript which is intended to form part of the main text and which does not represent a revision of a cancelled word or phrase, has been inserted at its intended place.

..... : a series of points in the manuscript which indicate a space left for insertion of material. They are as nearly as possible the same number that Aubrey used, and have not been fully standardised because they indicate the extent of information which he expected to discover.

inserted material

..... : material has been inserted into such a space in the manuscript.

Quotations from manuscript in the Introduction and Commentary conform to simpler conventions. All abbreviations are silently expanded, and underlining silently omitted. Deleted material is silently omitted. Interlined material is printed on the line. Material conjecturally restored where the manuscript is damaged is enclosed within ⟨angle brackets⟩.

ANNOTATIONS TO BODLEIAN MS. ASHMOLE 1722

⟨Inside front cover⟩

⟨In an unknown hand, the original shelfmark: G4. A.⟩

Sum Iohannis Aubrij R. S. S

Donum Authoris. /

⟨Aubrey's bookplate⟩⁴²

*quaere*⁴³ Mr Edmund Wyld of the Roman (or Saxon) Gold ^{'twas when Colchester-Leagues was} found ¹⁶⁴⁷ yeares since,⁴⁴ in a Wall at ¹a Mannor of Edmund Wyld Esq¹ Totham-hall ¹in Essex ¹..... miles from Maldon. π pag: ... hujus Libri.⁴⁵

quaere what quantity 'twas? *Responsum* ignorat. /

This Treasure trouvé should have been Mr Wyld's: but he was cosend of it. /

⟨first fly-sheet recto⟩

Memorandum the prodigious Staggess-horne⁴⁶ at Sir Charles Blounts⁴⁷ at Maple-Durham in the Comitatus of Oxford, which he brought from Hornby-Castle in Cumberland [the Lord Monteagles] given to him by the sayd Lord. for there was great freindship between them, and Sir Charles was wont to spend the hunting time of the yeare there. This horne was found in the Sands in the Sheilds by New-castle: it had worme-hol{es}

⁴² A facsimile of Aubrey's bookplate is reproduced in *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, facing the title-page.

⁴³ *quaere*...Libri] in ink over black lead.

⁴⁴ found...yeares] Aubrey left a space in the manuscript, defined by a series of points, to accommodate the date when he had found it. Above the space he wrote "'twas...Leagues was", a reference to the siege of Colchester of June-August 1648, as a guide to the date. He later filled in the date in the space he had left for it.

⁴⁵ The missing reference is to Plot, *Oxford-shire*, 164 § 62, a passage to which Aubrey refers several times in these annotations (see below, note 88). Plot discusses two discoveries of buried timber in Oxfordshire, one instance of which, at Blund's Court, he links to silver-mining. Plot says:

'tis probable at least that here may have been formerly such a mine, stopt up as I first thought by the Aboriginal Britans, upon the arrival and conquests of the Romans or Saxons, who not being able to recover their Country within the memory of man, it might be lost like the Gold-mine of Glass-Hitten in Hungary, when Bethlem Gabor over-ran that Country; or the Gold-mine of Cunobine in Essex, discover'd again temp. Hen. 4 as appears by the Kings Letters of Mandamus, bearing date 11 May, An. 2. Rot. 34. directed to Walter Fitz-Walter concerning it; and since that lost again.

In his *Faber Fortunae* Aubrey notes, 'Dr Plott in his Oxfordshire pag. 164 § 62 gives an account of a Gold mine in Essex, which he finds in an old Record of the Tower, the Land wherein it lies, is now the possession of Edmund Wyld Esq which Edmund affirms to me that some-where in Herefordshire was found Gold-dust, which he saw' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 26, f. 6v.). Edmund Wyld/Wylde (1618-96) was an old friend of Aubrey's, shared many of his interests and is widely mentioned in his writings. See Powell, op. cit. note 17, pp. 253-8. Wyld's manor was Great Totham Manor Hall, Essex. See G.W. Johnson, *A History...of the Parish of Great Totham* (1834), 17-30, 37. Aubrey says in *Miscellanies* (1696), 32, that the manor was an example of 'local fatality', since Wyld believed it to be cursed with bad luck.

⁴⁶ Staggess-horne] underlined later, in different ink from main text.

⁴⁷ Sir Charles Blount, c. 1598-1644, killed at the Siege of Oxford.

eaten in it: it was found severall feet under ground: it hung up in the (*ms damaged*) Hall at Hornby-castle; and after, Sir Charles sett it up in his hall at Map{le}-Durham; in the Civil warres the house was plundered, the Cedar wainscot burned, and this Horne caried away amongst other things.⁴⁸ Perhaps it may ^{now} be in the Horne-gallery at Hampton-court, which was collected by Oliver Cromwell Protector.⁴⁹ See in Mr Lassels *Voyager*,⁵⁰ if he makes not mention of that wonderfull Stagges-horne at Bourges⁵¹ in France.

Memorandum the figure of a monstrous jaw of a Pyke⁵² found in Cumberland, which Sir William Dugdale caused to be drawne in his Visitation of Cumberland in the Heralds office. /⁵³

Memorandum when Edmund Wyld Esq was admitted of Christchurch in Oxford *scilicet* about Anno Domini 1635, in the north side (he thinkes) of the Church, was digged-up the body of one in armour ^{richly} gilt, with his ~~Seate~~ shilde painted, and his spurres gilt. He sayes, that part of the chardge of the Escutcheon was Wheatsheaves. wherefore I belevee it was the *escutcheon* of the Lord Burnell. Brian Twine [the Antiquary of the University) sayd, it was the body of one, that was killed at Hedington.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Aubrey's cousin John Danvers of Baynton was a relation by marriage of the Blount family. In *Brief Lives* Aubrey mentions a portrait of Erasmus which belonged to Danvers and came from Mapledurham (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 248-9). Aubrey may have seen the horn, but it is just as likely that Danvers told him about it.

⁴⁹ The Gallery of Horns at Hampton Court, situated between the Great Hall and the Great Watching Chamber. Evelyn said it was distinguished by the 'vast' antlers of stags, elks and antelopes. The collection was not Cromwellian but begun in the time of Elizabeth (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, iii (1955), 323). It had 127 horns of several sorts of animal in 1659 (E. Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*, ii (1885-91), 284). Aubrey compiled a section of *Monumenta Britannica* on horns (Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 24, ff. 267-79) where he makes himself a note to ask Sir Jonas Moore (d. 1679) about the stag's horn found in the Newcastle sands (f. 279).

⁵⁰ Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy* (1670) makes no mention of Bourges. The Ste. Chapelle at Bourges, near Mehun, built by the Duc du Berry, contained relics and curiosities, including the bones of a giant 15 cubits high (C. Varennes, *Voyage de France* (1643), 35; Varennes does not mention the horn). Since this seems to be an observation rather than deriving from some travel-book, this might possibly be a memorandum or reminiscence of Aubrey's French tour of 1664.

⁵¹ wonderfull...Bourges] underlined later, in different ink from main text.

⁵² jaw...Pyke] underlined later, in different ink from main text.

⁵³ Sir William Dugdale's 1665 Visitation of Cumberland and Westmoreland is in the College of Arms, London. I have searched the office copy (MS. C 39), also the rough signed original Visitation book, also his private fair copy, and have been unable to find the pike which Aubrey thought was there. However, it is possible that there was once such a drawing among Dugdale's papers. As Dugdale's private office was in the Herald's Office, the pike-drawing, if it existed, may never have been stored in the Visitation manuscripts at all, but in some private Dugdale miscellany. Dugdale did 'cause' Gregory King, Rouge-dragon, to draw non-heraldic material such as prospects of the counties, as well as antiquarian sights such as a bank, called locally 'King Arthur's Round Table', near Brougham Castle, Westmoreland (College of Arms, MS. C 39, Cumberland visitation, Penrith section, f. 7v.). Some of these are on loose sheets tipped-in at the end of the Visitation manuscripts. If there was a drawing of a pike, it would surely have been on such a loose sheet, and so might easily have been lost. Dugdale's own rough note-books for other counties also record a very few notes of curiosities - such as a greyhound's skull which was attached to a tree (similarly recorded by Aubrey in B.L. MS. Lansdowne 231, f. 144v.).

⁵⁴ See Introduction pp. 63-4.

⟨Added later, in an unidentified hand:⟩

Sum Iohannis Aubrii R S. S. donum Authoris. November 22 1733.

⟨Aubrey's hand, a pen-trial:⟩

Sum Iohannis Aubrey R S S. Donum Authoris

⟨Second fly-sheet recto⟩

⟨Added later, in an unidentified hand:⟩

Hæc, — credat Iudæus Apella — Horace⁵⁵

⟨Edmund Lhuyd adds on title-page:⟩

Staffordiensis

Historiam suam Naturalem agri ~~Oxoniensis~~, Bibliothecæ Chymicæ donaverat Clarissimus author: quam propter additas Doctissimi Viri Ioannis Aubrey Annotationes, cum hoc libro commutavimus. Edmund Lhuyd 1722.⁵⁶

⟨Between sig. b and sig. b2 is Plot's county map, surrounded by coats of arms of Oxfordshire families. At the foot, Anthony Wood has added:⟩

This map was made to put before Dr Plots book of Oxfordshire anno 1676. it was made and delineated by Dr Plot himself: but many armes are false and the pretended owners have no right to them: as Carter, Reynolds White, Lodge.

⟨in margin of p. 133 alongside a discussion of 'how it should come to pass that the thigh-bone should be petrified, and not the tooth' is added in an unidentified 18th-century hand:⟩

There are in the Ashmolean Musæum petrified teeth Vide Cabinet of Fossils —

⟨in margin of p. 135 alongside the statement that 'We have also here at Oxford, a thigh-bone that came from London, three foot and two inches long' is added in the same 18th-century hand:⟩

There is in the Musæum at Oxford A Thighbone of a Man, which came from Baldock in Hertfordshire, above 3 feet long

⟨at head of p. 164:⟩ William Slatter 20th July 18-04⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Horace, *Satires*, i. V. 100, 'credat Judeus apella, non ego', 'Apella the Jew may believe it; I will not'. This well-known reference to the Romans' belief that the Jews were superstitious and credulous, in the context of Horace's statement that the gods observe the laws of nature and do not send messages to men in the form of miraculous events, is one which Aubrey uses himself in his *Perambulation of Surrey*, Bodl. MS. Aubrey 4, f. 133.

⁵⁶ From 1691 to 1709, Edmund Lhuyd was keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. '1722' is not a date but the shelfmark.

⁵⁷ Perhaps the William Slatter of Oxford who matriculated at Christ Church on 28 January 1801 aged 16, took his B.A. in 1805, and was chaplain 1812-16. There seems to be no special reason to connect him with the Ashmolean, however. Another William Slatter matriculated at Merton in October 1803 aged 14, and went on to become vicar of Cumnor, Berks. Slatter has written his name three times on p. 164.

(in margin of p. 164 alongside the statement that some urns found at Binfield must necessarily have been Roman, Edward Lhuyd has added:)

... Gan bod yr hên elmyr âr Lyklyniaed a kenedloed gogleddig erail yn arbery yrnan
 ^ yn arbery yrnan am dim amgen as a wyr yr awdwr (neu ungwr aralh) fe alhae'r
 Britanniaed i harbery nhw hebid.

(A translation is added in a later hand:)

i. e. Since the ancient Germans, Norwegians, and other Northern Nations made Use of Urns, the Britons, for ought the Author (or any one else) knew to the contrary, might have used them also.

(in margin of p. 165 alongside the statement that: 'a great old Elm growing near the North-east corner of the Bowling-green in Magdalene College Grove, disbarked quite round, at most places two foot, at some at least a yard, or four foot from the ground; which yet for these many years past has flourish'd as well as any Tree in the Grove' is Aubrey's addition:)

This is a mistake and a fallacie: for this yeare [1685] it being blowne-downe, or felled 'twas discovered to be a young Elme grown through the hollow dead trunke of an old one: The Teræ-filius did joke upon it.⁵⁸

(at head of p. 166, presumably in William Slatter's hand:)

W ★ S⁵⁹

(in margin of p. 336 against the statement that all Saxon fortifications were square:)

'Tis false.

(in margin of p. 336 against the statement that Roundcastle fortification and Lineham Barrow, being round, were probably made by the Danes:)

This note the Dr had from John Aubrey.⁶⁰

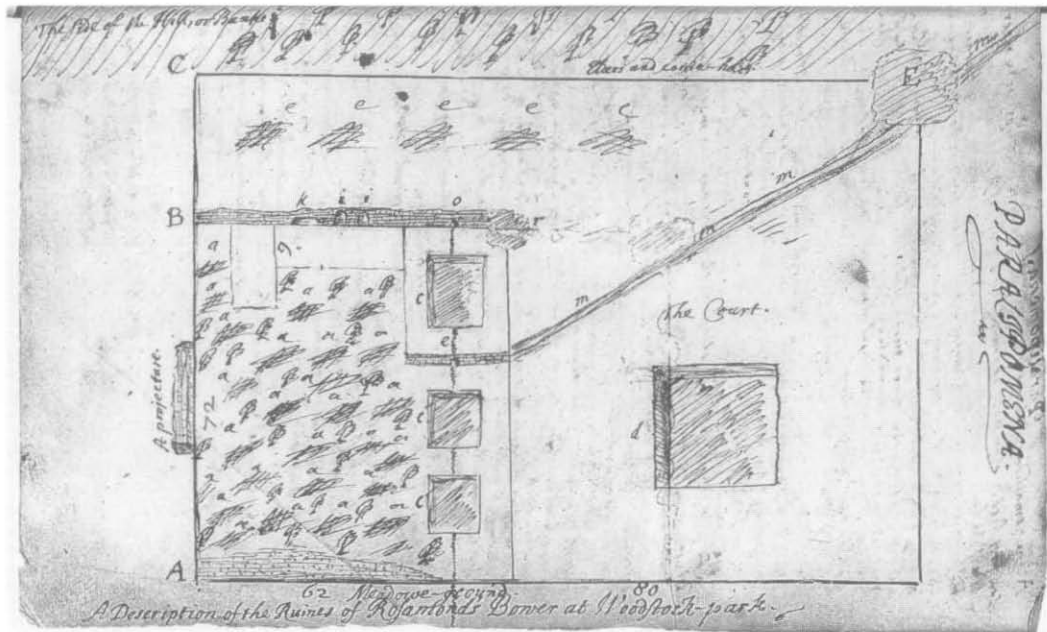
⁵⁸ The 'Terraefilius' was the orator whose official role in the 'Act', or Oxford degree ceremony, was to make a witty speech making jocular reference to the topics of the public debates engaged in by degree candidates. In practice the speeches often contained topical satire and even personal abuse.

⁵⁹ Presumably William Slatter's initials.

⁶⁰ Plot's text reads: 'in the Parish of Bladen, and Lineham Barrow (between which and Pudlycot, a Seat of the ancient Family of the Lacy's, there is a passage under ground down to the river) I can say little of them, but that in general 'tis most probable they were made by the Danes (they being both round) but upon what particular occasion, I could no where find'. In his chapter 'Of Campes' in *Monumenta Britannica*, Aubrey gives this page-reference and says that Plot 'knew not how to distinguish a Roman camp from a Danish till I told him' (Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 24, f. 157 marg.; see *ibid.* f. 158). However, Plot gives other sources for this in *Oxford-shire*, 334 (cited by Hunter, *op. cit.* note 11, p. 206, n. 2).

(index: in margin alongside entry for 'Transfusion of Blood invented at Oxford, c. 9. par. 223:')
 'tis false. 'twas Mr Francis Potter. B. D. author of the Interpretation of the No. 666. as by
 his letter to me appears dated

(first back fly-sheet after index)



(Aubrey's sketch of the ruins of Rosamond's Bower).⁶²

(first back fly-sheet verso)

Paralipomena.⁶³

A, the remainder of the old Wall. from A to B is leuell, or very neer it. six foot higher than the Meadowe.

re

B, the foote of the Hill. BC the inclination of the hill, 66 paces broad./

⁶¹ Aubrey gives a fuller version of this statement below; see note 94. For Potter (1594-1678), see *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, 161-70. Francis Potter's book was *An Interpretation of the Number 666* (Oxford, 1642), and the Latin version, *Interpretatio Numeri 666* (Amsterdam, 1677).

⁶² For Woodstock Manor, see *V.C.H. Oxon.* xii, 435ff.; for the 12th-century buildings called Rosamond's Well or Rosamond's Bower, see p. 438. Aubrey gave Anthony Wood an earlier copy of this plan, 'Description of Rosamonds Bower at Woodstock park' (Bodl. MS. Wood 276b, f. 43), which I have transcribed as Appendix 1.

⁶³ Paralipomena: material omitted from the body of a work and appended as a supplement, from the Greek name for the Old Testament Book of Chronicles, so called because they contain material omitted from the Books of Kings.

O, the Spring, that feedes the 3 Bathes.

E, seemes to have been (by the ruines) a noble Gate-house, or Tower of Entrance. into this Bower./

r, r the rubbish of a kind of Tower as the former.

a, a, a, a, a, etc: rubbish. I doe remember, that the August before Edgehill fight [1642] where the rubbish is now, were ruin'd walles [which looked like ⁶⁴ and pillasters, or peeres to beare Vaults, very thick. and seemed to be about 15, 16, 20 foot high: and then, (perhaps) if my Companions would have given me leave to have visited them, I might have retrived some Vestigia of the Labyrinth. /

c, c, c, 3 Bathing places in Traine. /

d, the Pond in the Court.

e, e, e, e, rubbish of building on the side of the hill.

AF, faces the large Meadows, which are flank't with hills on each hand covered with goodly Oakes; [Nemorum comâ. Horatius ⁶⁵ which doe yield a pleasant Melancholique prospect in Perspective, which is terminated with the blew hills of Scutchinslow,⁶⁶ which doe stringere Horizontem. /⁶⁷

The first Bath next the Spring remaines yet [1667] entire, finely walled and paved with freestone. The stones of the other two are most of them digged up and carryed away: they are about a yard deep. In the Civil warres, the Ruines aforesayd were layd flatt to the ground, because they should not shelter the Enimie, when Woodstock house [a Garrison] should be besieged. There is yet to be seen a freestone Vault, which leads they say from hence to Combe-church,⁶⁸ which is neer a mile hence: and I doe beleeve there are also other Vaults, of which enquire: as also of the forme of the Labyrinth, if possibly it may be. I have heard that Rosamund did give a fine Ring of Bells to the church aforesayd. Enquire whether there is any Inscription relating to Her about the Limb of the Bells. One may goe upright in this Vault: Edmund Wyld Esq tells me, that at certaine intervalls *scilicet* 100 + yardes] are ayer-holes.

⁶⁴ Aubrey interlined 'which...like' but did not supply the comparison.

⁶⁵ Horace, *Odes*, I. 21. 5; IV. 3. 11; 'the hair of the woods'. In MS. Wood 276b, f. 43v., Aubrey refers to 'the Clouds of woodes'.

⁶⁶ 'Scutchinslow' is unidentified.

⁶⁷ 'Cluster together on the horizon'?

⁶⁸ In a letter to Wood of March 1674, Aubrey describes the Woodstock antiquities:

A worthy friend of mine Edmund Wyld Esq R. S. S. tells me, Adjoyning Cremer church was a Nunnery built I thinke by Rosamond, to which place (I thinke Church] traditur a Vault leads from Rosamonds Bower. In this vault quasi circiter 2 flights shott were Spirauala, one wherof was or is still neer to or at the Walnutt trees, where Sir William Fleetwoods house stood before the late Warres. (Bodl. MS. Wood F 39, f. 261v.)

Aubrey continues that Wyld also told him of a Roman drain found in West Chester in 1657. The vaulted and paved tunnel, built in 1498-9, was a conduit to carry water in lead pipes to the king's houses from Combe Bottom. It had air-vents to supply air for the men working in it (*V.C.H. Oxon.* xii, 438).

K. seemes to have been a Seate in the Wall about 2 yards long. /

i, i, are two Nicches, one whereof is very much decayed. /

l. an Arch. /

in c, before the late Warres was a Force, [water worke] to serve the Mannour-house with Water. /

n, n,

nn, nn, the path that leades to the Mannour-house. /

n, n, path leading to the Well, with some vestigia of building.

Excerpta out of Mr Drayton's Heroicall Epistles, with the
Notes of *John Selden Esq Iuris Consultus*⁶⁹

"Well knew'st Thou what a Monster I should be
When thou didst build this Labyrinth for me."

Notes. /

"Rosamonds Labyrinth, whose Ruines together with her Well, being paved with square stone in the bottome: and also her Tower from which the Labyrinth did runne (and are yet remaining) was altogether underground. being Vaultes arched and walled with brick and stone, almost inextricably wound one within another, by which if at any time her lodging were layed about by the Queen, she might easily avoyd perill eminent; and if need be, by secret issues take the aire abroad many furlongs round about Woodstock in Oxfordshire wherein it was situated."

"Rose of the World, so doth import my name.
Shame of the World, my Life hath made the same."

Notes. /

"This Rose of the World was sumptuously interred at Godstow-Nunnery a certaine Bishop caused her monument which had been erected to her honour; to be utterly defaced."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Michael Drayton, *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (London, 1597), 1-8v. is *The Epistle of Rosamond to King Henrie the Second* with explanatory notes, some of which Aubrey has copied. His transcription is not exact, and the second note is a paraphrase of Selden's original.

⁷⁰ Aubrey paraphrases the text. Deloney's ballad concludes with a prose passage which says that in Rosamond we may see the transience of worldly fortune and pleasure; that the epitaph which was 'Ingraven on her Tomb at Godstow, where she was most sumptuously Interred' truly pointed out that she, a sweet-smelling rose to delight a king, was become an 'ill noysom odour to all Posterity'. This epitaph, printed before the ballad, concludes, 'Though she were sweet,/Now foully doth she stink:/ A Mirrour good for all/That on her think'.

{second back fly-sheet}

Memorandum about 1660, some Scholars digged for her Bodie, being enformed by an old Woman, where it lay: who had it by Tradition from her mother, and so upwards. They found the body in a Coffin: and her bones were much esteemed.⁷¹

"Which only Vaughan thou an I doe know."

Notes. /72

"This Vaughan was a Knight whom the King exceedingly loved, who kept the Palace of Woodstock, and much of the Kings Jewells and treasure. to whom the King committed many of his Secrets, and in whom he reposed such trust, that he durst committ his Love unto his charge."

See Drayton's *Polyolbion*.⁷³

Memorandum by the old Ballad of faire Rosamond,⁷⁴ I should conclude, that that this Vaughan, was the Sir Thomas mentioned there. *scilicet*

"And you Sir Thomas whom I trust
to be my Loves defence etc:"

Ballad

"Yea Rosamond faire Rosamond, her name was called so,
To whom Dame Elinor our Queen, was known a deadly fo{e}
The King therfore for her defence against the furious Queen
At Woodstock builded such a Bower the like was never seen
Most curiously that Bower was wrought, of stone and timber strong
A hundred and fifty doares did to this Bower belong
And they so curiously contrived with turning round about,
That none but with a Clew of thread, could enter in or out."⁷⁵

⁷¹ For Hearne's sceptical comments on the supposed coffins of Rosamond and her keeper, displayed in the ruins of Godstow nunnery in 1710, see *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, ed. C.E. Doble, ii (Oxf. Hist. Soc. vii), 393-4.

⁷² This is from the epistle *Henry to Rosamond*, and the notes to it, in Drayton, *Heroicall Epistles*, 3-8.

⁷³ Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612-22) does not mention Woodstock. Aubrey relied on *Poly-Olbion* for his *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire* (Bodl. MS. Wood F 39, f. 424).

⁷⁴ Deloney's ballad *A Mournful Ditty of the Fair Lady Rosamond, King Henry the Seconds Concubine, who was poysoned to death by Queen Eleanor, in Woodstock Bower, near Oxford*. Wood's copy is Bodl. Wood 254(3). Aubrey quotes from verse 16.

⁷⁵ Aubrey also transcribes these verses in the section on 'Mazes' in *Remaines of Gentilisme* where they are compared to a description of Daedalus's labyrinth, with which Rosamond's Bower is usually linked in the literary sources. Aubrey says 'The curious description of this Labyrinth, putts me in mind of that at Woodstock bowr, which my Nurse was wont to sing' (B.L. MS. Lansdowne 231, f. 143).

This Ballad sayes, that Queen Elinor took her opportunity to poyson Rosamond, at what time as King Henry was in France, whether he went to suppress the Rebellion there rayed by his sonne.⁷⁶

In the edition of the Workes of Sir Geofrey Chaucer by Thomas Speght London printed by Adam Islip 1602: in the explanation of the obsolete words at the end of the booke, *scilicet* — Rosamond, "This Rosamond the faire daughter of Walter Lord Clifford and forced to be Concubine to King Henry 2, who builded for her at Woodstock a house with a Labyrinth under the ground, much whereof at this day [1597] is to be seen as also a goodly Bath, or Well, called to this day Rosamonds Well. In the end she was poysoned by the Queen Elianor, some write, and being dead was buried at Godstowe in a house of Nunnes beside Oxford. Not long since her grave was digged, when some of her bones were found, and her Teeth so white (as the dwellers there report) that the beholders did much wonder at them."

See in Godwyn of the Lives of the Bishops,⁷⁷ in that of Robert Grossted Bishop of Lincoln, who visiting this Nunnery, found her hearse in the middle of the Choire covered with green silk: ~~and the Nunnes doing their devotion~~ he was much scandalized at it. and caused her body to be removed into a more secret place of the church; thinking it an unfitting object for such holy women to behold.

Memorandum Sir Laurence Washington⁷⁸ of Garesden, neer Malmesbury, was a great lover of painting, and painted indifferently well himselfe. he had a good collection of pictures, and amongst them was a very good piece of Rosamond, which I ghesse might have been donne about Henry 6th. Her haire was a deep red, inclining (*second back fly-sheet verso*) to a Chesnut colour: her Eie like that of a Viper,⁷⁹ but somewhat small: delicate cleare faire warme skin. Ovall face: archt eie browes: but the result $\sqrt{\text{me}}$

⁷⁶ In Deloney's ballad, the King says: 'I must leave my fairest flower;/ my sweetest Rose a space;/ And cross the Seas to famous France;/ proud Rebels to abase'.

⁷⁷ Francis Godwin, *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England* (1601), 239-40 is the Life of Robert Grosseteste, but this story in fact belongs to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln (pp. 237-8). Rosamond Clifford was buried at Godstow in the late 1170s; her tomb was moved from the chancel to the chapter-house on the bishop's orders, and was destroyed at the Dissolution. See *DNB* for the various accounts, and for details of her possible exhumation in the 16th century.

⁷⁸ Sir Laurence Washington bought Garsdon Manor, Malmesbury, in 1631. When Sir Laurence died in 1643, he was succeeded by Sir Laurence Washington junior who died 1661, and was succeeded by his only daughter Elizabeth. In 1671 Elizabeth married Sir Robert Shirley, Bt. of Chartley Castle who became Lord Ferrers in 1677 (*V.C.H. Wilts.* xiv, 90; *Complete Peerage*, v, 329-31).

⁷⁹ An idea probably derived from William Harvey, who told Aubrey that Sir Francis Bacon had 'a delicate, lively hazel eie;...like the eie of a viper' (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 72), and also like Hobbes's. Aubrey took it to be a sign of high intelligence, and comparing the 'humours' of those living on the two sides of the River Severn in his *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire*, says, 'one haz more of the Toade: the other of the Viper. [their eies are of the colour of a Vipers; which indicates a good Witt' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 1, f. 23).

thought¹ ~~ha~~ of all had a little to much of pride: whereas that of Mrs Jane Shores⁸⁰ hath mixt with her beauty, much sweetnesse and goodnesse. Sir Laurence Washington's sonne had only a daughter and heire who is married to the right Honourable Lord Ferrars of Chartley, where I beleeve the picture afores{ayd} is: for the pictures are all removed from Garesden.

Memorandum that part of the Mannour-house (or Palace) that lookes towards the south and West, was built by King Henry 7. as may appeare by the fashion of the Windowes: of that age: e. g. White-hall—Richmond house Hampton-Court: / *Corpus Christi* College in Oxford etc: but also by this Inscription which is frequent about the house *scilicet* $\text{h} \wedge$ which is the old fashioned figure of 7 — in those dayes when the Saracenicall figures began to be used.⁸¹

Memorandum the Chimneys doe runne-up in the middle of the thickness of the walles. The Chapell is of great antiquity: and was curiously built. I beleeve good part may be yet remaying. Anno 1642 when I came first to the University to Trinity College I remember there was in the court a great and stately Fountaine guilded. The Hall was great and had pillars in it like a Church. /⁸²

I doe remember old Stagge-headed oakes in the high parke of Woodstock, that had not born leafe I beleeve in above a hundred yeares. They were of great Antiquity; and me thought claimed a veneration. their ¹few¹ dead Branches, made them looke like Anticks.⁸³

ENSTON.⁸⁴

It is pittie it should be forgott, what my old acquaintance Mr John Sydenham [Mr Bushells beloved Servant] told me concerning this Place, *scilicet* His Master living here, having some land lyeing on the side of a hill which faces the South, at the foot whereof

⁸⁰ Fair Rosamond and Jane Shore were traditionally linked, both in ballads and by preachers, as unchaste beautiful women. A portrait of her 'to be seene in London' is described in the prose 'Description of Jane Shore' printed with the ballad 'The Wofull Lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore'; she was painted as just out of bed, wearing a 'rich Mantle' and displaying her bare arm. Aubrey saw a painting of Jane Shore at the house of Sir John Suckling's sister, Martha, in Bishopsgate Street, London (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, 244).

⁸¹ In his perambulation of Woodstock, Plot observed this letter and figure in two places on the stone wall amongst the ruins of the Manor House (Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 158, p. 13). Arabic numerals were quite widely used in England alongside the much more common Roman numerals from the end of the 13th century, the number 7 resembling an inverted V. This observation reflects Aubrey's interest in palaeography (developed in his *Chronologia Graphica*, Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, ff. 185-96), and in the history of mathematics. See G.F. Hill, *The development of Arabic numerals in Europe* (1915).

⁸² These notes are found in Aubrey's *Chronologia Architectonica*, Bodl. MS. Aubrey 3, f. 4, and in a fair copy, Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, ff. 156, 164. There is also a scribal copy, Bodl. MS. Aubrey 16. For the fountain, see *V.C.H. Oxon.* xii, 438.

⁸³ I doe...Anticks] Aubrey wrote 'vide' and a symbol in the margin, indicating that this passage, marked with the same symbol, should be transposed here from the facing page in the MS.

⁸⁴ For Thomas Bushell (1594-1674), see *DNB* and Aubrey's Life in *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 130-5, where there is another draft of this material. Aubrey knew of Bushell, and his hermitage and water-works at Enstone, through family connections; see Introduction. This material dates from Aubrey's visit to Enstone on 8 August 1643 when he made notes on, and sketches of, the water-works, from which derive these, and the related notes given here and in the Introduction.

runneth a fine cleare Brooke (which petrifies) where was pleasant pla{ce} for retirement: about Anno 1633, or 1644, (but I thinke 1633) sp{ake} to Mr Sydenham to gett a Labourer to cleare some Boscage which {did} grow on the side of the hill; and to make some cavity there in the ban{k} for a place to sitt and reade or contemplate. The Labourer had not wrought above an hower, before he discovered, not only a Rock; [the rock lies near to the earths surf{ace}] but [a caverne in it; and] that of an unusuall kind, having pendants of stone like Icicles: as it is at Okey-hole in Somersetshire;⁸⁵ which lucky accident was the occasion of making this delicate Grotto, now so much renowned: as also of the pleasant Walkes here. After this discovery, as concerning the Walkes to be made, Mr John Sydenham told me that his Master considered, that he was well in yeares, and that if he should plant his walkes with Quick-set, etc: the usuall way, he should hardly live to enjoy the pleasure of them: he [^]therefore sent his workmen all about the Countrey to search for White-thorne, Plumme-trees etc: 15, or 20 foote high, and planted them forth with: it was in the moneth of October towards All-hollowtyde. They all did very well: and satisfied his desire the first yeare. I never sawe better Hedges. /

A Somersetshire Proverb.

"For, Apples, Peares, Hawthornes Quickset, Oak{es}
Sett them at All-hollowtyde and command them to grow
Sett them after Candlemas and entreat them to grow."

[Memorandum Quickset hedges (that are in good ground) ought to be cutt in twelve yeares.]⁸⁶

⟨Third back fly-sheet⟩

vide pag. 238. Tab. XI. fig. 16. /⁸⁷

⁸⁵ I.e. the stalactites at Wookey Hole, Somerset. Aubrey noted that 'Okey hole neer Welles is concamerated with millions of pendants like Icecles of the petrifying water, as at Mr Bushell's wells at Enston Oxfordshire. here and at the caves at Cheddar rock one may be furnished with enough of these kind of materials which are excellent for Grottos'; he recommends stones at Bristol and Derbyshire for the same decorative purposes (Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 158, p. 167; Hearne's transcript of Plot's notes from Aubrey's lost natural-historical and natural-philosophical manuscript, *Adversaria Physica*). In *The Naturall Historie of Wiltshire* Aubrey notes that John Sydenham had told him 'that the water that comes-out of Enston-rock is very gratefull to the palat. and ('tis sayd) cures green Wounds: it did cure his hand of an Inflammation. It petrifies. I have a conceit that this water would be good for one that is Hectick. The petrified pendants of these Rocks did corrode the papers in which I wrapt them' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 1, f. 45v.).

⁸⁶ A transcript of some of this material is found in Royal Society Classified Paper VII (1) 30 (ed. J. Buchanan Brown, *Three Prose Works*), 348, 342; another transcript is Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 158, f. 16. Robert Plot, on the other hand, says that Bushell came upon the rock as he was clearing ground to build a cistern (236).

⁸⁷ Plot's engraving of 'the exterior Prospect of Enston Waterworks'.

Memorandum whereas there is now a Ball, out of which streames of water issue: in Anno 1642 there stood a Neptune on a ~~Con~~ Scalop-shell with his Trident in his hand ayding at a Duck which swamme perpetually round, and a Spanniel pursuing her: It was of wood about 3/4 of a yard high. It looked very pretty.⁸⁸

- a. the Duck.
- b the Spannell
- c, the surface of the water.
- d. scalop-shell



ad pag: 240. § 59.⁸⁹ *Memorandum* Anno 1637 one H. Penny of Broad Chalke parish in Wiltshire⁹⁰ [a good Husbandman] went to Hoby of Bisham in the County of Bucks Esq, to be his Bayly. When he came there, he sawe, that they used the very same course of Husbandry for Chalky land (such as ours at Chalke) as they did to their deep lands, viz. one fallow, twy⁹¹ fallow, three fallow and fower fallow. He presently used his owne countrey fashion of Husbandry as to the Chilterne lands: viz. ploughed only once or twice: and since [that], all the county have followed his example. /

Memorandum the custome at Woodstock [^][on May-day] of drawing Hawthorne-trees out of the [^][Parke], and setting them up in the Towne before their howses; where they dance: feast etc:⁹²

⁸⁸ The Neptune, duck, and spaniel apparatus was included in the plans Aubrey made for altering his manor-house at Easton Piercy, Wiltshire, into an Italian villa, with a garden in which the Neptune apparatus would be copied (*Designatio de Easton-Piers in Comitatu Wills*, Bodl. MS. Aubrey 17, f. 18). Aubrey's sketch of the apparatus is reproduced in John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove* (1986), fig. 87.

⁸⁹ Plot's text reads, 'As for the Chalk-lands of the Chiltern-hills, though it requires not to be laid in ridges in respect of drynes, yet of warmth it doth: when designed for Wheat, which is but seldom, they give it the same tillage with Clay, only laying it in four or six furrow'd Lands, and soiling it with the best mould, or dung but half rotten, to keep it from binding, which are its most proper manures; and so for common Barly and winter Vetches, with which it is much more frequently sown, these being found the more suitable grains. But if it be of that poorest sort they call white-land, nothing is so proper as ray-grass mixt with Non-such, or Melilot Trefoil.'

⁹⁰ Probably one of the several Henry Pennys in the Broad Chalke parish registers for this period.

⁹¹ Obsolete variant of 'two'.

⁹² Another copy of this memorandum is in Aubrey's *Remaines of Gentilisme* in a discussion of May-day practices, where he regrets 'the destruction of so fine a tree' (B.L. MS. Lansdowne 231, f. 176).

Memorandum in a hole in the highway (where out stones had been drawn) at Ditchley neer the Mannour house, the water that stood in the hole looked of a good blew colour. 1656. *quaere* what gave it the Tincture?⁹³

⟨A line of text in black-lead is scored out in ink; it is illegible apart from the words 'The Danes' and 'crosse'⟩

At⁹⁴ Shotover a <re> great stones of above a foot diameter like Globes. I thinke they were enclosed within another stone. which I find not here mentioned. /⁹⁵

Memorandum there is a Custome at Woodstock on May-day, to drawe Hawe-thorne-trees out of the Parke, and sett them up and downe in the street, where is dancing, feasting, and merrymment. me thought 'twas pittie to see so many faire 'white' Thornes, spoyled for one dayes disport. /

*Memorandum*⁹⁶ Witney. Wit in Dutch is white: witten, to whiten ey, is water. this stands on the nitrous Windrush. [a British word corrupted] Win, is whit{e} usk, is water; and the nitrousnes, gives it that scouring vertue. π pag...⁹⁷

Memorandum about Kidlington, Berberie-trees doe growe frequently, as they doe about the grounds and fields of Priory St Mary's, in the parish of Kington-St Michael in the County of Wilts: and about in the County of Salop. /⁹⁸

⟨Third back fly-sheet verso⟩

At Wolvercot, the right reverend Father in God, John Fell Lord Bishop of Oxford,

⁹³ Aubrey collected natural-philosophical observations on mineral springs, most of which are in the section 'Of Medicated Springs' in the *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire*. He tested the waters of several locations in Wiltshire and hoped that his work would be developed by others along the lines proposed by the Sieur du Clos, *Observations of the Mineral Waters of France, made in the Academy of Sciences* which Sir William Petty abridged (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 1, ff. 32-45v. Petty's queries are in Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1820a).

⁹⁴ Marked in the margin with Aubrey's sign for 'memorandum'.

⁹⁵ A passage marked in the margin for transposition has been moved to its intended place before the description of Enstone.

⁹⁶ *Memorandum...π*] added later.

⁹⁷ In his treatise on the etymology of English place-names, *Villare Anglicanum*, which is dedicated to Edmund Wyld, Aubrey puts a cross-reference to 'vide Windrush' against the entry for 'Witney, Oxf.' His note on the Windrush says that the name means 'white-water...Win is white, and rush river...So that this word is of the same signification with Witney, where it runnes, and is used by the Clothiers: Wit is white and ey is water. The Romans brought in the Art of Cloathing and Dyeing: and in probability, by reason of the goodnesse of the water so fitt for that Trade, manufactured Cloath here' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 5, ff. 77-8; see also f. 82).

⁹⁸ In the *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire*, Aubrey says that there remained a great number of 'Berberry-trees' in the old hedges which formed the boundary between the fields of the Abbot of Glastonbury and the lands of Priory St. Mary's; he speculates that the nuns used them for 'Confections' and taught their young lady pupils 'such Arts' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 1, f. 125).

caused white paper to manufactured: *(sic.)* and 'twas very good⁹⁹ The paper whereof Antiquitates Oxonienses¹⁰⁰ were printed was of ~~this sort~~. made here. This Mr Million of London¹⁰¹ assures me to be true, to his owne knowledge. /¹⁰²

ad pag. 156. § 39.¹⁰³ There is a hedge of Black-thorne in the way as you goe from Worcester to Droitwich, halfe a mile long, or more, that blossomes about Christmas-day, for a weeke, or more together. The ground is called Long-land. /

ad pag: 160. § 50.¹⁰⁴ At Stansted, neer Hunsdon in Hartfordshire, are found in the [low] meadowe grounds, subterraneous Oakes — upright.

ad pag: 164 § 62. /¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ See H. Carter, *Wolvercote Mill* (1974). Philip Gaskell says, 'Practically all the white paper used by English printers up to 1670 came from foreign mills... There were indeed a good many mills working in England from the later sixteenth century, but they suffered from the lack both of skilled workmen and of a regular supply of linen rags... and, with few and unimportant exceptions, they made brown paper, not white' (*A New Introduction to Bibliography* (1985), 60). Aubrey had other notes on the history of paper, commenting, in his *Perambulation of Surrey* that 'Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle sayes, that in the time of King James I, course Paper, commonly called whitebrown paper was first made in England, especially in Surrey and about Windsore' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 4, f. 151v.). In support of Sir Richard Baker's statement in *A Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1660), 426, Aubrey makes a note of the paper mill in Bemerton near Salisbury in *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, 323, the section *Nouvelles* in *Monumenta Britannica* (Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, f. 207), and again in Bodl. MS. Aubrey 2, f. 65.

¹⁰⁰ Anthony Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates Uniuersitatis Oxoniensis* (1674), printed under Fell's supervision.

¹⁰¹ Mr Million seems to have been a merchant or dye-manufacturer: Aubrey mentions him in his *Faber Fortunae* in a memorandum to 'Quaere Mr Million of the Flax-trade, Hempe, and Paper' and he meant to discuss with him the setting-up of English plantations for hemp, flax and linen for ships' sails and for shirts; he also says that Mr Million planted 'Safflower', a source of scarlet dye, at Kensington, and that it was profitable (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 26, ff. 4v., 8v., 9v.).

¹⁰² Written over a semi-illegible black-lead note about 'Mr Bushell's rock'.

¹⁰³ Plot's text reads: 'And hither I think may be referred the Glastenbury Thorn, in the Park and Gardens of the Right Honorable the Lord Norreys, that constantly buds, and sometimes blossoms at or near Christmas: whether this be a Plant originally of Oxford-shire, or brought hither from beyond Seas, or a graft of the old stock of Glastonbury, is not easie to determin. But thus much may be said in behalf of Oxford-shire, that there is one of them here so old, that it is now dying, and that if ever it were transplanted hither, it is far beyond the memory of men.' Aubrey discusses the Glastonbury Thorn in his observations of natural history of several counties read to the Royal Society at Christmas 1675, Royal Society Classified Paper VII (1) 28, f. 5 and VII (1) 30, in the hand of Henry Oldenburg (ed. J. Buchanan-Brown, *Three Prose Works*, 330, 339). Similar passages appear in Thomas Hearne's transcript of Robert Plot's notes from Aubrey's *Adversaria Physica* (Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 158, f. 167), and in the *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire* (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 1, f. 125).

¹⁰⁴ Plot's text reads: 'I am detained by a parcel of subterraneous Oakes, found some years since at the bottom of a Pond on Binfield-heath in the Parish of Shiplake, very firm and sound, but quite through to the heart as black as Ebony; caused I suppose by a Vitriolic humor in the Earth, which joining with Oak the parent of a sort of Galls, might reasonably enough produce such an effect, as we see they do always in the making of Ink: And that I am not mistaken in this conjecture, the Ditches by the Woods side between this and Caversham will bear me witness, the Waters whereof, where they stand under Oaks and recieve their droppings and fall of their leaves, being turned blacker than any Vitriolic ones I have seen'...

¹⁰⁵ Plot goes on to question why the oaks should have been buried, and suggests that they were felled when the land was cleared for agriculture or habitation, and, their sale-value being less than the cost of transporting them, they were buried in a pit, or a pond, where they were. Plot summarises the opinions of various antiquaries. However, the timber at Blunds Court was found with 'Caeruleum', which, Plot argues, suggests a mine underneath, most probably a silver mine. Plot's text is quoted above, note 29. He concludes that the discovery of urns at the site means it 'must have been formerly some Roman Work'. In a Welsh marginal note, given above, Edward Lhuud argues that the work could just as easily have been British.

In an old wall at Totham-ho{use} in the County of Essex [a mannour of Edmund Wyld Esq] was found in Anno 1647, Roman, [or Saxon] Gold coines. The quantity he could never be enformed of. The Treasure trove should have been his: but he was cosend of it. /

The land of Walt FitzWaller is in the Possession of Edmund Wyld Esq abovesayd.

At Stockers-wood within 3 ^{or 4} miles of Oxford doeth grow *Lunaria*.¹⁰⁶ Mr ^{Elias} Ashmole ^{Esq} and Mr Bobart rode to see it.¹⁰⁷ At their returne, the wards of the stable dore of the Ale-house were so disordered, that they could not unlock the dore. whereupon Mr Ashmole would needes try the Experiment with this Herbe: and the dore opened: but he told me, that he hath since tryed, and ^{twill} it did not doe. /

ad cap. IX. § 223. viz.¹⁰⁸ That the Transfusion of Blood out of one Animal into another was first ~~of~~ invented at Oxford 1665, by Richard Lower M. D. This is to my owne knowledge altogether untrue: For my worthy friend Mr Francis Potter of Kilmanton B. D. and author of the Interpretation of the Number 666] told me of it in January Anno 1648/9 and that the Invention came into his head about ten or 15 yeares before: reflecting on the Story in Ovid's Metamorphoses of Medea renewing of Æsons age.¹⁰⁹ Amongst a great many letters of his to me, which I keep, I have one yet remaying concerning this very subject, dated October 3. 1653./

I had another letter of a former date, which is lost, but a copie of it was taken by Mr Oldenburg¹¹⁰ severall yeares since, to be entred. For I shewed that letter to the Royall Society, to doe Right to my old friend: and to have his noble Invention Registred to his Honour.¹¹¹

ad Cap. VI. § 62. / ^{foresayd} ^{Seate} Memorandum the Estate of Walter Fitz-walter ~~is~~ *scilicet* the Mannour of Tothem in Essex, is ^{now} in the possession of Edmund Wyld Esq. R. S. S. /

These Notes I transcribed and gave to my honoured friend Dr Robert Plot December 3. 1684./

John Aubrey R.S.S./

¹⁰⁶ The fern Moonwort, *Botrychium Lunaria*. Thomas Fuller says 'they say of the herb Lunaria ceremoniously gathered at some set times, that laid upon any lock, it makes it flie open' (*The Holy and Profane State*, iv (1642), v. 261).

¹⁰⁷ Probably Jacob Bobart the elder (1599-1680), keeper of the Oxford Physic Garden. Ashmole may have known him from 1649 (C.H. Josten (ed.), *Elias Ashmole*, i (1966), 60); and they were close acquaintances by 1669 (ibid. iii, 1142). However, Ashmole also knew Jacob Bobart the younger (1641-1719), keeper of the Physic Garden and Professor of Botany at Oxford (ibid. iv. 1865).

¹⁰⁸ Plot, *Oxford-shire*, p. 304.

¹⁰⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII. 242-93.

¹¹⁰ Henry Oldenburg (1615?-77) was Secretary of the Royal Society from 1663.

¹¹¹ Bodl. MS. Aubrey 13, f. 147 is Potter's letter to Aubrey of 3 October 1653. The letter of 7 December 1652 is not lost: Aubrey bound it into his 'Life of Francis Potter' in *Brief Lives* (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 6, f. 61), where there is an account of the discovery (also given in Bodl. MS. Aubrey 2, f. 66). This letter was produced by Aubrey at the meeting of the Royal Society for 29 April 1669 (T. Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, ii (1756), 361), in order to refute the claim made by Dr Richard Lower, in Chapter IV of his *Tractatus de corde* (1669) to have invented a method of transfusing blood from one animal to another.

(back cover)

Colonel Peacock of Cumnor. and his Sisters doe assure me, that at Enesham-Abbey was in their remembrance a world of painted glasse, *scilicet* Stories, Coates of armes, etc./ there were curious buildings, excellent carved wainscot, and Wainescot-cielings gilded: a curious Chapelle.¹¹² I my selfe doe remember [1647] two handsome Towers standing at the West end, as at the Cathedrall church of Welles etc. (now downe to the ground [1652]).¹¹³

My honoured friend and Neighbour Mr. Stafford Tyndale told me, that in the ruines of the old walles of Bampton-castle, are found sometimes Scorpions; but rarely. /¹¹⁴

quaere farther de hoc. /

(There follow a number of black-lead notes, now too eroded to transcribe fully. All the substance of the semi-legible notes seems to be included in the notes in ink elsewhere in the text. They are: the first drafts of the memorandum about the May-day practice of taking hawthorn-trees from Woodstock Park; a memorandum to consult Drayton's Poly-Olbion and the note about John Fell's white-paper mill at Wolvercote. The rest is illegible.)

336.¹¹⁵ §. 80. Danish Campes. O.¹¹⁶

if Lunaria quaere Mr Ashmole where. vide ϕ ¹¹⁷

In¹¹⁸ the Explanation of hard words in Chaucer. *scilicet* Rosamond—This Rosamond [once] the fair daughter of ~~the Lord~~ Walter Lord Clifford, and forced to be Concubine to King Henry the 2d, who builded for her at Woodstock an house with a Labyrinth under the ground, much wherof at this day [1597] is to be seen: as also a goodly Bath or Well, called to this day Rosamond's well. In the end she was poisoned by Queen

¹¹² The Peacock family of Cumnor was numerous. Possibly Francis Peacock (b. 1642) is meant.

¹¹³ In Aubrey's 'Life of Venetia Digby' in *Brief Lives*, he says 'At the west end of the church here were two towers as at Welles or Westminster Abbey, which were standing till about 1656. The romes of the abbey were richly wainscotted, both sides and rooffe' (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 229). The conflict over dating in the two accounts (1652/'about 1656') may be explained thus. Material from the 1650s derives from Aubrey's miscellaneous pocket-book notes. Where material with a 1650s date was transcribed directly into a more substantial manuscript from Aubrey's original notebooks, the date is accurate. (The 1652 date in the 1722 account is an example of this.) A date of 'about 1656' indicates that Aubrey has remembered the note, and that he collected it during this period, but did not have access to his original dated notebooks.

¹¹⁴ Another version of this memorandum is in *Monumenta Britannica* (Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, f. 158). The Tyndale family lived in the Priory, near Easton Piercy, Wiltshire. Tyndale and Aubrey shared natural-philosophical interests; they went together to inspect William Lee's stocking-frame (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, 32), and they witnessed a mist so thick that it reflected a man's shadow by candlelight as on a wall (Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 159, p. 204). Aubrey says Tyndale was steward to Gilbert Sheldon and that he drowned in the Thames in 1678 (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 4, f. 26).

¹¹⁵ 336] Altered from '334.'

¹¹⁶ By 'O', Aubrey means 'circular'. See above, n. 25.

¹¹⁷ ϕ is Aubrey's symbol for his lost manuscript *Adversaria Physica*. Part of the work survives in Hearne's transcript of Plot's notes from the work, Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries 158, 159, other parts in Henry Oldenburg's transcript, London, Royal Society MS., Classified Paper VII (1) 30, ed. J. Buchanan-Brown, *Three Prose Works*, 336-56.

¹¹⁸ In...at them] Struck out, as a duplicate to a passage printed above.

Elianor, some write, and being dead, was buried at Godstow in a house of Nonnes besides Oxford. Not long since her grave was digged, where some of her bones were found, and her Teeth so white (as the dwellers there report) that the beholders did much wonder at them. /

Edmund Wyld Esq saith that Rosamond gave the fine Ring of Bells to Cromer church: *(Aubrey adds: quaere if such a church)* and they say there was a way underground from her Labyrinth to Cromer-church. *quaere + de h{oc.}*

Mr Edmund Wyld

~~Mr Edmund Wyld saith that~~ saw the entrance of the Vault: one could not goe upright int(o) it: at certaine intervalls [100 + yards] were aire-holes

*(black-lead)'s kidney*¹¹⁹

(There follows a semi-legible memorandum in black-lead including the words: found by Dr Press of Bathe the Lady)

*Memorandum Mr Trendar Iuris Consultus Interioris Templi,*¹²⁰ sayes, that at a place called Bybury neer Burford in Oxfordshire [*quaere* if it is not in Gloustershire] was found about 1647 +, opus tessellatum, and Mosaicum. *quaere de hoc.*¹²¹

¹¹⁹ In Volume I of *Brief Lives* Aubrey gives an account, headed 'Petrification. of a Kidney', of the execution of the Jesuit William Waring (1610-79), alias William Harcourt, who was one of those accused of involvement with the alleged 'Popish Plot' and hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn 20 June 1679. 'When Father Harcourt suffered at Tyburne, and his bowells etc: throwne into the fire, a butchers boy standing by was resolved to have a piece of his kidney which was broyling in the fire; he burn't his fingers much: but he got it and one Roydon a Brewer in Southwark bought it: a Kind of Presbyterian: the wonder is, 'tis now absolutely petrified I have seen it. he much values it' (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 6, f. 10). Aubrey adds in Volume III that the hardness of the kidney was caused by its 'being alwayes carried in the pocket' presumably as a talisman against further Popish plots (Bodl. MS. Aubrey 8, f. 68v. These passages are transcribed in *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, 284, where they are misleadingly presented as a single biographical entry). The kidney is mentioned here as a supplement to Plot's material in chapter 5 par. 147-55 on stones resembling petrified organs. Petrification, which was regularly discussed by the Royal Society, was an interest of Aubrey's: his observations on petrified shells are Bodl. MS. Hearne's Diaries, p. 175; he made a note of the publication of Thomas Shirley's 'Philosophicall Essay about Petrification—at London. 1672' (Bodl. MS. Wood F 39, f. 294); he recorded details of petrified wood in *Monumenta Britannica* (Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 24, f. 190v.), and discussed 'petrifications of Bodys' with Wren, Hooke and others on 29 January 1676 (*The Diary of Robert Hooke*, ed. H. Robinson and W. Adams (1935), 214-15).

¹²⁰ Nobody of this name is mentioned in the list of *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple 1547-1660*. However, a Charles Trendor, second son of Charles Trendor, late of 'Holwell' <Holywell?> Oxon, gent. was admitted to the Middle Temple 4 February 1658/9, and was called to the Bar on 6 May 1687.

¹²¹ Aubrey's notes on Roman mosaic pavements are collected in *Monumenta Britannica* (Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, ff. 100-10). Presumably this refers to the Bibury Roman villa, near Cirencester, Gloucs., which Aubrey elsewhere reports to have been discovered in 1666 (*ibid.* ff. 102b, 103).

**APPENDIX 1: AUBREY'S 'DESCRIPTION OF ROSAMONDS BOWER AT
WOODSTOCK PARK'**

At one stage there were at least three copies of Aubrey's diagram and 'Key' to 'Rosamond's Bower' at Woodstock. One, perhaps the earliest, was in the lost manuscript 'Hypomnemata Antiquaria Liber B'. Aubrey wrote himself a memorandum in *Monumenta Britannica* to copy 'Rosamund's Bower. p. 307. b. lib. B'.¹²² The surviving variant of the plan in Ashmole 1722 is the earlier, rough copy of the plan which Aubrey gave Anthony Wood. This is now Bodl. MS. Wood 276b, f. 43r-v. It is more informal in its phrasing of the explanatory material, and takes the form of a rough ink-sketch on a paper on which Aubrey has done some arithmetic. This sketch is reproduced in A. Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, i (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xix), Plate V, facing p. 283, and also in H.M. Colvin, 'Royal Gardens in Medieval England', in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. E.B. MacDougal (1986), fig. 6 and p. 22. Neither Clark nor Colvin reproduces all of Aubrey's paper. Colvin supplies a transcript of Aubrey's key, but this unfortunately contains a number of errors (e.g. *aetatis* \wedge *meae* \uparrow 16' is rendered 'that in anno 16—'), so I have given a new transcript of the key below.

A. remaynder of an old wall. from A to B level, \wedge or neer \uparrow 6 foot higher than the meadowe

B. the foote of the hill.

B. D. the Pent of the hill

E. seeme to be the \wedge rubbish— \uparrow Ruines of a noble gathowse or Tower of Entrance

a a a etc: rubbish: I doe remember *aetatis* \uparrow *meae* \uparrow 16 this place to be full of Ruined walls 5 or 6 foote high, and I beleewe \uparrow that \uparrow then, one might have discovered the manner of the Labyrinth

c c c. three \wedge ^{Baths} ~~ponds~~ in trayne.

d. a pond in the Court.

e e e rubbish.

A. F. faces the Meadows and afterwards the Clowds of woodes, which yield a very lovely melancholique prospect.

The first Bath next the spring remains yet finely walled with free stone, the stone of the other two is most of it digged \uparrow away \uparrow it is about a yard Diepe, water $\frac{1}{3}$ yard diepe.

There is yet to be seene a \wedge freestone \uparrow Vault which leads from hence under ground to Combe church, neer a mile distant.

¹²² Bodl. MS. Top. Gen. c 25, f. 1v.

and I beleeeve there were other vaults besides. which *quaere* as also the forme of the Labyrinth.

K. seemes to have been a seat in the Wall about 2 yards long.

i. i. two niches, one very much ruined.

l. an Arch over which you passe the level. here was before the civill warre a force for water

On the recto is Aubrey's rough sketch of the wall and the series of three ponds, with a note and sketch of a window at Woodstock 'like those of Wadham Colledge' and a note for *Chronologia Architectonica*, in ink over black lead, 'the Chimney [at Woodstock-howse] runne up in the Walles. quod nota'.

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