Sir John Marsham (1602-1685) and the History of Scholarship.

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12-2021
This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
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SUMMARY

This is the first major study of the English historian, antiquarian and lawyer Sir John Marsham (1602-85) and his intellectual world. It is principally concerned with the origins, development, and impact of his last, largest, and most elaborate book, the Chronicus canon :Egyptiacus Ebraicus Graecus et Disquisitiones. It offered a new model for the way ancient history was written. Like Newton’s Principia, or Spinoza’s Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, it was one of the many books printed during this period which changed the way Europeans thought about their world.

Because of this, the Chronicus canon defies easy classification, and has little in common with earlier treatises on technical chronology. Marsham’s approach to the historiography of the ancient world must be taken on its own terms, and in its own context, as a product of his immediate circumstances, personal affiliations, and political and cultural identity. Most of the subjects of recent monographs in intellectual history have led well-documented lives, have been the subjects of earlier biographies which modern scholars use as secret guides, or have voluminous collections of correspondence, often in print. There is nothing like this for the life of John Marsham, who worked outside of the institutional settings that have preserved most of the material for the history of scholarship. This has required new approaches to his archive, with special emphasis placed on three manuscript resources.

First, his Pandectae Nostri Temporis, which combines a family chronicle with a history of Britain, offers a guide to Marsham’s early biography, education and legal career, and the complex, tangible world in which he lived. This will be the foundation of the first section, which combines biography, cultural history, and a new, integrated approach to intellectual culture at Oxford in the 1620s. In turn, the origins and development of Marsham’s scholarship will emerge from the social and economic disruptions of the Civil War and will be portrayed through a close examination of his manuscript chronological tables as working compositional tools, which is based upon research from my MPhil thesis (Chapters V-VII). My study of the tables traces the increasing centrality of three principal chronological resources, which are the Parian Chronicle, Manetho’s Egyptian dynastic lists, and Ptolemy’s canon of kings, which, as I will argue, inaugurated a new style in historical chronology. This can be traced from the Restoration-era publication of the Chronicus canon, to a distinct social and intellectual circle in the 1650s.

Finally, I have reconstructed Marsham’s personal library from a folio codex preserved in Maidstone, Kent, the Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Marshamianæ. This allows a detailed history of Marsham’s reading techniques and scholarship, which will be traced from the earlier, narrative, biographical sections to the later, analytic, guide through to the Chronicus canon. Multiple books read together at the same time, and coordinated with the manuscripts on Marsham’s desk, were instrumental to his innovative historical synthesis, which made a sincere and committed effort to place the raw chronological materials of Scaliger’s Thesaurus Temporum, and his notes on language, religion, and culture, into tangible history. In a similar way, this study attempts to reconnect his book with the life Marsham lived, and the world he inhabited.
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INTRODUCTION

When Thomas Gray wrote to his friend Thomas Wharton on 31 January 1761, he captured the natural passage of time in three handwritten columns, collected from observations in Uppsala, Norfolk, and from his own walks around the fens and hedgerows near Cambridge.¹ The rhythm of the year unfolded in his calendar, from the first blossoms of hazel and snowdrop in late January to the last falling leaves of late October, from the earliest songs of nightingales in spring, to the winter departure of swallows.

Fifteen years before, Gray wrote another letter to his physician friend Wharton, with news of the progress he had recently made on his chronological tables, arranged in nine columns. He had already traced Greek cultural and literary history for 332 years, from the 30th Olympiad to the 113th. Gray proudly remarked to Doctor Wharton that his ‘only modern assistants’ were ‘Marsham, Dodwell, and Bentley.’² The miniature seasonal clockwork of Gray’s Cambridge naturalism, and his vast and unfinished chronology of the classical world, enriched the meditations on time, mortality, and oblivion in his poems.

Gray was an accomplished virtuoso, equally familiar with the natural history of Linnaeus and the labyrinthine Hellenistic erudition he found in Isaac Casaubon’s edition of the Deipnosophistai by Athenaeus.³ He analysed the metre of Pindar’s Olympian odes and tabulated ancient weights and measures in his elegant commonplace book.⁴ From his comfortable rooms on the second floor of Burrough’s Building at Peterhouse, Gray was in command of his sources, and when he positioned himself as a successor to Richard Bentley, Henry Dodwell, and John Marsham in chronology, he named them for a reason.

All were brilliant, iconoclastic scholars, who produced innovative contributions to the early modern discipline of technical chronology, which was a demanding, recondite, study of calendars, eras, and dates.⁵ The massive scale of the folio volumes published at the beginning of the seventeenth century suggests that historical chronology reached a zenith between the publication of Joseph Scaliger’s Thesaurus temporum in 1606, and 1629, when the two-volume De doctrina temporum, by Scaliger’s Jesuit critic Dionysius Petavius, was completed in Paris. Rather than declining, the discipline transformed, evolved, and changed, from an emphasis on

⁴Pembroke College Cambridge, MS GRA/1/1 17v-18r.
eclipses, astronomical events, and multiple individually calculated eras, to an increased reliance on dynastic records, material artifacts, and inscriptions. Its methodologies and techniques were absorbed into new histories of ancient cultures and civilizations.

Few historians were more important to this process than Sir John Marsham (1602–85), a lawyer, baronet, antiquary, and member of the Kentish gentry. His largest and most elaborate book, the *Chronicus canon aegyptiacus, ebraicus, graecus et disquisitiones*, became one of the most influential and controversial books printed in the seventeenth century, and was widely read, quoted, and discussed. It provoked angry criticism from distinguished critics at prestigious universities. Other readers, from Isaac Newton to Voltaire, imitated or praised it. Much of its popularity was due to the ways in which it uniquely combined previously separate disciplines, including historical chronology, the comparative history of religious ceremonies, and the use and interpretation of physical evidence like inscriptions and coins. Above all, the *Chronicus canon* made a concerted attempt to place the abstract treatment of the Egyptian dynastic records found in Joseph Scaliger’s *Thesaurus temporum* into a coherent, historically tangible system.

The *Chronicus canon* stimulated the development of a new historiography of the ancient world in early modern Europe, and much of the subsequent discussion on Egyptian culture that dominated the European intellectual landscape can be reasonably seen as responses to Marsham’s book. Its shadow can be seen from John Spencer’s *De legibus hebraeorum* to the second book of Ralph Cudworth’s *True Intellectual System of the Universe*, from Bossuet to Richard Simon, to Bayle. In his defence of a ceremonialist Anglican orthodoxy against a politicized millenarianism adopted by Parliamentarians, Marsham presented a universal history stripped of providence and Christian eschatology. He depicted Moses as an inheritor and reformer of Egyptian philosophy and culture, and found Egyptian precedents for Jewish rites, ceremonies, and beliefs. Although this can place the *Chronicus canon* at the origins of eighteenth-century deism and heterodoxy, Marsham’s thought needs to be assessed in its own context.

In this study, Marsham’s life and work will be reconstructed in its proper place, between the late-Renaissance scholarship of Scaliger and Casaubon, and the intellectual worlds of Henry Dodwell, Richard Bentley, and Thomas Gray, which he helped create. A new approach to the history of learned practices is required to bring this into focus. Marsham published his first book, the slender, caustic, *Diatriba chronologica*, in 1649, when he was forty-six, after a successful career as a Clerk of Chancery had been ruined as a consequence of his royalism. Although he made crucial intellectual connections at Oxford and the Inns of Court, Marsham worked completely apart from institutional settings which patronized and facilitated scholarship. And when he did begin his chronological work, he worked without patronage, using printed luxury editions of classical literature, and ancient coins from his cabinet, transforming the status symbols of a once-wealthy virtuoso into practical working tools.

Marsham offers a unique, compelling case-study of the intersections between intellectual, cultural, and political identities in seventeenth century England. But despite his obvious, significant influence, John Marsham has never received a full study. Soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century, the relevance and importance of his work began to decline, and within a century, Marsham was almost completely forgotten. This has changed, but very slowly.
PRIOR LITERATURE.

In 1935, the French intellectual historian Paul Hazard revitalised interest in European intellectual history between 1680 and 1715 in his epochal book *La Crise de la Conscience Européene*. Hazard perceptively placed Marsham, the problem of Egyptian dynasties, and debates on Moses the Egyptian in a larger context, but these were mentioned in passing, in deliberately flippant and discursive prose.  

Although Hazard’s stylish book inspired and anticipated new directions in intellectual history, it was very much a book designed to raise questions, rather than provide answers.

Don Cameron Allen, a professor of English Literature at Johns Hopkins University, was the next to devote several footnotes to Marsham, first in his influential 1960 article on the cultural memory of Egypt in Renaissance Europe, *The Predecessors of Champollion*. Occasionally drawing on earlier German works, Allen adumbrated a capsule history of attempts to interpret and decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics from Piero Valeriano to the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher, to the sprawling eighteenth-century works on Moses by William Warburton. His attention to Marsham was limited to the brief discussion of hieroglyphic writing in the *Chronicus canon*, and it was far more enticing to linger on the lavish engravings of obelisks, cartouches, ibises, and scarabs in Kircher’s elaborately printed *Oedipus aegyptiacus*. Much of the work on the idea of Egypt in early modern Europe that followed concentrated on Renaissance hermeticism, Egyptian iconology, and the relationship between Coptic and the ancient Egyptian language.

In the late 1960s, Felix Hull, ‘the last survivor of the heroic age of pre-war local archives’ surveyed and catalogued Marsham’s manuscripts, at the Kent Archives Office in Maidstone, where they had been deposited by Charles Marsham, 6th Earl of Romney. Hull was not prepared for more than a summary account of Marsham’s erudition: detailed analyses of Ptolemaic and Macedonian numismatics, Seleucid dynasties, Egyptian nomarchs, and Hellenistic epigraphy were not his profession. Working within the limits of his own abilities, Hull perceptively discussed Marsham’s role in the Kentish gentry, and the importance of his family, in a concise 1968 article published in *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

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Attention to early-modern technical chronology was renewed seven years later, in Anthony Grafton’s widely cited and influential article on Joseph Scaliger. In this article, Marsham’s *Chronicus canon* was presented less as a serious attempt at placing the dynastic lists collected in Scaliger’s *Thesaurus temporum* into a logical and self-consistent version of ancient history, than as evidence of a general decline in disciplinary quality and standards. Marsham’s chronology deserves to be assessed on its own terms, as a product of its time.

Since then, new scholarship has expanded on Moses and the memory of Egypt in Western Europe, the comparative history of religion, and the role of Egyptian philosophy in both Greek and Jewish traditions. The Italian historian of science Paolo Rossi Monti, who also conducted research on Francis Bacon, Renaissance mnemonics, universal language schemes, and the *ars combinatoria*, released an important new book in 1979. This book combined histories of early-modern geology, physico-theology, chronology, universal history, monogenetic and polygenetic models for the origins of language, and Epicurean primitivism, to trace challenges to traditional conceptions of time and creation, between roughly 1650 and 1750. Rossi provided compelling introductions to the quarrels between Isaac Vossius and Georg Horn on the historical validity of Septuagint chronology, and contextualized Marsham’s *Chronicus canon* as a response to these debates. Rossi also renewed attention to early modern debates on Acts 9:25, Moses, and the wisdom of the Egyptians. This topic soon received sustained attention by the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann in his 1997 book *Moses the Egyptian*. Marsham was again used as an ancillary to the Cambridge divine John Spencer, and Spencer’s systematic treatment of Egyptian precedents for Jewish rituals, as a demarcation between ‘mystical and occult traditions’ and ‘the language of Enlightenment.’ This produced a series of incisive and erudite responses, principally focused on John Spencer. In both chronology and the history of religious ceremonies, Marsham was relegated to the periphery, despite his influence.

Most recently, Dmitri Levitin has provided a more detailed and perceptive account of Marsham, and the *Chronicus canon*, although this is still set in the context of larger intellectual debates in seventeenth century Europe. A dedicated study of both Marsham’s life and work is required to properly contextualise the social and political circumstances which led to Marsham’s first efforts in chronology, and his path to the creation of a truly revolutionary book.

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17
A GUIDE TO THIS WORK.

Chapter I. I will begin with an overview of the distinction between antiquarianism and narrative history in eighteenth-century Europe. I will then describe the setting and context of traditional universal history, which had enjoyed a remarkably stable history from late antiquity until the end of the sixteenth century. The dynastic records of Egypt produced a crisis for this historiographic paradigm and created an impasse in technical chronology. I will then introduce John Marsham’s proposed solution and tell the story of several ways his book influenced European intellectual culture through the lively story of its controversial reception. The Chronicus canon was the first book that made a concerted effort to integrate every aspect of Egyptian culture, found in classical sources, into a unified model for a history of the ancient Mediterranean world. It historicized religion and replaced theology with history as the preferred medium for discussing rituals and ceremonies, in a way that stands apart from the work of John Spencer. It changed the way chronology was written, by placing less emphasis on independently calculated astronomical eras, and assigning a greater role to dynastic lists, ancient inscriptions, and antiquarian evidence like coins. But who was he? And what motivated him to write this book? Everything we have on his biography is based on a single letter written by his son. We will have to look more closely if we want to uncover his life, identity, and private mental world.

Chapter II. We can use a manuscript chronicle that John Marsham composed to reconstruct his early life, from his birth in a comfortable urban bourgeoisie family of Merchant Taylors in London, through his education, and the formation of his confessional and social identity. I will supplement this with techniques derived from prosopography and cultural anthropology to draw connections between Marsham’s family, the upper echelons of London mercantile culture, and the social mechanisms behind the rise of Anglican ceremonialism. I will present a revisionist, integrated account of Laudianism, patronage, changes in the Oxford curriculum through endowed chairs, and the emergence of new forms of technical chronology, and mathematical astronomy.

Chapter III. This chapter will survey contemporary intellectual culture on the European Continent emerges from Marsham’s Grand Tour, foreshadow the political divisions created by the Thirty Years’ War that would break the solidarity and political neutrality of the Republic of Letters. It will trace the self-fashioning of an antiquarian, and early virtuoso through a history of antiquarian activities. This is continued at the Inns of Court, where John Selden’s influence on Marsham will be explored.

Chapter IV. This chapter will begin with Marsham’s marriage to Elizabeth Hammond and reinforces the importance of family connections and kinship to Marsham’s intellectual output; English antiquarianism is surveyed through a microhistory of Kent. Marsham becomes Clerk of Chancery, and a member of the gentry, but the Civil War interferes with his ambitions, and draws him back to Oxford, where he renews friendships and makes new connections with James Ussher, William Dugdale, and Gerard Langbaine. It will make an argument on the
connections between political crises and changes in learned practices in seventeenth century Britain.

**Chapter V.** In this chapter, I will survey Marsham’s first book, the *Diatriba Chronologia*, and establish a new history of technical chronology using exegesis of the Book of Daniel as a template. I will make an argument on the importance of Ptolemy’s Royal Canon to Marsham’s work, and to the paradigm shift in historical chronology in general. I establish for the first time that all copies of this can be traced to Henry Savile. I conclude with a subtle hint on the political and confessional reasons that led to Marsham’s implicit rejection of both typology and historical providence.

**Chapter VI.** For the first time, I examine chronological tables as working compositional tools, and show how they were made, through a detailed examination of Marsham’s unpublished manuscript tables. I then give the reader a rest with an interlude on the history of palaeography and diplomatics, framed within a chapter on Marsham’s preface to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. I reconstruct the impact of Byzantine chronography, and Marsham’s final decision to integrate both Selden’s text of the *Marmor Parium* and the dynastic lists of Manetho into a new work. A conflict between Isaac Vossius and Georg Horn suggests the utility of Marsham’s approach.

**Chapter VII-VIII.** These chapters begin a survey of the *Chronicus canon* through Marsham’s material history for the origins of idolatry, which betrays similarities with ideas expressed by John Greaves. Chapter VIII retraces the Egyptian voyages and travel-accounts of Marsham’s relative George Sandys, and his friend and houseguest Greaves. Marsham’s revision for the chronology of the Great Pyramid is discussed, as well as the role it plays in his material history of religion, and the concept of the immortal soul.

**Chapters IX-XI** form a complete, exhaustive analysis of Marsham’s history of Moses, the Decalogue, and the Noachide Precepts, with attention given to contemporary legal and confessional debates in Cromwell’s England on whether the Laws of Moses were universally binding. I create a new approach to the history of scholarship and reading through modelling multiple coordinated books on a desktop to trace the formation and evolution of Marsham’s ideas on this, which revises the importance of Moses Maimonides. An interested reader can use the numbered library-key in the footnotes to locate the specific editions Marsham was using at any given time, identify the books together on his desk, and reach their own conclusions about the way he built ideas from separate components.

**Chapter XII-XIII** Chapter XII examines Marsham’s parallel argument for the Egyptian origins of Greek philosophy, through an emphasis on ritual purification and mystery cults. Both Marsham’s history of Judaism and Greek philosophy will stimulate the emergence of heterodoxy and deism in the following decades. The conclusion raises questions on historiography, antiquarianism, the origins of archaeology, and origins of the social sciences. A new relationship between political and economic changes and patterns of intellectual change emerges from Marsham’s biography. Ultimately, Marsham’s sophisticated scholarly
innovations, which sensitive and cultured eighteenth century readers like Thomas Gray found so appealing as they created their own histories of human culture, was rooted in a very real, and human, world.

**Common Abbreviations:**

AM: *Anno Mundi*
AG: *Anno Graecorum*
AUC: *Ab Urbe Condita*. The era calculated from the traditional foundation of Rome in 753.
BL: British Library
CCAE: *Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus, Graecus, et Disquisitiones* (London, 1672)
CPSD: Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
CUL: Cambridge University Library
DC: *Diatriba Chronologica*
JP: Julian Period. A product of the 28-year solar cycle, the 19-year Metonic cycle, and the 15-year Roman indiction cycle, beginning on 1 Jan. 4713 BC.
N.S: New Style (Gregorian calendar, new year beginning on 1 Jan, for all dates in Great Britain after Wednesday 2 September 1752)
O.S: Old Style (Julian calendar, new year beginning 25 March, for all dates in Great Britain used before 2 September 1752).
SNG: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. 
CHAPTER 1

All the materials of this sort of learning are disjointed and broken. Time has contributed to render them so, and the unfaithfulness of those, who have transmitted them down to us, particularly of that vile fellow Eusebius, has done even more than time itself. By throwing these fragments into a different order, by arbitrary interpretations (and it is often impossible to make any others), in short, by a few plausible guesses for the connexion and application of them, a man may, with tolerable ingenuity, prove almost anything by them.

-Bolingbroke to Jonathan Swift, 2 August 1731.

On 6 November, 1735, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, composed his first letter on the study and use of history, from the rural peace of his self-imposed exile at the Château de Chanteloup, at the forested periphery of Amboise, on the banks of the Loire.18 Surrounded by the formal geometry of hedge-mazes and fountains in the style of André Le Nôtre, the large and elegant château was the proper setting for Bolingbroke’s meditations on history.19 The timing was perfect as well. Long evenings in Touraine, and the autumn rhythms of retirement, provided Bolingbroke with the perfect occasion to vindicate his career as the architect of the Peace of Utrecht.20 In his Letters on the Study and Use of History, Bolingbroke portrayed himself as the intellectual successor to Clarendon, a critic of Walpole’s political philosophy, and an authority on the *ars historica*.21 He reviewed the long arc of European historiography from Herodotus to Guicciardini, Machiavelli, and Pallavicino, but decided to begin his treatise with a critique of antiquarianism and historical chronology. This was principally informed by the *Chronicus canon Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus et Graecus* by the English royalist and baronet Sir John Marsham (1602-1685).22

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In the first letter, Bolingbroke echoed the prose he had written to Swift several years before, and expressed his contempt for ‘the whole business of these learned lives, for all the researches into antiquity, for all the systems of chronology and history, that we owe to the immense labours of a Scaliger, a Bochart, a Petavius, an Ussher, and even a Marsham.’ The earliest foundations of ancient history were based on few, broken sources, and Bolingbroke wrote with magisterial confidence when he concluded:

I had rather take the Darius whom Alexander conquered, for the son of Hystapses...than sacrifice half my life to collect all the learned lumber that fills the head of an antiquary.\textsuperscript{23}

Bolingbroke delivered on his promise. He correctly identified a manuscript created by the 8\textsuperscript{th}-century Byzantine monk George Syncellus as the basis for Marsham’s revolutionary new system in historical chronology. But he mistook this for Codex Alexandrinus, which was really a 5\textsuperscript{th}-century Greek uncial codex containing the Septuagint and New Testament: \textsuperscript{24} It was a forgivable lapse. Bolingbroke’s first letter stridently perpetuated the frequent contemporary distinction between antiquitates and historia. Francis Bacon had memorably compared the former to the splintered spars and rigging of a shipwreck.\textsuperscript{25} Manuscripts, pipe-rolls, charters and seals, coins, inscriptions, etymologies, genealogical trees, and the emerging disciplines that classified, interpreted, and organised these, were broadly defined as antiquities, The regional and descriptive chorography of William Camden’s Britannia, and John Stow’s Survey of London were the work of antiquarians.\textsuperscript{26} Obviously, Bolingbroke regarded himself as a narrative historian, but his implicit dependence on the particulars of history was manifest from the beginning. Although Bolingbroke disagreed with the system John Marsham had created to make a self-consistent history of the ancient world, by the first decades of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, the manuscript he had incorrectly cited as Codex Alexandrinus had forever altered the debates on global history

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Bolingbroke, \textit{ibid}, 9, distinguishing between Darius III, Era Nabonassar 413-416 (336-332 BC) and Darius I, accession Era Nabonassar 227 (522-486 BC); on the etymology of the word ‘lumber’, see the eponymous essay by Nicholson Baker, collected in \textit{The Size of Thoughts: essays and other lumber} (New York, Random House, 1996).
\item \textsuperscript{25} Bacon, Francis, \textit{De Augmentis Scientiarum} (ref. ed. Amsterdam, 1662) 124.
\end{itemize}
in early modern Europe. The 11th-century Greek manuscript is now known as Parisianus Graecus 1711, with 230 pages in folio vellum. This manuscript was noticed by François Pithou in the library of Catherine de’ Medici in 1602; Isaac Casaubon retrieved it, and promptly notified his friend Joseph Scaliger.27 The chronographical material preserved in Syncellus was edited and published in Scaliger’s monumental 1606 *Thesaurus temporum*. And this had created an intractable controversy, which John Marsham claimed to resolve.

For as Bolingbroke knew, Marsham’s historical chronology, which attempted to systematically integrate the dynasties of ancient Egypt into universal history, was dependent on the dynastic lists of the Egyptian priest and scribe Manetho of Sebennytus. These lists had been extracted and preserved by the early Christian chronographer Sextus Julius Africanus, and his successor, Eusebius of Cesaerea. The chronological tables from the Eusebian *Chronicon* had been translated into Latin by Jerome, and these had formed the basis of universal history in Latin-reading Western Europe for over 1,200 years. In manuscript, the Latin *Chronicon* used parallel vertical columns, a *filum regnorum* that helped the reader visually compare the histories of Assyria, Israel, Greece, Rome, and Egypt.

This was the traditional visual structure for universal history in European culture from late antiquity to the Renaissance. Assyrian chronology was placed at the left, followed by columns for Hebrew, Sicyonian, and Egyptian history. The tabular framework was copied and reproduced through the centuries, in manuscript and print. Apart from scattered references to various rulers who played an auxiliary role to Biblical *historia sacra*, the columns devoted to Egypt and Assyria were almost empty. Massive folio volumes of late-Renaissance universal histories offered compelling stories of the magus Zoroaster, the Babylonian king Ninus, and Queen Semiramis.28 But except for Apis, no Egyptian pharaohs before the 18th Dynasty were named in Jerome’s *Chronicon*.29 Beside scattered references to other Egyptian rulers in Herodotus, and the *Contra Apion* by Josephus, the details of Egyptian history were almost entirely unknown.

Despite this, the antiquity and complexity of Egyptian civilization was manifest.30 Countless passages in Greek classical literature gave historical and cultural priority to Egypt. Red granite obelisks adorned with worn and faint hieroglyphics stood in the *piazzas* of Rome. When Augustus ordered the laborious transport of the *Flamino* and *Solare* obelisks from Heliopolis in 10 BC, they were already antiquities.31 Medieval legends gathered about the golden sphere atop the tip of the Vatican obelisk, which was said to hold the ashes of Caesar.32 After a Greek manuscript containing the late-antique *Hieroglyphica* attributed to Horapollo was discovered on the Cycladic island of Andros in 1419, emblematic and allegorical literature inspired by the

31 Strabo, *Geography* 17.27, Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4-12, Pliny XXXVI, 72-73.
supposed hieroglyphic writing flourished from Venice to Switzerland. The silence of Egyptian history stood in stark contrast to its antiquities, as if buried in sand. The true scale of Egypt’s dynastic records was unknown to early modern Europe, until Joseph Scaliger published the complete, Greek, canon of Eusebius in his 1606 *Thesaurus temporum*.

Following Manetho, Scaliger listed the first pharaoh of Egypt as Menes, who reigned for 62 years before being carried off by a hippopotamus. His reign began on Solar Cycle 10, Proleptic Julian Period 7010, long before Scaliger’s era for the Flood on 1 January JP 2420 (2294 BC). Given that Scaliger calculated 1655 Julian Years between the Creation and Flood, Menes ruled Egypt before the creation of the world.

Scaliger justified his inclusion of these records by placing them in an abstract conceptual framework of proleptic time. His critics found this self-contradictory and unacceptable. In the densely written pages of his *De doctrina temporum*, the Jesuit theologian and scholar Dionysius Petavius made this point clear. Egyptian historical records were *fictas* and *fabulosas*, and should be rejected. Chronological works, and the tables which promised correlated dates, continued to appear after the 1627 publication of *De doctrina temporum*, but no clear solution to the antiquity of Egyptian dynastic records could be found. Isaac La Peyrère, a French theologian, and secretary to the Prince of Condé and Louis II de Bourbon, proposed the hypothesis that humanity existed before Adam. Perhaps because his 1655 *Prae-Adamitae* also questioned the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, La Peyrère quickly became a favourite

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35 Petavius, Dionysius, *Opus De Doctrina Temporum* (ref. ed. Paris, 1703), II, IX, p.18: […] ‘Ne igitur in haec absurda revolvamur, Arabum, Chaldaeorum, que vetustissimas res illas, aut fictas & fabulosas esse dicius: aut isidem, quibus Assyrii florent, temporibus extitisse. Quod idem & de Ægyptiorum Dynastis, & originibus asserimus, quas in immensam Africanus, & ex eo Scaliger, ultra generis humani non modo memoriam, set ortum ac primordium extendit.’ Scaliger’s Julian Period is the product of the 28-year solar cycle, the 19-year Metonic cycle, and the 15-year indiction cycle (28 x 19 = 532 jy) x 15=7980 (~3267=4713). Scaliger’s Julian Period thus began on 1 January 4713 BC.
bête noire to seventeenth century intellectual culture, and his pre-Adamitism, anathema. The Dutch polymath G.J. Vossius had a more orthodox solution, inspired from Scaliger’s *Isagogici canones*, which he proposed in his 1641 treatise on natural religion, *De Theologia Gentili, sive de Origine ac Progressu Idololatriae*. Manetho indicated that various dynasties ruled from Thebes, Memphis, or Elephantine, thus the Egyptian dynasties might have been parallel, rather than sequential. His son Isaac Vossius refined this idea in his *Dissertatio de vera ætate mundi*, with new evidence on Egyptian administrative divisions, or *nomes*. John Marsham also read his Scaliger attentively, and independently reached the same conclusions as the elder Vossius. In both cases, the readings logically followed the suggestions of Scaliger’s *Isagogi canones*.

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37 Vossius, Gerhard Johahnnes, *De Theologia Gentili* (Amsterdam, 1642), 211-212: ‘Quod manifesto est argumento, eam suisse οὐκοποιον dynastis à Manetho memoratis. Ac vidit hoc Scaliger quoque, qui sic scribit in notis ad eam dynastiam: Ex hac dynastia patet, diversos reges eodem tempore in Aegypto diversis partibus imperium obtinuisse. Nam quando Siætes primus dynastiae XV ex latrunculis pastoribus circa Bucolia Aegypti jam decimum annum regnabat, in partibus Thebaidos regnum inivit Menis Thebanus...’ Vossius also read and cited page 312 of Scaliger’s *Thesaurus Temporum*.

38 Vossius, I. *Dissertatio de Vera Ætate Mundi* (The Hague, 1659) xxix: ‘Clare satis ex iis quae diximus colligi potest, plerisque istos regulos, qui à Manethone memorantur, non simplici ordine sibi invicem successisse, sed plures simul in diversis nomis eodem tempore regnum obtinuisse, nec reges propriis, sed nomarchis esse dicendos.’

39 Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/2Z28/2, fol.4 recto, citing Marsham’s 1606 Scaliger, *Thesaurus Temporum*, Isagogici canones (The 99th listed folio book, and 27th folio volume in the *Historia Universalis* classification from the Marsham library catalogue at Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/E7, hence ML 99.27) p.312. NB: the printed text in this case is not specifically Marsham’s copy.
By 1649, Marsham had already created manuscript chronological tables which replaced the emphasis on lunar and solar eclipses that characterised late-Renaissance technical chronology, with a new, simplified chronological model.

The canon of Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian kings, which Henry Savile found in a manuscript of Ptolemy's Handy Tables, allowed Marsham to securely date the accession of Cyrus. This formed the basis of his chronology and could be securely correlated with astronomical data from the *Almagest*.\(^{40}\) Marsham determined that the reign of Cyrus in Babylon began on Julian Period 4154 (=560 BC), Olympiad 55.1, *Era Nabonassar* 210. He then used the decree issued by Cyrus, which ended the 70 years captivity, to calculate backwards to the fall of Zedekiah and the destruction of the Temple in Era Nabon.141. After combining king-lists of Israel and Judah to create his elaborate *Æra Templi*, Marsham argued that in the Era of the Temple 41, in the fifth year of Rehoboham's reign, Sesac captured Jerusalem (JP 3747).

Marsham's identification of the Biblical Pharaoh Sesac with the legendary Egyptian conqueror Sesôstris described by Herodotus was his most innovative and controversial synchronism, linking Biblical and Egyptian history.\(^{41}\) Marsham supplemented the records in Manetho with the Theban king-list drawn from ps.-Eratosthenes, which recorded 38 kings over 1,076 years. This became the foundation for his account of Egyptian history, from JP 2371, though JP 3747, for 1,376 years through the conquest of Sesostiris.

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41 Sesac: I Kings 14:25, Sesostoris: Herodotus β.102; Marsham, *Chronicus canon*, 357.
In the final, printed *Chronicus canon*, the Theban dynastic list occupied the left-hand column, and the remaining pharaohs in Manetho’s thirty-one dynasties were assigned to parallel entries on the right of the tables. These were horizontally divided into four principal centuries based on Marsham’s *Era Aegyptiaca*. The chronology for Israel, from both the Masoretic and Septuagint calculations, was displayed on the right.\(^{42}\) Marsham correlated this with John Selden’s epigraphic reconstruction of the Parian Chronicle, transcribed from worn marble *stelae* which were found in Smyrna in 1626, and acquired by Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel, after some intrigue.\(^{43}\) In Selden’s edition, this provided a continuous record of Greek history in solar years, the *Era Attica*, from Cecrops (JP 3132) to the Archonate of Diognetus in 263/2 BC (JP 4450). By using Castor of Rhodes, Marsham expanded this with an *Era Argiva*.\(^{44}\) From his perspective, Marsham had not only solved the controversy between Scaliger and Petavius. He had created a new, integrated, history of the ancient world, using only the broken and disjointed materials that survived the shipwreck of history. In his *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, Swift’s target William Wotton summarised the advantages of Marsham’s chronology:

That most learned Gentleman has reduced the wild Heap of *Egyptian Dynasties* into as narrow a Compass as the History of Moses, according to the Hebrew Account, by the help of a Table of the Theban Kings, which he found under Eratosthenes’s name, in the Chronography of Syncellus. For by that Table, he (1) Distinguished the Fabulous and Mystical part of the *Egyptian* History, from that which seems like Matter of Fact, (2) He reduced the Dynasties into Collateral Families, reigning at the same time, in several Parts of the Country; which as some Learned Men saw before, was the only Way to make those Antiquities consistent with themselves, which till then was confused and incoherent.\(^{45}\)

*This* was the historical system which Bolingbroke criticised. Despite his complaints, the *Chronicus canon* became the most influential model for ancient history by the first decades of the 18th century. Its most extensive critique, the *Aegyptiarum originum investigatio* by the Leiden scholar Jakob Perizonius, offered little more than traditional Pyrrhonism on the antiquity of Egyptian civilization.\(^{46}\) His criticisms of Marsham did little to prevent efforts to integrate the Egyptian dynastic records into universal history, following the initial stimulus of the *Chronicus canon*. The structure, chronology, and significance of the Egyptian dynastic records would be debated, revised, and criticised. But they could no longer be ignored. Parallel dynasties allowed Marsham to transfer Egypt from the periphery of history to its centre, and to trace Jewish and Greek philosophy, laws, religious rites, technologies, and cultural institutions, back to Egyptian roots. Marsham’s accommodation of these to the


\(^{43}\) CCAE 15: ‘Veneranda haec stela, in quâ nobiliores Graece Epochae justo disponuntur ordine, ab initio Cecrops ad Diognetum Archontem numerat annos MCCCVIII. Anni isti expansi conficiunt Atram Atticam, quae produci potest usque ad Olympiadem CLX; quo tempore Graeciae nomen cum libertate evanuit, & cum gloriâ Virtus. Illius autem epocha incidunt in annum Per. Jul. 3132.’


prevailing Masoretic chronological model had less to do with scriptural literalism, or confessional identities, than the consensus of his sources. At the time the *Chronicus canon* was written, there were few alternatives. As we will see, Isaac Vossius used the Septuagint in the *Dissertatio de vera ætate mundi* as the basis for his chronology, which afforded an additional 1,440 years. His slender book provoked an immediate attack by the Leiden historian Georg Horn, who deliberately raised the specter of La Peyrère. Their printed quarrel flew between the presses of the Elseviers and Adrian Vlacq during the summer of 1659. Marsham was personally drawn into its acrimonious and gossipy periphery. By assuming the fundamental historicity of scripture, Marsham avoided similar recriminations. Paradoxically, Marsham’s chronological framework allowed him to develop and articulate far more subversive and radical ideas on the history of religion.

For Marsham never confined his efforts to historical chronology alone. Marsham’s format allowed him to insert short essays, or *disquisitiones*, in the pages between his tables of rulers and dates. When read individually, they discussed a glittering mosaic of abstruse topics, from the Labyrinth of Minos to the Eleusinian mysteries, the invention of writing, and the source of the Nile. In aggregate, they presented a new alternative to theological histories of human culture, in which there was no revelation, no divine intervention, no fulfillment of prophecy, and no eschatology.

Marsham inverted the patristic argument for the primacy of Moses as philosopher and legislator. Civilization emerged from Egypt alone. Moses did nothing more than reform and adapt his familiar Egyptian ethical philosophy for the practical needs of the Israelites as he led them through the desert. There was no pristine ancient wisdom transmitted by Moses, and no Trinitarian philosophy encoded in hieroglyphic inscriptions or Hermetic tractates. Contradicted by Pierre-Daniel Huet’s *Demonstratio evangelica*, criticised by Reformed scholars from Hermann Witsius to Melchior Leydekker, Marsham’s history soon found a sympathetic audience in deists like John Toland. It was rarely cited alone.

**MARSHAM, SPENCER, AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.**

When the German philosopher and editor Otto Mencke printed a second edition of the *Chronicus canon* in Leipzig, he compared Marsham’s history of Hebrew ceremonial practices

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with topics from John Spencer’s *Dissertatio de urim et thummim* in the preface. Mencke’s subsequent review of the *Ægyptiaca* by Hermann Witsius, which appeared in the May 1684 edition of the *Acta Eruditorum*, reiterated his connection between Marsham and Spencer, and dispersed their joined names across the republic of letters, in Continental Europe and Britain, like dandelion seeds on a windy day.52 Marsham was soon read in conjunction with Spencer’s 1685 *De legibus Hebraorum*, by libertines and deists, Latitudinarian apologists and Parisian Savants, Dominican priests and Neapolitan rhetoricians, for his arguments that Jewish ritual, customs and legislation were derived from Egyptian precedents.53 The Dutch Remonstrant scholar Philipp Van Limborch quoted Marsham in his *De veritate religionis Christianæ*. The Arminian critic Jean Le Clerc used the *Chronicus canon* as a resource in both his universal history and his commentary on Genesis. This might have occasioned the Calvinist scholar Jacob Perizonius, Le Clerc’s committed adversary, to compose his critique of Marsham’s chronology.54 Hermann Witsius, his colleague at Leiden, attempted to create a pious alternative to both the *Chronicus canon* and Spencer’s *Urim et thummim*.55 The impact of the *Chronicus canon* was amplified by confessional divisions, in the Netherlands, France, and Britain.

Pierre Jurieu clearly showed that both Marsham’s *Chronicus canon* and Spencer’s *De legibus Hebraorum* were opened together on his desk, in his *Histoire Critique des Dogmes et des Cultes*.56 Jacques Basnage de Beauval devoted a significant portion of his *Remarques Critiques sur la République des Hébreux* to addressing Marsham’s historiography.57 And its influence soon spread to heterodoxy, deism, and skepticism. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury, owned and cited the *Chronicus canon*. Matthew Tindal and Anthony Collins appropriated its arguments and conceits in their slender and provocative treatises on rational Christianity.58 By 1752, when Denis Diderot published the second volume of his *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*, the controversies on the Egyptian origins of the Levitical rites were commonplace, and the

54 See Le Clerc, Jean, *Compendium Historia Universalis* (Amsterdam,1698) p.28-29; Perizonius, J. *Aegyptiarum Originum et Temporum Antiquissimum investigatio, in qua Marshami Chronologia funditus everitur, tum illae Usserii, Capelli, Pezronii, aliorumque* (Leiden, 1711).
55 Witsius, H. *Ægyptiaca et Dekaphylon, sive de *Ægyptiacorum sacrorum* (Amsterdam, 1683), I.1: In Marshami canone Chronic, qui laudandum, qui desiderandum videatur; the *Via Felicia* that Witsius uses is entirely derived from Marsham.
56 Jurieu, P. *Histoire Critique des dogmes et des cultes, bons & mauvais* (Amsterdam, 1704), 463-64, etc.
names of Marsham and Spencer were inexorably linked.\textsuperscript{59} This connection has been reinforced by recent scholarship.\textsuperscript{60}

Marsham arrived at his conclusions independently of Spencer, and his complex analysis of Mosaic Law was complete by the first week of September 1666, three years before the initial publication of Spencer’s *Dissertatio de Urim & Thummim*.\textsuperscript{61} Marsham owned an edition of Spencer’s *Dissertatio*, but the evidence of its influence is limited to a single column of microscopic page-numbers in Marsham’s hand, in the margins of his manuscript *addendum* on the Urim and Thummim, which was left forever unpublished in his archive.\textsuperscript{62}

For his part, Spencer obviously used Marsham as a reference, as his annotations in his copy of the first edition of *De Legibus* makes clear.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{59} Diderot, *Dictionnaire*, II (Paris, 1752), 839: Loin donc de nous les idées de Marsham & de Spencer; c’est presqu’un blasphème que de dédure les cérémonies de Lévetique, des rites Égyptiens.


\textsuperscript{61} See British Library Gen. Ref. C.133.g.3 for Marsham, *Chronicus canon Ägyptiacus, Ebraicus et Graecus* (London, 1666); Spencer, *Dissertatio de Urim et Thummim* (London, 1670); *ML 864.183*.

\textsuperscript{62} (●)Kent Library and History Centre, U1121 Z25/1.2 fol.1r (selection); (●) Spencer, *ibid*. 183.

\textsuperscript{63} Again, see Levitin, Dmitri, ‘John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (1683-85) and *Enlightened* Sacred History: A New Interpretation’ in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* LXXVI (2013), esp. page 53 for Cambridge University Library, Adv.a.44.11 237.
Like Marsham, Spencer deliberately maintained his scholarly independence. Although a few scattered references to the *Chronicus canon* emerged in the 1727 edition of *De legibus Ebraeorum*, Marsham’s influence was largely invisible. Importantly, Marsham’s critique of the accepted model for the priority of Moses was informed by the chronological framework of his larger project. Spencer’s work has been placed in the larger context of Restoration ecclesiological debates. Spencer was a divine, and Master of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. Marsham was a lawyer and recent member of the Kentish gentry, without an academic or ecclesiastical position, with no place in networks of institutionalised patronage, and no formal role in contemporary struggles for the identity of the Church of England.

Spencer’s *De legibus*, with its analytic structure and carefully enumerated arguments, was a fundamentally theological treatise. Marsham replaced theology with history, for personal, rather than professional reasons. The first embers of his long and singular path as a scholar were rekindled in Royalist Oxford, where he went to join his family and king in the darkest winter of the Civil War. His allegiance ruined his career as a Clerk of Chancery, and nearly stripped him of his estate.

Living in retirement on the banks of the river Medway, defeated and disgraced, Marsham reforged his identity during the Protectorate. His handwriting shed the affected ligatures and brevigraphs of Chancery hand, transforming into a clear, humanist Italic. The *Chronicus canon* reflected the ambitions, topics, and concerns of the intellectual circle he joined at Oxford: James Ussher, Gerard Langbaine the Elder, and especially his close friend, the mathematician, astronomer, and Arabic scholar John Greaves (1602-1652).

But unlike Greaves, and his fellow royalist Edward Pococke, Marsham never learned Hebrew, Arabic or Persian, and was quite incapable of their technical proficiency in editing calendrical tables from Islamic manuscripts. And unlike the other members of his separate, insular circle of Kentish antiquarians, which included William Somer, and Roger Twysden, Marsham ventured far beyond the monastic charters, Anglo-Saxon coins, and rural perambulations of British antiquarianism, to discuss the Egyptian cult of Apis, the Decalogue, and the origins of Jewish sacrifice and ritual. In this, he made extensive use of Hebraist scholarship by John Selden, his scholarly role-model, political adversary, and personal friend. By integrating Selden’s separate treatises with the Biblical commentary of the Arminian theologian Hugo Grotius, and by placing these into a single historical framework, Marsham eliminated the distinctions between the Mosaic Law and the Egyptian culture that informed it. Religion originated in ritual and sacrifice and was itself a product of the contingencies of human history.

In the hands of readers from Pierre Bayle to Conyers Middleton, and Voltaire, the *Chronicus canon* acted as a catalyst to the Enlightenment historicization of religion. The unsettling force of Marsham’s arguments reverberated far into the salons and coffee-houses of the 18th century. Paradoxically, they emerged from a deeply conservative defense of ceremony, ritual, and the tradition of English liturgical Christianity, against the theological radicalism of Marsham’s Puritan opponents. Marsham’s history of religion originated during the Protectorate, when

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\[65\] Imbruglia, G. ‘The idea of religion and sacrifice from Grotius to Diderot’s *Encyclopedie*’ in *History of European Ideas* (February 2021) appeared after this was written but makes a similar point.
sectarianism and political revolution broke the fragile order of his life. But Marsham was more fortunate than many other members of his milieu, and it was precisely his relative wealth that allowed him to maintain independence from patronage, which in turn, gave him the freedom to write what his colleagues could not.

Like his model of parallel Egyptian dynasties, Marsham’s critique of Jewish ceremonial law, and historical contextualization of the Decalogue, gained adherents, imitators, and critics. The ways in which the Chronicus canon integrated antiquarian techniques and material evidence into its historical narrative were less provocative, but equally influential.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY, TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY, AND THE CHRONICUS CANON.

On 25 March 1728, the English antiquarian and editor Richard Rawlinson was consecrated as a non-juring bishop in Henry Gandy’s chapel, at Scrope’s Court, Holborn Hill, London. Rawlinson also found the occasion on this important New Year’s Day to write the introduction to his new English translation of the wildly popular Méthode pour étudier l’histoire, which the French scholar and historian Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy had originally published in 1713. Rawlinson filled his home in Aldersgate with thousands of manuscripts and printed books, packed ‘from the ground floor to the garrets’, along with a substantial array of coins, paintings and antiquities. Rawlinson’s energy as an editor rivaled his dedication as a collector, and he did much to preserve the works and memory of antiquarians, from John Aubrey to Sampson Erdeswicke. In this case, Rawlinson chose an innovative treatise on the ars historica for his efforts, which had already been reprinted in the Netherlands, in Germany, by Otto Mencke, and in Italy.

Lenglet Du Fresnoy formally included charters, inscriptions, and medals as valuable sources of historical evidence, and provided references to the new formalization of diplomatic research by Jean Mabillon, the epigraphic collections of Janus Gruter and Thomas Reinesius, and the more rigorous treatises on coins and medals by Fulvio Orsini, Charles Patin and Ezechiel Spanheim. Rawlinson, who obviously found value in integrating history and antiquarian studies, supplemented Du Fresnoy with a recent treatise on material evidence by Scipione Maffei. Although Du Fresnoy introduced novel methodological guidelines on properly evaluating letters, memoirs, diaries, secret histories, and contemporary satires, he began his Méthode with the traditional foundations of geography and chronology.

66 See Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS Rawl. D, 835 ff. 1-3; Macray, William (ed.) Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Partis Quintae, F. Tertius (Oxford, 1893) 574. He addressed his introduction from Gray’s Inn, which would have been a quick walk away from Holborn.
67 Lenglet Du Fresnoy, Nicolas, Méthode pour étudier l’histoire, où après avoir établi les principes & l’ordre qu’on doit tenir pour la lire utilement (Paris, 1713); Rawlinson, Richard, New Method of Studying History, Recommending more easy and complete instructions for improvements in that science (ref.ed London, 1728); DNB.
68 Cf. Lenglet Du Fresnoy, ibid (Paris, 1713), 235-240, esp 239: ‘Je ne ferai point ici d’autres remarques, dans la crainte d’être trop long; parcequ’on peut voir sur cette matiere l’excellent, & incomparable ouvrage, que le P. Mabillon a publié sous le titre, De Re Diplomatia, & l’Addition qu’il vient d’y joindre; 240, On a trouvé tant le lumieres dans les Inscriptions de Gruter, de Reinesius, & des autres […]’ 241.
The utility of historical chronology was obvious. Lenglet Du Fresnoy recalled an incomparable quote from the *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, which Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, the erudite Archbishop of Meaux, composed for Louis, the Grand Dauphin, and which was originally published in 1681:

> Si l’on n’apprend à distinguer les temps... on parlera des Perses vaincus sous Alexandre, comme on parle des Perses victorieux sous Cyrus; on fera la Grece aussi libre du temps du Phillipe, que du temps de Themistocles...

If we do not learn to distinguish historical time...we shall speak of the Persians conquered by Alexander as the Persians victorious under Cyrus; we shall make Greece as free at the time of Phillip of Macedon as it was under Themistocles...69

This was precisely the statement that Bolingbroke used sarcastically in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, but Lenglet Du Fresnoy took it seriously, and recommended that the student of history should obtain a firm command of the differences between the Julian and Gregorian calendars, as well as the major astronomical cycles and eras. Du Fresnoy recommended the *Rationarum temporum* by Dionysius Petavius, which remained the most popular introduction to technical chronology. To Du Fresnoy, the *Chronicus canon* was an invaluable resource for both Egyptian and Greek history. Marsham’s method departed from the late-Renaissance technical chronology epitomised by the large folio volumes published by Joseph Scaliger, Heinrich Bünting, Seth Calvisius, and Dionysius Petavius.70 Their reliance on multiple historical eras, carefully coordinated with eclipses, became the dominant model by the early seventeenth century. But Thomas Lydiat, who accommodated the astronomical evidence to his interpretative system for the prophecy of Daniel by simply modifying the length of the reigns of Darius and Artaxerxes, shows the potential limitations of this model.71 Instead, Marsham placed his emphasis on the accepted date for Cyrus, and extended his streamlined chronological model with numismatics, and documentary evidence. Du Fresnoy found these technical innovations useful, but cautioned readers against using the *Chronicus canon* alone, for its ‘singularité dangereuse.’72

Despite this dangerous singularity, the *Chronicus canon* influenced historians and chronologists throughout Europe. It inspired the Breton Cisterian Paul Pezon, who composed a new system of chronology based on the authority of the Septuagint, ‘pour défendre l'autorité

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70 For instance, Scaliger, Joseph Juste, *Opus de Emendatione Temporum* (Leiden, 1583); Bünting, H. *Chronologia Catholica, omnium hactenus ab Initio Mundi* (Magdeburg, 1608); Calvisius, Seth. *Opus Chronologicum* (Frankfurt, 1620), Petavius, *Opus de Doctrina Temporum* (Paris, 1627-1629).

71 See Lydiat, Thomas, *Emendatio Temporum compendio facta ab initio mundi* (London, 1609) Ctesias: 66-67:


72 Du Fresnoy, *ibid*, 15: ‘J’y aurois bien ajouté la Chronique de Mr. le Chevalier Marsham, dans laquelle on trouve toute l’érudition sacrée & prophane, qu’il faut pour s’acquiter avec honneur de pareilles entreprises. Mais parce qu’il a quelque singularité dangereuse, & que d’ailleurs la confusion y regne peut-être plus que l’érudition, elle n’est point propre pour servir de guide....’
des Livres sacrez contre les Pré-Adamites, les Libertins, & autres semblables; & pour établir la Rédigion chez les Orientaux, principalement chez les Chinois & les Peuples voisins.’ His critic Jean Martianay, a Benedictine from the Congregation of St. Maur, first linked Pezron with Isaac Vossius, but Pezron’s adaptation of parallel Egyptian dynasties was entirely derived from Marsham.73 At the Roman Curia, the polymath Francesco Bianchini devised an emblematic universal history using epochs based on his arbitrary choice of the Jubilee year 1700, and the 532-year Paschal cycle familiar from the computus, illustrated with engraved collections of antiquities and artifacts, which were used as evidence in his narrative.74 Bianchini referred to Marsham extensively, in his arguments from the role of Thoth in the invention of geometry to the date of Cecrops.75 Giambattista Vico directly responded to Marsham in the text of his *Scienza Nuova*. Despite Vico’s best intentions, the historical philosophy he sketched in his perceptive and idiosyncratic *New Science* failed to resolve the many disputes on the antiquity of Egypt, the status of Manetho, and the utility of historical chronology, which persisted for decades.

In Britain, James Ussher had long since used popular historical chronology to defend the status and reliability of the Masoretic version of Scripture.76 Certain Restoration divines did indeed promote Ussher’s chronology as a model of orthodox Anglican scholarship.77 Rival chronological systems, like the *Palæologia chronica* by Robert Cary, continued to influence readers and generate controversy well into the 18th century.78 New editions of Byzantine world-chronicles, and the labyrinthine complexities of the Athenian Calendar, continued to engage the attention of capable and erudite scholars like John Mill, Humphrey Hody, Edmund Chilmead, and Humphrey Dodwell.79 Various popular chronologies which reacted to Marsham’s book continued to appear, from William Whiston’s *Cause of the Deluge Demonstrated*, and Arthur Bedford’s *Scripture Chronology Demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations*, to the 1814 four-volume summary by the Irish Rector William Hales.80 British

74 Bianchini, F. *La Istoria Universale provata con monumenti e figurata simboli* (Rome, 1697); Opuscula Varia Vol. II (Rome 1754) 59-60.
75 Cf. Bianchini, *La Istoria Universale*, 104: Così rendevano quelle parole, πεττείας τε και κυβερνής gl’interpreti, e con essi l’erudito Marsham, etc.
76 This must be distinguished from the more conventional, converse, interpretation; compare Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (London, 1650) with his contemporary *De Macedonum et Asianorum Anno Solari Dissertatio* (London, 1648).
78, Cary, Robert, *Palæologia Chronica, a chronological Account of Ancient Time in three parts* (London, 1676); Milner, John, *A Defence of Arch-Bishop Ussher against Dr. Cary and Dr. Isaac Vossius, together with an introduction concerning the uncertainty of chronology* (Cambridge, 1694).
historical chronology had a vibrant and contentious history for well over a century after the *Chronicus canon* first emerged from the frames and platens of the Roycroft Press.\(^8^1\)

Marsham's *magnum opus* also reverberated in the treatises, articles and printed quarrels of intellectual culture on the Continent. Louis Ellies Dupin used Marsham as a source for his analysis of Ancient Egypt in his *Bibliotheque Universelle des Historiens*.\(^8^2\) Nicholas Fréret's exhaustive critique of Isaac Newton's *Chronology of the Ancient Kingdoms Amended* made extensive references to the *Chronicus canon*.\(^8^3\) Together with the chronological works of the Jesuits René-Joseph de Tournemine and Étienne Souciet, this had the effect of stimulating interest on the dynastic history of ancient Egypt for over a century, through the era of Thomas Young and Jean-François Champollion. As Blandine Barret-Kriegel has demonstrated, chronology, comparative mythology, numismatics, and other facets of erudite culture persisted in the *Académie des Inscriptions* through the Enlightenment.\(^8^4\)

In the 19th century, Christian Ludwig Ideler finally incorporated progress made on the Roman consular *Fasti* by Eduardo Corsini, and the epigraphy of Richard Chandler, among other new sources, into his *Handbuch* of mathematical and technical chronology.\(^8^5\) This became the standard reference and template for Ginzel's three-volume reference. By the 20th century, Athenian chronology and various regional calendars continued to receive attention from specialists, but technical chronology as a general topic was almost forgotten.\(^8^6\) Certainly, when compared to his late-Renaissance predecessors, Marsham created no new editions of previously unpublished ancient literature, introduced no lasting expedients to historical calculation like the Julian Period, and has no place in the hagiography of classical scholarship. Yet his *Chronicus canon* marked a definitive change in the early-modern historiography of the ancient world.

Marsham combined historical chronology with comparative mythology, the history of religious ceremonies, epigraphy, and numismatics. The logic of his approach was reinforced by contemporary treatises which defended and formalised the use of antique objects in ancient history.\(^8^7\) Ezechiel Spanheim's *Dissertationes de præstantia et usu numismatum antiquorum,*

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82 Dupin, *Bibliotheque Universelle des Historiens, contenant leurs vies, l’abregé, la Chronologie, la Geographie, et la critique de leurs Histoires* (Amsterdam, 1708).


85 Ideler, *L. Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie,* (Berlin 1825).


originally printed in Rome, appeared in a new Amsterdam edition in 1671, and was instrumental in establishing the study of coins as a historical discipline.88 The French physician and book-smuggler Charles Patin self-published the first edition of his lavishly illustrated Thesaurus Numismatum, in 1672.89 Jacques Spon, Patin’s friend and medical colleague, integrated both coins and inscriptions as historical evidence into his innovative 1673 study of ancient Lyon, dedicated to Luc d’Achery.90 Spon soon became an ardent defender for the superiority of coins, inscriptions, and material artifacts over easily corrupted texts.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Francesco Bianchi’s Istoria Universale illustrated his historical epochs, many inspired by the Chronicus canon, with engraved arrangements of ancient objects, mostly copied from Athanasius Kircher, Hendrik Goltzius, Spon, Herwart von Hohnenberg, Onofrio Panvinio, and other authors.91 The earliest attempts at comparative iconography emerged from the inclusion of non-literary evidence in universal history. By 1708, Dupin’s Bibliotheque Universelle des Historiens not only followed the Chronicus canon in establishing parallel dynasties for Egyptian history, but began with an overview of Colonnes, Inscriptions, Tombeaux, Trophees, and Statues in its ambitious survey of ancient historiography.

A streamlined chronology which emphasised ancient regnal lists, the systematic use of what Spon called archaeologia, and an emerging sense of culture as an object of inquiry, were hallmarks of this new style of history, which the Chronicus canon helped stimulate. The philosophical histoires de l’ésprit of Condorcet and Voltaire overlapped, at their origins, with the antiquarian ‘learned lumber’ derided by Bolingbroke. The fundamental validity of Manetho’s sequential dynastic lists and the Royal canon were reinforced by refined archaeological techniques, and the new linguistic discoveries, in the 19th century, while the Chronicus canon itself was slowly forgotten.

Certainly, Marsham’s book continued to attract readers throughout the 18th century. At the university of Wittenberg, Johann Frederich Weidler cited his edition of Marsham in the Historia Astronomiae. The influential classical scholar Pierre Henri Larcher frequently relied on Marsham in his widely read commentaries on Herodotus.92 Louis-Mathieu Langlès used the Chronicus canon in his dissertations on the colossus of Memnon, which emerged from his curation of the journals that Frederic Louis Nordern recorded during his voyage into Egypt and past the cataracts of the Nile in 1737-8.93 Marsham had identified the vast and broken statue at the Theban necropolis that spoke with the whispering dried voice of desert wind as Amenophis

90 Spon, J. Recherche des Antiquités et Curiosités de la Ville de Lyon (Lyon, 1673). For Marsham’s correspondence with d’Achery, see Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121 E5/5.
91 Bianchini, F. La Istoria Universale provata con monumenti e figurata simboli (Rome, 1697); Schnapp, A. The Discovery of the Past (Abrams, 1993), esp.179-198.
(Amenhotep III), or Ismandes in Strabo, hence Ozymandias.\textsuperscript{94} This was sufficient for Langlès to associate the colossus of Memnon with the nearby statues of black stone famously described by Diodorus Siculus.

In the late summer of 1752, the teenaged Edward Gibbon escaped from Magdalen College at Oxford for the comforts of his father’s manor-house at Burington, Hampshire, where, ‘enamoured of Sir John Marsham’s \textit{Chronicus canon}’ he began an imitative essay entitled \textit{The Age of Sesostris}.\textsuperscript{95} Gibbon abandoned the essay when he returned to Oxford, and it remained in the varnished darkness at the bottom of a drawer for twenty years. In November 1772, Gibbon finally committed it to the flames of his fireplace, a century after the book which inspired it appeared in London. In 1776, the first volume of Gibbon’s \textit{Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire} was published, combining the philosophical history of Hume and Voltaire, with the erudition of Spanheim and the antiquarians.\textsuperscript{96} This approach had been anticipated by the \textit{Chronicus canon}.

In six printed volumes of \textit{Decline and Fall}, Marsham was relegated to a few scattered footnotes. The last was added to Gibbon’s final meditation on the passage of time and transience of life:

\begin{quote}
As the wonders of ancient days, the Pyramids attracted the curiosity of the ancients: a hundred generations, the leaves of autumn, have dropped into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Caesars and Caliphs, the same Pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile.\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

Gibbon’s glance at the date of the Pyramids in the \textit{Chronicus canon}, and a passing, dismissive, reference by Jean-François Champollion, mark the fading importance of Marsham’s book.\textsuperscript{98} It was clearly intended to be his lasting monument, \textit{regalique situ pyramidium altius}. But the discovery of the inscribed granodiorite \textit{stela} near Rosetta in 1799, the publication of Champollion’s \textit{Lettre à M. Dacier} in October 1822, and his first, frustrated, efforts on the papyrus fragments of the Turin canon, mark the end of Marsham’s parallel dynasties.\textsuperscript{99} But long before Edward Gibbon consigned his youthful emulation of Marsham’s \textit{Chronicus canon}
to his fireplace, we can find precedents for his consolidation of history and antiquarianism. The dichotomy presented by Bolingbroke was never absolute.

THE MANY EPITAPHS OF SIR JOHN MARSHAM (1602-1685).

On 25 May 1685, Sir John Marsham died at Bushey Hall, Hertfordshire, in the green and forested country across the River Colne from Watford. He was eighty-three years old. Marsham died far from his home, but his remains were soon returned to Cuxton, Kent, to be interred below the nave at St. Michael & All Angels, in the landscape that had come to define his life. His family was more important than his estate. Robert Marsham owned Bushey Hall and was with his father when he died. Robert was a Clerk of Chancery, and a dutiful son. That winter, when the antiquarian Anthony à Wood wrote from Oxford for details on Marsham’s life, Robert promptly obliged. He sent a brief, terse letter, which appeared in the Athenae Oxoniensis, and became the foundation for all subsequent biographical material.100 This was the summary of Marsham’s life on earth.

John Marsham was born on 23 August 1602 in London, the second son of Merchant Taylor Thomas Marsham, who became alderman in 1622.101 In 1617, he was enrolled in the Westminster School, under the tutelage of John Wilson, headmaster from 1610-22. In 1619, John Marsham matriculated from St. John's College, Oxford. His younger brothers Robert and Ferdinando (minimus) would soon follow. Marsham earned his BA in February 1623, and his MA in June 1625.

After he graduated, Marsham spent the next two years traveling throughout France, Italy and Germany. Upon his return to England in 1627, he enrolled in the Middle Temple.102 Like his contemporary Simonds d'Ewes, Marsham encountered a lively intellectual culture in the Inns of Court, which was a centre of antiquarian research and activities in early modern England.103 In 1629 he returned to France in the retinue of Sir Thomas Edmondes. On 15 February 1637/8

100 Kent Library and History Centre, Ms. U1300/Z10, fol.1r. Wood, Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford, I. (London, 1691), 593-594; DNB.
101 Kent Library and History Centre MS U1300 Z10 fol.1r; Blomefield, F. and Parkin, C. An Essay Toward a Topographical History of Norfolk, V. (London, 1806), p.11; VI, 334; in 1634, Thomas Marsham's house on Milk Street in Cheapside was still in the possession of his family, and rent was charged at £50 per annum; cf. Dale, TC, The Inhabitants of London in 1638 (London, 1931) 137.
102 DNB.
Marsham became a Clerk of Chancery. During the Civil War he moved to Oxford as a Royalist. For this, his estate was seized by the Parliamentary Sequestration Committee, and Marsham was forced to compound, paying a fine of £356 6s 2d.

Robert paused, crossed out a sentence, and resumed: ‘he betook himself wholly to his studies & laid ye foundations of those books he hath since published’. Marsham left the Diatriba chronologica, the Propylaion to Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale’s Monasticon Anglicanum, and finally his Chronicus Canom in print. Robert noted that the French Oratorian Biblical exegete Richard Simon called him le grande Marsham de Angleterre. Intriguingly, Robert affirmed that his father was acknowledged by ‘ye Learned men of Europe his contemporaries to bee ye greatest Antiquary ye most accurate & learned writer of his time as may appear by their testimonies in their letters wch would make a large volume in folio.’ Beside a few letters from Gerard Langbaine, Isaac Vossius and Luc d’Achery, no trace of this correspondence survives among his manuscripts, which Robert himself preserved. Just below this, Robert composed the epitaph for his father, ‘Johannes Marsham miles et Baronettus’ making careful note of his work: Scripsit canonem Chronicum Ægyptii Hebr Græc, obiit 25º die Mai anni Dnī 1685.

Robert also mentioned the cabinet of ‘Greeke Medalls’ he inherited, and Marsham’s library, ‘highly to be valued for the exquisite remarks in the margins of most of the volumes.’ After Robert’s death, the library was scattered, and the memory of John Marsham, in his epitaph and archive, was indelibly associated with his book. There is no edition of Marsham’s table-talk, no biography, or collection of printed epistolae. Beside Chancery calendars and manorial records, Marsham’s archive overwhelmingly consists of drafts for the Chronicus canom, meticulous drawings of ancient coins for unfinished numismatic treatises, and notes on the topography of Rome. There are myriad carefully plotted chronological tables, for Greek archons and Egyptian kings, Roman consuls and Hebrew prophets, one of the largest and most elaborate collections in manuscript. There is very little behind these rigorous geometries of history and time that reveals his humanity. And yet the Chronicus canom can only be understood in terms of Marsham’s life, identity, and fortunes, from Oxford to the legal and intellectual culture of the Middle Temple, from Chancery to Kent. Marsham’s early, personal friendship with William Laud shaped his vision of a liturgical, decorated, English Christianity, with roots in immemorial tradition. The Inns of Court and acquaintance with John Selden informed Marsham’s antiquarian scholarship, which was politicised in the Kentish rebellion of 1648. Marsham’s return to Royalist Oxford connected him to an intellectual circle at the vanguard of Arabic translation, chronology, and mathematical astronomy. And defeat and exile occasioned scholarship, when Marsham’s

104 Cf. Messire Thomas Edmondes, chevalier, conseiller au Conseil d’Etat de treshaut, tresexcellent, & trespuissant Prince Charles premier, par la grace de Dieu, roy de la Grande Bretagne &c... (London, 1629); MS Don. C.60.
105 Kent Library and History Centre, MS U1121.
106 At least in Britain: cf. Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS. Add. C.297, MS. Add. A. 379-380; BL Add MS. 4418, 6692, Leicester Record Office Ms. DE1431, etc.
107 Everitt, A. The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60 (Leicester, 1966).
only weapons were words, against those who would build Jerusalem in his green and pleasant land.

Intellectual history alone is insufficient to explain the *Chronicus canon*, which deliberately alluded to contemporary social controversies through the lens of its disquisitions. Marsham’s historical analyses of idolatry, sacrifice, the Decalogue, Sabbatarianism, and historical providence, were written for a specific audience. Theology justified and guided revolutionary policy, and it was difficult to distinguish godly sincerity from political expediency. Although some precedence can be traced to a wide array of scholarly influences, from the Laudian apologetics of Peter Heylyn to Selden’s *Historie of Tithes*, Marsham was unique in his use of historicised antiquity to counter reforming ideologies.109 The *Chronicus canon* belonged to the world in which it was created, divided between Oxford and Kent.

An oil portrait at the Maidstone Museum depicts Marsham in the armour of a Cavalier, long before the engraver Robert White (1645-1703) portrayed an 80-year-old Marsham in the somber twilight of his life:

![Two portraits of Marsham. Maidstone Museum, Kent, oil on panel. Engraving, Robert White.](image)

Janus-faced, the two images of Marsham, royalist and scholar, meet in the scholarship he began in exile, when he turned his erudition against the prophecy of Daniel, and the historical providence his opponents in the Halls of Parliament used to justify their regicide and Commonwealth.110 His fortunes improved, and he soon returned to public life. On 1 July 1660, he was knighted, and was returned as an MP for Rochester in the same year. Marsham made at

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109 See eg. Marsham’s Library catalogue (ML) cumulative index number 499.30 and 505.16 for duplicate copies of Peter Heylin’s *History of the Sabbath* (London, 1636).

110 See Marsham, *Diatriba chronologica* (London, 1649), esp. A2r.
least fourteen speeches in Parliament, 'many of them revealing his unapologetic Anglicanism.' The first printing of his *Chronicus canon* was destroyed in St. Paul’s Churchyard, during the Fire of London, on Tuesday, 4 September 1666. But Marsham took the occasion to slowly revise and expand his masterpiece, and it was finally printed in large quarto, by the Roycroft press in 1672. It found a receptive audience in Restoration intellectual culture. Marsham enjoyed his scholarly and professional status until the very end, complaining about the errors in the 1676 Leipzig reprint of his book, wearing the starched white Geneva bands and skullcap of Chancery for his portrait, long after he surrendered the clerkship to his son.

And on Marsham’s black marble ledger in the chancel of St. Michael & All Angels in Cuxton, no mention was made of his book. Surrounded by plaques for his brother Ferdinando, his wife Elizabeth, and the children who passed from life before him, he was remembered only as a ‘Soldier and Baronet.’ The lawyer and father, royalist and Laudian, scholar and virtuoso will overlap in the story of the origins, development, and evolution of a single book.

The strategies and techniques Marsham used to organise and manage the intricate, lapidary, texture of his prose, richly embedded with classical references, are as sophisticated as the similar methods he used to build the numerically consistent chronological model which formed the armature of his work. The *Chronicus canon* offers the occasion for a series of case-studies on Marsham’s scholarly methods, including those he specifically adapted to incorporate evidence from illustrated texts and material objects, using new approaches to the histories of scholarship, reading, and information.

Both the philosophical history which Bolingbroke embraced in his *Letters*, and the antiquarianism he derided, have origins that can be traced to an impetus provided by Marsham. The story of the *Chronicus canon* can be traced back from the vibrant world of London coffee-houses and Parisian salons, Dutch printing-shops and baroque Vatican corridors, from a chorus of libertines, latitudinarians, Augustinians, Neapolitans, and deists, to a forgotten summer night in London, *inter horam 8ā & 9ā vespertinā.*

For a guide through this labyrinth of silent printed voices and ideas, we will use the book Marsham made himself, the *Pandectae Nostri Temporis*. It is a folio volume of 287 leaves, bound in brown calf, ruled with precise red lines along the headings, marking the chronicle of his life, his family, his country, and world. Marsham’s book began with the birth of Prince

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Charles, son of James I, at Dunfermline Palace in Fife, Scotland on 19th November 1600. Marsham’s final entry was on an impending 84th birthday that he would never live to see. Marsham entered his own birth into the field beside 23 August 1602 in an early hand.
CHAPTER II.

ANTIQUARIANS, DIVINES, AND SCHOLARS IN MARSHAM’S EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.

John Marsham marked his entrance into the world with layered meaning, which he intended his descendants to recognise. He was born in the winding urban courtyard of St. Bartholomew’s Close, Farringdon Ward Without, London, in the shadow of the Priory Church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, on the vigil of St. Bartholomew. On the night he was born, the cries of Bartholomew Fair would have echoed from the green just past the leaded rooftops of the church to the north. Pilgrims once gathered for the vigil by candlelight under the dark wooden beams of the Norman sanctuary. The textile merchants who lived and worked in the nearby streets and passageways would have been busily selling cloth at the fair. This was still ceremonially overseen by the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors, who measured the fabric with a silver yard. It was an important day for Thomas Marsham, Merchant Taylor and father, as it was for Magdalen to hold her son.

On Sunday, 29 August 1602, Marsham was christened at the parish church of St. Michael-le-Querne. The founding British antiquarian John Leland lay buried there beneath the nave. In his Ancient Funeral Monuments, John Weever noted that Leland ‘died franticke the 18 Day of Aprill, Anno redemptoris humanae 1552’. In the Survey of London, John Stow discussed the medieval corn-market that gave the church its name, and listed the monuments of the parsons, vintners, stationers, and aldermen who passed into shadow long before Marsham was born. When Marsham created the first entries of his chronicled life, the volume of Stow in his library allowed him to trace every detail of Farringdon Without, from the stone statues on Ludgate to the bookshops of Duck Lane, from the house where he was born, to the church where he was baptised. The city of his earliest memories was carefully surveyed, mapped with words, and given historical depth.

In 1602, the English antiquarian movement which flourished during Elizabeth’s reign was still at its zenith. Sir Robert Cotton confidently petitioned Queen Elizabeth for the institution of an ‘Academy for the study of Antiquity and History’ with a library to ‘preserve divers old books concerning the matter of history in this realm, original charters, and monuments’, suggesting

Clerkenwell Priory and the Savoy as locations.\textsuperscript{119} Cotton, William Camden, Sir Henry Spelman, and James Ley, 1\textsuperscript{st} Earl of Marlborough had founded the Society of Antiquaries by 1586. Its members still met in London during Term to discuss the origins of the Star Chamber, the ancient forests of Britain, Magna Carta, and the etymology of \textit{sterling}.\textsuperscript{120} Most were lawyers, and members of the Inns of Court, which brought them together from their rural estates.\textsuperscript{121}

But all things changed with time. On 24 March 1603, Elizabeth I died at Richmond Palace, \textit{aet. 70}, after reigning ‘44 m.4. d.15’.\textsuperscript{122} Just below, Marsham noted that ‘King Iames the first proclaimed ye same day.’ This initiated his political history, with sequences of entries on appointments, proclamations, conspiracies, and arrests. Edward Coke was reconfirmed Attorney General, Thomas Howard was created Earl of Suffolk, Walter Raleigh and Henry Brooke were arrested on suspicion of treason.\textsuperscript{123} For his efforts in legitimizing the accession of James, Robert Cotton was knighted, and became increasingly involved in Jacobean politics. William Camden ultimately retired to Kent.\textsuperscript{124} The Society of Antiquaries did not survive for long in this new climate, and its last meeting was held in 1607. Despite this, the scholarly movement it attempted to formalise continued, and influenced Marsham’s political, legal, and historical thought. In his \textit{Pandectae nostri temporis}, he carefully noted the passage of his predecessors. Under April 1605, Marsham wrote \textit{John Stowe dyed}.\textsuperscript{125}

History overlapped with life, as Marsham populated the empty space around the births of his siblings, Robert, Ferdinando, Thomas, and Elizabeth. Marsham’s concise autobiographical entries drifted toward the inner edges of his chronicle and are easily overlooked. In June 1613, Marsham first ‘went to Mr. Speight’s schoole in Monke-Well street.’ It was a short walk from Marsham’s home, past the morning bookshops of Little Britain, then through the postern of the original Aldersgate, with its ruinous pile of timber-framed additions.\textsuperscript{126} Through the gate, Noble Street turned into Silver Street, where William Shakespeare rented lodgings from the Huguenot Mountjoy family.\textsuperscript{127} He had just moved.\textsuperscript{128} Monkwell Street—Muggle Street in the


\textsuperscript{122} MS Don. c.60 fol. 8V=3.24-25-03.

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid. 7.2-29-03.

\textsuperscript{124} Herendeen, W.N. \textit{William Camden, a Life in Context} (London, 2012); Greenberg, J. \textit{The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution} (Cambridge, 2009) 102-14, 158-9; Levy, F.J. \textit{Tudor Historical Thought} (San Marino, the Huntington Library, 1967) 148-166; Sharpe, \textit{ibid}.

\textsuperscript{125} MS Don. c.60 4.6-05.


\textsuperscript{127} Nicholl, C. \textit{The Lodger Shakespeare, His Life on Silver Street} (London, Penguin, 2009).

\textsuperscript{128} Folger Shakespeare Library MS Z.c.22 (45) for the Indenture and Sale of the Blackfriars Gatehouse to Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemming, on 11 March 1613.
woodcut map attributed to Ralph Agas—branched diagonally to the north, and Thomas Speght’s school was there, in the converted chapel of St. James-by-the-Wall (●).

Speght had matriculated as a sizar at Peterhouse, and graduated MA in 1573. Using prior editorial work by his friend John Stow, Speght produced a deluxe folio edition of Geoffrey Chaucer’s Workes, which was printed by Adam Islip in 1598.129 This edition included a lexicon of archaic words, a biography of Chaucer, and an engraved full portrait of Chaucer surrounded by a pedigree which connected him to Henry Tudor, through Paon de Roët, merging national, literary, and political identity.130 The effusive dedication, addressed to Robert Cecil, made Speght’s desire for patronage clear, but it came to no avail. Speght continued his career as a teacher, in the highest room of the chapel-house, which he did well enough to send ‘nere a thousand youths’ to Oxford, Cambridge, and the Inns of Court.131

In July 1613, just after he started grammar school, Marsham noted that: ‘Alderman Smithes and (my uncle) Mathias Springham sent into Ireland to survey ye London plantation in Ulster.’132 Marsham’s maternal uncle Mathias prospered under political and economic influence of the Merchant Taylors in Jacobean London. On Thursday, July 16th 1607, King James and his eldest son Prince Henry were entertained with a lavish banquet in the Company hall on Threadneedle Street, featuring lutenists in galleries, singers in a suspended taffeta-

132 Ms. Don.c.60 07.13.
decked ship, and entertainment by Ben Jonson.\textsuperscript{133} The profligate display of wealth at the feast, which cost over £1,000, had a purpose, reciprocally connecting the London elite with the Crown, and clearly signaling their financial leverage over the King. Mathias Springham was appointed Chief Butler for the event.

James directly solicited the financial support of the London livery companies for the Virginia Company in March 1609, which was soon followed by a similar scheme for the Ulster Plantation.\textsuperscript{134} After several years in Ireland, Springham endowed a free grammar school in Derry, with ‘a courtyard of lime and stone’ and £13, 6s, 8d ‘per annum in perpetuity’ for the maintenance of a schoolmaster.\textsuperscript{135} John Stow (himself a Merchant Taylor) memorialised the charitable functions of the livery companies in the \textit{Survey of London}. In his \textit{ Honour of Citizens} chapter, Stow created a genealogy of virtuous Londoners, beginning with Thomas Becket, and including the names of Robert Thorne, Sir Thomas White, Sir John Percival, Stephen Jennings, and other Merchant Taylors who founded schools throughout England.\textsuperscript{136}

Matthias Springham became Master of the Merchant Taylors Company in 1617. Marsham’s father Thomas succeeded him in the mastership, before his nomination as Alderman for Bishopsgate on July 30, 1622.\textsuperscript{137} Marsham grew up in an affluent household, in the highest echelons of London’s mercantile elite. His family on both sides used their membership in the wealthiest of the twelve original livery companies, involved in British colonialism at its origins, to secure prestigious administrative positions in city and company governance.

For June 1617, Marsham marked the next milestone in his life: ‘About this time I went to Westminster Schole, under Dr. Wilson.’ His autobiographical timeline reveals no self-reflection on his relative social status, privilege, or the ambitions of his family. But Westminster provided Marsham with more options in life than membership in a livery company, and the limited Freedom of the City of London.

Westminster School was situated in the heart of British political and ecclesiastical power, in a labyrinth of old monastic buildings and courtyards physically connected to the nave and octagonal chapter house of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster Abbey. Just beyond, across the Old Palace Yard and toward the Thames, were the spires of St. Stephen’s Chapel, where the Commons met, and the roof lanterns of Westminster Hall rising in the sky. Open countryside spread to the south. The students were all permitted to attend sessions of Parliament and listen to the speeches.


\textsuperscript{137} Beaven, A. P. ‘chronological List of Aldermen, 1601-1650’ in \textit{The Aldermen of the City of London, Temp. Henry III-1912} (London, 1908) 49-75; the position was prestigious, but its responsibilities could be taxing, and like many of his peers, Thomas Marsham paid a fine for exemption from his obligations.
Many illustrious scholars once taught there. Lancelot Andrewes was Dean of Westminster until 1605, and took an active role in education, personally examining ‘Style and Proficiency’ in student exercises and holding evening discussions on classical grammar in his rooms. William Camden was headmaster until 1599, and formed a productive collaborative relationship with his student, Robert Cotton. Under John Wilson, Westminster retained its academic rigour. Its Greek program was unparalleled in England, and included Lucian, Plutarch, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Homer, in addition to the Latin Colloquies of Erasmus, and works by Cicero, Ovid, Virgil, Terence, and Livy. The day was spent in reciting declensions, translating passages, and controverting propositions. Greek grammars were essential working tools, and the Westminster curriculum stimulated publications which improved on the standard manual by the Flemish scholar Nicolas Cleynaerts. William Camden’s Institutio graecæ grammaticæ replaced the Greek grammar that his predecessor Edward Grant published in 1575. Marsham found Camden’s introductory textbook useful enough to purchase twice.

Marsham only remained at Westminster for two years. He made a single lasting friendship, with the younger John Donne, a Queen’s scholar, who remembered Marsham fondly enough in 1647 to present him with a copy of his father’s Biathanatos. And even after years of legal practice and Chancery, Marsham displayed his superb talent as a prose-stylist in neo-Tacitean Latin, and a capacity in Greek that allowed him to construct a unified history of antiquity from Byzantine manuscripts and Hellenised Egyptian scribes. Greek was the key to mathematical astronomy, and technical chronology. And it was the language of history at its source, in the inquiries (ίστορία) of Herodotus of Halicarnassus. There were scholars doing exciting, revolutionary work in these topics at Oxford, as Marsham soon discovered.

On 22 October 1619, Marsham matriculated at St. John’s College, Oxford. It was the greatest educational endowment by the Merchant Taylors. On the first of May 1555, Sir Thomas White, the Lord Mayor of London and Master of the Merchant Taylors Company, received a Royal Patent of Foundation to create a new college, using buildings of the former Cisterian St. Bernard’s College. According to his friend, the Jesuit Edmund Campion, Thomas White was inspired by a dream of elms. Visiting Oxford, White saw the same trees on the grounds of St. Bernard’s, and interpreted this as sign to found his college at the very place. Campion told this story in his funeral oration, as White was interred in the chapel of the college he established.

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140 See eg. Cleynaerts, N. Institutiones ac Meditationes in Graecam Linguam, N. Clenardo Auctore (ref. ed. Lyon, 1557); Grant, E. Graecae Linguæ Spicilegium, ex praestantissimis grammaticis...In Scholae Westmonasteriensis Progymnasmatu divulgatum (London, 1575); the student John Harrington’s marked edition of William Camden’s Institutio Graecae Grammaticæ compendaria In usum Schola Westmonasteriensis (London, 1604) at Cambridge University Library Special Collections (Syn.8.60.30) gives an impression of the ways it was used.
141 ML 894.214, 913.213.
142 See Christie’s Auction 6973, lot 27 (March 2004) for Donne, J. ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ (London, 1644); ML 504.15.
on a late February day in 1577. Campion’s providential rhetoric notwithstanding, the statutes make White’s theological adherence to the Marian Restoration clear. By 1619, its early, direct, association with Catholicism and Recusancy had faded. But White’s foundation remained, stipulating an annual scholarship for 50 students. They were chosen from Reading, Bristol, Coventry, Tonbridge, and especially from the Merchant Taylors’ School.

When Marsham arrived, William Laud had been president at St. John’s for eight years. This came after a controversial election, against John Rawlinson, the Principal of St. Edmund’s Hall, and the sustained opposition of George Abbot, who was elevated to Archbishop of Canterbury the same year. Despite Abbot’s public accusations of Laud as a crypto-Catholic, and his appeal to Lord Ellesmere, then High Chancellor, Laud finally prevailed on 29 August 1611, when King James determined to let the matter rest. Like his predecessor, former tutor, and friend John Buc[akeridge, Laud owed much to St. John’s.

The son of a clothier, Laud was selected as a scholar from the Reading Grammar School, and as president, was especially attentive at cultivating capable scholars from the Merchant Taylors’ School. In June 1618, prospective scholars from the Merchant Taylors’ School were examined in London by Buckeridge, then Bishop of Rochester, and John Overall, Bishop of Norwich. Laud attended the elections in person. Beyond the company of his closest theological allies, and the selection of future protégés, it allowed Laud to maintain close connections to the Merchant Taylors Company.

Soon after he arrived, Marsham presented a sterling spoon with a gilt head to the college as a gratuity, for his admission as a commoner. Marsham had no need of the foundation. His family was prosperous enough to ensure that Marsham ‘batteled properly’ for board and hall. Marsham enrolled in a preliminary model for Laud’s new implementation of traditional English Christianity, as his liturgical vision germinated in the college chapel. The Merchant Taylors and Laud had mutual interests in controlling incipient Puritanism in London. Marsham had the correct pedigree and connections, but there is little concrete evidence that he attracted Laud’s special attention, at first, until the summer Marsham left St. John’s. Then, Marsham departed England alone, after the Oxford Parliament dissolved, taking a final journey together with his mentor. Marsham recorded this in the Pandectae nostri temporis, but even in the unwritten

space between what he chose to mark, signify, and remember, there is no question that Laud was instrumental in shaping his future.

OXFORD.

William Laud and the Prodigal Son.

O misercors Pater, quo me vertam? William Laud’s private devotions for Friday, 26 September 1617, was written in guilt and penitence, in Latin that alluded to the parable of the prodigal son from the Gospels. He had been absent from Oxford for most of the year, first with King James in Scotland, then at his induction to the living of Ibstock, Leicestershire, which Buckeridge had given him in exchange for Norton. Soon after he returned to St. John’s, a fire broke out in the Chaplain’s chamber, under a staircase which collapsed into flame just after Laud was pushed away. Later that day, still shaken by the event, Laud prayed that God would preserve the terror of the fire in his memory, as a catharsis of sin. Laud improved, refurbished, and expanded the campus of St. John’s throughout his presidency. In late October 1616, Laud wrote to the wealthy London courtier and jeweler Sir William Herrick, in an effort to persuade Benjamin Henshaw, Merchant Taylor, to subsidise decorative battlements for the interior quadrangle. Stone dormer windows and battlements had just been added to the West Front. Even after Laud became Archbishop, he continued to improve St. John’s, facilitating the construction of the ornate Canterbury Quadrangle, which was completed in 1636. But Laud’s most significant and controversial improvement to St. John’s was the restoration of the college chapel, in 1619. Laud spent £120 on the painted glass east window, which depicted the life of St. John the Baptist. He commissioned wainscoting for the walls, draped the communion table in ‘cloths of Crimson and purple Velvett’, and frescoed the ceiling.

153 Laud, Works, III, 82: Nam dum amica manus astantis me vi quadam amovit, eodem instanti ex eodem loco, ubi pedem figere decravi, prorupit inclusus ignis, in flammam subsidunt gradus, et ego, si ibi invenisset incendium, una perisem. See William Prynne’s bitter marginal remark to this entry in the Breviate, ibid, n.z: He was very likely to have been burnt by the fire in St. John’s College in Oxford, for his sins.
above. Finally, Laud specified the construction of a stone organ-loft, with a vestry below. Sir William Paddy, Royal Physician to James I, and a former classmate of Lancelot Andrewes at the Merchant Taylors’ School, spent £280 on a gilded pipe-organ for the chapel.156

By the time Marsham enrolled at St. John’s in 1619, Laud had consolidated his power in both his university and college. Marsham entered a close-knit, familial world. Marsham’s Tutor, Thomas Walker, married Laud’s niece Jane Robinson. Richard Baylie, Laud’s chaplain, married another niece, Elizabeth Robinson, in 1626.157 Again, Marsham studied at Westminster, was educated in an environment controlled by Laud’s colleagues, and had been carefully cultivated for this collegiate orchid-house. The chapel at St. John’s, with its beeswax candles, polished marble chequerboard floor, painted glass, organ-loft, and velvet-draped altar, was the most direct statement of Laud’s Christianity, and the beauty of holiness was funded by the Merchant Taylors.

Thomas Walker was a freshly minted MA in 1619, and although an alumnus and fellow of St. John’s, was barely senior to his first students. This included Marsham, his younger brothers Robert, who arrived in 1623, and Ferdinando, who matriculated at St. John’s in 1627, long after Marsham had left.158 Walker first tutored John Edwards, another product of Merchant Taylors’ school, who dedicated a Latin comedy called the Saturnalia to Laud in 1621 and presented the library with Kepler’s Astronomia nova. With help from Laud, Edwards had a distinguished career as Headmaster of the Merchant Taylors’ School, and Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy, before being expelled in 1648 for Royalist sympathies.159 Thomas Wykes, who was in Marsham’s cohort, was also another student of Walker, and became a fellow of St. John’s, chaplain to William Juxon, and prebendary of St. Paul’s. Beside his proximity to collegiate patronage networks, Walker also seems to have been a capable tutor, to the extent that one of his students, Edward Dixon, insisted that he also tutor his son. Despite this, Walker seems to have had more success in administration. After resigning his fellowship to marry Jane Robinson in 1631, Walker was elected Master of University College, expelled by Parliament in 1648, then promptly reinstated at the Restoration.

Not all Marsham’s classmates were supervised by Walker. Bulstrode Whitelocke arrived from Eton and the Merchant Taylors’ School in 1620. His family was personally and politically important to Laud. His father, Sir James Whitelocke, was a prominent judge, MP for Woodstock, former steward of St. John’s, and a former classmate of William Laud.160 Bulstrode was tutored by Dr. Philip Parsons, who later became one of several St. John’s members to study medicine in Padua. Whitelocke also noted from the beginning that ‘D’ Laud his fathers great friend...took a strict account of his study & behaviour.'161 It is clear he received special attention from Laud’s inner circle, and remembered that while at St. John’s:

160 DNB, Bruce, J. (ed.) Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke (Camden Society, 1857).
Beside his study in the University learning, Whitelocke took pleasure in reading history, particularly that of England, & in frequenting musicke meetings, where his skill made him the more acceptable, & for his recreation abroad, he used hunting often with D’ Juxon, then a Commoner of the Colledge/ afterward a President, & a Bishop, & Lord Treasurer of England, of him he learned the exactnes of hunting & yet not to hinder his serious studies.\textsuperscript{162}

As the recipient of patronage from Buckeridge and Bishop Richard Neile, Laud clearly knew the value of carefully selecting talented students as protégés, who would be cultivated as future economic, theological, or political allies. These occasionally overlapped. William Juxon, a scholar from the Merchant Taylors’ School, succeeded Laud to the Presidency of St. John’s, before successive appointments as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Dean of Worcester, Clerk of the Closet, Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer, and First Lord of the Admiralty.\textsuperscript{163} Laud’s early investment in Whitelocke came to nothing. Whitelocke left early, without taking a degree, and enrolled at the Middle Temple. When Marsham found his own role in Caroline England, it was similarly at the Inns of Court, far from the quadrangles of Oxford, and the prebendal stalls and deaneries of clerical power. Unlike Whitelocke, Marsham received no preferential treatment while he was enrolled at St. John’s. Marsham nevertheless proved uniquely receptive to Laudianism at its earliest manifestation and remained its perfect disciple.

The competitive mechanics of patronage at St. John’s were integral elements of Laud’s ambitions as a courtier. After Laud returned from the visit to Scotland in 1617, the private insecurities of his diary were counterbalanced by new, aggressive, confidence in actively promoting Jacobean policy. Oxford was already a test-case for this. In January 1617, James released formal directions for the universities, designed to suppress the theological debates which polarised them.\textsuperscript{164}

Properly implemented, the ceremonialism of Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Neile, John Overall, and William Laud could place an emphasis on the \textit{Lex Orandi}, rather than the \textit{Lex Credendi}, liturgical practice rather than theological disputation. This must not be conflated with Arminianism. If anything, Laud’s manuscript \textit{adversaria} to Bellarmine’s chapters \textit{de Gratia et Libero Arbitrario} and \textit{de Justificatione} in the third volume of his \textit{Disputationes de Controversiis} suggest both broadly orthodox postlapsarian foundations, and a personal distaste for sustained engagement with the theology of grace.\textsuperscript{165} Importantly, the directions for the universities shifted the entire dialogue away from Calvin, and the inherently presbyterian, hence politically subversive, \textit{Institutio Christianae Religionis}.

When Laud wrote to his patron George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, in defense of Richard Montagu, he was clear on the threat these ‘curious particulars disputed in schools’

\textsuperscript{162} Spalding, \textit{idem}. Whitelocke refers to himself in the third person.
\textsuperscript{163} On contemporary struggles among undergraduates for patronage at St. John’s, see Sandis, E. ‘Playwright Protégés at St. John’s College Oxford: dramatic approaches to networking under Buckeridge, Laud and Juxon’ \textit{The Seventeenth Century} Vol.35, Issue 3 (May 2020) 315-336.
\textsuperscript{164} Heylyn, \textit{Cyprianus Anglicus} 72; Wood, \textit{The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford} Vol. II (Oxford, 1796).
\textsuperscript{165} cf. Hampton, S. ‘Confessional Identity’ in \textit{The Oxford History of Anglicanism} (Oxford, 2017) esp.222-225; compare Laud’s notes in \textit{Works}, VI, esp. 696-704 on Bellarmine \textit{Disputationum de controversiis Christianae fidei}, Vol. III (Lyon, 1599), with his historically sophisticated and extensive critical marginalia on, for instance, Bellarmine \textit{De Missa} (661-675), etc.
posed to ‘unity amongst Christians’. On Tuesday, 19 June 1621, when Laud delivered a sermon to James at Wanstead, _Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem_, he expressed the view that his Jerusalem was ‘domicilium religionis, the house of religion, as well as regni, of the king.’

Political and ecclesiastical stability, peace in the Court and the Temple, were indelibly linked. And in his sermons on David, delivered at Wanstead and Whitehall, Laud indifferently quoted both Calvin and the Semi-Pelagian Cassian in the service of the King. Mentioned in passing, they lost their potency, as the rhythms of his ambitions unfolded on a summer morning at Wanstead Hall. _The ark of the Lord was brought out of the house of Obed-edom the Gittite, with music, and great joy, into Jerusalem, and there placed._ Laud’s sermon on Psalm 122 was a psalm itself for the present tabernacle and the prosperity of the future Temple.

In this environment, Marsham developed an attentive intellectual preference for ritual, liturgy, and ceremony, familiarity with Greek patristic literature, ecclesiastical histories, acts and councils, and an elusive theological identity. At the time of his death, Marsham’s 1577 edition of Calvin’s _Institutio Christianæ Religionis_ was wedged between Andreas Osiander’s _Harmonia evangelica_, and Spinoza’s _Tractatus theologico-politicus_ on his bookshelf. Below this, his folio Augustine shared space with Cyprian, Irenaeus, Richard Montagu, Herbert Thordike, and the Socinian Samuel Crel. Marsham never took orders, consciously developed historiography as a medium for discussing theological topics without theology, and left no trace of spiritual introspection.

In his 1655 _Propylaion_ (Προπύλαιον) to the ambitious history of British monasticism compiled by the antiquarians Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale, Marsham hinted at his personal convictions, and found providence in the historical survival of the apostolic Church from its foundation in Jerusalem, to Augustine of Canterbury and the Gregorian Mission, to the conversion of the Saxon King Sigebert and the Mercian Penda, through the rise and fall of monasteries, to the morning liturgy in his parish church. At once a defense of the episcopacy, and a history of British Christianity, Marsham’s preface was also a personal statement on Laud’s _traditio universalis_. The product of a closely affiliated social network, from St. Bartholomew’s Close, to Westminster, to the newly ornate St. John’s, Marsham absorbed an aesthetic of Christian practice, reflected in Laud’s project to ‘re-edify the ruins of both City and Temple.’

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166 Laud, _Works_ VI, 244-246 for Buckeridge, Laud, and Howson to Buckingham, 2 August 1625; on Montagu, see Lambert, S. ‘Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship’ _Past and Present_, 124 (Aug. 1989) 36-68.  
168 _ML 44, 42, 41, 61, 68_.  
169 _Monasticon Anglicanum, sive pandectae Coenobiorum_ (London, 1655) ar: ‘Inter maxima Christianismi nascentis miracula merito habendam est Ecclesiae Incrementum; quae nec Veritatis odio, nec Persecutionis rabie oppressa, in ultimas terrarum orbis oras, etiam in Alterum hunc nostrum Orbem propagata est.’ See l. b3r-b4 (Marsham extracts this from his edition of Bede at _ML 254.181_; cf. Ussher, _Britannicarum Ecclesiarium Antiquitates_ _ML 500.11_).  
171 _Laud, Works_ I p.4; Kent Library and History Centre, MS U1121 Z27/2 fol.23r-24r; _Monasticon Anglicanum_ d4: ‘…nec praeter semirutos parietes & deploranda rudera, supersunt nobis avitae pietatis indicia. Minus impendiosa hodiè cordi est Religio, & vetus dictum obtinet.’
The first section of Richard Montagu’s *Apparatus ad origines ecclesiasticas* played a seminal role in refining Marsham’s concept of ecclesiastical history after 1635, as his annotated copy, carefully marked with a handwritten outline and synoptic marginal glosses, demonstrates.\(^\text{173}\)

Marsham also assembled an extensive collection of publications by the Arminian theologian and scholar Hugo Grotius later in his life, and used them as directories of erudite references, and as a model for an intellectual worldview.\(^\text{174}\) Marsham left his faith unstated, but when the ruin of his life compelled him to write, criticised Sabbatarianism, Puritan eschatology, and Godly iconoclasm with ardor, force, and conviction. This suggests that his ceremonialism was something other than a mere shell surrounding a kernel of irreligion. Extending his Laudian universal tradition across cultures in the *Chronicus canon*, Marsham found connections between primitive Christianity and Judaism, which in turn derived from and reformed ritual and ceremonial practices from Egyptian culture. The impetus was simple, and on these foundations, Marsham’s conclusions fell into place from a comparative reading of Grotius and John Selden’s legal Hebraism. The first seeds of the ‘Anglican Enlightenment’ can be found before the Restoration divines Lancelot Addison and Thomas Tension were born.\(^\text{175}\)

Some of Marsham’s fellow students developed similar convictions and expressed them more directly. After a precocious career at Eton, Henry Hammond was accepted by Magdalen College as a thirteen-year-old in 1619.\(^\text{176}\) In 1633, then still a fellow of Magdalen, Hammond won the patronage of Robert Sydney, 2\(^\text{nd}\) Earl of Leicester, and was awarded the living of St. John the Baptist, on the banks of the Upper Medway at Penshurst, Kent. Nominated to the Westminster Assembly, Hammond defiantly remained at Penshurst, and released his *Practical Catechism*. In this, Hammond advocated universal atonement, which attracted the wrath of the Presbyterian Francis Cheynell, and the lasting admiration of Charles I, who was given a copy by his son.\(^\text{177}\) Hammond became the personal chaplain of Charles during his captivity. During his career, Hammond defended *de jure* Episcopacy and the Epistles of Ignatius against Claude Saumaise, the Book of Common Prayer against Parliament, patristic tradition, and the theology of Hugo Grotius.\(^\text{178}\)

A slightly older Magdalen student, Peter Heylyn, also became a committed apologist for Arminianism and conformist ceremonialism, and his historical vindication of William Laud


\(^{175}\) DNB; Fell, J. (ed.) *The Miscellaneous Theological Works of Henry Hammond*.


reshaped all subsequent historiography. Born in the Cotswold town of Burford, Oxfordshire, and educated at the Merchant Taylors’ School, Heylyn quickly ascended the scholarly ranks at Hart Hall and Magdalen, with little effort. Soon after he arrived, his tutors Joseph Hill (‘an ancient Bachelor of Divinity’) and Walter Newberry (‘afterwards a zealous Puritan’) invited him on a trip ‘to take the air and make merry at Woodstock.’ He was made a demi-socii, or half-fellow, and was given a prefecture, which he stubbornly held despite beatings and insults by his jealous classmates. Heylyn wrote neo-Latin verse, satires, and comedies like his Theomachia, acted in roles as the Duke of Helicon, and solemnly lectured in Geography at Magdalen after earning his Bachelor’s in October 1617. In the autumn of 1621, Heylyn personally presented his recently printed Microcosmos to Prince Charles at Theobalds House.\(^\text{180}\)

In April 1626, Heylyn’s disputation on the visible church with John Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity and Laud’s opponent, led to Heylyn being called Papicola, Bellarminus, Pontificius; Heylyn actively solicited Laud’s alliance, and became his most unapologetic controversialist.\(^\text{181}\) Beginning in 1633, Neile, in communication with Laud, and under the auspices of the Caroline government, installed communion-rails and an altar at the royal peculiar St. Gregory’s in London. Laud and his allies soon implemented similar alterations across England, on the model of Gloucester, Durham, and the chapel at St. John’s.\(^\text{182}\) This provoked the manuscript circulation of a critical letter, originally written by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln in 1627. In this, Williams excoriated Peter Tityle, the ‘squirrel-headed’ new deacon of St. Wulfram in South Grantham, for replacing the communion-table with an altar, ‘out of faction and singularity’.\(^\text{183}\) Heylyn responded to the letter in A Coale from the Altar, kindling a booklet-war with Williams, and setting the course of his career.

In 1637, William Prynne, Laud’s most committed and bitter enemy, entered the debate with his Quench-Coale.\(^\text{184}\) Prynne, who was a student at Oriel while Heylyn was at Magdalen, and while Marsham was at St. John’s, concluded his book with a manifestly violent threat, directed at Laud’s subordinate Robert Aylett: ‘And certainly till the skins of some of these Spirituall Devill-Judges be fleyed off, and their necks graced with a Tiburne-tippet for their extortions and strange oppressions of his Majesties people, in a way of justice, the people shall never live


\(^{180}\) Heylyn, Microcosmos, or, A Little Description of the Great World: A treatise Historicall, Geographical, Politicall, Theological (Oxford, 1621); Mayhew, R. ‘Geography is Twinned with Divinity: the Laudian Geography of Peter Heylyn’ Geographical Review, Vo. 90, no. 1 (Jan, 2000) 18-34.


\(^{183}\) eg. BL Add. MS 35331 fols. 54v-55v; Heylyn, P. A Coale from the Altar, or an answer to a letter not long since written to the vicar of Gr. Against the placing of a Communion table at the east end of the Chancell (London, 1636); [Williams, J.] The Holy Table, Name and Thing (London, 1637), esp. 59; Heylyn, P. Antidotum Lincolniense, or An Answer to a book entituled, The holy table, name, & thing (London, 1637).

\(^{184}\) Debat}: Pocklington, J. Altare Christianum, or the Dead Vicar’s Plea (London, 1637).
in quiet, but the Wolves will bite and devour them.'³⁸⁵ All of this because Thomas Newcomen, the parson of St. Runwald’s in Colchester, insisted that his congregation receive communion at the rails. Of course, in 1637, Prynne had already been fined £5000, expelled from Lincoln’s Inn, and imprisoned in the Tower of London; on June 14, he was sentenced again in the Star-Chamber, and by the end of the month, he was pilloried, branded with the letters SL, as a seditious libeler, and, bloodily and publicly, had his ears sliced off.³⁸⁶ He had little desire for conciliation.

Two decades after Laud’s journey to Scotland with James, and his meditations on the fire at St. John’s, his ambitious career as a courtier had rewarded him with the archbishopric of Canterbury, but his efforts to impose ceremonial discipline throughout Britain, enforced with Metropolitical Visitations and the Court of High Commission, were met with the resistance of a vocal minority, rebellion, and ultimately, his arrest, trial, and death. Marsham carefully traced this rise and fall in his Pandectae nostri temporis.³⁸⁷ Marsham’s Laudianism was simple, personal, and intimately connected with his early life, and collegiate experience. Unlike Heylyn, Marsham never defended Laud in print. But when his Chronicus canon took form during the Protectorate, Marsham echoed Heylyn’s erudite critique of the Sabbath, and went far beyond his former colleague, reducing decorated altars and the decalogue alike to adiaphora.³⁸⁸

The histories of religion and sacrifice in the Chronicus canon had roots in St. John’s, the ceremonalist sensibilities which pervaded Marsham’s life, and finally, in Laud’s personal friendship. For after the emptiness of the college career in his chronicle, their lives directly, and mysteriously, intersected.

Years later, Marsham recorded a simple entry in his Pandectæ Nostri Temporis, on 23 February 1625: Thomas Marsham Rad. N. Fil. Ioh. N. pater meus...diem obiit. He was sixty-nine years old. Marsham’s father died in London, while Marsham was at St. John’s for Lent Term. His brother Robert was there with him, at college, but the sense of familial duty that structured and guided their lives was suddenly gone.³⁸⁹ The brothers were orphaned, but they were now adults, and there is no record that Marsham did anything but remain at St. John’s, where he continued his work.

Marsham received his MA on 5 July 1625. He moved out of St. John’s on the 25th but did not leave Oxford. Two days before, Laud had visited his friend, the St. John’s alumnus and Secretary of State Sir Francis Windebank, at Haines Hill house in Berkshire, and preached

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³⁸⁵ Prynne, A Quench-coale, or a briefe Disquisition and Inquirie, in what place of the Church or Chancell the Lords-Table ought to be situated [Amsterdam]1637, Postscript, 354-355; Prior, C.W. A Confusion of Tongues: Britain’s Wars of Reformation, 1625-1642 (Oxford, 2012) esp.50-79.


³⁸⁷ Prynne, Canterburies Doome, or the first part of a compleat history of the commitment, charge, tryall, condemnation and execution of William Laud (London, 1646); Heylyn, P. Cypriamus Anglicus, or the history of the life and death of the most renowned prelate William, by divine providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1668).

³⁸⁸ See ML 381.29, 661.172, 520.31, 525.36, 505.16, 499.30, 521.32; compare Heylyn, The History of the Sabbath, in two books (London, 1636)

³⁸⁹ Bodleian Library MS Don.c.60, fol.95v, 02.23.25. Genealogical records suggest that his mother, Magdalen Springham, died in 1618. There is no corresponding entry in the Pandectæ. Perhaps he found the date too heartbreaking to record.
Sunday, 24 July, at the nearby church of St. Nicholas Hurst. That Friday, Laud returned to Oxford. On Sunday, he fell in the parlour of the President’s lodging at St. John’s, injuring his shoulder and hip.190 Because of an outbreak of the bubonic plague in London, Parliament was prorogued to Oxford, and reconvened in the Divinity School on Monday. Laud noted the attacks on Buckingham by the House of Commons in his diary.191 The next Monday, Laud mentioned his ‘relapse’ (relapsus meus) into illness, but nevertheless began his journey to Wales. His student John Marsham was now with him, and they rode together through the Cotswolds in Laud’s coach.

They arrived in Gloucester the next day. The great stone central tower of Gloucester Cathedral, with its open tracery panels and four pinnacles, rose above the city and the slender ribbon of the Severn. The altar Laud installed to much controversy in early 1616 still stood at the end of the choir, below the stained glass of the Great East Window, where it would be drenched with moving colours in the morning light. Laud was now Bishop of St. David’s, and was entitled to the Bishop’s Palace on the eastern edge of Abergwili, Carmarthenshire, Wales. He journeyed there alone, finally arriving on Wednesday, Festum St. Bartholomaei, August 24, after his coach overturned twice on the road. That Sunday, he consecrated the richly decorated little chapel at his remote and desolate new home, naming it the Chapel of St. John Baptist, after his college at Oxford. The night before, as Laud was intent at evening prayer by candlelight: ‘I knew not how, but it came strongly into my mind that the day of the beheading of St. John Baptist was very near.’ For the rest of the month, his diary was haunted by dreams. The household of the Duke of Buckingham was in disarray, and the Duchess was crying in sickness to her maids. ‘Afterwards, I dreamed of Sackville Crow, that he was dead of the plague, having not long before been with the King.’192

After Marsham parted ways with Laud, he went as far as Finchley, then promptly turned around, retraced his route to Gloucester, and entered Wales. On 24 September, Marsham arrived in Old Gwernyfed, Aberllynfi, Breconshire, as a guest of Henry Williams, his friend from St. John’s.193 By Wednesday, September 29, Marsham was in Brecon. He remained there six days, before moving on to Raglan, Bristol, Wells, Salisbury, Winchester, Finchley, and London. It was the end of November. Marsham was in London for five days, before leaving again alone, through Sevenoaks and Rye, to Dover. Then, Marsham departed to the sound of waves and seagulls, and a line of white chalk cliffs that receded against the blue or grey of the sky, on his way to live in foreign lands.

192 Bodleian Library, MS Don. c.60 8.25-31.25, Laud, Works III, 173.
The interests and ambitions of a community are often reflected in its charities. When John Buckeridge left St. John’s for the Bishopric of Rochester in 1611, he donated a lavish commentary on Ezekiel, and reconstruction of Solomon’s Temple, which the Spanish Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando first published in 1596, building on collaboration with Jéronimo de Prado. In three folio volumes, bound in brown calf with golden fillets, the *Ezechielem Explanationes* offered any interested reader at the Old Library in St. John’s dazzling fold-outs of a Palladian Temple of Jerusalem, which illustrated a foundational paradigm for the beauty of holiness. In 1613, William Paddy presented his college library with a superb Greek Aristophanes, printed by Aldo Manuzio in Venice in 1498, with the *Clouds*, *Birds*, *Wasps*, *Knights*, and *Frogs* in the second Aldine type, surrounded by scholia. Thomas Windebank, Clerk of the Signet and Royalist, failed to graduate from St. John’s, but nevertheless gave his former college an edition of Johannes Meursius, the *Glossarium Graeco-barbarum*.

When Marsham joined his colleagues in enriching the library, his donations expressed various aspects of a new intellectual world, which was beginning to crystallise at Oxford. In 1621, Marsham gave the library three printed books, beginning with a rarity, an incunable *De proprietatibus rerum* by the 13th-century Friar Bartholomeus Anglicus, an antiquarian object itself, and an encyclopedic collection of medieval digressions on quicksilver, the empyrean, and tiny magical agate stones found in the viscera of swallows. Next, Marsham donated two civil histories. The first was the *Histoire général de Venise* by Thomas de Fougasses, translated by William Shute, and embellished with elaborate woodcut portraits of the Doges. Marsham supplemented this with the *Generall History of the Turkes* by Richard Knolles. Knolles was a schoolteacher in Sandwich, Kent, who assembled his sweeping narrative using the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras, the *Annales sultanum othmanidarum* edited by Johannes

195 St. John’s College Library Oxford, HB4/Folios.2.7.1, Ἀριστοφάνους κωμωδίαι νέα (Venice, 1498).
196 St. John’s College Library Oxford, Omega.4.25.
197 St. John’s College Library Oxford, Cpb.d.b.3, Bartholomæus Anglicus *Incipit prohemium de proprietatibus rerum* (Lyon, 1480) stones: Chelidonium majus.
198 SJC Xi.3.23, Fougasses, T. *Generall Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice* (London, 1612). Very little is known about either Fougasses or his translator: see the *Mémoires de l’Academie de Vaucuse* (Avignon, 1911) 1-35, esp. 5; British Library, Egerton MS 1693 fol.120r-121r, which mentions William Shute’s planned voyage to Genoa on 27 July 1584.
Leunclavius, and a wide array of other sources. Marsham clearly intended the two books as companion-pieces, on the Venetian Republic and Ottoman Empire, and on solutions to political, diplomatic, and cultural puzzles positioned across the Adriatic. Later, he gave his college Sir Henry Spelman’s recent glossary of obsolete legal and ecclesiastical terminology, the *Archeologus*, which was a practical reference-text for working antiquarians.

Marsham developed a sophisticated and comprehensive understanding of the interrelations between history, diplomacy, antiquarianism, manuscript studies, and political and legal thought, but only as his career progressed. Like his confessional identity, Marsham’s familiarity with history had older, inchoate, roots, in the self-validation of London mercantile culture, and in his family’s collective genealogical memory, which was an intrinsic part of the world they inhabited. But the University of Oxford acted as the catalyst for his first efforts in historiography. The stimulus provided by social connections, and a changing curriculum, encouraged Marsham’s unique ability to merge technical scholarship in chronology, numismatics, and other auxiliary disciplines, with a wide command of historical literature, ancient and modern, ranging from Thucydides to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, from the *Suda* to Carolus Sigonius. This evolved gradually, over years of library-building, public life, and private reading, and it is possible to read too much into the topical significance of Marsham’s early largesse. For in 1621, the eighteen year-old Marsham also generously expanded his collegiate library with the gift of a twelfth-century manuscript in small folio, bound in brown leather over wooden boards, containing works by Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite, in the Latin translation of the Irish Neoplatonist John Scotus Eriugena, with rusticated capitals and polychromatic ink. This had less to do with Marsham’s understanding of the importance of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* to Renaissance Neoplatonism, than with the simple fact that it was an attractive manuscript, which might have been circulating in Oxford for over a century. The very final section of Marsham’s manuscript contained the *Apocalypse* of ps-Methodius. Originally written in Syriac in the 7th century, this was a lurid eschatological meditation on the arc of human history, written

199 DNB, SJC Xi.2.23 for the London, 1621, reprint, cf. ML 483,131 for Marsham’s later, personal choice, the *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* by Johannes Leunclavius, and 438,132.
in response to contemporary Muslim invasions.205 It anticipated the Reformed world-chronicles that Marsham would attack decades later, in his Diatriba chronologica. Yet there is no indication that he remembered it in the late 1640s, when he wrote.

The two printed histories are better guides to Marsham’s tastes as a reader. He was already familiar with the college library. It had been completed in 1598, and had its collection of books chained to hasps on sixteen large cases, which were arranged to form spacious bays.206 There, in a long inviting room warmed by an open hearth, Marsham could find editions of William Camden’s Britannia, like the one donated by Ralph Hamor on 24 June 1608, among scholarly histories by Johannes Pistorius, Goropius Becanus, Onofrio Panvinio, and Niccolò Machiavelli.207 The collective philanthropy of its alumni gave St. John’s an extensive collection of ancient and modern historiography. An important key to drawing connections between these raw materials at Marsham’s disposal was soon given in a series of contemporary lectures by the first Camden professor of history, Degory Wheare.

Method and Order

In late October 1621, Henry Savile posted a letter from Eton to Chiselhurst, Kent, where William Camden had retired to enjoy the healthier air of the countryside. Both scholars were in the twilight of long and distinguished careers, and Savile was happy to give his friend advice on navigating the legal complexities of establishing an endowed professorship, from his own experience setting up the Savilian professorships of Geometry and Astronomy: ‘I have trod the path before you, and know the rubbs in such a business to my great pains and charge, I mean, in the means of settling it upon the University in a perpetuity.’208 On 3 November, Savile forwarded his personal contract with Oxford University to Camden as a guide, and offered a final suggestion for his friend’s legacy:

One more thing I will be bold to persuade you, that to the use of your Readers you would bequeath your Books of that faculty. I for my part have cleared my study of all the Mathematical Books, which I had gathered in so many years and Countreys, Greek and Latin, printed and manuscripts, even to the very raw Notes, that I have ever made in that argument, but with the express charge, that they may make use of them, if there be any thing of worth in them, but never to set out any of mine in print. Many of them are as old as your acquaintance and mine, when I read in the schools as Regent-Master. The Schools now are very large and fair, and place there may be conveniently found to set up a pres with locks capable of them.209

207 eg. St. John’s College Library Pi.3.20, HB4/2.a.1.5 for Machiavelli, Disputationem de Republica (Montbéliard, 1538).
Savile took an active role in assisting Thomas Bodley, his friend and colleague from Merton, in the foundation and early history of the Bodleian. He knew the immediate, practical, value of libraries and archives to research and education.²¹⁰ Although the candidate for the first lecturer was still an open question, Camden soon received a coordinated epistolary campaign in favour of the relatively unknown Degory Wheare. A former tutor to the young John Pym at Broadgates, and fellow of Exeter until 1608, Wheare had just returned to Oxford after years of traveling in the company of Grey Brydges, ⁵th Baron Chandos.²¹¹ Brydges had suddenly died on 10 August, while using the mineral-springs at Spa, Liège, Belgium. After losing his patron, Wheare moved into Gloucester Hall as a lodger, together with his wife. Without an income, Wheare clearly needed the job, and badgered Camden with letters in ornate and fawning Latin. The mathematician, astrologer, and crypto-Catholic Thomas Allen knew Camden personally, and wrote the decisive reference for his new friend, and fellow resident at Gloucester Hall.²¹²

On 12 July 1623, Wheare began lecturing on history in the Schola Grammaticae, in the Schools Quadrangle of the Bodleian. Although Camden had chosen the Roman historian Florus as the principal subject, Wheare began his lecture-series with the ars historica.²¹³ Inspired by Bodin’s Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem, Wheare first printed his guide to reading historical literature the same year and it became tremendously successful, with reprints throughout the century.²¹⁴ It was superficial, deliberately equivocal in crucial evaluations, hedging between the Tacitus of Lipsius and Casaubon’s Polybius, and conservative in its defense of Sleidan’s Four Monarchies against Bodin.²¹⁵ But the ars historica offered, in its simplest definition, a method for reading, and a convenient directory for acquiring books, and building a library.

Wheare followed Ludovicus Vives in recommending chronologies, and compendia of universal history to gather an initial outline of the discipline. Beside Sleidan and Carion’s Chronica, Wheare mentioned the Historia Iulia of Reiner Reineccius, Jacques Cappel’s Historia Sacra et Exotica, and Sir Walter Raleigh’s History of the World.²¹⁶ After distinguishing the genuine fragments of Ctesias from the Berosus and Megasthenes fabricated by Annius of Viterbo, Wheare inaugurated the end of ‘prophetic history’ with Herodotus of Halicarnassus.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Wheare, D. De Ratione et Methodo legend historiarum dissertatio habita Oxoniae in schola historic, 12 Ital. 1623 (London, 1623).
²¹⁶ Wheare, D. Relectiones hyemales de Ratione & Methodo...Historias (ref. ed Oxford 1662) 42, quoting Johannes Ludovicus Vives, de Tradendis disciplinis (Lyon, 1551) p.354: ‘Principio legendus aliquis qui ab ultimis temporibus ad nostram memoriain, aut ei proxima historiam tenore uno contextat, ut summa quaedam proponantur omnia’ cf. 43-44.
As Wheare moved through his list of ancient historians, he incidentally revealed a guide to contemporary scholarly assessments on these authors. An attentive student in the lecture-hall, or reader in a bookseller’s stall, could also follow Wheare’s recommendation of Johannes Cuspinian, Paulus Jovius, and Jacques-Auguste de Thou as substitutes for laboriously reading the original sources.

It is not coincidental that Marsham’s personal library became an expression of the *ars historica*. To be sure, when his library was catalogued soon after Robert Marsham’s death, it reflected decades of effort and investment. At the time of his death, it included editions of Albrecht Dürer, a folio atlas by Gerhard Mercator, Robert Hooke’s *Micrographia*, with exquisite illustrations of the compound eyes of insects and delicate polyps of mold, the copperplate sarcophagi of Antonio Bosio’s *Roma Sotteranea*, and the *Cosmographia* of Petrus Apianus, with moving paper volvelles for astronomical calculations. Marsham was an avid book-collector, with expensive tastes, but he also used his books as practical tools, and his collection of historiography was optimised for this.

Marsham’s 1618 Geneva Herodotus, the third and final Estienne printing, with parallel columns of Latin and Greek, and notes by Friedrich Sylburg, took the first position in his *libri historici*, and was followed by Diodorus Siculus, Thucydidides, Xenophon, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pausanius, and Cassius Dio, most in luxurious folio editions from the press of Andreas Wechel in Hanau. English-language translations by Thomas Hobbes and Philémon Holland were occasionally inserted between these. Marsham filled the gaps in his Wechel collection with Estienne editions and continued from antiquity with new editions of Byzantine chronography, including Theophanes, Agathias, Syncellus, and the *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* collected by the German scholar Hieronymus Wolf. Historical chronologies were integrated into the diachronic arc of *Historia Universalis*, and Joseph Scaliger’s *De emendatione temporum* was placed next to *De doctrina temporum* of Dionysius Petavius, with treatises by Seth Calvisius, Christop Helwig, Edward Simpson, and Aegidius Bucherius nearby. And while he worked, Marsham incorporated ecclesiastical histories, lexicons, and legal collections like the *Codex Theodosianus*, and *Corpus Iuris Civilis* into his work. Marsham’s historical erudition was less based on mnemonics, or linguistic capacity, than on the organization of his notebooks and shelves, and on the tangible, physical, process of moving books and papers about a table.

This can be traced to the comforts of the college library at St. John’s, the vaulted reading-rooms of the Bodleian, and a new community of lecturers and students, philanthropists, donors, and readers, who made history, as a subject, a formal part of the curriculum. Curiously, Marsham preserved a simple translation and abridgment of Herodotus among his papers, written in an early hand. The surviving manuscript begins with the chapter-heading *Euterpe*:

> The Ægyptians were thought to be ye first Men, till thir King Psammetichus by an experiment thought ye Phrygians were ye first, they were ye first that divided ye year into twelve months; & gave names to

218 ML 421.69, 383.31, 450.98, 393.41, 435.83.
219 ML 75.1, 76.2, 77.3, 78.4
220 In general, see Blair, A. *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (Yale, 2010). Chartier, R. *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and the Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, 1994).
y\textsuperscript{e} twelve Gods & built them Temples & Statues. in y\textsuperscript{e} time of their King Menes (y\textsuperscript{e} first King of y\textsuperscript{e} World) all Ægypt except y\textsuperscript{e} Thebaid was a vast pond, which in process of time, was filled up...\textsuperscript{221} 

Decades after he left Oxford, Marsham turned his attention to these topics, and his resulting history of ancient Egypt was written on scale unprecedented in early-modern Europe. Only Athanasius Kircher, Marsham’s exact contemporary, lavished more attention on Egypt, in an ambitious series of elaborate antiquarian, iconographic, linguistic, and philosophical treatises.\textsuperscript{222} The transition from youthful emulations of Herodotus to the Chronicus canon demanded technical familiarity with an abstruse and challenging discipline, auxiliary to history, which combined astronomy with philology, and which was at the zenith of its popularity in Marsham’s early life. More than anything, this can be traced to Henry Savile, his endowed professorship of astronomy, and the career of its third professor, John Greaves. Greaves was also one of Marsham’s closest friends.

\textit{Friends and colleagues.}

Henry Savile died at Eton College on 19 February 1622 at the age of seventy-two and was buried under a stone slab in the chapel ‘by torchlight to save expense, although he left 200l for a funeral’.\textsuperscript{223} But before Savile became Provost of Eton in 1596, he was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, from 1565, and Warden of Merton. In 1623, his widow, Lady Margaret Savile, commissioned an elaborate funeral monument to her husband’s memory, near the entrance of Merton College Chapel. Fabricated from painted and polychrome marble by Nicholas Stone, the figure of Savile seems to rise from his inscription, flanked by sculptural personifications of his scholarly achievements: St. John Chrysostom, Ptolemy, Euclid, and Tacitus.

In 1620, Savile concluded a set of lectures on Euclid, to inaugurate his new professorship in geometry, and wistfully meditated on the passage of time, the limits of his scholarly capacities, and the twilight of his life.\textsuperscript{224} Fifty years had passed since he lectured on Ptolemy’s \textit{Almagest}, and he attempted to persuade his students of the centrally important role of Euclid’s \textit{Elements},

\textsuperscript{221} Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/Z28/9 fol.1r (=p.11); compare the translation in The Famous Hystory of Herodotvs (London, 1584) fol 69v-70r. 
\textsuperscript{222} Kircher, A. Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta, Opus Tripartitum (Rome, 1643); Obeliscus Pamphilius, hoc est, Interpretatio...Obelisci Hieroglyphici (Rome, 1650), Oedipus Aegyptiacus, hoc est, Universalis Hieroglyphicae Veterum (Rome, 1652-1655); in general, Stolzenberg, D. Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity (Chicago, 2013). 
\textsuperscript{223} DNB, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (London, 1858) p. 371, for Vol. CCXIX, April 1622, Bp. Of Chichester to Carleton. 
together with Apollonius and Archimedes, on their path to mastering astronomy. Savile also knew what he had accomplished. He opened his late lecture-series on Euclid’s biography, and distinguished Euclid, the mathematician who practiced in Ptolemaic Alexandria, from Euclid of Megara, the pupil of Socrates. The two had been confused in early Latin translations of Euclid, by Campanus of Novara, Niccolò Tartaglia, and others. But Savile was proud of his insight and was determined to persuade his audience with a sophisticated chronological argument. Using a passage from Thucydides on the Megarian Decree, and Diodorus Siculus, Savile determined that 108 years passed from the Peloponnesian War to the death of Alexander, and that the accession of Ptolemy I Soter was 19 years later. Savile mentioned that this was consonant with the Canone Regnorum Ptolemaei, Ptolemy’s canon of Kings. In his emphasis on one scholarly achievement, Savile let another slip past, and the audience might not have known just how novel, and revolutionary, this evidence was.

Savile selected his friend Henry Briggs, then at Gresham College in London, to carry on his efforts in mathematics as the new Savilian Professor of Geometry. But it was Savile’s choice of an unknown physician for the first Savilian Professor of Astronomy, also in 1619, that set a sequence of events in motion which, through a chain of personal friendships, and shared misfortunes, occasioned Marsham’s late turn to historical chronology. It began when John Bainbridge left his quiet Leicestershire village of Ashby-de-la-Zouch for London in the autumn of 1618, settled near All Hallows the Great, just above the River Thames, and was licensed by the College of Physicians on 6 November. In his Pandectae nostri temporis, Marsham recorded that twelve days later, on 18 November 1618 A Blazinge Star appeared. From his new home in London, John Bainbridge saw this comet as well, and communicated his astronomical observations in a letter written directly to Savile, before the comet had disappeared from the sky. Bainbridge also sought out Henry Briggs at Gresham College at this time and rushed to publish his observations in a slender treatise which mixed mathematics and poetry. It was dedicated to King James and featured an elaborate fold-out map which depicted the comet’s progression from Libra, and through Boötes. Like Wheare, Bainbridge was motivated to act quickly and gain patronage, and for his efforts, he was appointed to the Savilian Chair within the year. Once at Merton in Oxford, Bainbridge incorporated Kepler’s model into his lectures on astronomy, collected quadrants, sextants, and telescopes, conducted meticulous observations, and solicited additional information from Thomas Erpenius, Willebord Snell, and members of his epistolary network.

226 Savile, Praelectiones, 1-2/a3r-v: ‘Ubi primo loco minuendus est eorum error, qui putant hanc nostrum Euclidem Mathematicum eundem esse cum Euclide Socratico…’
227 cf. Savile, Praelectiones 3-4, quoting Thucydides 1.139: ‘μὴ χρῆσθαι τοις λυμάσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἄρχῃ etc;& à morte Alexandri ad initi regni Ptolemai in Aegypto (cum quo familiariter vixit Euclides Mathematicus, ut ex Proclo ostendetur) anni novemdecim, ut constat ex canone Regnum Ptolemai…’
228 DNB, Feingold, M. The Mathematicians’ Apprenticeship (Cambridge, 1984) 143-147, esp. n. 115 on Trinity College Library, Dublin MS 382 fol. 57, Bainbridge to Savile, 2 December 1618. The comet was still visible in the night sky.
229 Bainbridge, J. An Astronomicall description of the late comet from the 18. of November to the 16. of December following (London, 1618), ins.
importance of Arabic scholarship to his planned edition of Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, and planned expeditions to the Levant, to obtain updated geographical coordinates at Alexandria, and to gather manuscripts.

With his busy schedule, Bainbridge found little time for publication, but in 1620, he did release a small astronomical collection in octavo. This began with edition of an introductory *Sphaera*, mistakenly attributed to Proclus. As Bainbridge knew, this was actually the first four books of the Hellenistic *Introduction to the Phenomena* (εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰ φαινόμενα) by Geminus of Rhodes. The *Sphaera* had been published several times before, beginning with Aldus Manutius in 1499, and followed by Thomas Linacre’s Latin translation in 1536. But Bainbridge found the current text lacunose and corrupt enough to freshly edit. Fortunately, the same manuscript also contained Book I of Ptolemy’s *Planetary Hypotheses* (Ὑποθέσεις τῶν πλανομένων) in Greek, and this had never been printed. In this sequel to the *Almagest*, Ptolemy replaced his mathematical deferent-and-epicycle planetary models with physical spheres, with proportions determined by the eccentrics of deferent circles for the individual planets, and the radii of their epicycles. Bainbridge felt that he was carrying the torch with Savile’s work in Ptolemy, as Briggs was with Euclid, and these were both preparatory exercises for his *Almagest*.

And finally, Bainbridge included an austere list of Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Ptolemaic kings, which he found in Theon’s recension of Ptolemy’s *Handy Tables* (πρόχειροι κανόνες). The king-list was coordinated with a numerical column of regnal years using the Egyptian solar calendar of 365 days without intercalation. Joseph Scaliger printed a partial version, which he found in the 11th-century manuscript of George Syncellus that Isaac Casaubon sent him in 1602. This version swarmed with errors, but its potential utility to historical chronology was immediately apparent.

Bainbridge printed the complete, accurate, text of Ptolemy’s Royal canon, which began with the Babylonian king Nabonassar, and in his version was extended to continue through the death of the Roman emperor Theodosian I. The Royal canon synchronised perfectly with the *Era Nabonassar*, which began at noon, on 26 February, 747 BC, and was Ptolemy’s metric for dating his observations. All dates could be confirmed with accurate observational data on eclipses from the *Almagest*, and the history of the ancient Near East suddenly had a single, secure, foundation. The Royal canon initiated a sea-change in early-modern historical chronology, and it can be traced to Henry Savile, and his work on the Almagest. For Richard Bainbridge, J. *Procli Sphaera, Ptolemaei de Hypothesibus Planetarum* (London, 1620), esp ¶3r-v: ‘Alteram titulo quidem Procli, jure tamen Gemini Geometrae, & Astronomi nobilissimi ex cujus in φαινόμενα Isagoge eam totum & ad…excerpsit Proclus.’ cf. Manutius, C. *Gemini Elementa Astronomiae* (Leipzig, Tuebner, 1898) XXVI; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Savile 10 fols. 51-77, 80-117, 118-131; Evans, J., Berggren, J.L. *Geminos’s Introduction to the Phenomena, a Translation and Study of a Hellenistic Survey of Astronomy* (Princeton, 2007).


234 Bainbridge, J. *ibid*, 49-51
Montagu, Savile’s colleague at Eton, distributed Greek manuscript copies of the Royal canon, sending one to John Overall, who as we shall see, passed transcripts to James Ussher and Abraham Scultetus. Following his principles, Savile also donated the apograph for the use of his academic successors, in a clear late sixteenth century Greek scribal hand.235

Bainbridge was at the vanguard of a cluster of British scholars who developed a unique approach to technical chronology during this period. The Oxfordshire astronomer and mathematician Thomas Lydiat provided much early inspiration for this, beginning with his 1605 Tractatus de varijs annorum formis. In this, Lydiat postulated the existence of a primordial lunisolar calendar, originally common to all nations, which could be restored with his octodesexcentenary cycle of 592 years, divided into 7,322 months, 30,889 weeks, 216,223 days.236 Lydiat deliberately contradicted Scaliger’s arguments in De emendatione temporum, and constantly attacked Scaliger’s chronological scholarship throughout the book. Lydiat’s treatment provoked Scaliger’s wrath from Leiden. In letters to the philologist Richard Thomson, Scaliger released a string of Latin invectives against Lydiat. It was a waste of time, and below his dignity, Scaliger claimed, to entertain this ‘prodigiously ignorant beetle’ with a

235 Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Savile 2, fols.45-59; this was in the bequest of Peter Turner, 2nd Savilian Chair of Geometry, 1651-52; also see Bodleian Library MS Savile 52, fols. 88-113 for a Byzantine edition of Theon’s Commentarium parvum in Ptolemaei canones.

236 Lydiat, Tractatus de Varijs Annorum formis usurpatis a gentibus quarum illustria fuerunt Regna (London, 1605), esp. 328-355; despite its manifest complexity, Lydiat’s cycle yields an average year of 365.2415 days.
response. Although Lydiat was supported by his British colleagues in this controversy, his new chronological system failed to win adherents. Only Lydiat’s close friend James Ussher appropriated his work as a major influence.

Lydiat tenaciously maintained hopes for patronage, dedicating his *Anni solaris mensura epistola* to Henry Savile in 1620, and advocating, in a letter to Henry Briggs, his 592-year *annus magus* as a serious alternative to the Gregorian Calendar in Britain. Proud of his accomplishment, Lydiat was upset to hear that in a lecture on calendar reformation delivered at Oxford, Bainbridge ‘very sharply and bitterly inveighed against certain absurd periods’. Bainbridge took his own direction in chronology. By 1627, his letters to John Selden reveal their precise, erudite efforts to coordinate Ptolemy’s Royal canon with new evidence, the Parian Chronicle, which they supplemented with data from Greek and Arabic manuscripts. Secure in his position, Bainbridge left his work unpublished. It was only after his death that his small and incomparably erudite treatise on Sirius, the Sothic Cycle, and the Egyptian calendar was printed, by his greatest student and assistant, John Greaves.

Greaves was born near Alresford on the Hampshire Downs in 1602; he was the eldest of the four sons of John and Sarah Greaves. John Greaves Senior was Rector of St. Peter ad Vincula at Colemore until his death in 1616, and the ‘most noted schoolmaster in all that country’, according to Anthony à Wood. Sufficiently prepared by his father, Greaves matriculated at Balliol College on 12 December 1617. It was next to St. John’s. He received his BA from St. Mary Hall in 1621 and was awarded a fellowship at Merton College in 1624.

Marsham surely became friends with Greaves before 1625, at a time when neither were seriously interested in either technical chronology or mathematical astronomy. The presence of Sacrobosco’s *Sphaera* and Bartholomaeus Keckermann’s *Systema compendiosum totius mathematices* in Marsham’s personal library are indicative of the quality of his undergraduate training in astronomy. Indeed, William Blaeu’s 1665 *Institutio astronomica* was the first Copernican work that Marsham purchased, and most of his *libri mathematici* consisted of architecture, engineering, fortifications, and ballistics.

Greaves remained in Oxford, gained his MA on 25 June 1628, and developed friendships with Peter Turner, his senior colleague at Merton, Henry Briggs, and John Bainbridge. Inspired by them, Greaves determined to ‘prosecute the study of the mathematicks and astronomy with...’

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indefatigable industry’ and after reading Regiomontanus, Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, and other modern astronomers, he turned his attention to Greek, Persian and Arabic manuscripts. Greaves succeeded Peter Turner as the third Savilian Professor of Astronomy in February 1631.

In need of additional language training, Greaves soon crossed the English Channel to study Arabic in Leiden, where he became friends with the orientalist Jacob Golius. Greaves returned to Europe in 1635 and studied in Paris and Padua. In Italy, Greaves met William Petty, who collected antiquities for Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel, and soon decided to orchestrate an even more ambitious voyage, to Constantinople and Alexandria, to improve his linguistic skills, acquire manuscripts, and conduct observations.

After making a persuasive case to William Laud, Greaves departed in 1636, as a deputy to the elder Edward Pococke, formerly Chaplain of the Levant Company, first professor of the Laudian Chair of Arabic at Oxford, and a close friend and roommate of Greaves’ younger brother Thomas. During his travels, Greaves met Athanasius Kircher, procured a manuscript Almagest stolen by an Ottoman sipahi from the Seraglio, found a copy of the Zīj-i Sultānī attributed to the Timurid sultan Ulugh Beg, attempted to visit Mount Athos, measured the gallery of the Hagia Sophia, and used a ‘fair brass astrolabe of Gemma Frisius to establish the latitude of Rhodes at 37º 50’. And as we shall see, Greaves also crossed the Mediterranean and travelled to Egypt.

Marsham began his grand tour earlier in life and left few traces of his activities: when Marsham left Oxford, their lives diverged. Greaves was Marsham’s age, similarly never took orders, and displayed an equal intellectual curiosity, with far greater skills in spherical trigonometry and Near-Eastern languages. Although Oxford and its scholarly culture faded for Marsham, he retained his deep personal sympathies with William Laud, his interest in history and libraries, and his friendship with John Greaves.

CHAPTER III. THE GRAND TOUR & THE INNS OF COURT.

When Marsham crossed the English Channel in 1625, he could never again close a letter with the words Your most Dutifull Son. Marsham’s parents were dead, as were his uncles Matthias and Richard Springham. Marsham was independent, with inherited wealth at his disposal. Several years of directed travel in Western Europe had been considered an effective preparatory stage to diplomatic careers for aristocratic and politically influential English families since the Tudor period. Despite his mercantile status, Marsham was able to afford a leisurely extension to his Oxford education on the Continent.\(^{244}\)

In the pages of his *Pandectae nostri temporis*, Marsham simply entered To Calais on 16 November 1625. Four days later, he wrote To Amiens. And on 24 November, To Paris.\(^{245}\) And there he remained, until late December, when he left for Senlis, the royal seat of Capetian monarchs, in the forested country to the north of Paris. It was a scenic, ancient, Gallic city still ringed by Roman walls. The exiled Hugo Grotius recently lived in a château near Senlis, and completed *De jure belli ac pacis* there, using books loaned by François-Auguste de Thou.\(^{246}\) In 1623 Grotius briefly lived in the village of Senlis itself. But his principal residence until 1631 was in Paris, on the rue Neuve-Lambert, across from the vast Hôtel de Condé. It was conveniently located, providing Grotius with easy access to the *Académie Dupuy*, the incomparable scholarly community organised by the brothers Jacques and Pierre Dupuy at the Hôtel de Thou, which broadly included Pierre Gassendi, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Claude Saumaise, Nicolas Rigault, Marin Mersenne, and later, Ismaël Boulliau.\(^{247}\) At the time, in was unrivalled in Europe as a centre for intellectual collaboration, in history, theology, mathematics, antiquarianism, philosophy, and music theory, the heart of the respublica literaria.

Marsham commemorated the deaths of Isaac Casaubon and Jacques-Auguste de Thou with prominent entries in his chronicle. If he was interested in their work on his Grand Tour, he left no record on scholarly meetings, and no impression on Paris. Just over thirty years later, on 2 February 1656, Marsham’s nephew William Hammond wrote home to complain of the freezing Parisian weather, which both ruined Carnival, and interrupted his studies: ‘My Chymist Master takes himself to be utterly undone, the raging Frost has Coagulated all his Dissolutions: his

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\(^{245}\) Bodleian Library, MS. Don.c.60.

\(^{246}\) Nellen, H. *Hugo Grotius, a Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State*, 1583-1646 (Brill, 2014), 299-300, 320.

Spirits, Essences, Baums & Quintessences freize & breake all his hard-nam'd Glasses.'  

Hammond plaintively begged his father to let him go to Padua. In case his father disapproved of a medical degree from Italy, Hammond asked him to petition John Wilkins to keep him enrolled at Wadham College, Oxford, until he returned: ‘Tho’ I believe, there are some small Fees, annex to the Continuing one’s Name in the Colledge books, which cannot amount to above a Crown a year.’  

Padua was an extremely popular destination for aspiring medical students in England, following a precedent established by Thomas Linae, William Harvey, and other renowned humanist physicians.  

In March 1626, Marsham silently left Paris, and travelled east, arriving at Châlons-en-Champagne on the 15th; after a day of arduous travel, he reached Nancy, and continued to Strasbourg.  

The English traveller Thomas Coryat singled out Germany as the ideal destination in his seminal 1611 travel-journal and illustrated the astronomical clock at Strasbourg with a rare engraving. In his travelogue, rarities, wonders and remarkable things merge with geography, antiquarianism, and descriptions of architecture, sculpture, gardens, landscapes, and costume. The identity of a virtuoso emerges from the letters and diaries of Jacobean tourists, in the beauty and splendor they witnessed, in the antiquities they described and collected, and in the polished woodwork drawers and shelves of their cabinets, containing coins, medals, relics, and souvenirs. Observing, collecting, arranging and showing were essential aspects of this expensive, but fundamentally self-elected identity. After losing his fellowship at Peterhouse in the Civil War, the great Kentish virtuoso John Bargrave began a series of journeys to Europe. In the course of his travels, he acquired a fragment of Constantine’s Triumphant Arch, a wooden and ivory model of the human eye, an ancient brass dolphin, two Roman lachrymatories, fungia coral, a periwinkle shell, French and Italian playing cards, pumice from Mt. Etna, a hippopotamus tooth, fossilised mollusks, a Venetian stiletto, and a dried chameleon.  

Later in his life, Marsham integrated his cabinet of coins into his chronology, when eclipses, Greek inscriptions and canons of Babylonian kings fell into history like the pinions and wheels of a clock. The barren itineraries sketched in his Pandectae reveals nothing of the collector or antiquarian he would become, but when Marsham left Strasbourg and the Alsace for Heidelberg, and the Palatinate, he did so with no obligation to patronage. When the singular and eccentric Coryat visited Heidelberg, he was given a personal tour of the Bibliotheca Palatina, and its unparalleled treasures in manuscript, by Jan Gruter, its librarian. But the world had changed. In September 1622 Heidelberg was captured by the combined forces of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, and Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly, as part of a larger campaign against the Electoral Palatinate during an early phase of the Thirty Years’ War. Under the direction of Leo Allatius, who was librarian for Cardinal Barberini, the manuscripts were

251 Coryat, T. Coryat’s Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five Moneths in France, Savoy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons Country.. (London, 1611), 452-453, ins.  
252 See above all Bann, Stephen, Under the Sign: John Bargrave as Collector, Traveller, and Witness (Ann Arbor, 1994).  
253 Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA-Dcc/LitMs/E/16.a.
packed into 196 cases, and transported across the Alps by a caravan of mules, as a present to Pope Gregory XV, and a trophy of war.\textsuperscript{254}

Marsham followed the course of the Rhine to the north, through a landscape recently ravaged by war, to Frankfurt and Hanau. The republic of letters was not exempt from the pressures of war and the social instabilities in generated. In 1626, a catalogue of imaginary books appeared at Frankfurt advertising fictitious titles for sale at the book-fair in October.\textsuperscript{255} Filled with invectives against Catholics, the Papacy, Ferdinand II, Belgium, and Spain, it mixed insightful political satire with raw innuendo. It was subversive enough to inspire another catalogue in response. After several weeks in Hanau, Marsham turned back, followed the Rhine downriver through Oppenheim and Speyer, and returned through Strasbourg to France, arriving in Paris on 23 April 1626.

Two weeks later, Marsham departed again, at first heading directly south as the green of spring settled in the fields and forests of France, to Orléans. Then he followed the Loire, past vineyards and whitewashed châteaux, downriver, all the way to Nantes. Marsham traced the coast, to La Rochelle and Bordeaux, before turning inland to Toulouse. Circumventing the highlands of the Massif Central, he reached Narbonne, on the Mediterranean, and finally Marseilles by the end of May. On June 10 Marsham arrived in Lyon, with its Roman ruins, on the precipitous ridge above the Saône.

From Lyon, Marsham went to Geneva, where he remained until September, before crossing the Alps and entering Italy, marked in single lines along the margins of his book: Turin, Milan, Crema on the Plain of Lombardy, Brescia, Verona, Padua, Venice, and Ravenna. After his long voyage, Marsham finally arrived in Rome.

The city of Rome was the \textit{fons et origio} of European antiquarianism, from its foundation by Marcus Terentius Varro, as Cicero famously summarised.\textsuperscript{256} Cicero praised Varro for his revelations of the age of Rome, its chronology, the laws of its rituals and priesthood, its domestic and martial customs, and his description of its regions, locations, together with the names, classes, offices, conditions, of all things, secular and sacred.\textsuperscript{257} By April 1341, when Petrarch walked through the ruins of Rome with his friend Giovanni Colonna, and surveyed the city from the broken vaults of the Baths of Diocletian, Varro’s systematic method was a model for imitation as well as praise.

\textsuperscript{254} In general, Wilson, P. \textit{Europe’s Tragedy, a History of the Thirty Years’ War} (Harvard, 2011), Mazzi, C. \textit{Leone Allacci e la Palatina di Heidelberg} (Bologna, 1893).

\textsuperscript{255} Catalogus librorum mystico-politicorum qui autumnalibus nudinidis Francofordiensibus anni 1626 in lucem prodibunt (Frankfurt [1626?])2,3; Werle, D. ‘Labbé’s examples: \textit{Bibliothecae fictae} in the Early Modern Classification of Scholarship’ (Catalogus librorum mystico-politicorum) in Pouey-Mounou, A, Smith, P.J. (eds.) \textit{Early Modern Catalogues of Imaginary Books: a scholarly anthology} (Brill, 2020) 256-277.

\textsuperscript{256} Cicero, \textit{Academia} 1.3[9]: ‘Tum ego ‘Sunt’ inquam ‘ista Varro, nam nos in urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscerre. Tu aetatem patriae, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti...’

Flavio Biondo, a notary of the Camera Apostolica, and pontifical secretary, attempted to realise this model in his *Roma triumphans*, completed in 1459, which pioneered the early-modern study of ancient Roman religious ceremonies, literature, politics and civic participation, and domestic life.\(^{258}\) Andrea Fulvio, Pirro Ligorio, Paulo Manuzio, Onofrio Panvinio, and many other scholars continued this project, using newly systematised methods of evaluating and incorporating non-literary evidence. This work was stimulated by new archaeological discoveries, like the *Fasti Capitolini*, the marble tablets with dated lists of Roman consuls, censors, and other magistrates, which were rescued from the forum by Panvinio and Ligorio in 1546.\(^{259}\) As the dates in the *Fasti* differed from Livy’s *ab urbe condita* dating, this began a debate on the historical authority of literary sources against epigraphy and extended the debate on the role of forgery in both manuscripts and inscriptions.\(^{260}\)

Later in his life, when Marsham compiled his *Antiquæ Romæ Topographia* in a white vellum booklet, he began by praising Flavio Biondo’s *Roma instaurata*, before entering commonplace passages from Tacitus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and other classical authors on the historical evolution of Rome’s cityscape. When the *Chronicus canon* emerged from Marsham’s notebooks, chronological tables, and preliminary drafts, Marsham’s superimposition of antiquarianism onto a framework of universal history allowed a natural progression from a synchronic, descriptive literary form to a diachronic, narrative ancient history that incorporated newly discovered archaeological evidence.\(^{261}\)

After twelve days in Rome, Marsham went as far as Naples, the southern *terminus* of his tour, the limits of his ambitions. Not even his nephew William would travel so far. And then he turned back, through Rome, to Siena, Pisa, Livorno, Florence, Trent, Innsbruck, Augsburg, Ulm, Zurich, Basel, Dijon, Troyes, and finally Paris. Marsham found ceremonialism, civic history, and the social origins of historical chronology at Oxford. In his travels, he gained the identity of a gentleman, antiquarian and *virtuoso*, which he kept throughout his life. And when he returned to write manuscript treatises on Greek antiquities, or the hills of Rome, he participated in a discipline which shared identical origins with the rural perambulations of English shires, and descriptions of English funeral effigies and plaques, that lined the shelves of his comfortable study in Kent.

Marsham could not wander through Europe forever. He needed a role in society, an income, and the comforts of home. In 1627, he crossed the Channel to London, for the first time in two years. And on this occasion, Marsham was not alone, but in the company of Henry Jermyn, courtier and *confidante* of Henrietta Maria. Fluent in French, Jermyn would soon become her vice-Chamberlain. Between 25 January and 5 February 1627/8, Marsham was formally


\(^{261}\) Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/Z30, esp. fol. 2r. ‘*Instaurate Romæ palmam habuit Blondus Flavius, antiquariorum coryphaeus....*’ This manuscript dates from the 1660s.
admitted to the Middle Temple, and on 23 May, he was given the chamber of Andrew Jenour, ‘one of the most Ancient Masters of the Utter Bar’ which he shared with Walter Overbury, a senior barrister from Barton-on-the-Heath, and MP for Cardigan.262

The Inns of Court.

In his *Origines Juridicales*, the Warwickshire antiquarian William Dugdale proved that he was capable of more than retrieving, organising and transcribing documentary collections from archives, and editing work assembled by other scholars.263 Dugdale included a history of English law and Parliament which quoted Edward Coke, John Selden, Henry de Bracton, Roger of Howden, and *Fleta*. He attempted to explain the origins of Hundred Courts, Sheriffs’-Turns, or Shire-Motes, before progressing to Chancery, the King’s Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Exchequer. For evidence, he combed through the book-presses in Robert Cotton’s library, already named for the busts of Roman emperors, together with Faustina and Cleopatra, placed above the shelves.264 And above all, Dugdale described the Inns of Court in unprecedented detail.

Dugdale owed much of his career to a personal conversation in the rooms of Samuel Roper in Lincoln’s Inn, where he met Roger Dodsworth, on the recommendation of Sir Henry Spelman.265 The Inns of Court were important to his identity, although he was never a member. The King Henry VIII School in Coventry was the limit of Dugdale’s formal education. His father John Dugdale had studied ‘Civill law’ at St. John’s in Oxford, and preceded James Whitelocke as a Steward, before he followed a student he had tutored to Warwickshire, where he restored a parsonage-house in Shustoke, and married.

After leaving school at fifteen, William Dugdale read Littleton’s *Tenures*, and other legal books left by his father, married early, and purchased the brick ‘mannour of Blythe’ just down the road, when he was twenty. William Burton’s *Description of Leicestershire* piqued Dugdale’s interest in antiquarianism and inspired his correspondence with Burton and Sir Simon Archer. In Easter Term, 1638, Archer invited Dugdale to London, and introduced him to Sir Henry Spelman, who suggested that Dugdale collaborate with Dodsworth in assembling the ‘Transcripts of the Foundation Charters of divers Monasteries.’ Sir Henry Spelman devised the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.266 Samuel Roper connected Dugdale to Robert Cotton, Scipio Le

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264 For instance Dugdale, W. *Origines 54-55*, in which he makes extensive use of Cotton MS Titus A.XXVII, which contains the *Quadripartitus*; Cotton MS Cleopatra A.XVI, which contains the *Leges Edwardi Regis*, a treatise on the Exchequer, and pertinent chronicles, and other items.
Squier, Thomas Fanshawe, and other guardians of the archival treasures of London. And all connections met in the culture of the Inns of Court.

The main entrance to the Middle Temple was from Fleet Street, in a gate funded by Sir Amias Paulet, the gaoler of Mary, Queen of Scots, and decorated with the arms of Cardinal Wolsey. Once within, Marsham had access to a vast and lofty Elizabethan Hall, with an elaborate double-hammerbeam roof, among the largest in London, where feasts, masques and revelries were held throughout the year. The first performance of Shakespeare’s _Twelfth Night_ was staged there, on 2 February 1602, at Candlemas, six months before Marsham was born. Vine-Court, Pump Court, and Luther’s Buildings had recently been completed, and within the campus, there was very little direct supervision. In 1635, Charles II enacted a requirement for members of the Middle Temple to receive Holy Communion at least once a year, and forbade ‘Hats, Cloaks, Boots, Spurs, Swords, Daggers’ and ‘long hayr’.267

Otherwise, the students engaged in simulated legal disputations and oral pleadings as exercises, and studied writs in the _Register_ and Anthony Fitzherbert’s _Novelle Natura Breviarium_, as they pleased.268 A 1627 printing of the _Tenures_ of Sir Thomas de Littleton seems to have been Marsham’s main introductory legal textbook.269 Over the course of his career, Marsham also acquired scholarly editions of the _Corpus Iuris Civilis_, codified under the authority of Justinian I, and the _Observationes_ of the French humanist legal scholar Jacques Cujas which criticised the Byzantine corruptions in the _Corpus_.270 He acquired Christopher Barker’s _Whole Volume of Statutes_ and the rare _Codex Legum Antiquarum_ by the German philologist Friedrich Lindenbrog. And Marsham collected every major work by John Selden.271 Only Hugo Grotius and the Dutch classical scholar Johannes Meursius seem to approach Selden’s obvious status as a favourite author. From the historicization of English law in his treatise in the notes to _Fortescue_, to his provocative little treatise on Dagon, Baal, and other Semitic deities, to the great works on Jewish law he published late in life, John Selden was Marsham’s greatest scholarly influence. If anything, Marsham’s manuscripts and printed citations suggest that their friendship was preceded by early hero-worship, mixed with a tinge of jealousy.

Marsham attended the Inns of Court for professional training, and after failing to make progress in diplomacy, he embraced life in law and Chancery. His turn to scholarship occurred in Royalist Oxford, when there were no real alternatives, and when the separate mental worlds of Peter Heylyn, William Dugdale, and John Greaves met, through the common pressures of a shared, beleaguered, ideology. Until he withdrew to Bedfordshire, Selden lived in London, in a cultured, intellectual world centered in the Inns of Court. In 1628, Marsham might have embraced this, with the festivities and revels, the dissolute pleasures of London, and the sensory pleasures of life at the Middle Temple, but he was not quite finished with Europe, and its cities at peace and war.

268 ML 848.146.
269 ML 854.152 for Littleton’s _Tenures in English_ (London, 1627).
270 ML 847.143, 845.143, also see 846.144 for Duck, Arthur, _De usu & authoritate juris civilis Romanorum_ (London, 1679), and 336.2-337.3.
The complex and fragile balance of foreign relations between the Caroline government, France, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands, and the Palatinate required talented diplomats. In turn, this promised access to members of the Privy Council at Whitehall, and everything their patronage might offer. In 1629, Marsham crossed the Channel again, to the Netherlands, and witnessed a military siege by Frederick Hendrik, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder, together with allied English and Scottish forces, against the city of ‘s-Hertogenbosch, loyal to the Spanish Netherlands, and a central element in their land blockade of the Dutch Republic. The city was heavily fortified with trace Italienne bastions, and rose from a low-lying marsh, which required Frederick Hendrik to divert the surrounding rivers, build a polder, and slowly extend trenches toward the defenses. The city finally fell on 14 September 1629, in a devastating blow to Spanish morale. Marsham was still in the Netherlands when he wrote a letter from Delft on 16 August 1629:

Lovinge Cozen the courteous care you expressed on my behalfe doth much affect mee, & y more because I have not yet had y good fortune to doe ym any service, as I earnestly desire. I doe not desire y’t y’ business should be effected in my absence, nor would I be admitted till towards Christmas. I am just now partinge for Paris by sea to Calais; yet will not faile (God willinge) to be in London about ye beginninge of Michaelmas Terme, or wth in a forthnight: where I hope I shall have ye happinesse to see you & confer concerninge this matter... Marsham was actively trying to promote his interests, and advance his career, on multiple fronts. Once in Calais, Marsham joined the retinue of Sir Thomas Edmondes, ‘Ambassador Extraordinary’ to Louis XIII, for the final ratification of the peace of Ales between the French king and the Huguenots, which also marked the end of the Two-Years War between England and France. The treaties were signed simultaneously at Windsor and Fontainebleau on 16 September 1629. Edmondes was a seasoned diplomat, who served as ambassador to the Spanish Netherlands under both Elizabeth and James, but after the Edict of Alès, the event was a formality. Already drained by the Parliamentary debates over the Petition of Right held earlier that year, Edmondes made his final diplomatic mission. Marsham was in the salons of the Château de Fontainebleau when the documents were signed, on the periphery, witnessing history from a distance, as he did the siege. The prospects of legal practice, and the comforts of the Middle Temple awaited him in London, and once he crossed the Channel in 1629, Marsham never visited Europe again. For marriage awaited him in London, and a family, and the estate and status of a true gentleman, in a landscape that would soon define his life.

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273 London, Society of Antiquaries MS 201.38, fol 1r, Marsham to [William Paynter], in a very rare example of Marsham’s early correspondence. Many aspects of this letter, and the nature of their ‘business’ remain unknown. It does suggest that Marsham was actively attempting to improve his circumstances.
274 *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice* (London, 1919) 72-87: the Venetian ambassadors made peace between England and France a principal objective at this time and kept detailed records of the treaty.
CHAPTER IV: MARSHAM’S INTELLECTUAL LANDSCAPE.

After the Restoration, the poet, scholar and translator Thomas Stanley (1625-1678) remembered his circle of literary friends, and the lives they had shared together in the Middle Temple, in its corridors and halls, courts and formal gardens.276 The waters of the Thames lapped against the angled river-wall of the Inns of Court. The pleasures of London spread beyond the Strand to the north, with the Mermaid, the Mitre, the Seven Stars, and other smoky, lively, taverns within easy reach. In 1646, Stanley returned across the Channel from his ‘Travells in France.’ Following the example of his uncle, John Marsham, Stanley assumed residence at the Inns of Court, where he soon became associated with a literary and scholarly circle which included Richard Lovelace, Edward Sherburne, James Shirley, Robert Herrick, and Andrew Marvell.277 Other poets and playwrights had passed through the Inns before them. Sir Francis Bacon had produced lavish masques, and Ben Jonson had written poetic Epistles to John Selden. Stanley’s circle was composed of shared scholarly interests, political affiliations, expressed in Royalist black silk ribbons, and occasionally, family connections. Stanley’s manuscript collection of memories in verse contains poems dedicated to his tutor, William Fairfax, his cousin, Edward Sherburne, and especially his uncle, William Hammond. Also an uncle to the young grand-tourist who shared his name, this William Hammond was the son of Sir William Hammond of St. Albans Court, Kent (1579-1615). Sir William Hammond’s eldest daughter Mary was Stanley’s mother. Her brother was just over a decade older than his precocious nephew, and visited Thomas in his rooms at Pembroke College, Cambridge. Years later, Thomas Stanley still fondly remembered William’s ‘Magnetick Letters’ and their travels together in the north.278

On St. Hilary’s Day, 13 January 1631, Mary’s younger sister, Elizabeth Hammond (1611-1689), married John Marsham in Stepney. Her family had owned former monastic property in Kent since 1551 and had many recent adventures. In 1617, Elizabeth’s uncles Francis and Robert had accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh across the Atlantic and into the lush, malarial, rain-forests of Guiana, in search of the mythical city of El Dorado.279 Francis then travelled to the Continent, and fought in the Thirty Year’s War. Both would enter military service as Royalists in the Civil War. The Hammonds were related to the Sandys family, descended from the Marian Exile, and Elizabethan Archbishop of York, Edwin Sandys (1519-1588). They had established roots in Kent through Edwin’s son Miles (1563-1645) who became a Baronet. The traveller,

poet, and adventurer George Sandys (1578-1644) would ultimately join his elder brother in Kent. Through them, the Hammond family also had connections with the Auchers, who traced their common ancestry to Nicholas Acher in the reign of King John, sixth in descent from the Norman Walter Fitz-Augur.\textsuperscript{280} The Hammonds were well established in Kent, and if anything turned Marsham’s attention away from his urban life in London, it was his marriage, and his wife.

Marsham was approaching thirty, and the commotion and revelries of single life in the Middle Temple might have become tedious. On 23 November 1632, its Parliament decided to prevent further disorder resulting from Christmas celebrations by locking the Hall between St. Thomas’ Day and the Saturday after the Epiphany. So much for holiday drunkenness and the misrule of the Christmas King. Three days later, Marsham surrendered his chamber to the recently admitted Thomas Morse.\textsuperscript{281} He had a new life, and great ambitions. For on 16 April 1631 Staffordshire MP Richard Leveson sold his first manor in Cuxton, Kent, to consolidate his wealth. The property was the perfect choice for Marsham. High on the hillside overlooking the Medway river, the parish church of St. Michael & All Angels had a deep association with St. John’s, and with William Laud, who was appointed rector of Cuxton in 1610.\textsuperscript{282} After Laud became the president of St. John’s, his predecessor John Buckeridge passed the living on to Richard Tillesley, who was noted for his criticism of Selden’s History of Tithes.\textsuperscript{283} Tillesley soon became Archdeacon of Rochester Cathedral, and a succession of Laudians and St. John’s alumni were installed at Cuxton.

Marsham had connections to his university and college from the beginning. And the property was within easy reach of London, and Inns of Court. On horseback, Marsham would have ridden down Fleet-Street and crossed the foul brown current of the river Fleet, which rose from Hampstead Heath and merged with the Thames as a ditch, past Ludgate, and the stonework of Old St. Paul’s, before crossing London Bridge into Southwark. Watling Street, the Roman road used as a pilgrimage-route to Canterbury for centuries, led to Rochester. The Scottish cartographer John Ogilby traced the journey as a ribboned map in the pages of his Britannia.\textsuperscript{284} It was the busiest road in England, principally chalk and gravel, and Ogilby’s road-guide followed the route past Greenwich, Blackheath, Deptford and Strood. At Rochester, the grey crenelated towers of the castle rose above the rooftops and trees. The road to Cuxton turned right before the stone bridge across the Medway, which had been financed by the Sir John de Cobham, Third Baron Cobham, and the soldier Sir Robert Knolles, and built in 1391.\textsuperscript{285} Four kilometers to the south, Marsham’s new property rose sharply above the waters of the river, to an exposed white chalk cliff crowned with a line of trees. The Norman church of St. Michael & All Angels stood to the north-east, on a skew axis, with the three windows above the altar.

\textsuperscript{280} See BL Add. Ms. 5507; cf. BL Harleian MS. 1106; Hovenden, R. (ed.) The Visitation of Kent, taken in the Years 1619-1621, by John Philipot, Rogue Dragon (London, Harleian Society) 1898.
\textsuperscript{281} Hopwood, C.H. (ed.) Middle Temple Records, Volume II: Minutes of the Parliament of the Middle Temple (London, 1904), 802-803.
\textsuperscript{282} PRO/E 331/Rochester 20, Records of Office of First Fruits and Tenth.
\textsuperscript{283} PRO/E 331/Rochester 21; DNB; Tillesley, R. Animadversions upon Mr. Selden’s History of Tithes, and his Review Thereof (London, 1619).
\textsuperscript{284} Ogilby, John, Britannia, or an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales (London, 1675), pl.18, 35-36.
facing diagonally south. This inspired the rhyme ‘If you would goe to a church miswent, You must goe to Cuckstone in Kent.’ In Robert Felgate’s 1670 map, the church was pictured on its side, just down the hedgerow-lined Way from Whorne’s Place.286

Marsham commissioned this watercoloured map, neatly sectioned off into woodlands, fields, and rabbit-warrens. There was a fountain in the centre of a carefully plotted garden, a granary, stables with Marsham’s library in a loft above, all in brick, enclosed by a wall. This was the landscape of his new life as landed gentry, and it would become the centre of his intellectual identity. In a booklet, Marsham collected a set of notes on ‘Pasture and Meadow, Fodder and Arable Lands’ using his edition of Gervase Markham’s Farewell to Husbandry.287 Cattle, beehives, pheasants, the cherry orchards arranged in gridded quincunx patterns, and the rigours of the country were all new, but Marsham was not alone.

An oval miniature painting by Samuel Cooper provides the only known portrait of Marsham’s wife Elizabeth (1611-1689). She owned books on medicine, flowers and gardening, as the dedication on the title-page of John Parkinson’s Paradisi in sole paradisus terrestris, or, A Garden of all sorts of Pleasant Flowers suggests.288 As the structure of Marsham’s library-catalogue places these books outside of the main library, in the furnished loft above the horse-stables, we can also surmise that she might have enjoyed libri fabulosi, including the epic novel Polexander by Marin le Roy de Gomberville, and the prose romance Bentivoglio and Urania, by Nathaniel Ingelo.289

She also initiated the family cookbook, which was continued by her second daughter Margaret, and other relatives, in a bewildering chorus of unidentified and almost illegible hands.290 There are recipes for raspberry wine, made with ‘eight pound of Resberrys four pound of whit currance’, Elizabeth’s recipe for mustard with horseradish, and detailed instructions for rabbit fried in butter with pepper, nutmeg, and sweet herbs. Medicinal preparations are mixed with

286 Medway Archives and Local History Centre, DE1016, detail.
287 Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121 E6/1; ML 1077.8 for Markham, G. Markhams Farewell to Husbandry (London, 1631).
288 University of Nottingham MSS & Spec. Coll. QK41 PAR, which corresponds to ML 1070.1.
289 ML 1108.1, 1109.2.
290 Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/E9.
the recipes, which specify green hawthorn leaves, woodbine, spearmint, and hyssop. In both cases, the recipes are preceded by the name of the contributor: ‘Lady Marsham’, ‘Mrs. Bridges’, ‘Sister Marsham’, ‘Brother Twisden.’

Over the decades, an extended family of Kentish antiquarians began to emerge from the pages of the household book. Margaret Marsham (1644-1687) married Sir Roger Twysden, 2nd Baronet, on 7 December 1667; Roger was the son of Sir Thomas Twysden (1601-1683), of Roydon Hall, East Peckham, Kent, and was thus related to the antiquarian Roger Twysden (1597-1672). In the branching pedigrees the antiquarians composed, the connections would have been resonant. And there were additional personal and professional similarities beyond their familial affiliations. For both Marsham and Twysden, properties, tenures, tenancies, manors and enclosures, tithes, quit-rents, and the grand complication of managing multiple estates competed with their legal and political careers.291 Unlike Marsham, Roger Twysden grew up in his ancestral home at Roydon Hall, a red brick Elizabethan manor house in East Peckham, Kent, and architectural mirror to Whorne’s place.292 His family could be traced through the generations to the reign of Edward I, and the Parish of Sandhurst in Western Kent. But like Marsham, he was admitted to the Inns of Court, specifically Gray’s Inn, on 2 February 1623.293 His life was divided between London and rural Kent.294 And this was the topography of a common intellectual culture, which can be traced between divergent political and ecclesiastical positions, and which slowly found cohesion in the long, turbulent, period after 21 March 1642, when Twysden, Sir Edward Dering, Sir John Sedley, and other members of the gentry met at the Star Inn in Matfield, outside of Maidstone, to eagerly discuss a new petition, which would condemn Parliament’s militia ordinance, support the Episcopacy, and urge immediate conciliation between Charles I and Parliament.295 Still an outsider, Marsham was far from a moderate, and joined the King at Oxford as a Cavalier. But by the Kentish Rebellion of 1648, a distinct new form of politicised antiquarianism had emerged from the estates and lathes of Kent.

Twysden survived his imprisonment at Lambeth Palace and sequestration to edit the Historiae Anglicanae scriptores decem. He used the Chronica majora of Matthew of Paris, and late-medieval rolls of Parliament from the Rolls Chapel on Chancery Lane to provide evidence for the antiquity of the common law, rooted in custom, in his 1648 Commoners Liberty.296 Twysden also used the Cottonian Library, then under the care of Sir Thomas Cotton, for manuscript references that would finally emerge in his Historical Vindication of the Church of England in

291 See for instance Kent Library and History Centre U1121/M13-M20; E2/1 for a breviate of leases for Cuxton; O1/1 for Marsham’s calendar of Chancery cases, Hilary 1642- Hilary 1643; BL Add MS. 34154, Add MS. 34167 for Twysden’s papers on tithes and quit-rents; Kent Library and History Centre U.47/47/O.1 for Twysden’s records as Justice of the Peace.


293 DNB, Foster, J. (ed.) Register of Admissions to Gray’s Inn, 1521-1889 (London, 1889) 168, fol.802.


295 The Petition of the Gentry, Ministers, and Commonalty of the County of Kent (London, 1642); Everitt, A. The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60 (Leicester, 1966) esp. 95-107.

296 Twysden, Roger, The Commoners Liberty: or, the English-Mans Birth-Right (1648), fol. A2-D; BL Stowe MS 359 compare Kent Library and History Centre U1121/Z/54/1-6.
In this book, Twysden historicised the Church of England as the direct recipient of the Apostolic institution of Christianity, first imported from Asia by the Romans, under the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury alone. Although its argument diverges from Marsham’s introductory Προπύλαιον (Propylaion) to the Monasticon Anglicanum, both texts can be seen as one aspect of a local intellectual milieu, in which the gentry not only engaged with the legal scholarship of their Jacobean predecessors, but also confronted both the great ecclesiastical historians of the Counter-Reformation, and the countless pamphlets, sermons, tracts and vindications of the Independents, in defense of the established order of king, Parliament, and church.

This climate, dominated by politically and culturally powerful families like the Derings, Sackvilles, Oxindens, Wottons, Evelyns, Sidneys, Sandys and Knatchbulls, scattered from the Cinque Ports to the Weald, germinated the fundamentally Royalist ideas of Sir Robert Filmer’s Patriarcha, which found parallels between the state and an extended family. Genealogies had political and historical subtexts, connecting the families into a community, and mapping the passage of generations from the Norman Conquest, or onto an imagined Saxon past. In 1619, John Philipot, William Camden’s deputy and Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms, conducted a heraldic visitation of Kent, and traced the ancestry of Hammond family to the parish of Nonington, the Twysdens to the reign of Edward I, the Derings to a grant by Lanfranc, the Lombard Archbishop of Canterbury from 29 August 1070. Family arms were painted on fields of vert, azure, gules and argent, with diagonal bends and vertical pales, lions rampant, cockatrices, and demi-griffins. They appeared everywhere, on cloister-vaultings, panel-paintings, and bookplates, as emblems of identity. Edward Dering owned a parchment roll of painted shields in rows of six, of knights of Sussex and Kent around 1280. Its significance echoes the Canterbury Magna Carta, which Dering found as Lieutenant of Dover Castle, and which he promised to Sir Robert Cotton on 10 May 1630. The history of liberty and the common law unfolded together with the ancestral memories embedded in pedigrees, armorial devices, and the funeral plaques on the walls of parish churches.

A preeminent genre of British antiquarianism was the systematic description and history of a defined geographic area, or chorography. John Leland began the first major antiquarian itinerary of England and Wales as part of his philological search for ‘monumentes of auncyent wryters’ in monastic libraries, but after their dissolution, he conducted several general topographic surveys, and set a precedent in organizing his study by shire. The lawyer and

297 BL Stowe MS 329; Twysden, Roger, A Historical Vindication of the Church of England in Point of Schism as it stands separated from the Roman, and was reformed I. Elizabeth (London, 1657), MS Cotton Vitellius E viii, etc.
300 Woolf, D.R. The Social Circulation of the Past, English Historical Culture 1500-1730 (Oxford, 2003), esp.73-137.
301 Hovenden, R. (ed.) The Visitation of Kent (London, 1898) 206-209; BL Harl. MS. 6138, fol. 122; CUL Add. MS.6909-11
302 BL Add. Roll 77720.
303 BL Cotton Charter XIII 31A.
304 DNB; Bale, J., Leland, J. The Laboryouse Journey [&] serche of Iohan Leylande, for Engelandes Antiquitees (London, 1549).
antiquary William Lambarde soon took this to unprecedented levels of scholarship and detail. On 15 August 1556, Lambarde entered Lincoln’s Inn, and soon became involved with Archbishop Matthew Parker’s scholarly circle, and with his ambitious historical project of collecting and editing Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from across England to furnish historical precedents for the English Church.305

After a productive scholarly phase which he spent working in collaboration with the Lancashire philologist and lexicographer Laurence Nowell (1530-1570), Lambarde married Jane Mutton. After September 1570, they moved from London to St. Clere, the family manor, in the parish of Igtham, Kent.306 It was not a sudden transition. In July 1568, Lambarde was appointed to a public commission in Kent which maintained rivers, streams, ditches and sewers, and prevented flooding by regulating millponds and weirs. During this period, Lambarde incorporated earlier notes and transcripts for his *Alphabetical Description of the Chief Places in England and Wales* into a new, ambitious, antiquarian survey of Kent. It was finally published in 1576 as the *Perambulation of Kent*.307

In the blackletter pages of his *Perambulation*, Lambarde used brackets to divide Kent into its lathes, bailiwicks, limits and hundreds.308 He listed the Archbishops of Canterbury, transcribed Old English documents on the predecessor to the medieval bridge at Rochester, and blamed the invading Danes for introducing drunkenness into England.309 Lambarde mapped Kent’s system of defensive fire-beacons, and digressed on the unique legal system of Gavelkind, which divided land equally among heirs. Kent was given a topographical and historical sense of order, which had implications for the Tudor gentry, their local government, and the stability and harmony of their shire.310 Despite Lambarde’s importance, and precedence in Chancery, there is no record of the *Perambulation* in Marsham’s library catalogues, although he owned duplicate editions of the *Eirenarcha*.311 William Camden, who became the Clarenceux King of Arms after he was the headmaster of Westminster School, extended Lambarde’s antiquarian project to encompass all of Great Britain and Ireland. When Camden published his *Britannia*, he specifically cited Lambarde’s influence in his chapter on Kent.312 Marsham owned this, in a 1607 London edition, with new maps by the cartographer John Norden, engraved by William Kip.


311 ML 866.614-65.

Camden described the terrain and climate of Kent, tracing its history from Caesar’s conquest of the chieftains Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segovax. He followed the Thames from Deptford, past Gravesend, to the confluence of its estuary with the Medway. The Britannia then traced the path of the Medway from its forested source in the Weald, past the ancient seat of the Sidneys at Penshurst, and the Wotton family manor south of Maidstone, at Boughton Malherbe, to Rochester, once named Durobrive by the Romans. In this section, Marsham could find the history of the cathedral’s foundation by Ethelbert, and the surrender of the castle by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, in the Rebellion of 1088. The Latin of the Britannia led to Canterbury. Camden listed its latitude as 51°, 16” (grad. LI scrup. XVI) and longitude as 24° 51” (XXIII part. LI scrup.), based on the contemporary geographic prime meridian, which passed through the Azores.

If Marsham unfolded the maps in his personal Britannia, he would have seen his world on the table, from Oxford to London to Cuxton, with a compass rose floating in the lower right, its points angled to the sixteen winds:

Cuxton was visible in the Lathe of Aylesford, and Whorne’s Place was listed in text just below. Behind him, through three miles of scattered woodland to the west, was Cobham, with its inns and almshouses, its Tudor manor which Queen Elizabeth had visited in the summer of 1559. Boxley lay across the river, with its ruined Cisterian abbey that once held a moving automaton crucifix known as the Rood of Grace, which became famous as a subject for anti-Catholic

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313 Camden, Ibid, Caesar, de Bello Gallico, 5.22.
And far to the east past Boxley lay Canterbury, which had a vibrant intellectual community of its own.

Both Marsham and Twysden were connected to this circle, through collaborative scholarly projects and shared friendships. Meric Casaubon (1599-1671), Marsham’s contemporary at Oxford, received the eighth prebendal stall at Canterbury from James I in 1628. In Canterbury, he edited Optatus of Milevis and translated the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, among other endeavours. Casaubon quickly upset the godly parishioners of both St. Mary the Virgin, in Minster-in-Thenet, and in his second benefice at Monkton, and was stripped of both by Parliament by 1644.316 With few other options, Casaubon moved to London, and while working on topics that would emerge in his *Lingua Anglica Vetere*, his attention was captured by a letter which Justus Lipsius composed for Henricus Schottius on 28 December 1598.317 In this letter, Lipsius had attached a list of over 800 Old Dutch words he collected from a psalter that Arnoldus Wachtendonk sent him from Liége. Casaubon forwarded this to his friend William Somner (1598-1669), who still lived in Canterbury. Somner noticed the linguistic similarities of this list to Old English, and skillfully edited it for his friend. Encouraged and stimulated by Casaubon, Somner continued, improved, and vastly extended the earlier work of William Lambarde in Anglo-Saxon studies.318

Somner established his reputation with the 1640 *Antiquities of Canterbury*, which was an erudite, meticulous survey of the city, its cathedral, monastic foundations, and archbishops. Somner dedicated his book to William Laud, who had appointed him registrar of the courts of Canterbury. Although he was an unapologetic Royalist, Somner retained his position throughout the ‘impetuous storm of civil war.’319 Still, he was forced to endure the iconoclastic defacement of the cathedral by the Puritan Richard Culmer, installed by Parliament as Casaubon’s replacement at Minster-in-Thenet, and known as ‘Blue Dick’ for the colour of his cassock. Somner received support from outside Canterbury. Sir John Spelman nominated Somner to the lectureship of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, which financially sustained his linguistic scholarship. With the additional support of subscribers, including Roger Twysden and Marsham, Somner’s *Dictionarium Saxonico-Anglicum* was printed in 1659.

As the Civil War unfolded, Somner was more fortunate than Isaac Bargrave, dean of Canterbury. Bargrave and Somner personally clashed on Laud’s orders that the Huguenot congregations in Canterbury and Sandwich conform to the liturgical guidelines of the established church. Despite his best efforts to find a moderate position, Bargrave was arrested by the Parliamentarian forces of Colonel Edwin Sandys, and briefly imprisoned in Fleet Prison before his death in January 1643. His nephew John Bargrave shared his uncle’s Royalist diatribes.315

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319 Somner, W. *A Treatise of Gavelkind, both Name and Thing* (London, 1726) π2v.
political alignment, and consequently lost his fellowship at Peterhouse in 1644.  

John Bargrave departed for Europe, together with Alexander Chapman and his nephew John Raymond, and principally remained abroad until the Restoration, taking refuge in the Grand Tour. The Inquisition, sultry heat of the Italian summer hills, and ‘mercilessse Out Lawe’ bandits were preferable to the ruined order of his home.

Canterbury remained on the periphery of Marsham’s life, between London and Cuxton, his career as a lawyer and new position in the gentry. This was distinct from the ecclesiastical culture at Canterbury, the fellowships at Oxford or Cambridge, or even the insular urban world of London, where the Royal Librarian Patrick Young (1584-1652) worked among the manuscripts at St. James’s Palace in Westminster, and where William Dugdale curated genealogies and armorials at the College of Arms. A century of dedicated antiquarian scholarship provided the localised, regional identity of the Kentish gentry with a sense of historical significance, with deep cultural and legal roots. Twysden utilised his personal connections with the Saxonists Abraham Wheelocke and William Sommer, and his access to manuscript collections and archives to formulate a scholarly response to revolutionary Parliamentarians like William Prynne, with a measured political philosophy quite distinct from Robert Filmer’s patriarchal model.

Marsham had the scholarly capacities and materials for similar work, and his library contained extensive manuscript resources in English history. There are extracts from the Domesday Book, copied charter, patent, and pipe-rolls, transcripts of the Red Book of Exchequer, and notes from the Annales Cambriae, along with various florilegia from the Cotton Library. But with the exception of his Propylaion to the immense folio Monasticon Anglicanum, assembled from the work of Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale, Marsham directed his antiquarianism toward ancient history, and the dynasties of Egypt instead of the ancient constitution, Greek instead of Anglo-Saxon, the Royal canon of Ptolemy rather than medieval chronicles of English kings. The polished, lapidary, Latin prose of his Chronicus canon was still a product of its circumstances, and was no less a response, oblique and coded, but equally forceful, to the turbulent political climate of his world.

Marsham spent the decade building his connections to the world that surrounded his manor, and to the past that could be glimpsed in the medieval vine-leaf murals in the stone splay of the north windows of St. Michael & All Angels, during Sunday morning mass, in the rood-screen and monuments, and in the story of its foundation by Æthelwulf, King of Wessex, which could be found in the medieval Textus Roffensis at Rochester Cathedral.

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320 See above all Bann, Stephen, Under the Sign: John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler, and Witness (University of Michigan, 1994).
321 Raymond, John, An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage made through Italy (London, 1648).
322 See Smith, Thomas, Vitae Quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustriam Virorum (London, 1707); Broadway, Jan, William Dugdale, a Life of the Warwickshire Historian and Herald (Gloucester, 2011); The Life of that learned antiquary, Sir William Dugdale, Kt. Garter Principal, College of Arms (London, 1713).
324 As Felix Hull noted, Marsham’s eldest surviving son John (1637-1692) expanded this archive, making the precise date of their acquisition difficult to determine.
325 Rochester Cathedral Library MS.A.35 folio 141v-142r; Hearne, Thomas (ed.) Textus Roffensis Accedunt Professionum antiquorum Angliae Episcoporum Formulae (Oxford, 1720) p.106; see ML 311.204 for Philipot,
folio pages of the antiquarian works in his library revealed the barrows and megaliths scattered across the shire, described the ruined Roman edifice of Richborough Castle, on the coast near Sandwich, identified the flowering Cochlearia or spoonwort of the marshes as the plant which Pliny recommended for treating scurvy, and digressed on the holy well of St. Eustace in Wye. By 1659, when Thomas Philipot published the Villare cantianum, from his father’s papers, Marsham became part of the literature itself.326 His estate became part of the rich history of its landscape, but this was almost lost forever, long before Cromwell’s final year.

The rise of Marsham’s fortunes, and the tragedies that ensued, can be traced in the pages of the Pandectae nostri temporis, where he continued to develop contemporary history around the story of his family. On 15 February 1631, a month after his marriage, Marsham left for Rochester, and departed for Whorne’s place on 8 June; on 23 July, he remarked that work on Laud’s Canterbury Quadrangle at St. John’s College in Oxford had begun.327 Marsham recorded that he fell ill on September 7th, but returned to Tower-Street, London on 17 October, where his first child, Elizabeth was born on 23 November, between 4:00 and 5:00 AM. She was christened November 30th, at All Hallows Barking, near the Tower of London. In a much later hand, just below the entry that recorded her birth, Marsham noted that she Marryed to Mr. Stephen Penkhurst 4 Aug. 1652. The long arc of his daughter’s life, from birth and childhood to her marriage to Stephen Penkhurst, who had recently purchased the manor at Buxted Place, Sussex, was captured in a single line of ink. Not all Marsham’s children survived.

On 23 March 1632/3, Marsham recorded the birth of his son, Thomas, in Rochester. Above, Marsham noted that London Bridge had burned on February 11. John Briggs, a needlemaker, lived and worked among haberdashers, milliners, and hosiers near St. Magnus Martyr. Hot coals left under the stairs by the young woman who worked as his servant sparked the fire, which destroyed forty-three of the houses precariously built over the Thames. Marsham’s entry for 13 February remarked that the Feoffees for Improprations ‘by y® puritanicall faction’ was abolished in the Exchequer Court, which constituted a victory for Laud against the encroachment of episcopal authority to appoint clergy and dispense parish appointments, by a self-appointed committee of the godly.328 Writing retrospectively, Marsham followed Laud’s career carefully, and began to record the impending crisis that would soon engulf Britain in strife. And in early May 1635, John Marsham committed his family’s recent losses into his personal history.329

326 Philipot, T. Ibid, 127: Whornes-Place in this parish was erected by Sir William Whorne, who was Lord Maior of London in the year 1487 upon which (though he settled his name) he could not so fasten it to his Family, but that the next Age by Purchase brought it over to Vane, where the Title had not long fixt, but the vicissitude of Sale alienated it to Barnewell, who at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth sold it to Nicholas Lewson of the County of Stafford Esq; whose Grandchild Sir Richard Lewson desirous to settle himself in his own County, where a vast Estate lay spread, which had been transmitted to him by his Ancestors, passed away this by Sale to John Marsham Esquire, originally extracted from the Marshams of Norfolk, where many years before they had flourished under no contemptible Estimate.
327 Bodleian Library Oxford, MS. Don.c.60, fols.73-75.
329 Bodleian Library MS.Don.c.60 fol.85.
Within four days, he had no sons. Robert was still an infant. Thomas was two. The brothers were buried in the graveyard at St. Michael & All Angels, in dark earth that contained the broken flint of a ruined Roman villa, high on the hill overlooking his home.

CHANCERY, THE RETURN TO OXFORD, AND SEQUESTRATION.

The emptiness of Marsham’s summer of 1635 is eloquent, its paper silence interrupted by a single line. *Newe Corporation of Soape-boylers; in wth businesse Secretary Windebank joyned wth Ld Cottington ag’ y’ Archbp.* Marsham referred to the struggle between the Secretary of State Sir Francis Windebank, and Francis Cottington, against Laud. Control of the London soap industry was at stake, between the unpopular Company of Soapmakers of Westminster, which had been granted a Patent of Monopoly, and which became associated with Roman Catholic sympathisers, and Laud’s alternative London soap-boilers. Despite Marsham’s seasons of grief and defeat, life went on. The vast painted canvases by Peter Paul Rubens were ordered *via* Brussels for the Banqueting Rooms at Whitehall, and fissures began to appear in the inner circles of Caroline Personal Rule. On August 8th, 1636, John and Elizabeth Marsham had another son, also named Thomas, who would live until his eighteenth year.

Multiple entries on emerging tensions in Britain punctuate the leaf for 1637: *Jun: 30. Bastwicke, Burton, Pryn pilloried (infra).* The sequence of entries suggests that Marsham was using Laud’s diary as one of his references. This was presumably the *Breviate of the Life of William Laud,* which was originally published during Laud’s trial in 1644 by William Prynne. Prynne marked the margins with the word *Note* in his attempt to find scandal in the minute details of Laud’s private life, which included a dream in which Laud lost the sleeve to his rochet. In Marsham’s schematic history, the notes guided the outlined career of his mentor and friend. Before Parliament, Charles and the Civil War consumed his history, Marsham had the occasion to leave mementos on remarkable events. In 1630 the English sailor Edward Pelham, became lost on the southwestern coast of Greenland, together with seven other crew-members of the *Salutation of London,* while hunting reindeer. Marsham found the story of their survival through the dark Arctic winter in a makeshift sailcloth tent, and subsistence on walrus

332 *A Breviate of the Life of William Laud, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury: Extracted (for the most part) Verbatim out of his own diary* (London, 1644),
meat, interesting enough to mention. But politics soon became the central subject of his chronicle, and he was an active participant in this. In his entry for February 17th, 1638, Marsham broke his convention of modestly placing his career on the right-hand periphery of the verso leaves, and proudly wrote I.M. sworn one of ye Sixe-clerkes of ye Chancery in the central column of his chronicle.

Marsham’s early career reached its zenith, with this prestigious and desirable position. He was no longer merely a barrister. Since the original Norman curia regis, equity had evolved in parallel with the common law. The Court of Chancery, which handled equity law, shared status and importance with the other central courts: King’s Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. Marsham assumed office as the Fifth Clerk, after the untimely death of his predecessor Robert Caesar (1602-1637). His nominal responsibilities included registering letters patent, commissions, pardons, and other legal documents which were authenticated by the great seal. The Six Clerks also mediated between solicitors and the Court of Chancery, which dealt with trusts, estates, fiduciaries, and other circumstances when the rigid strictures of common law were thought insufficient. The Clerks read pleadings at Westminster Hall during term, and maintained offices on Chancery Lane, immediately to the north of the Inns of Court, under the formal authority of the Custos Rotulorum, or Master of the Rolls. It was a lucrative office, in an occasionally controversial branch of the judiciary.

William Lambarde was appointed Master of Chancery in 1592. Marsham owned two copies of his Archeion, finally published in 1635, which associated the authority of Chancery with royal prerogative. Since the Earl of Oxford’s case in 1616, in which Edward Coke clashed with the Chancellor Lord Ellesmere, equity and prerogative had precedence over the common law. Despite its critics, Chancery had a venerable history. In his two editions of Fortescue, De laudibus legum Angliae, annotated by John Selden, Marsham could trace the history of the Inns of Chancery, and the law itself, from a mixture of ancient British, Saxon, Danish and Norman customs. Selden’s incisive rejoinder to Edward Coke’s concept of immemorial common law prefigured the formation of his concept of natural law in De iure naturali. In the Interregnum, when he composed the first drafts of the Chronicus canon, Marsham directly responded to De iure naturali, and both adapted and overturned Selden’s historical model to encompass the entirety of human history.

333 Bodleian Library, MS.Don.c.60; Pellham, Edward, Gods Power and Providence, shewed, in the Miraculous Preservation and Deliverance of Eight Englishmen, left by mischance in Green-Land anno 1630 (London, 1631).
334 Bodleian Library MS.Don.c.60, fol.93.
336 Kent Library and History Centre MS.U1121/01/1-2; Hardy, T.H. A Catalogue of Lords Chancellors, Keepers of the Great Seal, Masters of the Rolls, and Principal Officers of the High Court of Chancery (London, 1843), 109, which gives the date of his appointment as 15 February.
but Marsham continued to praise his scholarly role-model, in public and private, throughout his life. But just after he was appointed to the Six Clerks office, Marsham was far too busy for participation in the *respublica literarum*. He had a large estate to manage, and a family. A new son, John, had entered the world on 9 September 1637, and was baptised at the church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great. But just as his career seemed established, and secure, Marsham’s fortunes began to unravel.

Two days after he was sworn to his office, Marsham committed another event into the pages of his personal history. *Proclamāion at Sterlin, discharginge meetings, under paine of treason. Protestation against ye Proclamāion by E.Hume, Ld Lindsay & et.* 341 This was extracted from Marsham’s copy of *The Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland*, which Walter Balcanquhall (c.1586-1645) the royalist Scots Dean of Durham, published under the authority of Charles I. On the 28th of February, nine days later, the Scottish National Covenant was first signed at Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh, condemning the ‘Roman Antichrist’ and ‘his devilish mass; his blasphemous priesthood; his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and the quick; his canonization of men, calling upon angels or saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics and crosses.’ 342 Below his entry on the proclamation, Marsham recorded the agitator and eventual Leveller John Lilburne’s punishment at the pillory in Westminster. From Scotland to London, the precise, compact entries in Marsham’s chronological framework build into the crisis of November 1640, and sustain their sense of urgency for the next decade:

The Long Parliament had convened. Marsham’s *Fatall Parliament*, written in the large, early hand usually reserved for family events, makes his interpretation clear. 343 John Pym made it a first priority to impeach Thomas Wentworth, the 1st Earl of Strafford, and by 22 November, he was sent to the Tower of London. On 18 December, Denzil Holles brought impeachment charges against Laud, and he soon followed Strafford: *Mar. i. Archbishp Cant. sent to ye Tower. y Rable rayled at him frō Cheapside.* 344 On Monday, March 1st 1640/1, William Laud took a coach owned by Mr. James Maxwell, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, to his imprisonment

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341 Bodleian Library MS.Don.c.60, fol.93 for 19 February 1638; see ML330.224 for *A Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland, from their first originals, together particular deduction of the seditious practices of the Prime Leaders of the Covenators* (London, 1639), page 47.
344 Bodleian Library MS.Don.c.60 fol. 103.
at the Tower. A crowd quickly gathered and followed the coach, harassing him from Cheapside to the Tower-gate.\textsuperscript{345} The beauty of Marsham’s world was the ornate stonework of the Canterbury Quadrangle at Oxford, it was the turquoise and aquamarine of his mapped estate, the chancery-ligatures in his hand, informed by the rich tapestry of antiquarian literature, and an ordered life. Quite suddenly, everything he knew was threatened by the godly, by Commons, and their cheaply printed woodcut, broadside, world.

The quiet and personal tragedies in Marsham’s record continued, with the loss of his twin sons, Robert and Ferdinando, but the record of his family is lost in the larger, civil tragedy of division and war. By 1642, this was inevitable. \textit{Jan:4: The Kinge came in person into ye house of Coōns to demand y^5 members. 27. Petition for y^e Militia. Febr. 3. Militia voted by y^e Lords, upon y^e tumult. 23. Ye Queene & Lady Mary Shipt for Holland.} Charles had arrived in Canterbury, after passing through Greenwich and Rochester. After Charles raised his standard at Nottingham on 22 August, Marsham made his choice, and began to move, although not quite in an expected direction: \textsuperscript{346}

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\textsuperscript{346} Bodleian Library MS.Don.c.60 fols.107-108.
microscopic script. The chess-game of the parallel columns converges for Sunday, 23 October: *Battle att Edge-Hill.* ye K. tooke 70 colours, lost 16. For his part, Marsham traveled to London on 8 September, and four days later, he left for Grafton Park, Northamptonshire. This property was now associated with his younger brother, Ferdinando Marsham (1610-1681). In 1641, King Charles granted Thomas and Ferdinando Marsham the office of keepers of Grafton and Potterspury parks for life, including rights of herbage, and pannage of swine, in the forest for acorns.347 Ferdinando served Charles I on a confidential and intimate basis, as Esquire to the Body of the King. He kept vigil through the hours of the night, alone awakening the king at wartime with letters and reports.348 When Marsham travelled north on Watling Street, his allegiance to his family took priority over everything else. He was now a royalist.

The adjacent village of Grafton Regis quickly became a centre of royalist activity. Its manor-house had been refurbished by Henry VIII and was leased by Sir Francis Crane (c.1579-1636), founder of the Mortlake Tapestry Works. His wife still lived there at the outbreak of the Civil War, when it was fortified and garrisoned by Sir John Digby (1580-1653). On 22 December 1643, the manor, church and its defenses were besieged by Parliamentarian forces under Major-General Sir Philip Skippon: 22. *Grafton-house besieged by M.G. Skippon.*349 Grafton house was captured by Christmas Eve.350 But John Marsham had long since departed. He spent the autumn of 1642 traveling between Grafton Park, London and Barton. This was Barton-on-the-Heath, Warwickshire, where Marsham’s sister Magdalen moved when she married Walter Overbury (1592-1637) MP for Cardigan, and where she still lived as a widow. The three surviving Marsham children would spend part of the next few years in the safety of the Tudor manor at Barton. In February 1643, Marsham went to Oxford.

The towers of Magdalen, Merton College, and the spires of All Hallows and Christ Church rose above the rooftops, as they had in Marsham’s memory. Charles had installed his apartments and court at Christ Church, replicating the formality and decorum of Whitehall.351 Work on defenses was in progress, and the city would soon be surrounded with an angular ring of earthworks and stelliform bastions. Wooden stakes for palisades were sharpened at Brasenose. Musket-bullets were cast from roof-lead. Cannon-barrels pointed across Christ Church Meadow from Merton.352 The city of Oxford was crowded with royalist sympathisers, suddenly expensive, and filthy. But Marsham had made his decision. And Kent offered little refuge.

349 Bodleian Library MS.Don.c.60 fol. 111.
Parliament had controlled Kent since 19 August 1642, when Colonel Edwin Sandys made an armed incursion into the county, which terrified local Royalist and recusant families. Kent was then effectively, and severely, administered by Sir Anthony Weldon (1583–1648), as chairman of the Kent County Committee. Unlike Marsham, Sir Roger Twysden remained in Kent as a moderate, but was in constant legal trouble. After the gentry met at the Star Inn in March 1641, Sir Edward Dering and George Strode carefully wrote the petition they had discussed with Twysden. On Monday, 28 March, both Twysden and Dering were summoned before Parliament, which had been tipped off by an informant at Maidstone. Twysden’s attempt at conciliation between the King and Parliament, and the preservation of the Episcopacy, earned him confinement, a £10,000 bail, and temporary banishment from Kent. When Twysden returned to Maidstone in late July, his bail was revoked by the Serjeant at Arms, and he was summoned back to Parliament. On 5 August, Twysden was jailed again, at the Three Tobacco Pipes in Charing Cross, where he took solace in the company of his fellow prisoner Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665).

Twysden was confined at the inn when Sandys and his troops entered Kent, and he heard rumor of the outrages Sandys committed against Sir William Boteler, when his house was plundered in Teston, and his servant ‘tortured by fyer’. Boteler was his neighbour, just across the woods and down the Medway from Roydon Hall, through the village of Nettlestead. Twysden continued: This being the next day divulged, dispersed all my family in Kent; it being beelieved and given out, they intended to bee at my howse the night following. Fearing for her life, Lady Isabella Twysden fled with her children to her sister’s house. She then rode for London alone, on horseback, through the night, despite being weak from recent childbirth. Twysden later learned that Sandys merely punished the servant by burning his hand with gunpowder, but the atmosphere of panic and terror was pervasive. On this occasion, Twysden’s house and family escaped the intimidations of Colonel Sandys and his dragoons, but he would soon suffer an unexpected penalty:

What the Ordinances of Sequestration were I shall shew elsewhere. It shall suffice heere to remember, that having them for a cullor, they and their Committees (for what one did, the other would make good) did exercise a tyranny no tyme or hystory can parallel; depriving men of their estates, who never had part in y’war; forcing them to a sute beofore a Committee of Lords and Commons (w^th, under y’two howses, or rather y’ howse of Commons, was y’supreme Court of Judicature in those cases) for recovery of that which was illeagaly, by power of y’sword, taken from them....

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353 Everitt, A. The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60 (Leicester 1966) 126-185.
354 Everitt, Ibid.
355 Larking, L.B. (ed.) ‘Sir Roger Twysden’s Journal, from the Roydon Hall MSS’ in Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. 2 (1859) 189-190: When I came and had rendered myself to y’Parlyament, the 5th of August, w^thout ever any examination I was committed to y’Sergeant, who sent me to y’Tobacco Pipes nigh Charing Cross, as a Prisoner, where having remained about 15 days, never sent unto, charged, or questioned, in y’ least measure...while I continewed there, I grewe acquainted w^th two noble gentemen, S’Basill Brook, and S’ Kenelme Digby...
357 Twysden, ibid. 205.
This was an unthinkable fate for Twysden. His connection to Roydon Hall, to Kent and its landscape, was an essential aspect of his identity. Having suffered enough, Twysden attempted to escape across the English Channel into France and found a group of French and Portuguese willing to help. He made it as far as Bromley, just southeast of London, when he had the singular misfortune of happening across his nemesis Sir Anthony Weldon, together with Sir John Sedley, and other members of the Committee, on the route. They recognised him, searched his pockets, and took his sword, pocket-watch, and £15 in gold. Twysden was sent to prison, briefly in an anchored collier’s barque named the Prosperous Sarah, finally to Lambeth. During his long custody, Twysden learned that his estate was now under sequestration. Twysden’s commitment to his home, legal process, and political moderation failed to save him.

Marsham took another route. The cryptic entries on his movements in the Pandectae nostri temporis show that Marsham began to participate in the conflicts, at least informally. For on 10 August, in the column following the King’s movements, Marsham wrote: 10. Gloucester besieged. Far from London, and garrisoned by two infantry regiments, the city of Gloucester was one of the few cities in western England under the hegemony of Parliament, and it was besieged by Charles. Nine days later, Marsham arrived, and witnessed the stalemate. By the end of the month, he was back in Oxford. Over the course of the war, he densely populated the verso-side pages with entries, which culminate in the summer of 1644.358

Major events, like the battle of Marston Moor, were recorded first, in an earlier hand. Marsham then used Mercurius Aulicus and other news-books to diligently fill the columns with details on the King’s flight from Oxford, and the maneuverings in counterpoint by both Parliamentary general William Waller (1597-1668), and Prince Rupert, who took the right flank of the page. The tides of war had shifted, and Oxford was in peril. The Royalist stronghold at Greenland House, just north of Henley-on-Thames, fell on 12 July. Despite the obvious threat to his city,

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358 Bodleian Library MS.Don.c.60.
Marsham remained, and was joined by Elizabeth. Marsham’s residence in Oxford reawakened memories of his education, and allowed him the opportunity to converse with scholars, allies and friends in a reunion of common sympathies.

William Dugdale was already in Oxford, in the service of the king as Rouge-Croix Pursivant at Arms, and Chester Herald. In 1643, Dugdale literally found himself standing at the entrances to the castles at Banbury and Warwick, demanding their surrender as trumpets sounded, while wearing a colourful herald’s tabard, embroidered with the royal arms of England. In his spare time, he kept a detailed diary on the war, searched the Bodleian for antique manuscripts and monastic records, and developed his friendship with Marsham. Peter Heylyn was also there, as Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Charles I. Despite his failing eyesight, Heylyn acted as the principal editor to the Royalist newspaper, the Mercurius Aulicus, before John Birkenhead assumed responsibility in 1643. Original fair-copy drafts of Mercurius Aulicus in Marsham’s archive, suggest his direct involvement with Heylyn’s project.359

Royalist Oxford was the crucible for Marsham’s scholarship. All paths, formerly separate, converged as he was reunited with old friends, and introduced to new colleagues. James Ussher, and Gerard Langbaine were there, and so was the inspiration for Marsham’s turn to chronology, John Greaves.

It is not coincidental that the first, printed, reference to Marsham as a virtuoso, numismatist, and collector occurred in a book by Greaves, the metrological Discourse on the Romane Foot and Denarius.360 In this, Greaves established the weight of the Athenian tetradrachm as 268 English grains, by weighing ‘many fair, and perfect Attick tetradrachmes found at remote places, with the Pallas gelata on one side, and the noctica’.361 This was confirmed by a drachmaGreaves owned, originally found in the Black Sea, and the hemidrachm (τριώβολον) he bought at Alexandria. In the marginal note, Greaves supplied additional evidence from the coin-collections of Marsham and the diplomat Sir Thomas Roe:

I have since perused a far Athenian τριώβολον of my very worthy, and learned friend John Marsham Esquire, weighing completely 33 grains english. As also another of Sir Thomas Roes, together with an ὀβολός of his weighing 11 grains.362

Marsham’s future scholarly identity lay in the terra incognita between Oxford and Kent, and emerged not as a product of his ambitions, but the consequence of his ruin. For he had been quietly replaced in Chancery by Phillip Smythe on 23 January, 1644. Legal scholarship, and antiquarianism was no longer a consolation in the new, bellicose, world. When the Royalist ‘Water Poet’ John Taylor (1578-1653) fled from Windsor to Oxford, and found work cleaning dead ‘Hogges, Dogges, Cats’ and horses from the Thames and Cherwell, he could find no historical parallels for recent events:

359 Kent Library and History Centre MS U1300/Z11. Folio 1r has a British Records Association stamp: B.R.A. 1759.
362 Ibid. I’ve corrected a typographic error in the marginal note, which spells τριώβολον as τειώβολον.
That Pym, Kimbolton, Haslerigge, Strode, Hampden and Hollis (Rebells which the learned Campden, Nor Stowe, Howes, Speed, old Fabian, Cooper, Grafton, In all their Chronicles, they never left one, for Treason, with those Six to be compared, or dar’d to do, the like as they have dared).

On 24 June 1646, the Royalists evacuated the city of Oxford, with passes issued by the Parliamentary commander-in-chief Thomas Fairfax. Marsham suffered Twysden’s fate of sequestration. His estate was confiscated. On 6 August 1646, he begged to compound, and was fined £600, later reduced to £356, 6s 2d. The Parliamentary committee found no evidence that Marsham had ever actively engaged in combat, or directly served the King. Consequently, Marsham’s fine was far more lenient than the sum his brother Ferdinando petitioned for, but was refused. Still, he had every reason to believe that his career was over. His life in the corridors and halls of the Middle Temple, and office on Chancery Lane, was now a memory, of a lost and happier time. But he still had his family, his home, his books, and his coins. Like Roger Twysden, Marsham would strike at the foundations of the unjust world with scholarship, albeit in a unique, and unexpected way. And the only tools he would use were already on his shelves. In the next chapter we will turn from biography to a cultural history of the prophecy of Daniel in seventeenth-century England, the relationship between the exegesis of Daniel and the development of historical chronology and explore Marsham’s first chronological book.

363 Taylor, J. Mad verse, sad verse, glad verse and bad verse (London, 1644) A2/3-A2v 4. Green, Mary Anne (ed.)
364 Green, Mary Anne (ed.): Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding Vol. II (London, 1890) p.1439; p.1582, for Ferdinando’s plea to compound for £1000, which was ‘noted as received and refused.’
In the autumn of 1649, a slender book on chronology was printed by Jacob Flesher and placed for sale in the bookshop of Cornelius Bee at the King's Arms in Little Britain. Marsham's engraved coat of arms, encircled by a wreath of laurels, preceded a cryptic quotation from Plutarch's life of Solon:

οὴ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοὶ τις λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὐς μυρίοι διορθούντες ἀχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστήσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας.\footnote{Marsham, \textit{Diatriba chronologica} (London, 1649), fol. A\textit{v}, quoting Plutarch, \textit{Solon}, 27.1. This chapter incorporates material composed for my MPhil thesis.}

...I will not offer to dismiss this in respect to chronological canons, as they are called, which innumerable scholars have edited and adjusted until this very day, without being able to bring their contradictions into harmony.

This was a reference to Solon's meeting with Croesus. Marsham's dry and vitriolic wit was clear from the beginning. He was entering an impossible subject, a maze of tabulated lunar eclipses, Metonic cycles listed in Latin, and endless arguments on the Athenian calendar and Samaritan Pentateuch. Still, the preface addressed to Greaves made his motivations clear. Exiled in the countryside on the banks of the Medway, far from the intellectual commerce of Oxford or London, still livid at political and personal injuries he had suffered at the hands of his enemies, Marsham finally overcame his inertia, and sublimated the embers of his anger with scholarship.\footnote{Marsham, \textit{ibid}, A2r: Equidem rusticabar totius, ab Amphyctionibus nostris exauctoratus, neque extra pomerium meum captabam auspicio; sed placido fretes otio, calamitatis publicae, privataeque, injuriae oblivioni indulgebam: quum tu me excitas, & sepultae admonuisti interiae.} For this he was indebted to Greaves, who had encouraged him to act. The little \textit{tractatulus} which resulted was as concise as possible and directed toward a single topic. Irenaeus, Tertullian and other Patristic authorities had used the prophecy of Daniel for apologetic and broadly ecumenical purposes, which set the precedent for subsequent interpretations that failed to properly criticise the text itself.\footnote{Marsham, \textit{ibid}; eg. Justin Martyr, \textit{Diologus cum Tryphone Judaeo} in Migne, \textit{Patrologia Graeca} 6, 471-798} Marsham promised to correct this, using historical truth as his only criterion.\footnote{Marsham, \textit{ibid}, A2v. Non semper obtinet illud, \textit{Primum quoque verisimum: neque erroris antiquas praescriptionem obstruit veritati.}}

First, Marsham would clear away the erudite clutter and scholarly detritus from chronology, and provide only the minimal framework necessary to understand his criticism of Daniel. The arc of \textit{historia sacra} was divested of elaborate commentary and digressions; it would be
summarised in austere and confident prose. In effect, Marsham turned Protestant historiography and exegetical method against itself. His final analysis of Daniel would strike at the foundations of Reformed thought and by extension, would implicitly contradict the providential justification his political opponents had used in their attempts to build a new Jerusalem from the ruins of his world.

Several weeks after Marsham composed the preface to Greaves, a Puritan minister of St. Olave's in Southwark named William Cooper preached a sermon to the House of Commons during their solemn fast in thanksgiving for recent victories in Ireland. Drawing from the book of Zechariah, Cooper referenced Antiochus Epiphanius and Daniel, and built his sermon into a litany of historical monarchs destroyed as enemies of the godly: Herod, Nero, Flavius Domitian, Septimius Severus at York, Maximinus Thrax, Valerian, Flavius Phocas Augustus, Charles the Fifth, Henry II. Cooper's vision of history was framed and defined by a popular version of the Protestant apocalyptic tradition, and he was not alone. Several years before, on the fast of 25 February 1645, Thomas Goodwin used the Four Monarchies from Daniel in his narrative of the triumphs of Christ over the idolatrous empires of the earth, using Parliament as his instruments. Goodwin became chaplain to Oliver Cromwell the next year. Gilbert Eleazer compared Charles I to Belshazzar. William Prynne drew from the influential Huguenot treatise *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* which alluded to Daniel in defense of the political concept *populum universum Rege potiorem esse*. Preached in sermons to the Long Parliament and used to implicate the 'papists, atheists, delinquents and licentious men' who corrupted the king with false counsel, the prophecy of Daniel was central to the political ideology of revolutionary England. And the cyclic fortunes of the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman empires suggested the Holy Roman Empire would soon collapse at last, heralding the establishment of the kingdom of Christ at the end of human history. These ideas were not limited to the nave of St. Margaret's in Westminster, on solemn fast-days, or to relatively extreme groups like the Fifth Monarchists. Significant to both Christian eschatology and late-Renaissance philosophies of history, the book of Daniel was taken seriously. It was regarded as a profound and challenging subject by theologians, scholars and contemporary practitioners of technical chronology, in both Catholic and Protestant intellectual communities throughout Europe. As the tenor of his introduction suggests, Marsham's book

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369 Cooper, William Higayon Selah, *Jerusalem Fatall to her Assailants discovered in a Sermon before the Honorable House of Commons, August 29, 1649* (London, 1649).
370 Cooper, ibid, 28-29.
375 Smith, George, *Great Britains misery, with causes and cure...vindicating, plainly and fully...the lawfulness and necessity of raising arms by the Parliament* (London, 1643) 24-26.
might have been stimulated by the relationship between revolutionary political rhetoric and Puritan concepts of divine providence, but his method firmly belongs to a specific and identifiable period in the history of British scholarship. Indeed, the closest precedent to Marsham's radical thesis was first devised by the Puritan theologian Hugh Broughton (1549-1612), an established scholar of opposite convictions. This chapter will briefly examine the influence of the apocalyptic chapters of Daniel in the development of Protestant historiography and discuss the role of prophecy in technical chronology before summarizing the structure and content of the *Diatriba chronologica*.

THE PROPHECY OF DANIEL IN REFORMATION HISTORIOGRAPHY.

In the late summer of 1531, the still nameless Halley's comet appeared in the starry summer skies above the two spires of the Stadtkirche in Wittenberg. Exhausted from the Diet of Augsburg, Philip Melanchthon saw the comet burning in the sky, and ruminated on its significance. Melanchthon was then writing an *encomium* on astronomy and astrology dedicated to Simon Grynaeus, which would be printed as a preface to a new edition of the popular late-medieval *De Sphaera* of Johannes Sacrobosco. Signs of divine providence among the stars were on his mind. On 17 August Melanchthon mentioned the comet in a letter to his friend, the mathematician and astrologer Johann Carion (1499-1537). Melanchthon reported that it was stationary above Cancer and rose just before dawn, with a tail pointed like a weathervane toward Poland. But there were other topics at hand. Melanchthon sent Carion the nativity for his daughter Magdalena, who was born on 19 July, and determined she would be a nun; a citizen of Schmalkalden had visions on the victory of Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse over the adversaries of the new Protestant league; a woman in Bavaria had prophesied war with the forces of Ferdinand. Above all, Melanchthon mentioned his most recent editorial work on Carion's history, which had become a collaborative project. Changes had been made. The prophecy of Elijah had been inserted at the beginning of the text, and Melanchthon assured Carion that although it was not to be found in the Bible, it was very famous. Paulus Burgensis had quoted it in his *Scrutinium Scripturarum*. And it illustrated the harmonious division of the ages into three periods of 2000 years. Melanchthon urged Carion to notice how precisely the voice of prophecy pointed toward the future.
Carion's German *Chronicon* was printed in Wittenburg in 1532 and was popular enough to be followed at once by editions published in Augsburg, Magdeburg and Halle. In 1538 Melanchthon's Latin version appeared and quickly became canonical to Protestants throughout Europe. History in Melanchthon's cosmos was guided and defined by God's providence. The Four Monarchies of Daniel were adopted as the essential organizational principle of the *Chronicon*. Perhaps inspired by Otto von Freising, Melanchthon's *translatio imperii* allowed the fourth monarchy to continue from ancient Rome to the contemporary landscape of a fractured and apostate Holy Roman Empire beset by the Ottomans. Revised and expanded by Melanchthon's son-in-law Caspar Peucer, the initial popularity of the *Chronicon* was sustained through the next century, through multiple editions and reprints. In Strasbourg, Johann Sleidan (1506-1556) referred to Daniel in the very beginning of his historical survey of the first decades of the Reformation. Sleidan's *De Quatuor Summis Imperiis* reinforced the centrality of Daniel to Protestant historiography. When the thirteen volumes of the *Magdeburg Centuries* were printed at Basel between 1559 and 1574, they presented an ecclesiastical history which used extensive documentary evidence and sophisticated source-analysis to identify the papacy as the Antichrist from Revelation.

Although the French jurist and legal scholar François Baudouin (1520-1573) assisted Flacius Ilyricus and the consortium of Lutheran Scholars who composed the *Magdeburg Centuries* with these innovative techniques, he personally hedged between Calvinism and Roman Catholicism. And while Baudouin's *De institutione historiae* was influenced by Melanchthon, he questioned rigid divisions of history, including those based on Four Monarchies and the prophecy of Elias. Despite this, the renewed confessional importance of universal history invigorated contemporary attempts to find specific dates for the prophecy of Daniel.

In his *Oratio ad enarrationem Esaiae Prophetarum*, which was first delivered in the Romanesque Grossmünster in Zurich in 1532, Theodor Bibliander extolled prophecy as the clearest form of divine revelation; prophets were theologians in the most etymologically literal sense, as direct interpreters of the voice of God (θεὸς λόγου); they were the defenders of the truth, shepherds of the soul, the salt of the earth and light of the world, dispelling shadows of error and ignorance.

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380 Carion, Johann, *Chronica durch Magistrū Johann Carion fliessig zůsamen gezogen, meninglich nützlich zu lesen*, (Wittenburg 1532).
385 Bibliander, *Oratio Theodori Bibliandi ad Enarrationem Esaiae Prophetarum* (Zurich, 1532), esp.16r: Sal terrae qui genus mortalium, tum vitae austeritatem, tu[m] syncretitate doctrinae at vittiorum corruptionibus vendicet at[que]; conseruet. Lumina mundi, quae errorum tenebras, inscitiae nebulas, ignorantiae caliginem dispellant & auferant.
prophecy of Daniel. In the pages of his influential treatise, the *Temporum a conditio mundi*...*supputatio* (1558), Bibliander used new technical methods for his calculations, based on the relatively recent and centrally important identification of Salmanassar with the Babylonian king Nabonassar. For Nicolaus Copernicus had first identified a correspondence between Nabonassar and Salmanassar.\(^\text{386}\) Although Joseph Scaliger would eventually remark that the latter was in fact Assyrian, the astronomical data of *De revolutionibus* was based on new calendrical epochs, which contained chronological details quite different from those in the *Alfonsine tables*. From this, Bibliander found the promise of an analysis of the seventy weeks of Daniel which could be precisely linked to the Julian calendar.\(^\text{387}\)

The foundations of Bibliander's logic appeared in his 1551 *De ratione temporum*; Nabonassar was identified with the Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib, instead of Salmanassar, but the essential principle remained.\(^\text{388}\) The non-intercalated Egyptian solar years used by Ptolemy for *Era Nabonassar* were correlated with the Olympiads, allowing Bibliander to date Sennacherib to Olympiad 7.4, and connect both the Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian empires with the Biblical narrative.\(^\text{389}\) Using both Ptolemy and Eusebius, Bibliander established the era Cyrus (Olympiad 55.1, AM 3420), and made Daniel the centrepiece of his chronological system. Gog and Magog became the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires, and history culminated in the nativity of Christ the Messiah.\(^\text{390}\)

In Nuremberg, the Lutheran theologian Johann Funck (1518-1566) applied Ptolemy's astronomical data to chronology more rigorously than Bibliander. Indeed, Funck had personally delivered the eulogy for his father-in-law Andreas Osiander (1498-1552), who had overseen the publication of *De revolutionibus*.\(^\text{391}\) But the prophecy of Daniel would play an equally important role in his *Chronologia*. The utility of historical chronology was subordinated to Scriptural exegesis. Chronology provided invaluable guidance through difficult passages, and clarified otherwise unintelligible prophecies.\(^\text{392}\) Funck pointed out that prior theologians had been led into error by neglecting chronology.\(^\text{393}\) For who could properly interpret the references to Magog in Ezechiel and Evil-Merodach (*Amēl-Marduk*) in the book of Jeremiah, or understand the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, without diligent attention to the historical details?\(^\text{394}\) Funck's sentiments were echoed through the following decades by subsequent theologians and chronologists. Reformed exegesis of Daniel required a set of

\(^\text{386}\) Neugebauer, N.M, Swerdlow, N. *Mathematical Astronomy in Copernicus's De Revolutionibus I* (Springer-Verlag 1984) 183-188; to be sure, Copernicus arrived at 746 BC for Era Nabonassar, which would be corrected by Crusius.


\(^\text{388}\) Bibliander, Theodor, *De Ratione Temporum, Christianis rebus & cognoscendis & explicandis* (Basel, 1551), 209: Senacherib, quem Ptolemaeus vocat Nabonassarem, & eo ab numerat annos Aegyptios, incipit regnare anno Ezechiae X; 203-208.

\(^\text{389}\) Bibliander, T. *Temporum a Conditio Mundi* (Basel, 1558), 94.


\(^\text{391}\) Steiner, Benjamin, *Die Ordnung der Geschichte: Historische Tabellenwerke in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne 2008), 102-107.


\(^\text{393}\) Funck, *ibid*. Videamus enim in his locos magnos quoque Ecclesiae doctores hallucinatos esse, eo quod pre nimiio aliarum rerum studio Chronica aut neglexerunt...

\(^\text{394}\) Funck, *ibid*, esp: Porrò quis Hieremiae comminationes aduersus regnum Babylonis, quod is Merodach uocat, absque diligenti & temporum & historiarum observatione enodabit?

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elaborate techniques to coordinate traditional methods such as the year-day principle with universal history. The role of Biblical prophecy in Protestant culture was an essential stimulus to the development of both technical chronology and new philosophies of history.

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) had already succeeded Huldrych Zwingli as the pastor of the Zurich Grossmünster when Bibliander read his encomium of prophecy from its octagonal wooden pulpit. Like Bibliander, he praised the importance of Biblical prophecy in his sermons, which would eventually fill dozens of folio volumes. And Bullinger directly followed Johann Funck's methodology and data in interpreting the Seventy Weeks as the period from the seventh regnal year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (μακρόχειρ) in 457 BC to the Crucifixion in 34 AD, with a careful coordination of the Olympiads providing the metric. Once the Median Darius was identified as Artaxerxes, Bullinger used the new technical chronology to date the first year of the Seventy Weeks to AM 3512, Olympiad 80.2, ab urbe condita 294. Despite this apparent specificity, Bullinger's figures were still approximate; subsequent treatises on technical chronology would refine his interpretation with new analyses of ancient calendars.

The mathematician and cartographer Gerhard Mercator (1512-1594) deliberately placed his lists of the Hebrew, Egyptian, Macedonian, Athenian, Cypriot, Arabic and Persian months at the very beginning of his elaborate Chronologia, which was printed in Cologne in 1569. Mercator supplemented his work with a list of eclipses, and began the Seventy Weeks in Olympiad 80.2, in the Archonate of Philocles of Athens, AM 3514, Anno Nabonassar 294, in the Jewish month of Nisan, when Artaxerxes allowed Nehemiah to return to Jerusalem. Although Mercator never managed to confidently integrate his historical sources with his astronomical data, Paul Crusius (1525-1572) and Heinrich Bünting (1545-1606) finally developed the necessary set of techniques for using both lunar and solar eclipses to establish historical eras. In his lucid and compact De Epochis, Crusius clearly defined the Metonic and Callipic cycles, correctly set the Era Nabonassar at 747, used five separate eclipses mentioned by Diodorus, Plutarch and Thucydides to firmly date the Olympiads, and circumvented the difficulties surrounding Christ's birth by setting 1 January 33 AD as his fundamental epoch. With the precedent for rigorous chronology set by Crusius, Joseph Scaliger revised the date for Daniel's Seventy Weeks from the second year of Darius II Nothus (JP 4291) to the Jewish War and destruction of the Second Temple in AD 70 (= JP 4783). Like his predecessors, Scaliger believed in the Book of Daniel as prophecy. Matthieu Béroalde (1520-1576), another French Calvinist, took a different approach, claiming to follow a literal reading of Scripture as his only authority. He abbreviated Persian history by eliminating the successors of Artaxerxes I and Darius. His interpretation of the Seventy Weeks began with the accession of Cyrus in Olympiad 80.2 and ended seven years before the Passion

395 See in general Bullinger, H. Sermonum decades duo, Sermones decas quinta I-V (Zurich 1549-50).
396 Bullinger, H. Daniel Sapientissimus Dei Propheta...expositus Homiliis LXVI (ref. ed. Zurich 1565), fol 82r; cf. Zürich Staatsarchiv MS. EII 375, 802 for Funck to Bullinger, 20 February 1567.
397 Mercator, G. Chronologia, hoc est Temporum Demonstratio Exactissima, ab initio Mundi (Cologne 1569).
400 Crusius, Liber, de Epochis seu Aeras Temporum et Imperium (1578), 9-12, 52-53; 113-126 for his Epocha Hebdomade.
401 Scaliger Opus de Emendatione Temporum (Geneva 1583), esp. 281-290; ML 101.29 477-479.
402 Ibid, 289.
for a total period of \((70 \times 7) = 490\) years.\(^{403}\) In practice, Béroalde made extensive use of Olympiad lists and other non-Scriptural sources to fill the historical vacuum between Nehemiah and the synoptic Gospels, but his *Chronicon* provided the general impression that the Old Testament could be read as authoritative and consistent history. By the first decade of the seventeenth century, chronology supplemented the new philosophy of history with an elaborate technical infrastructure. The tabulated lists of eclipses in Mercator, the dense clusters of solar, lunar and astrological symbols in Bünning's *Chronologia catholica*, the polished rhetoric in Béroalde, and the erudition in the elegant pages of Robert Estienne's edition of Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* conveyed a sense that the book of Daniel could be decisively read, dated and confirmed. The effort and scholarship apparent in these books was based on a single oblique passage in Daniel (9:24-6):

Seventy weeks are decreed for your people and your holy city: to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, and to anoint for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal both vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place. Know therefore and understand: from the time that the word went out to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the time of an anointed prince, there shall be seven weeks; and for sixty-two weeks it shall be built again with streets and a moat, but in a troubled time. After the sixty-two weeks, an anointed one shall be cut off and shall have nothing, and the troops of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. Its end shall come with a flood, and to the end there shall be war. Desolations are decreed.

The literature on this passage suggested that similar precision could be applied to the remaining prophecies of Daniel. The Four Monarchies, vividly symbolised by Daniel's vision of four beasts emerging from the sea, had continuously influenced Protestant theology, historiography and exegesis since the first decades of the Reformation, in England as well as the Continent. In seventeenth-century England, an emerging interest in millenarianism and Hebraism would incorporate the certainty promised by chronology, and a distinctly British scholarly genre would form. Although the *Diatriba* contradicted the fundamental premise of this field by denying the validity of Daniel as a key to universal history, its rhetoric and methods were firmly anchored in established traditions of technical chronology and Protestant Biblical exegesis.

**THE DIATRIBA CHRONOLOGICA**

Marsham began the *Diatriba* with the earliest demonstrable connection (*vinculum*) between the Old Testament and the history of the ancient world: the accession of Cyrus the Great, which all Classical and Patristic authorities placed in Olympiad 55.1, *Anno Nabonassar* 188; altogether he reigned for 30 years; Ptolemy's *Canon Basileon* recorded the first regnal year of Cyrus in *Babylon* as beginning on 1 Thoth (≈5 January) AN 210 in the Egyptian calendar; Cyrus reigned for nine years as king of Babylon following the Battle of Opis.\(^{404}\) As Cyrus

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404 Marsham, *Diatriba Chronologia* (London, 1649) 1: Non occurit certum historiae Sacrae Exoticaeque viniculum ante initium Cyri. Contigit illud (magno veterum consensu) anno primo Olympiadis LV, qui est annus Nabonassari CLXXXVIII. Regnavit dein annos XXX. At in Ptolemaico regum canone (quo nihil habet Chronologia luculentius) primus Cyri annus est Nabonassari CCX|us|; regnatque novem. Scilicet Cyrus, cùm

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traditionally ended the seventy years of Jewish exile in Babylon, the entire arc of *Historia Sacra* could be reconstructed from this. Erudite readers would have known this already, but for Marsham, this familiar synchronism was sufficient to date the Old Testament from the creation and should not be overlooked.  

In agreement with other chronologists, Marsham determined that 1,656 years had passed from the beginning of things to the flood, by simply counting the years stated in genealogical lists of patriarchs, from the Masoretic edition. There was a hint of irony in Marsham's decision not to linger over the significant differences found in the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch. The controversies between the German Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf the Younger and the Huguenot theologian and linguist Louis Cappel on the introduction of vowel-points and accents into Hebrew orthography by the Masoretes, and on the relative authority of the Masoretic version of the Old Testament against the Greek, were still quite unresolved. In fact, Buxtorf had printed his *Tractatus de punctorum origine* against Cappel the year before. For the moment, the additional 606 years between the creation and flood offered by the Septuagint was irrelevant to Marsham's purposes.

As for the Samaritan Pentateuch, James Ussher had already composed elaborate letters, addressed to John Selden, in which he attempted to resolve various discrepancies by copy-editing Scaliger's Hebrew. Some were obviously typographic errors. In other cases, Scaliger 'did not heed so much his ordinary Arithmetick' while lost in higher topics. Despite Ussher's most concerted efforts, the 1307 years of antediluvian Biblical history in the Samaritan Pentateuch were incommensurable with both the Hebrew Old Testament and the Septuagint. But for the moment, the Hebrew text was enough. Marsham devoted a single paragraph to the period from the creation to the flood. It was possible to summarise the period through the construction of the First Temple with similar brevity. He allocated 427 years from the flood to the migration of Abraham, another 430 years to the Exodus. The period from the Exodus to the Temple was slightly more complex. The first book of Kings expressly stated that Solomon began construction of his Temple in the second month (Ziv) 480 years after the Exodus, and Acts 13:20 gave a figure of 450 years:

\[\omega \epsilon \tau \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu \nu\]

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405 Marsham, *DC*, 1-2: Sit itaque totius vetustioris Chronologiae (& Dissertatione nostrae) basis, annus hic Nabonassareus CCX, qui est tertius Olympiadis LX. Haec licet trita, non erant praeterea; si res superioris aevi stabilire velimus. Quod ut sigillatum faciamus, Ebraica primum tempora percurremus deinceps caetera.  
407 See (Cappel, Louis), *Arcanum Punctuationis Hebraicarum relevatum* (Leiden, 1624), where the editor, Thomas Erpenius, makes a special point to preëemptively emphasise the contradiction of Buxtorf (the Elder) in his *Praefatio ad Ebraicarum Literarum Amatorum*, fol. a2r: 3-4 for Cappel's use of Elia Levi (1469-1549); 37-58; in general, Buxtorf, *J. Dissertatio de Lingue HEBRAEAE ORIGINE ET ANTIQUITATE* (Basel, 1644).  
409 Parr, Richard, *The Life of James Ussher* (London, 1686), 383-384 for Ussher to Selden, 27 November, 1630; for instance Ussher remarked that Scaliger calculated 130 years from Adam until his death, where he should have read from Adam to *Seth*: יֶשׁ יָשָׂר.
In this context, ὡς signified an approximation, which the Vulgate translated *quasi post quadrigentos et quinquaginta annos*. Marsham noticed that this figure must also accommodate the forty years spent wandering the deserts of Sinai, the seven it took Joshua to destroy various Amorites before Canaan was divided among the tribes, and the reigns of Saul and David, rather than the Judges alone, which the passage in Acts implied. Ultimately, Marsham concluded the Temple was consecrated by Solomon 480 years after the Exodus, AM 2993, and established his first *Era Templi* beginning with the accession of Rehobotham to Judah 37 years after this. His elaborate coordination of the kings of Israel and Judah yielded 400 years until Zedekiah 11, when Jerusalem was captured and destroyed by the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Marsham then factored the 70 years of captivity, for a total of 3463 years of *Historia Sacra* dependent only on its own evidence. The austere prose of the *Diatriba* reveals almost nothing of Marsham's working method, or the processes he used to reach his conclusions, but contemporary manuscripts reveal that he devoted a significant amount of effort to his deliberately concise summaries.

In the final, printed *Diatriba*, Marsham outlined a minimalist version of Biblical history, but it was still necessary to synchronise this with external events, which would allow it to be dated in the Julian Calendar. For Marsham, the best solution was the continuous record of Babylonian kings, again transcribed from Henry Savile's manuscript edition of Theon's recension of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*. When he wrote, Marsham owned a printed version of the list. John Overall, then Dean of St. Paul's, gave a manuscript copy to the German Calvinist theologian Abraham Scultetus. Just after May 30 1613, the astronomer Seth Calvisius received the *Canon Basileon* from Scultetus, and incorporated it into his 1620 treatise on technical chronology, the *Opus Chronologicum*. As Calvisius noticed, the Royal canon was the perfect correction for Johann Funck, and conclusive evidence against the abbreviated Persian chronologies of David Paraeus and Matthieu Béroalde. Marsham printed a selection for the convenience of the reader.

The sample Marsham included was deliberately selective and provided just enough to convey the advantages of a document which was based on Egyptian solar years, listed in alphabetic

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410 Marsham, DC 5-6, I Kings 6:1.
411 Marsham, DC 6-14.
412 Marsham, DC 15-23.
413 Marsham, DC 24: ‘Ex collectis hisce intervallis confici solet Aera Mundi; omnium quotquot usurpantur incertissima, ob multiplicem computatorum inter se, non de annis tantum, sed & de saeculis discrepantiam. Secundum illa quae a nobis jam dissertata sunt, summam ab Orbe Conditio ad Reditum Judaeorum, sive constitutum supra Nabonassari annum, numerantur anni 3463.’
414 See Calvisius, *S. Opus Chronologicum* (Frankfurt, 1620) 75: ‘Ego hunc canonem Mathematicum Ptolemaei integrum & incorruptum ex manuscripto Exemplari Ptolemaei, quod habetur Londini in Anglia beneficio Clarissimi viri D. Overalli Decani Ecclesiae Paulinae, ibidem per Reverendum & Clarissimum virum Abrahamum Scultetum Electori Palatino...accepi.’
415 Calvisius, *ibid.* Hic canon omni auro pretiosior est... cum hic apertissimé reges Chaldaeorum ad Persas usque & captam Babylonem numerentur, quibus error Funcius manifeste refutatur. Nec Beroaldis, vel Paraeus quosdam reges Persarum regno detrudere, aut quorundam imperium decurtare ausi fuissent, si cohaerentiam hujus canonis & vim ejus perspexissent. For Marsham's copy of Calvisius, see ML, 107.35.
Greek integers from the beginning of their reign, with a total from Nabonassar recorded in the third column, which was indeed the Era Nabonassar. References to this were scattered throughout the Almagest. Scaliger had tried to reconstruct it from the incomplete recension in the Chronographia of Syncellus, but this was the very first complete version, which had been preserved in Theon of Alexandria's revision of Ptolemy's Handy Tables.\footnote{Cf. Mosshammer, A. (ed.) Georgius Syncellus Ecloga Chronographia (Teubner, 1984) 254-247.} Using the late-antique birthday-book (de Die Natali) of Censorinus, this list could be directly associated with the Olympiads, the foundation of Rome, Julian years, the era of Augustus, and the Macedonian era of Philip.\footnote{Marsham, DC 19-20: Siquis annos Nabonassareos cum Olympiadicis, cum annis Romae, cum Julianis, cum Philippis, alissique componi desideret, Censorinum adeat.} For the Diatriba, this was the single synchronism necessary for universal history.

Marsham established his argument. Ptolemy's canon stated that first regnal year of Cyrus occurred in Anno Nabonassar 210: Κύρου θ σιη, where ((σιη=218)-(θ=9)=209) should be evaluated only against cumulative regnal years. Using the canon, Marsham concluded that there were two Babylonian kings named Nebuchadnezzar. This was first pointed out by David Gans (1541-1613), the Prague-based astronomer and rabbinical commentator, in his Chronologia sacra-profana. Marsham owned the 1644 translation of this by William Vorstius.\footnote{19 Marsham, DC 20-21; Gans, D. Chronologia Sacra-Profana (ed. Vorstius, W., Leiden 1644); ML 607.118.} In the pages of the Diatriba, Nebuchadnezzar II became a type of precursor to Marsham's Sesostris, conquering Egyptians and Phoenicians alike, leading military campaigns as far as Libya and Iberia, and capturing the city of Jerusalem. His son, Evil-Merodach, began his reign in Anno Nabonassar 187 and released Jeconiah 37 years after his exile; Marsham was convinced that Evil-Merodach was Belshazzar in the book of Daniel.\footnote{20 Marsham, DC. 33-34: Coepit enim anno Nabonassari 187, regnare Ilvarodamus (Ptolemaei) sive Evil-Merodachus (Scripturae) Nabuchodonasari secundi filius, quem eundem esse cum Balthasare (Danielis) mihi persuasissimum est.} The Canon Basileon gave the names of two Babylonian kings who ruled after this, and for Marsham, any scriptural literalism was subordinate to his system. So in Anno Nabonassar 210, Cyrus of Persia defeated Nabonidus, or Labynetus (Λαβύνητος) from Herodotus, ending the seventy years of captivity. The Medes could be integrated into universal history using a similar procedure. Herodotus related the ascent of Deioces (Δηιόκης), who consolidated power in the scattered villages of Media and founded the capital Ecbatana, reigning for 53 years.\footnote{21 Marsham, DC, 35-36.} By referring to the pages in his Paulus Stephanus edition of Herodotus, which contained the Greek text and Lorenzo Valla's Latin translation in parallel columns, Marsham worked backwards from Cyrus, through Astyages and Cyaxares, to Phraortes, the son of Deioces, collating everything against the Canon Basileon, and converting his results to Olympiads.\footnote{22 Marsham DC 36: Hanc Epocham ex Herodoto colligimus, licet Olympiadicibus non usus fuerit. Quatuor Medorum regibus ab eo ascribuntur anni CL. Hujus regni finis erat initium Cyri anno Iº Olympiads LV, anno Nabonassari 188. For Marsham's Herodotus, ML 75.1: Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum Libri IX (Geneva 1618), which is made clear by Marsham's marginal citations.} Median chronology was simple indeed, but Marsham remembered the meditations on history and the transience of empire that Dionysius of Halicarnassus used as a prelude to his Roman Antiquities (1.2.2). Median power
lasted four generations, but the Assyrian empire before them reached back into the fogs and cloudbanks of antiquity (μυθικος ἀναγομένη χρόνους).423

In this instance, Marsham realised he could not simply rely on Herodotus, for he also owned the Bibliotheca Historica of Diodorus Siculus in the 1604 parallel edition edited by Lorenz Rhodoman.424 If anything, Marsham's estimation of his folio Diodorus was equal to his Herodotus, and the two books occupy the very first historical entries in his library-catalogue. But on the details of the Assyrian empire, the two ancient historians disagreed. Diodorus included substantial extracts of the fragmentary Persica of the Greek naturalist, physician and historian Ctesias of Cnidus.425 These required clear interpretation, especially in the section in which Diodorus alternated between the accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias. Marsham reproduced these passages in their entirety and addressed the discrepancies individually.426 Marsham began his critique with a gloss on διαφωνοσιν (discord) used by Diodorus to describe the differences between Herodotus and Ctesias: many of these apparent contradictions could be traced to various editorial lapses by Diodorus himself. After the last of Marsham's entries, he directly turned to a sustained commentary on the book of Daniel, beginning with the first year of Darius I, the third king of the Achaemenid Empire. Using the Vulgate as his source, Marsham quoted verse 9.24:

Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.427

As they unfolded, Marsham's interpretative glosses seemed conventionally erudite and bloodless, but the concise entries soon revealed his radically prosaic conclusions. The phrase et ad ungatur sanctus sanctorum referred to the temple in Jerusalem, and the sanctuary within.428 He referred the reader to verse 26 for his commentary on uinctione (anointment) and made his point clear. For Daniel 9:26, Marsham explained his reading of excidetur unctis, ἐξολθεθήσεται χρησμα in the Septuagint. In both the Geneva and Authorised Bibles, the translation was Messiah, from māšīa (חישמ, ) Anointed One in Hebrew; Χριστός was derived from χρησμα, originally an urgent or oil. In Christian tradition, the orthodox interpretation was to read this as a reference to Christ; this is evident in the work of Irenaeus, Clement of

423 Marsham DC 38-39.
424 See Marsham, ML 76.2: Diod. Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae Libri XV (Hanover 1604).
425 See esp. Diodorus 2.32-34; Jacoby, Felix, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker (FgrHist) Dritter Teil, C1 (Leiden 1958), Fr.688, esp. 449-454 for F5; to be sure, much of Marsham's energy is directed toward identifying Darius the Mede.
426 Marsham DC 47-50 for the relevant extracts from his Diodorus, pages 83-118 (2.32-34).
427 In the Authorized Version; for the NRSVA, see below.
Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome.\textsuperscript{429} This also held for Marsham's contemporaries, who saw the seventy weeks fulfilled in the Nativity, Crucifixion or occasionally in the destruction of the Second Temple under Titus. But for Marsham, the passage signified Cyrus, liberating God's servants and allowing them to rebuild the temple, as he stated in his entry on \textit{usque ad christum ducem} in \textsuperscript{9.25}.\textsuperscript{430} But what of the seventy weeks? This was literally the period calculated from the twenty-first year of the Jewish Exile (when Daniel experienced his vision) to the decree of Cyrus, with significance to the Hebrew Jubilee cycle of 49 years. In broader terms, the vision symbolised the period of 444 years from the Exile to the desecration of the Second Temple by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes; or more precisely, from Julian Period 4107/AN 161 to JP 4551, given that the Roman consular period for Marcus Agrippa and Lucus Caninius Gallus coincided with the siege of Jerusalem by Herod I and Gaius Sosius in JP 4677 (=37 BC) and according to Josephus, this occurred 126 years after the Maccabean revolt: 4677-126=4551.\textsuperscript{431} In the Jewish Calendar, \textit{Encaenia} (by this Marsham meant Hanukkah) was celebrated and the Temple purified on the 25\textsuperscript{th} day of the 9\textsuperscript{th} month, \textit{Kislev}, 4551 (=163 BC). Antiochus Epiphanies was the ruler who caused the desolation, and the idolatrous statue of the Olympian Jupiter that he set in the Temple was the great sacrilege. To be certain, Marsham had no theory for the transmission of biblical texts that implied that the book of Daniel was written during the Maccabean period, but his conclusion was secure: \textit{An ultra Epiphanium prospexerit Daniel, viderint alii}. He had eliminated the prophecy of Daniel as a means to interpret contemporary events, or as a justification for revolution or reform, as a stimulus to eschatology or as a framework for universal history: \textit{Mihi satius est ad jugulandum Judaismum vel unum telum, bené acumitanum, quam hebetiorum multitudino.}\textsuperscript{432} It was better to finish things off with a single sharp weapon than with a multitude of dull ones. As for \textit{Judaismum}, Marsham had another group in mind, but they were gathered in London, and the halls of Parliament echoed with their pious cries.

Personal motivations aside, Marsham's book was a serious attempt toward a sober resolution of a set of chronological problems that divided the contemporary, and superficially apolitical, \textit{res publica litterarum}. But this was not entirely without precedent. In England, Hugh Broughton (1549-1612) partially anticipated Marsham in his identification of Antiochus Epiphanes as the tenth horn of the beast and struggled to promote the abbreviated Persian chronology advocated by Matthieu Béroalde. Thomas Lydiat (1572-1646), the talented if unfortunate astronomical theorist and chronologist, devised his own novel solution to the Seventy Weeks, which appropriated the edict of Artaxerxes I in Nehemiah from Gerhard Mercator, but creatively modified the history of the Achaemenid Empire to render it


\textsuperscript{430} Marsham, DC 81-82, which he transcribes as \textit{Usque ad uncnum Ducem}: Usque ad illud tempus, quo Cyrus super Babylone regnare incipet: vel usquequo populus Judaicus sub Zorobabele duce, Josuaque Pontifice redibit. \textit{Cyrum uncnum suum} Deus vocat, quia ejus opera (ut ex v.4 ejusdem capitis constat) uti decreverat ad sui populi libertatem. Cf Isaiah 45.1.

\textsuperscript{431} Marsham, DC 83-84.

\textsuperscript{432} Marsham, DC 91.
commensurable with the figures derived from his reading of Scripture. Despite their significant differences, both Broughton and Lydiat offer valuable insight into the established scholarly context in which the *Diatribœ chronologica* was composed, and on his methodological innovations, which will in turn inform the origins and development of the *Chronicus canon*.

Over the next decade, while he quietly weathered Cromwell’s Protectorate, Marsham corresponded with antiquaries scattered throughout England and supplied Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale with a preface to their *Monasticon Anglicanum*, which became, in the end, an elegy to a lost and broken world. Marsham would return to the chronological manuscripts that formed the hidden foundations of his *Diatribœ*. Using these elaborate and meticulous hand-drawn tables as tools, Marsham composed a work that endeavored to contain all ancient history, and which attempted to forge links between civilizations, religions and ideas. Marsham presented his *Chronicus canon, Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus et Graecus* as an arbiter between the intractably opposed monuments of late-Renaissance technical chronology: Joseph Scaliger’s *Thesaurus Temporum* and the vast Counter-Reformation response to this, *De doctrina temporum* by Dionysius Petavius. Like his *Diatribœ*, Marsham’s work would owe as much to the iconoclastic and clever little books of Broughton and Lydiat as these sprawling folio volumes, but in the process, Marsham would create something entirely new, which would maintain the precision and rigour of technical chronology, but which subordinated questions on prophecy and the narrative of the Old Testament to an integrated cultural history of the ancient world.

Marsham’s primary chronological innovation was based upon Ptolemy’s Royal canon, which he had used in the *Diatribœ*, and which underpinned the expansion of his limited, contentious analysis of Daniel into a work which would attempt to encompass the entirety of ancient history. Another chronicle of the ancient world, the *Marmor Parium*, transcribed from stone by John Selden, would play an equally productive role in the development of Marsham’s new method in technical chronology. In the next chapter, we will use members of his larger scholarly circle to set the scene for both the Royal canon and the *Marmor Parium*, allowing us to trace the influence these had on the gradual development of Marsham’s chronology, using his fair-copy manuscript tables as a guide. They provide a rare opportunity to examine Marsham’s working scholarly methods, demonstrate how technical chronology was actually written—which is far from simple—and place the results of his labours, which were compiled from multiple drafts, among the indices and branching diagrams of early modern scholarly reference-tools.433 The tables offer a visual guide to the origins and evolution of the *Chronicus canon*, and stand as evidence for how Marsham wrote his technical chronology, and finally devised his answer to the previously intractable problem of ancient Egypt. Marsham belonged to the same tradition as his friend James Ussher, and Thomas Lydiat; stimulated by the topics that had first seized their attention decades before, he took his discipline in unprecedented directions.

The publication of Ussher’s *Annales Veteris Testamentum*, and the innovative chronological apparatus by Louis Cappel, printed in the folio *Prolegomena* to Brian Walton’s *Biblia Sacra*

*Polyglotta*, preceded and guided the subordination of historical chronology to Scriptural exegesis by Restoration divines. In the decades between Lydiat’s 1609 *Emendatio temporum ab initio mundi*, the labyrinthine challenges of historical chronology were indifferently assumed by lay scholars like Selden and Bainbridge, the ordained, Arminian, Edward Simpson, and the London-based painter-stainer Henry Isaacson.434 But it was not institutionalised, and most of the activity and innovation in British historical chronology was carried out by the members of a compact, affiliated epistolary and intellectual circle. There was a common social history of technical chronology in Britain, before James Ussher and the editors of the London polyglot appropriated the rigour of chronology to advocate the textual integrity and stability of the Masoretic version of Scripture. Marsham used the same vocabulary and tools, to a different end.

434 ML 89.16.
CHAPTER VI.

TRANSFORMING HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY, ANTICIPATING DIPLOMATICS.

On Monday, 18 March 1616 (OS), Thomas Lydiat finally responded to a letter that James Ussher had written the previous October and shipped across the Irish Sea to St. Michael's Church in Alkerton, Oxfordshire, where Lydiat had been rector since 1612. Lydiat enclosed an excerpt from a Latin translation of al-Battānī's Ṣābiʾ Zīj on Arabic epochs and conversions between calendars. He patiently responded to a set of objections Ussher had raised to his deliberately controversial Persian chronology, which abbreviated the reign of Darius I from 36 to 31 years, based on the precarious authority of Ctesias, and a passing reference in Thucydidès (1.137). Comfortable with his scholarship, which hinged on dating the flight of Themistocles to the shores of Ionia and refuge in the court of Artaxerxes, Lydiat brushed aside the new evidence Ussher had mentioned:

The astronomical calculation of years in Ptolemy's canons, if it be genuine, is doubtless an excellent monument of antiquity, which I would gladly see: but yet it is not likely to make me let go mine account of Darius his years, firmly proved out of Thucydidès, and Ctesias, compared with Diodorus.  

Lydiat's solution to the seventy weeks was dependent on numerical modifications to Persian historical records which placed the edict mentioned in Nehemiah at an appropriate interval before Christ, and Ussher respected the erudition of his correspondent. When Ussher wrote again, he admitted that he had also tried to date the accession of Artaxerxes to Olympiad 77.3 using Petrus Alexandrinus and Scaliger's abridgment of Syncellus, although he maintained reservations on Lydiat's liberal interpretation of Thucydidès. After their exchange, books by Jacobus Arminius and news from Samuel Ward on the Synod of Dordrecht competed for Ussher's time, but when he wrote to Lydiat again, he enclosed a gift, in appreciation for the loan of Geminus and al-Battānī:

Now at length therefore I return your books unto you again, with a thousand thanks; and heartily do wish that I may have some occasion offered on my part to gratify you in the same kind. In the mean time I send you Ptolemy's canon regnum, so often cited by Dr. Rainolds in his lectures: a copy wherof I received from Bishop Overal, lately deceased, transcribed by Mr. Rich. Montague out of Sir Henry Savil's manuscript of the πρόχειροι κανόνες.

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Ussher's comment confirms that the manuscript-collection of Henry Savile was the common source for both Calvisius and Bainbridge, and all other early-modern versions of the Royal canon which presented the original text. Now located at the Bodleian (Ms. Savile 2), the small sixteenth century Greek manuscript preserved the Royal canon after Theon of Smyrna's recension of the Handy Tables. This was the document transcribed by Richard Montague (1577-1641), who knew Savile. Indeed, he had edited Gregory of Nazianzus for the Eton College press from a manuscript in Savile's collection. Again, Montague forwarded the transcript to his colleague and advocate John Overall, who also sent a copy to Ussher. Before its publication, the Royal canon circulated in manuscript, as a key to ancient chronology which could be precisely correlated to both solar and lunar eclipses. Lydiat adamantly held fast to his system and would soon search for confirmation in an exciting new chronicle, chiseled into worn grey stone and shipped across the blue and rippling waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Together with the Royal canon, the Marmor Parium would play a centrally important role in Marsham's Chronicus canon.

THE MARMOR PARIUM AND ARUNDEL MARBLES.

When John Bainbridge wrote to Ussher from Merton College, Oxford on Friday 7 April 1628, he still had hope that a copy of the treatise by Hipparchus, περὶ μεγέθους ἔναυσίου, 'on the length of the year' might be easily found among the dusty manuscripts in the Vatican or on one of the glossy wooden shelves below the frescoed vault of the Great Hall in El Escorial in Madrid. After Bainbridge badgered Ussher for his help, he mentioned a new book by John Selden, which he eagerly anticipated. Bainbridge had been waiting for months:

Mr. Selden hath written some Notes upon certain ancient Greek Inscriptions, which were brought out of Turkey for my Lord of Arundel; amongst which, one doth promise some light in the Persian Chronology (I mean, of the Persian Monarchy) which of all others I most desire to be illustrated, being so necessary to the connexion of Sacred and Prophane History; concerning which I will yet forbear to signify my Opinion, daily expecting a view of Mr. Selden's Book.

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440 Cf, Gregory, of Naziansus, *In Iulianum Invectae duae...Omnia ex bibliotheca clarissimi viri D. Henrici Savilli* (Eton, 1610).


The *Marmora Arundelliana, sive saxa Graecè incisa* was based on a large fragment of a Greek *stela*, which was part of a larger collection of inscriptions originally found in Smyrna by the Corsican diplomat Sanson Napolon on behalf of the Provençal antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637).\(^{443}\) In early 1626, William Petty was occupied in fruitlessly searching the Aegean Islands for antiquities to enrich the collection of the Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), who had previously employed Petty as a tutor. After losing his small collection of artifacts in a shipwreck between Samos and Ephesus, Petty took the initiative in Smyrna. When Sanson was arrested by the Ottoman authorities, Petty negotiated with the dealers, absconded with the inscriptions, and delivered them to England. They were placed in the garden-walls of Arundel House in the Strand.\(^{444}\) Together with Richard James and Patrick Young, Selden began transcribing and editing the inscriptions in early 1627, at the insistence of Robert Cotton. He placed special emphasis on a large and fragmentary *stela* that promised a complete survey of Greek history, dated in acrophonic numerals, from Cecrops to the archonate of Diognetus, for a total of 1,318 years.\(^{445}\)

Selden augmented his Latin translation of the Parian chronicle with an extensive *apparatus chronologicus*. This included brief treatise on the lunisolar Athenian Civil Calendar, which was the metric for archons. Selden used the 76-year Callippic cycle, composed of four 19-year Metonic cycles of 235 synodic (lunar) months for a total of 27,759 adjusted days, to correlate the synodic months of his archon-list with the tropical year. As the mean year of this cycle would equal 365.25 days, Selden treated the years in the Parian chronicle as solar years, which could be converted to the Julian Period.\(^{446}\) In a supplementary *canon Chronicus*, Selden established the reign of Cecrops in Athens as beginning in JP 3132, 1582 BC.\(^{447}\) Using the chronicle as his guide, Selden delineated the chronology of Greek political *and* cultural history, dating the *floruit* of Homer and Hesiod in JP 3770 and 3807, placing lyricists along kings, Sophocles and Simonides on either side of the Battle of Marathon.\(^{448}\) The integrated cultural and political history that resulted would influence Marsham's *Chronicus canon*, but he would first turn to the Parian chronicle for simple information on Greek chronology.

In the winter of 1628/9, Thomas Lydiat, now imprisoned for debt in the Norman watchtower at the North Gate in Oxford called the Bocardo, used Selden's edition to confirm his modified

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\(^{443}\) Toomer, *ibid*; in general, Miller, *P. Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Harvard, 2015); Gassendi, Pierre, *Vita Illustris Nicolai Fabricii de Peiresc* (Paris, 1641), 226-7: Per idem tempus accepti aurem erudit Seldeni librum, de Arundellianiis Marmoribus, sive saxis Graece incisis, quae perillustris ille Comes transferri ex Asia in Angliam, hortosque suas curauerat. Ac memorare quidem per est, Marmora illle fuisse primum opera Peireskii detecta, erutaque, persolutis aureis quinquaginta, per Samsonem quendam ipsius negotia Smyrnae procurantem; & convehenda cum iam essent, nescio qua venditorum arte, Samsonem coniectum in carcerem esse, Marmoraque ipsa intereaus distractra.

\(^{444}\) Michaelis, A. *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882) remains the most lively source.

\(^{445}\) Selden, John, *Marmora Arundelliana* (London, 1628), 6, rendering his transcription of the lacunose inscription in capitals as: ου...ναπ...νων ἁνέγραψα τους ἀν ἀρξά...ος ἀπο Κέκροπος etc. for: ...descripi...auspicatus à Cecrope primo Athenarum rege, usque ad archontem in Paro...yanactem (*sic*), Athenis verò Diognetum. Ex quo Cecropis Athenis regnavit, & regio Cecropia dicta est, antea scilicet Actica ab Actaeo indigena nuncupata, anni MCCCXVIII. But compare the standard critical edition in Jacoby, Felix, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin, 1904) 24.

\(^{446}\) See above all the thorough summary in Toomer, *John Selden*, 361-372

\(^{447}\) Selden, *Marmora Arundelliana* 92-93.

\(^{448}\) *Ibid*, 103-105.
date for Darius.\textsuperscript{449} For Lydiat, and many of his contemporaries in both Britain and the Continent, the prophecy of Daniel and chronology of Persia was the central unresolved problem of technical chronology. When Joseph Mede wrote Ussher in May 1628 to solicit his opinion on Daniel 2:29, he remarked on reading Selden's \textit{Marmora Arundelliana}, where he found the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch troubling:

I began here to consider, whether this difference of the account of years of the world were not ordered by a special disposition of Providence, to frustrate our curiosity in searching the time of the day of judgement.\textsuperscript{450}

By 1632, although he was in the midst of writing his \textit{Britannicarum ecclesiarum primordiis}, Ussher decided to begin a response to the 'controversies which concern the chronology of Sacred Scripture.'\textsuperscript{451} Negotiations with Thomas Wentworth and Willam Laud on the ecclesiastical position of the Church of Ireland, controversies on the Epistles of Ignatius, the status of the episcopacy in the primitive church, and Arminian soteriology would delay Ussher's attention on this in the next decade, and his circle of correspondents would expand, to include the Hebraists Johannes Buxtorf and Constantine L'Empereur, the Dutch theologian and polymath Gerhard Vossius, and his future opponents Claude Saumaise and David Blondel.\textsuperscript{452} The dynamics of Ussher's epistolary circle in Britain shifted as well, and letters from both Gerard Langbaine and John Greaves appear in his collected correspondence. They were members of Marsham's correspondence-network as well.

On 19 September, 1644, when John Greaves wrote to Ussher, he echoed the request that John Bainbridge, his now deceased teacher, collaborator and friend, had made sixteen years before: for a copy of the lost treatise by Hipparchus on the length of the year, in either the Vatican or Escorial.\textsuperscript{453} Indeed, Greaves had been thinking on the measurement of time, preparing the book Bainbridge had written on the Egyptian calendar and Sothic cycle for the press, determining the length of the year as computed in the Sasanian Empire, and by Nasīr al-Din al-Tūsī as 365d 14' 32'' 30'''. And when Ussher published his \textit{De Macedonum et Asiae Antiquitatis} in 1648, it was printed by Jacob Flesher and sold by Cornelius Bee, who issued the \textit{Diatribae chronologiae} the next year. It was an erudite treatise on the Syro-Macedonian lunisolar calendar and included a technical survey of various Greek star-calendars, or \textit{parapēgmata},


\textsuperscript{450} Elrington, C. R. (ed.), \textit{The Whole Works of James Ussher} (Dublin, 1847), 406-408 for Mede to Ussher, 22 May 1628.

\textsuperscript{451} Elrington, \textit{ibid}, 561 for Ussher to Mede, 10 August 1632; in general, see Knox, R., \textit{James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh} (Cardiff, 1967) 98-118; Ussher, J. \textit{Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates} (Dublin, 1637).


\textsuperscript{453} Parr, \textit{ibid} 509-510.
from Meton and Euctemon through Metrodorus of Scepsis. But this was not the book that Ussher was thinking of when he wrote to Mede.

Ussher's *Annales veteris testamenti* appeared in 1650 and attempted to differentiate itself at once. Unlike the *Opus de doctrina temporum* by Dionysius Petavius, or the *Opus chronologicum* of Seth Calvisius, Ussher's book had no systematic exposition of ancient calendars, and no tables designed to help the reader calculate the 532-year Era of Dionysius or lunar nodes. Instead, Ussher quoted *De doctrina temporum* to contradict the Jesuit chronologist:

Neque verò mirandum, homines ethnicos, sacrarum literarum inscisos, de Mundi primordiis assequendis ita desperasse: quam inter ipsos Christianos, Chronographus ille celebratissimus Dionysius Petavius, suam de conditu Mundi & Annorum inde ad nos numero, sententiam explicaturus...Annorum ad orbe conditio ad haec tempora numerum, neque certà ratione compertum esse, neque cità divinam significationem posse competeri.

It's not really remarkable that the pagans, who are oblivious to Scripture, would despair to comprehend the Earth's beginning; but indeed, among Christians, that celebrated chronologist Dionysius Petavius has explained his position on the creation and its date...The number of years from the creation to this time cannot be calculated with certainty, or easily discovered in the absence of divine revelation.

With some equivocation, Ussher established the date of creation as 23 October 4004 BC, JP 710. He deliberately used the *Annales veteris testamentum* to affirm the precision and consistency of the Masoretic text, for a broad community of readers, during a turbulent period when the textual history of the Old Testament, and the comparative status of the Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint, were topics of intense and occasionally acrimonious theological debate. Ussher cited the Parian chronicle and incorporated data from the Royal canon, but his chronology was specifically designed to maintain the primacy of *Historia Sacra*. Ussher subtly dismissed Ptolemy when he dated the accession of Artaxerxes I to JP 4256 (458 BC), following the general approach that Thomas Lydiat had used years before. The *Annales* also avoided using Scaliger's Manetho, drawing its selective Egyptian history from Josephus instead.

In January 1650/1, Ussher had avoided controversy with his *Annales*, found some mediation between Buxtorf and Louis Cappel, and enjoyed a substantial yearly stipend of £200 for preaching at Lincoln's Inn; but the debate between Louis Cappel and Ussher's circle of

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457 Ussher, ibid. fol. Br. p. 1; Ussher's entire argument for the date of Creation was previously delineated by Calvisius, S. *Opus Chronologicum* (ref. ed. Frankfurt, 1629) p.185-188 for IV, c. 34.


459 Ussher, *Annales*, 195 for Artaxerxes; 18 for Cecrops: Ab ejus temporibus Graecorum antiquitates deducit Chronographus Parius, à Doctissimo Seldeno nostro inter Arundelliana mamora editus; for instance Ussher does quote Manetho on 17, but this is derived from Theophilus, *ad Autolycum*, III.19, but more probably Josephus.

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Christian Hebraists continued, and new developments in chronology were on the horizon.\textsuperscript{460} When the Dutch naturalist and Hebrew scholar Arnold Boate (1606-1653) wrote to Ussher from Paris in March, he harped on Cappel's 'Apologetical Epistle', which was 'fraught with the most injurious language' and which accused Ussher of 'rashness and injustice'; but he had also given a copy of the \textit{Annales veteris testamenti} to a certain friar named Jacques Goar, who was busily working on a complete version of Syncellus. Over the next fifteen years, Marsham would incorporate Syncellus, the Parian chronicle and the Royal canon into his \textit{Chronicus canon}; indeed, he was already working on chronology.

The manuscript chronological tables Marsham composed for this provide an invaluable key to understanding the origins and gradual development of the \textit{Chronicus canon}. The history and function of chronological tables in print has been admirably discussed and analysed in recent scholarship, but this section will, for the first time, examine chronological tables as working compositional tools, and not simply visual representations of information developed by other means.\textsuperscript{461}

\textbf{MARSHAM'S CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES AND SCHOLARLY METHOD: c.1649-1654.}

Marsham's earliest complete tables date from the approximate period in which he composed the \textit{Diatriba chronologia} in 1648-9. The first pages of this manuscript involve his chronological system for the Assyrian monarchy. Marsham created three vertical ruled lines for the Julian Period, his \textit{Era Templi} and \textit{Era Nabonassar} from the Royal canon. His entries for Babylonian, Median and Assyrian rulers were composed in three parallel columns from the left. Marsham created his first column entirely based on Ptolemy's Royal canon and calculated the regnal years for individual kings of the Neo-Babylonian Empire to the right of the entries. The beginning of \textit{Era Nabonassar} fell on Julian Period 3967, \textit{Era Templi} 260, and occurred during the reign of the Neo-Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Pileser III. In the central column Marsham attempted to reconcile the problematic accounts of Ctesias, which he found in Diodorus, with the references he could gather on the final, Sargonid Dynasty of Neo-Assyrian Kings, from Herodotus and the Old Testament. This was occasionally supported by astronomical data. Beside JP 4117, \textit{Era Nabonassar} 150, Marsham listed a solar eclipse, \textit{a° 4\textsuperscript{o} Olympiae 45\textsuperscript{ae}}.\textsuperscript{462} This would have been the annular eclipse of 9 July 597 BC, Saros 46. Marsham's source, the Jesuit chronologer and theologian Dionysius Petavius, determined that \textit{this} was the eclipse that was predicted by Thales of Miletus. Herodotus had given a famous account of the eclipse, which occurred during a battle between the Median king Cyaxares and Alyattes of Lydia: Pliny first assigned the eclipse to 585 BC, which Heinrich Bünting further specified to 28 May 585 BC. Petavius quickly pointed out that Scaliger changed his mind and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[460] Parr, \textit{ibid}, 559 for Cappel to Ussher, 28 January 1651.
\item[461] See above all Rosenberg, D. and Grafton, A. \textit{Cartographies of Time} (Princeton, 2010).
\item[462] Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121 Z25/1 fol.2r, ML 81.29 for Petavius, D. \textit{Opus de Doctrina Temporum} Vol.I (Paris 1627), p.780; Vol. II, 152-155, for Book 10, c.1: \textit{De memorabili Solis deflectione, quae Cyaxare...}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
offered two different dates for the eclipse. Marsham used *De doctrina temporum* as his final authority, but the lesson remained that although the dates for solar and lunar eclipses were astronomically secure, the evidence for the battle of Halys was entirely dependent on Herodotus and provided ample latitude for argumentative scholars. The perilous labyrinths revealed by attempting to tabulate the chronological data of Ctesias and Herodotus offered a second lesson. The rigorous simplicity of the Royal canon, as a complete document, was superior to both.

Ultimately, the first sheet of Marsham’s large manuscript booklet of chronological tables functioned as a tabular mathematical worksheet for the problems posed by the *Diatribæ chronologica*. Marsham’s ability to maintain a precise spatial configuration in his tables was truly remarkable, but there was an inherent margin of error, and the tables swarm with glosses, corrections and stray calculations on the verso-side leaves. It was composed over several sessions, in layers: at some point after he had written the entry *Cyrus coepit regnare in Media*, with bold Roman capitals characteristic of early work, Marsham returned to record the date of the eclipse, the foundation of Ecbatana, and the domination of Asia by the Scythians. The next pages of the booklet reveal Marsham’s complete chronological system in its earliest incarnation.

464Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121 Z23/2 fol.2v-3r.
Although he later abandoned all chronology before the Flood, Marsham's first concerted effort begins with the Creation, which he dated to JP 715 in the first column to the left; by calculating the patriarchs through Noah, Marsham placed the Flood in *Anno Mundi* 1,656, JP 2370. Marsham then incorporated the migration of Abraham to Canaan and established the Exodus as 430 years after the Abrahamic covenant, but at this point Egypt, Assyria, and the Deucalionian and Ogygian floods received nothing more than cursory entries in the otherwise vacant margins of the verso-side leaf. So far, Marsham had produced a technically proficient, orthodox exercise in Biblical chronology. Marsham continued, and allocated 480 years, from the Exodus in JP 3227 until the foundation of the Temple.
With minor corrections and adjustments, these handwritten tables would form the foundations for the Hebrew chronology in the *Chronicus canon*, measured in rhythmic and orderly eras, from the Flood to the Exodus, from the arid wasteland below the stones of Sinai, to the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem. And although *Historia Sacra* remained the absolute metric in his first manuscript tables, Marsham's glosses on archaic Greek and Tyrian history became more frequent as his tables moved through time.

Marsham composed entries for the expedition of the Argonauts and the Fall of Troy. Using the *Præperatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, Diodorus and the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Marsham dated the destruction of Troy to AM 2816, JP 3530, for 408 years before the first Olympiad in 776 BC, and 432 years before the foundation of Rome. As he continued to the *Era Templi*, Marsham formally incorporated Roman and Babylonian chronology into his tables, and the verso-side leaves acquired new precision, as he synchronised the eras *Nabonassar* and *ab Urbe Condita* with his histories of Israel and Judah. The handwriting of his tables suggests that Marsham returned to add glosses and details over a number of years, but the basic elements of the period between the *Encænia* of the First Temple seven years after its foundation in JP 3706, AM 2992 and its final destruction in AM 3393 are complete. In the upper column to the left, Marsham assembled a list of kings of Tyre, which are found in the *Contra Apion* of Josephus (1.18), which was based on Menander of Ephesus. Josephus established the synchronism between Hiram and Solomon, stating that the Temple was built in the twelfth year of Hiram's thirty-four-year reign. In an aside, Marsham coordinated Solinus, who claimed that Carthage was destroyed 737 years after its foundation, with Josephus, who claimed that 155 years and 8 months (ρνε μῆνες η) elapsed from the reign of Hiram to the foundation of Carthage, which gave him a potential key to synchronizing Carthaginian history. Below this, he devoted three additional columns for the foundation of Rome, the *Era Nabonassar*, and the Olympiads.

Most simply, Marsham could use his manuscripts to easily determine that Rome was founded 24 years after the first Olympiad by reading the third column from the left vertically downward.

465 For Marsham's 1628 edition of Eusebius, see ML 20; for his 1586 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, ML 81.7
By horizontally scanning to the next column, he could determine that the *Era Nabonassar* began 30 years after Olympiad 1.1 (−746 JY). But in manuscript, his tables needed periodic adjustment to maintain their function as precise tools for historical calculation: ideally, they were no different than the gradients marked on a ruler or scale, but the faint diagonal lines drawn between Deioces and his proper dates, for instance, shows again that exact coordinates could easily be lost in handwriting. Long horizontal scans facilitated elaborate parallels:

Using this, a reader could determine that Tigilath-Pileser III deported the Israelites during the reign of Achaz (Ahaz) in Judah, and this occurred 260 years after the foundation of the Temple, in the first decades of Rome. Although Marsham's tables were still focused on the Biblical narrative, they began to employ new techniques to simplify the relationship between the Old Testament and new documents in ancient history.
The two entries beside his table for the period from the beginning of the Jewish captivity through the reign of Cyrus effectively demonstrate the origins of Marsham's new approach. In the upper entry Marsham summarised and praised both the accurate observational data of Ptolemy and the utility of the canon Basileon. In the bracketed passage, Marsham quoted the Rationarium temporum, which Dionysius Petavius released in 1633 as a concise introduction to technical chronology and discussed the canon. John Bainbridge's 1620 edition of the Royal canon is referenced just below.\textsuperscript{466} In the second entry, Marsham composed an extended gloss on the accession of Cyrus. Sextus Julius Africanus dated this to Olympiad 55.1 and provided a range of Classical authorities for this crucial element of his chronography: Diodorus Siculus, Thallus, Castor of Rhodes, Phlegon of Tralles, and Polybius.\textsuperscript{467} From the Diatriba chronologica to the Chronicus canon, Marsham used the date for Cyrus and the list of Ptolemy as the basis of his chronological Occam's razor. Elaborate lists of lunar eclipses, epacts, golden numbers, and the seventy-eight discrete but interdependent eras in Scaliger's De emendatione temporum, each separately calculated, were suddenly unnecessary. In theory, a rigorous and comprehensive history of the ancient world could be built on the foundations of Royal canon and the synchronism offered by the accession of Cyrus alone. Textual comparison of regnal lists would suffice for the rest.

\textsuperscript{466} See Petavius, Rationarium Temporum (Paris, 1633), 236: ‘Extat vetus canon Babyloniorum regum, quo Ptolemaeus, aliique Mathematici sunt usi, qui a Nabonassaro ad Alexandrini M. obitum perducitur, etc; but notice that Marsham also cites both Johann Funck and Seth Calvisius just below.’

As Marsham continued from Cyrus, his previously sparse Greek and Roman chronology began to proliferate, with entries on Pythagoras, Leonidas, Plato, the Peloponnesian War and Phillip of Macedon gathering in the left-hand margins like fallen snow. After he recorded the death of Alexander the Great at the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II in Babylon, and the division of Alexander's empire between the contentious Diadochi, Marsham's tables expanded to fill the Hellenistic period across the Mediterranean world, with the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties in Egypt and the Levant: consuls were listed for the Roman Republic, and the Maccabean revolutionaries, Hasmonean kings and activities of Herod I were recorded on the right. Everything culminated in the Era Christiana Vulgaris, at the end of ancient history. For the first time, Marsham's system anticipates the comprehensive historical system of the Chronicus canon.

Although it is difficult to establish conclusive dates for Marsham's tables, he derived most of his astronomical and calendrical data from his 1627 edition of the Opus de doctrina temporum of Dionysius Petavius, which, together with his 1628 François Vigier edition of Eusebius, provides a firm terminus post quem. Marsham presumably began working after 1646, and the Diatriba chronologica was based upon a fully developed set of chronological techniques, which he continued to refine; like Ussher's contemporary Annales veteris testamenti, Marsham's early tables focus primarily on Historia Sacra, and the dynasties of ancient Egypt are still conspicuously absent from his columns.

The 1655 publication of the Byzantine Chronographia of George Syncellus, which placed the dynastic records of Mantheo within Eusebian universal history, soon revealed inherent structural contradictions in Eusebius. And controversies between Marsham’s new friend and correspondent Isaac Vossius and the Dutch theologian and scholar Georg Horn (1620-1670) on the value of the Septuagint and the historical validity of the ancient dynasties of Egypt, Babylon and China, encouraged Marsham to produce a new solution to the problem of Egypt. In turn, this would allow Marsham to discuss the cultural primacy of Egypt, with connotations for the hypocrisies of the world in which he lived. Although it was based on a technical infrastructure in the traditions of James Ussher and John Greaves, Marsham's Chronicus canon emerged as a new history of antiquity.

John Greaves was a constant, direct influence at this time in Marsham’s life, and on the formation of his chronology, Greek scholarship, and interest in Egypt. Greaves was a committed Royalist and became an early target of Parliament’s hostility. Just after he was elected Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, Greaves lost his position at Gresham College in London, which he suspected was due to his loyalty to the King. On the orders of Parliament, his room in London were searched, and papers confiscated.468 While living at Oxford, Greaves published his Pyramidographia, and prepared editions of both the Geography of Abū ’l-Fidā and the astronomical Zīj-i Jāmiʿ by Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī (1436-69) ruler of Malwa in central India.469 On 30 October 1648, Greaves was ejected from his positions at Oxford by the Visitors, but on this occasion, he was prepared for unexpected circumstances. In a letter to Edward Pococke from 17 May 1648, Greaves wrote:

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I am now going into Kent, to my good friend Mr. John Marsham not far from Rochester, who hath been very importunate, admitting of no excuse, that I must make his house and library, who hath a fair one, mine own. It will be a fortnight e’re I return, and, it may be, shall afterward live with him, if I see my coming to Oxford the same confusion, which I hear, and which is likely in probability to continue.470

When Greaves wrote to John Wallis on 17 July 1650, he used Marsham’s London home at Blackfriars as his address, which suggests that he lived with Marsham for at least two years. The dedications in the title-pages of both the Diatriba chronologica and in Greaves’ compressed masterpiece of erudition, the Astronomica, quaedam ex traditione Shah Cholgii Persae confirm their mutual esteem.471 Late in 1651, Greaves moved on in life, and married Elizabeth Gibbon, from Bishopstone, Kent.

In October 1651 Marsham marked that he became very ill in his Pandectae: (Quartern Ague). This was likely the form of malaria caused by Plasmodium malariae protozoans, contracted through mosquito bites, with a characteristic 72-hour fever interval. Located on the marshy riverbanks of the Medway, Marsham’s manor at Whorne’s Place was especially vulnerable. After his appointment to the rectory at St. Michael & All Angels on 25 May 1610, William Laud contracted a ‘Kentish ague’ for two months and exchanged his living for the healthier environment of Norton by November. Marsham suffered until 24 May 1652.

On the very same day the Marsham recorded his recovery from the fevers, the philologist, art-historian and manuscript-collector Franciscus Junius the Younger wrote to his friend John Greaves, informing him that his nephew Isaac Vossius had departed for Sweden with Samuel Bochart, and Pierre-Daniel Huet, to gain an audience with Queen Christina of Sweden. Greaves had informed Junius of new books which might be useful additions to the new royal library. After all, Greaves had a working association with the bookseller Cornelius Bee, and had previously orchestrated the sale of Greek and Arabic manuscripts for Vossius two years before. Unfortunately, Vossius was afraid that the Swedish now considered English book-prices too high. And finally, Junius told Greaves that Marsham had asked him to approach Claude Saumaise, for assistance with his nephew Thomas Stanley’s planned edition of Aeschylus.472 Junius did much to keep his circle connected, but Vossius and his former teacher Saumaise had fallen out. Greaves also hoped to win the patronage of Christina, but fate intervened. Tragically, he would not enjoy a long life, and happy marriage. Not everyone recovered from illness in early-modern England.

On 8 October 1652, Greaves died, and was buried at St. Benet Sherdog in London. He left his cabinet of Greek coins to Marsham, some of which surfaced as historical evidence in the Chronicus canon. Before Marsham laid the foundations for his masterpiece, and silent

470 Birch, Miscellaneous Works of Mr. John Greaves (London, 1737), xxxvi-xxvii, Oxford University Archives UD/31/10/1 for Greaves to Wallis, 17 July 1650.

471 See Greaves, John, Astronomica quaedam ex traditione Shah Cholgii Persae una cum Hypothesibus Planetarum (London, 1652) ¶3r-v: ‘Postquam à Clarissimo tuo Fratre in tuam amiticam Oxonii inductus sum, nihil mihi suavisima illa consuetudine optatus fuit. Suborta mox ea tempora funesta (ingruentibus undique bellis civilibus), quae & Patriae luctuosa, & utrique nostrum calamitosa, quibus aeger passus sum me a tuo latere divelli: cujus modestiam, candorem, fidem, atque in litteris humanioribus subactum judicium, & maxime suspiciebam, & justis de causis unice amabam…’

472 Van Romburgh, Sophie, For my Worthy Friend Mr Franciscus Junius (Brill, 2004), 776, 830 for Junius to Greaves, 24 May 1652.
memorial to the influence of his friend, he turned his attention to a different age. In the following chapter, Marsham’s work on the history of British monasticism will be set within a larger prelude to the history of paleography and diplomatics.

**INTERLUDE: MONASTICON ANGLICANUM**

When Gerard Langbaine wrote to John Marsham from Queen’s College, Oxford, on 1 October, 1655, he apologised for the delay in his response, explained that he had been on a visit to Coventry, and thanked Marsham for communicating several letters by Luc d’Achéry, the librarian at the Benedictine monastery of St. Germain des Prés in Paris. Langbaine praised the quality of d’Achéry's scholarship on the *Regula Benedicti*, and politely corrected a scribal error in Marsham's transcript, which contained a marginal gloss that directed the reader to *Anno 827* in the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Caesar Baronius, where it should have been *A° 604*. After Langbaine pointed this out, he commended Marsham's deft use of Johannes Diaconus and shared his own thoughts on Aldhelm, the 7th-century Abbot of Malmesbury:

I have consulted a very venerable copy whch I remembered to b in ye pub: Library of that Author, writt in a faire ancient Saxon character, with marginal & interlineary Scholias of the same hand. The title at the beginning in rubrick, is Liber Aldhelmi episcopi de virginitate seu Laude Sanctorum...and the name of each particular father & virgin putt in praefixed in red capitalls in the text before each section. That concerning St. Benet begins with the 2 verses wch in the printed copy first published by Canisius & from him in the Bibl: patrum conclude the former section viz *Imperium mundi florens cum Roma teneret*[ / ] *Quem D[eus] Ausonie /Italie/ clemens* &c. And as for that verse upon which the stresse of lyes in your debate the Scholiast does very expressly confirm your conjecture, by explaining fixing what might otherwise seem most doubtfull...

The meticulous physical description of the manuscript, and his accomplished imitation of Carolingian minuscule, allows a confident identification of Langbaine’s source. He used

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473 Kent Library and History Centre MS. U1300 C/1 1/10; cf. MS. U1300 C1/1.
474 MS. U1300 C/1 1/10; Langbaine refers to the edition of Petrus Canisius (1521-1597) and Martin Antoine Del Rio, *Poetica nonulla*, Moguntiae (Mainz) 1607.
475 cf. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker MS 285, f.91v
techniques that would soon be formalised in new treatises on diplomatics and paleography by Jean Mabillon and Bernard Montfaucon, students and successors of Luc d'Achéry at the Maurist Congregation in St. Germain des Prés.⁴⁷⁶ Given the often daunting logistics of collecting and transcribing archival materials scattered throughout Britain, contemporary antiquarian scholarship was an inherently collaborative enterprise.

Langbaine closed this letter with two revealing statements: *Pray let mee know by ye next where my Ld Primat resides, whether he be yet return'd to London. For ye sonnes caution I will see it be answered here, & in what you think me proper to serve you...⁴⁷⁷* Marsham was in contact with James Ussher, and Langbaine assumed an active role in the welfare of John Marsham the Younger, who was about to begin studies at Queen's College, Oxford.⁴⁷⁸ With the solidarity of common sympathies, Langbaine and Marsham collaborated together, as colleagues and friends, in the momentum generated by the wealth of printed charters and documents in Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale’s *Monasticon Anglicanum.*

Twenty-five years had passed since Sir Henry Spelman suggested the project. In 1641, Dugdale and William Sedgwick visited Old St. Paul’s in London and Westminster Abbey, to make drawings of the monuments, copy the epitaphs ‘according to the very letter’ and record all of the ‘Arms in the Windows or cut stone.’⁴⁷⁹ Dugdale extended this to Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark upon Trent, and other cathedrals, collegiate, and parochial churches. He continued to work at the Bodleian during the Civil War. Dodsworth transcribed the deeds of various Yorkshire monasteries, including Yedingham, Kirkstall, Nun Appleton, and Guisborough, from papers held in the round St. Mary’s Tower in York, before it was ruined by Cromwell’s Army.⁴⁸⁰ Together, they worked at Cotton’s Library, and in the Tower of London, until Roger Dodsworth died in Lancashire in August 1654. Dugdale was now on his own, and the book was still unpublished. In a letter to his friend John Reppes, Dugdale confessed that ‘the Stationers will not adventure on it, for great risk.’ Dugdale finally printed the first folio volume, extensively illustrated with engravings by Wenceslaus Hollar, at his own expense.⁴⁸¹

When it appeared in 1655, it created a minor sensation. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, John Lightfoot, wrote to Dugdale with effusive gratitude for the presentation copy of the *Monasticon*: ‘S’ in your recovering of these dying monuments out of dust and oblivion, you have erected a never dying one for yo’ selfe.’⁴⁸² Edward Walker, Garter Principal King of Arms, wrote from exile in Amsterdam to inform Dugdale that he almost made himself ‘blind in perusing’ the copy that was loaned to him.⁴⁸³ A common epistolary circle began to form as Dugdale exchanged letters with Franciscus Junius, Gerard Langbaine, and Roger Twysden.

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⁴⁷⁷ Kent Library and History Centre MS. U1300 1/10v.
⁴⁷⁸ The younger John Marsham was then 17 years old; see Foster, J. (ed.) *Alumni Oxoniensis: the Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714* (London, 1891) 976: Queen's Coll, subscribed 7 Nov. 1655 as arm. fil. nat. max; and bart.
⁴⁸⁰ Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Dodsworth 95, 31v-64v; MS Dodsworth 94.
The *Monasticon Anglicanum* illuminated a lost world, of priories, abbeys, and nunneries forever broken and scattered by the Dissolution. Marsham of course wrote the historical preface to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Its architectural title, *Propylaion* (προπύλαιον), invoked the act of *entrance* into a sacred place: Herodotus used the word to describe the doorways to Egyptian temples and shrines, and this was the name of entrances to the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, and to the monumental Doric columns of the gateway to the Acropolis.\(^{484}\)

Marsham completed the first version before November 1654, when William Somner wrote to Dugdale from Canterbury to complain that Marsham had not properly credited its editors, especially as Somner had translated the material in Anglo-Saxon himself:

> The p’face (I must needs say) is a most learned and elaborate piece, but (as I hinted to you) is defective in many things. As 1. It makes no mencon at all of either the many noble benefactors to it, or of yo' selfe or me, as a contributor to the compileing of it...\(^{485}\)

Marsham accordingly revised his introduction, crediting Dodsworth, Dugdale, and Somner. The *Propylaion* appeared in the first volume, devoted to history of episcopacy, and monasticism, from its origins in the Egypt of St. Anthony the Great and St. Pachom.\(^{486}\) It contextualised the charters, grants and records with an unbroken chronology of British Christianity, in a statement of Laudian *traditio universalis*. Like the reference-anthology that followed, Marsham’s elaborate, erudite preface won complements. It initiated a productive collaborative phase between Marsham, Langbaine, and Luc d’Achéry, who sent extensive letters from St. Germain des Prés, in the calligraphy of a gifted amanuensis, with extensive information on the rule of St. Benedict.\(^{487}\)

A younger Maurist, Jean Mabillon, later assisted d’Achéry on a similar project, the nine-volume *Acta Ordinis S. Benedicti*. In 1675, the Jesuit and Bollandist Daniel Papebroch wrote a *Propylaion Antiquiarum* as a preface to the second volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*.\(^{488}\) In this, Papebroch developed a series of rules to distinguish genuine documents from forgeries and used Merovingian charters from the Benedictine Abbey of St.-Denis as examples of the latter. This triggered a controversy with Mabillon, who created the first formal treatise on *diplomatics*, *De re Diplomatica*, in response. And Mabillon returned to the *Monasticon Anglicanum* that inspired his senior colleague, to criticise Marsham’s criteria for the evaluation of historical evidence, setting off a new disagreement with another foundational figure in paleography, George Hickes. Both scholars inherited the world in which Marsham and his friend traded excerpts from medieval manuscripts, sent as letters on autumn days.

The *Propylaion* might have sparked arguments on diplomatics, and the evaluation of archival material, but it was principally a narrative history, performed on an entirely different scale,

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\(^{484}\) Herodotus 2.63.3, 5.77; Thucydidès 2.13, *etc.*


\(^{487}\) Kent Library and History Centre, MS U130/C1/1 fol. 1r-4v.

which swept through sixteen centuries of ecclesiastical history in thirty-two pages. It was set in very large type, the font suggesting the presses of Thomas Roycroft, in his old neighbourhood of St. Bartholomew’s Close. Marsham printed it at his own expense. He opened with a single, eloquent sentence in italics, placing the survival and growth of the established Church among the miracles of early Christianity. Despite the rage of persecution, it spread through time, to the farthest shores of the earth, *hunc nostrum Orbem propagata est.* Immediately, Marsham shifted into a wholly new style, to startling effect, using his italicised prose as mortar to hold *tesserae* of erudition in place, as he followed the Church from its first foundation in Jerusalem:

Initium *autem* ab Hierosolymis. *Illa primum fundata Ecclesia totius Orbis Ecclesias seminavit: Illinc egressi sunt qui ubique praedicaverunt, Apostoli.*

‘Beginning with Jerusalem’ was from Luke 24:47; Irenaeus and Jerome’s commentary on Isaiah 2:3 supplied the rest, with a deliberate, sardonic, allusion to Foxe’s *Acts & Monuments.* Using the Books of Acts, Galatians, and Rufinus of Aquileia, Marsham led the word *apostle* to *presbyter,* *presbyter* to *bishop,* and closed his incomparably dense second paragraph with Clement of Alexandria, and Jerome’s letter to Evangelus: ‘Omnes enim Episcopi Apostolorum successores sunt.’ Marsham was aware of the long use of these quotations in debates over the episcopacy, which had been abolished in October 1646. In command of his evidence, Marsham rendered the distinction between *bishop* and *presbyter* irrelevant, implicitly emphasizing the futility of long conflicts over ecclesiastical polity in Britain. From St. James, to Simeon, through the withdrawal to Pella in 70 CE, Marsham demonstrated an apostolic succession of episcopal church-governance through Macarius I, and the Council of Nicaea.

After the storms of persecution subsided, early Christianity became integrated with civil society, and additional levels of dignity were introduced. Through Langbaine, Marsham had access to the printed sheets of John Selden’s still unpublished second *Eutychius* and used them to argue that the title *archbishop* originated in Egypt, after Demetrius and Heraclas, Patriarchs of Alexandria, expanded the episcopacy. The title spread from east to west, and was Latinised by Pope Felix III, in a letter to the Eastern Roman Emperor Flavius Zeno, in AD 480 just after the Western Empire fell. *Patriarch* was absorbed by Christians after Rabbi Gamaliel IV was...

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490 MA fol. a: *Inter maxima Christianismi nascentis miracula merito habendum est Ecclesiae Incrementum; quae nec Veritatis odio, nec Persecutionis rabie oppressa, in ultimas terrarum orbis aras, etiam in Alterum hunc nostrum Orbem propagata est.* cf. n. 153.

491 MA fol. a2v: Archepiscopi *titulis* Alexandrius ortus est. *Unus enim in Aegypto Episcopus fuit usque ad Demetrium qui tres Episcopos instituisse dicitur...* Marsham cites the Arabic text in... *Contextio Gemmarum, sive Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (London, 1656) p.333, but uses Pococke’s Latin translation on 332...Ille autem factus Patriarcha tres constituit Episcopos. Et primus fuit hic Patriarcha *Alexandrinus* qui Episcopos fecit. Marsham probably found this first in his 1642 *Eutychius,* **ML 624.135** p.143-147, but made a show of using the original author, and newest edition.
stripped of his title by Honorius and Theodosius II. Theodosius transferred the title to Leo I in letters to the Council of Chalcedon. Marsham delicately led his narrative to the word pope, originally meaning nothing more than father and common to all bishops. He then defended the papacy directly, to his British audience, as preservers and restorers of Christian doctrine. Britain was part of this unbroken episcopal tradition, as Tertullian attested. Bishops Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Bishop Adelfius of Caerleon attended the first Council of Arles in 314 CE; there were also three bishops at the Council of Serdica in 343, and three at the Council of Ariminum in 359, so poor they had no possessions. Marsham harvested the majority of his information on early British Christianity from his new friend James Ussher’s Britanicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates. For the period after the Saxons devastated Britain ‘from sea to sea’ in 511 CE, and almost extinguished the last spark of Christianity, Marsham turned to his editions of the Flores Historiarum, and above all Bede.

In the first section of his Propylaion, Marsham embedded allusions to recent debates on the history of the episcopacy, from Selden’s History of Tithes, through Ussher’s 1644 critical edition of the Epistles of Ignatius. Anticipating strategies he developed in the Chronicus canon, Marsham used Selden’s erudition, ignored his polemic, and developed a multi-layered style in which incisive critical commentary, on contemporary intellectual controversies, emerged from a deceptively simple narrative. The Propylaion provided a compact, continuous history of British Christianity from its apostolic origins. Using Bede, Marsham unfolded his story of the Gregorian Mission in 596, the conversion of the Jutish king Æthelbert by Augustine of Canterbury, the establishment of episcopal dioceses, and proselytization to the Saxon kingdoms by Felix of Burgundy, Aidan of Lindisfarne, and Byrinus of Rome. The story culminated in Theodore of Tarsus assembling the Council of Hertford in 673 CE. At last, even the Isle of Wight was converted. Marsham’s Latin prose intensified into a pyrotechnic display of antiquarian nostalgia for a pious golden age. The process of conversion had been difficult and slow:


But if it was slower, the harvest of English religion was more fruitful. Churches were constructed, tithes given, and monasteries founded, as potent monuments of ancient piety. Surely the fasts of those days

495 Ibid: Quis Gregorii Magni in restaurandâ re Christiana solertiam pro merito celebrare potest? Quis nostratrum non ingratus illius immensitatem beneficii non agnoscit?
496 For the Council of Arlês, Marsham cites his 1629 Jaques Sirmond (ed.) Concilia Antiqua Galliae at ML 214.102 but found the reference in Ussher: ‘Tres ex Britannia, tam pauperes, ut nihil proprum haberent.’
497 MA b3: Sed quid ego spicilegium post uberrimam messem? De Britannicarum Ecclesiasticarum primordiis usque...ML 500.11 for Ussher (Dublin, 1639) esp.195-96.
498 ML 257.144, which Marsham cites as Matth. West, and ML 254.141 for Bede, Historiae Ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum (Cambridge, 1644), replacing ML 807.105 (Louvain, 1566).
499 MA fol. c.
were more frequent, the prayers diligent, the charitable donations, exceptional. Let me turn to commemorate the many voyages across the Alps, because of religion. Of all the schools or collegiate associations from diverse nations at Rome, that of the Saxons, or the English, was the most celebrated, since as Anastasius attested, it gave the place its name.

From his edition of the Flores Historiarum, Marsham could gather that the Schola Anglorum near the Shrine of St. Peter burned, anno grati 817.500 Marsham began his history of monasticism, which originated in Egypt. Paul of Thebes founded the anchoritic life, St. Anthony of Egypt perfected it, and perished in the desert in 357 CE, at the age of 105. Jerome translated the Regulam of the Egyptian cenobitic monk Pachomius (Παχώμιος) into Latin, which vividly depicted conventual, anchoritic, and eremitic monasticism.501 The year Anthony died, Basil of Caesarea found many monks and ascetics already established in Egypt, and encountered others in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. Jerome reported that groups of monks arrived from Persia, India, and Ethiopia to Bethlehem daily. Immediately popular in the east, the origins of monasticism in Latin-speaking western Europe were more obscure, but Marsham found that St. Augustine reported a de facto monastery at Milan in 388 and knew of several at Rome. On 2 September, 390, the Emperor Valentinian II ejected monks from the cities, and ordered that they must inhabit remote and secluded locations, the deserts of the earth and regions of solitude.502 This inspired an exodus to the islands of the Tuscan Archipelago, where a monastic community was founded on Capraia, as the late-Roman poet Rutilius Claudius Namatianus memorably recorded in 416: processu pelagi iam se Capraria tollit; squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.503 After treating the foundations of African monasticism at Carthage, Tagaste, and Hippo, Marsham turned from the Atlas Mountains to the story of St. Patrick, and the grey mists of the British Isles. He discussed the conversion of Ireland, St. David’s monastery on the western tip of Wales, and St. Columba’s monastery on the foggy wind-racked island of Iona in the Hebrides. Columba’s mission to the Picts in a leather-hulled wicker currach led Marsham back to Canterbury. Originally, Marsham argued, monks were no different from clergy, hence the etymology of cathedral churches, from the Old English mynster.504 The clergy frequently married. Women like St. Hilda, Abbess of Whitby, presided over an institution that produced five bishops, two of whom, John of Beverly, and Wilfrid of York, were canonised. Indeed, in 450, St. John Cassian noted that he saw almost as many models and rules for practice as there were monasteries and cells. As time passed, monastic reformation was inevitable. Marsham listed three.

500 ML 512.23, 257.144, 235. 142.
503 Rutilius Namatianus, de Reditu Suo,439-440: ‘As we progress over the sea Capraia rises, a squalid island full of men who flee the light.’ Marsham thought the passage amusing enough to include in full.
504 MA cv: In Ecclesiae nostrae incunabulis Monachi non fuerunt a Clericis disparati…
The first reformation was under Archbishop Cuthbert in 747, as Marsham found in Henry Spelman’s *Concilia*.

John Selden’s notes and *spicilegium* to his edition of Eadmer’s *Historiae Novorum* gave Marsham a printed excerpt from Cotton Tiberius A.III, of the *Regularis Concordia*, perhaps by St. Aethelwold, that resulted from Dunstan’s second reformation, under King Edgar in 965. Benedictine monasticism began to be imported from the continent at this time, especially by Oswald of Worcester, who was ordained at the great Benedictine Abbey of Fleury. But even after the Conquest, and the Council of London held under the Norman Archbishop Langfranc in 1075, English monasticism remained a hybrid of Benedictine influences and older practices.

Marsham provided a history of the Benedictine Rule, from its inception in Montecassino, using Caesar Baronius, Paulus Diaconus, and Jacques Sirmond’s three-volume *Concilia antiqua gallia*, but he was dissatisfied with the historical authorities for the introduction of the Order of St. Benedict into England. For they were full of errors.

Aimoin of Fleury, in the *Vita Abbonis*, mentioned that Pope Gregory and Augustine introduced the Benedictine Rule into England, but this was never mentioned by Bede. The *Historia Monasterii Croylandensis*, supposedly written by the Norman Abbot of Croyland Ingulf, fully reproduced a charter in which Æthelbald, King of Wessex donated Crowland, then an island in the Lincolnshire fens, and surrounding areas to the abbey, in perpetuity. The charter was transcribed as if it were directly beside Ingulf, abbot from 1087 to 1109, as he wrote his magisterial chronicle. Marsham suspected that the quoted charter, dated to 715, was a forgery. After all, Æthelbald donated the land ‘for the purpose of founding a monastery of Black Monks, serving God in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict.’ But Benedict said nothing on the colour of monastic habits in his rule, and the Benedictines were not given that name until centuries later. In the margins, Marsham cited the relevant page-number of the charter in the *Monasticon* itself, so interested readers could confirm his suspicions for themselves. He personally owned one of the two manuscripts of ps.-Ingulf and had no need of his own citation.

Marsham continued, finding revealing mistakes, and anachronisms in various medieval charters. Despite his doubts on the authenticity of some of the manuscripts in the collection, there was much to praise in the rescue of these records from oblivion, and what they revealed about Bede, Alcuin, Willebrod, Boniface, and in the monks who sustained and preserved the history of Britain. It cannot be overstated how remote these sentiments were from a London where even the Quakers were decried as ‘the spawn of Romish frogs, Jesuites, and franciscan Fryers’ in print. *Monk* had been a commonplace insult of sermons and tracts for decades. Marsham knew this, and that there would be critics of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, zealous

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505 286.179, Spelman, H (ed.) *Concilia, decreta, leges, Constitutiones, in re Ecclesiasticarum Orbis Britannici* was printed in 1664; the word *idem* in the catalogue-entry suggests the presence of the first, 1639 volume as well; see Spelman, *Concilia decreta* (1639) p. 245-56

506ML 263.150 146-52

507 MA c4v: ‘Leges igitur Cenobiales etiam Normannicis temporibus fuerunt mixtae; neque adeo admissa est Benedicti Regula, ut abrogarentur veteres monachorum Consuetudines.’


intrusive *homunculi* who would not only try ban the book, but have it burned.\(^{510}\) His Latin prose lost decorum but gained vitriol as he reflected on the divided world in which he wrote:

> Videmus nos, heù videmus, augustissima Tempła & stupenda æterno dicata Deo monumenta (quibus nihil hodié spoliatius) sub specioso cruenda: Superstitionis obtentu, sordidissimo conspurcari vituperio, extremamque manere internecionem. Ad altara Christi stabulati equi, martyrum effossae reliquiae.\(^{511}\)

But look. See how these distinguished churches and splendid monuments, dedicated to eternal God, from which nothing more can be looted, are sordidly polluted and vandalised under the specious pretences of overthrowing superstition, and await complete destruction. *Horses are stabled at the Altar of Christ, the relics of Martyrs are disinterred.*

When Marsham drafted his final manuscript of this, his insertion of Jerome's letter to Heliodorus reinforced his association of Puritan iconoclasts with Ostrogoths, Vandals and Huns:\(^{512}\)

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510 MA d4r: ‘Sunt quidam zelatores adeò religiosè delirantes, ut Religiosos veterum Ordines ἐκ τοῦ φράκτος τῆς ἀβύσσου prognatos aiant. Ita licentèr sibi indulget προσπάθεια. Neque deerunt hac, quâ vivimus, ætate homunciones, Elephantinâ olfacientes promiscide, qui ista, quæ jam prodeunt, tanquam futilia, inutilia, & hodiernae rerum conditioni minimè congruentia damnabunt, & non tantùm à Bibliothecus, (ut Gregorius olim Titii Livii codices) eliminanda, sed & flammis tradenda judicabunt.’

511 MA d4r. *Ad altara Christi stabulati equi, martyrum effossae reliquiae:* Marsham quotes Jerome, *ad Heliodorum, Epistula LX*, where Jerome laments the Vandalic, Alani and Ostrogothic invasions of the Roman Empire.

512 Kent Library and History Centre, MS U1121/Z27.2 fol. 25

reproductions of seals, and guides to the signum manus, the Frankish royal cypher or monogram.\textsuperscript{514} In revealing forgeries, Papebroch was participating in a critical activity as old as humanism, and although his use of material evidence was innovative, it was not unprecedented.\textsuperscript{515} The work of Langbaine, Marsham, and other scholars on the Parker library stands as an immediate prelude to the formalization of paleography in Mabillon’s response, the 1681 \textit{De re diplomatica}.\textsuperscript{516}

On a vast scale, Mabillon discussed the material and incidental elements of diplomatics: sigillography, subscriptions, \textit{formulae}, and the manufacture of vellum. The middle of his treatise featured a chapter devoted to engravings of what he called Roman, Saxon, Merovingian, and Langobardic scripts, before illustrating scribal hands from the 6\textsuperscript{th} through the 15\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{517} Like the rest of the auxiliary sciences of history, paleography owed as much to an accumulated dataset, and technologies of reproduction. And although Mabillon articulated clear, systematic, and reasonable rules for evaluating documents, he had the prestige of his religious order to defend and did not always adhere to his own principles. And so, early in \textit{De re diplomatica}, Mabillon mentioned Ingulf, the \textit{Historia Croylandensis}, the dubious charter, and the anachronistic phrase \textit{Black Monks} in passing, with a reasonable, superficial, explanation. The charter was authentic, but the phrase was obviously a later interpolation.\textsuperscript{518} Of course, he had no means to confirm this.

In the preface to his 1705 \textit{Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus}, the Anglo-Saxon scholar and paleographer George Hickes criticised Mabillon for dismissing the evidence.\textsuperscript{519} Mabillon had never seen Ingulf’s \textit{Historia Croylandensis} in manuscript. Although he did not systematically describe its details, Marsham did. There were two manuscript copies of Ingulf in existence in the seventeenth century, despite tantalizing rumors of an eleventh-century autograph in the converted north aisle of the ruinous Crowland Abbey, kept in a chest locked with three keys. One of the two verifiable copies was in the Cottonian Library, where it perished in the fire of 1731. Marsham owned the other, a vital link between Henry Savile’s lacunose 1596 transcription, and the 1684 \textit{Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum} edited by William Fulman, the obscure Kentish antiquary, and fellow of Corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{520} Marsham’s copy also disappeared forever. For when the antiquarian, Anglo-Saxon scholar and future Bishop of London Edmund Gibson wrote to Arthur Charlett, Master of University College at Oxford in 1694, he remarked:

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\textsuperscript{514} Papebroch, D. \textit{Propylaion Antiquarium} in Henschen, G. (ed.) \textit{Acta Sanctorum Aprilis collecta, digesta, illustrata a Godefrido Henschenio et Daniele Papebrochio e Societate Iesu}, Tomus II (Antwerp, 1676)


\textsuperscript{516} MI. 341.7 In general, Reynolds, L.D, Wilson, N. G. \textit{Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek & Latin Literature} (Oxford, 1974) 170-174; the full history of Langbaine’s scholarship, and on the uses of the Parker Library in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, remains largely unwritten.

\textsuperscript{517} Mabillon, \textit{De re Diplomatica} (Paris, 1681) 343-360 for \textit{Liber Quintus, in quo exhibentur, explicanturque specimena veterum scripturarum}.


\textsuperscript{519}Hickes, G. \textit{Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus, Grammatico-Criticus} (Oxford, 1705), esp. xviii.

Sir John’s Marsham’s collection must be considerable. There is a curious Ingulphus in your library, which, as his family says, Obadiah Walker stole from him. I told him what they lay to his charge. His answer was, that Sir John gave it to him, and that as an acknowledgment, he presented him with some copies of Ingulphus printed at Oxford. It is very probable, though, Sir John did not intend to part with the book; nay, he used to be complaining of Mr. Walker for using him so unkindly, but the old gentleman has too much of the spirit of an antiquary and a great scholar to think stealing a manuscript any sin. He has ordered me not to discover where it is lodged.\footnote{See Gough, W. (ed.) \textit{A Second Appendix to the History of Croyland, illustrated with ten plates of the legendary history of St. Guthlac} (London, 1797) 293; in general, Searle, W.G. (ed.) \textit{Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis, an investigation attempted} (Cambridge, 1894).}

Unrelated to Marsham’s former tutor at St. John’s, the Jacobite and Catholic convert Obadiah Walker was elected Master of University College in 1676. He held the position until his arrest in Sittingbourne, Kent, while trying to flee Britain for the company of James II on the Continent, for which he was briefly imprisoned. The manuscript of Ingulf played a very specific role in the emergence of paleography from manuscripts, letters and working notes, to formalised treatises in print, but it disappeared to time, and was never found.

GREEK CHRONOLOGY AND THE IMPACT OF GEORGE SYNCELLUS, c.1655-1659.

After the publication of the \textit{Monasticon Anglicanum}, Marsham returned to his chronological tables. Despite their ambitious scale, his first set of tables were insufficient to contain the new complexity of his model for ancient history. He created a new manuscript with a specific focus on Greek chronology, which used John Selden's \textit{Era Attica} as its foundation, and progressed from the verso leaves to the recto leaves in measured intervals of 100 Julian years per page. Again, Marsham used these documents to consolidate, organise and refine chronological information he had previously developed in rough notes; once the basic structure was complete, he gradually filled the vacant spaces in the manuscript leaves with additional information and new references. We can use these to reconstruct the evolution of his final chronological system.

Not content with Selden's chronological era for Attic history based on the mythical Cecrops, Marsham used Castor of Rhodes, whom Scaliger had mentioned in his edition of Eusebius, to extend archaic Greek history to the first settlement of the Peloponnesus by Aegialeus, the founding ruler of Sicyon. Marsham supplemented this with the Argive dynasty, beginning with
the Argolid king Phoroneus, inventor of fire, traditionally son of the river-god Inachus. When he continued on the next leaves, Marsham kept the two parallel columns devoted to the Argive and Sicyonian kings on the far right-hand side, created a pair of ruled lines for the Julian Period and the Era Attica to the left, beginning with JP 3132, and filled in entries. For instance, he noted Deucalion, who survived a flood by floating nine days in a wooden chest and ended up drifting to rest on the summit of Mount Parnassus. Marsham later added interleaved sheets:

In the detail above, Marsham simply copied the entries on Ceres and her traditional Eleusinian consort Triptolemus from Selden's Latin translation of the Parian chronicle. He followed

522 Kent Library and History Centre U1121 Z23/1,1 fol.1r; cf. Marsham, Chronicus canon 81-82; this section uses material written for my MPhil.
523 cf. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, 1.7.2, etc.
Selden in rendering Δήμάτηρ as Ceres, marked the lacunae with ellipses, but modified Selden's date for the pair (MCXLV, which Selden derived from ΧΗΔΔΔΠ) to 1145 and 1142.524 Importantly, Marsham's dry record followed the Parian chronicle in treating the mythological figures as essentially historical: revered as the goddess of the harvest, Ceres simply planted crops and fruit. Euhemerist readings of ancient myth would play a pivotal role in the first sections of Marsham's Chronicus canon, and his sources for this were not confined to Eusebius and other Christian apologetics. At this point, Marsham was concerned about an accurate chronological system, but these entries strongly suggested that religious practices had origins and histories of their own.

In the third century of the Era Attica, Marsham established his dates for Theseus, the voyage of the Argonauts, the apotheosis of Hercules and the Fall of Troy; Selden calculated the last as JP 3505 in his canon Chronicus to the Parian chronicle, which was 1209 BC, on 24 Thargelion, 374 AE.525 Agamemnon was not mentioned in the marble, or in Selden's canon, but Marsham included him in the column devoted to Argive and Mycenaean kings to the right. The citadel of Troy was captured and pillaged in the 18th regnal year of Agamemnon. Marsham found this date in another fragment of Castor of Rhodes, from Scaliger's Greek Eusebius. He would soon find this confirmed in the pages of his edition of the Byzantine monk and chronographer Georgios (Γεώργιος), who served as residential secretary (Σύγκελλος) to Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople (c. 730-806):

Ἀργείων ι' έβασιλεύσεν Αγαμέμνον ἐτη 19, κατά δὲ ἄλλους ἐτη λέ...Τῷ η' ἔτει Αγαμέμνονος ὁ κατά τής Τροίας ήρξατο πόλεμος...526

The seventeenth king of the Argives was Agamemnon, for 18 years, others say 35...In the 8th year of Agamemnon, the Trojan War began...527

Joseph Scaliger collected the Greek recension of Eusebius from a manuscript of Syncellus which Isaac Casaubon had sent him in the late spring of 1602, but again, the editio princeps of the Chronographia was published in 1652 by the French Dominican Jacques Goar (1601-1653).528 An expert on the Greek liturgy, Goar spent time as prior of the convent of St. Sebastian on the remote Aegean island of Chios, just off the coast of Anatolia, where he made contacts with the Orthodox clergy.529 Goar was instrumental in introducing Byzantine chronicles into Western Europe. In 1647, he printed an edition of Compendium Historiarum (Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν)
of George Cedrenus, and he collated the Paris manuscript of Syncellus against two additional copies in the Barberini library in preparation for his lavish folio edition. When it was released, it revealed Byzantine world-history in unfiltered complexity, including passages from Jewish pseudepigrapha like the *Book of Enoch*, the chronological exegesis of this by the Alexandrian monk Panodoros, and quotations from the fourth-century alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis. In his preface, Goar insisted that Syncellus was not simply an imitator of Eusebius, as Scaliger had concluded, instead, he critically evaluated and synthesised a vast array of sources.

Reading Syncellus would have presented a hedge-maze of paradox and contradiction, where the basic tenants of Eusebian *historia sacra* were both articulated and undermined by Syncellus, who criticised the date Eusebius determined for Moses, which he found in error by 200 years. Indeed, Syncellus concluded that Eusebius had corrupted the dynasties of the Egyptians in the process, and that the Exodus could actually be correlated with the reign of the Egyptian king Amôsis from Manetho's *Dynasty XVIII*. The implications were significant.

The central arguments of the *Præperatio Evangelica*, which were drawn from prior Jewish apologetic literature of Josephus and Philo, and from Justin Martyr, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, stipulated that Moses, as a philosopher, sage and legislator, was prior to Greek history, and his achievements, superior. To Syncellus, Moses was born in the 55th year of Inachus, when Sphairos (Σφαῖρος) was king of the Assyrians and Orthopolis reigned in Sicyon, in *Anno Mundi* 3732. For a reader used to the vacant Egyptian columns of Jerome's Latin *Chronicon*, Syncellus presented compelling evidence of an established and populated world, where lofty pyramids had already been built to points and sacred books had been written, while the Israelites were herding goats and eating lentil pottage.

Marsham soon expanded his chronological tables with narrative history to address these implications, but as he continued his tables of Greek chronology, he began to reference Syncellus directly. As Marsham filled the central column of his chronological matrix with entries, he frequently alternated between the notes in Scaliger's *Thesaurus Temporum* and Syncellus, for relevant information on the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians and the early history of navigation.

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531 Goar, J. (ed.) leaf i4v: Certe styli diversitas, non simplex compositionis ordo, variata quoque frequentiis temporis numerandi ratio, Authores pariter diversos, non unum Eusebii manibus versatum opus, sed variata scriptorum monumenta, quae sibi adiumento Georgius ascuivt, palam arguit; adeo ut non ita concors & sibi simile per contextum omnem se referat Eusebii Chronicon[...].

532 Mosshammer (ed.). 75-76, Adler and Tuffin, *The Chronology of George Syncellus*, 96-98, Adler's translation of the key argument follows: 'So it is in this way that Eusebios again utters an utter falsehood about Moses and the Greeks: for if Moses lived after Phoroneus and was a contemporary of Kekrops the Double-Natured, he is not earlier than the deeds of Zeus himself and all the events recorded by the Greeks in their ancient histories.'

533 The central evidence for Syncellus was the entry for *Amôs*, the first king of Dynasty XVIII: Africanus stated ἐν Μωυσῆ ἔκτη δύναμις ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου during this reign; Eusebius recorded *Amôsis* for the first king of Dynasty XVIII and said nothing of the sort about Moses and the Exodus, cf. Mosshammer, *ibid.* 76-77.


535 Mosshammer, *ibid.* 76. Syncellus used the Septuagint for the *Anno Mundi*. 

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In Syncellus, the Thracians crossed the river Strymon to the east of the Chalcidice peninsula and expanded across the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmara to Bithynia: Goar translated the phrase Θράκες ἐθαλασσοκράτους as *Thraces maris domini*, but in this case, Marsham first referred to Scaliger. Greek history soon gained an autonomy and complexity of its own. Classical authorities were systematically incorporated as time progressed: Athenian archons were listed in precise correlation with Olympiads, the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides received entries, together with the first kings of Macedonia, the birth of Plato and flourishing of Anaxagoras, in layers of entries which Marsham composed over several sessions, The first millenial table of the *Era Attica* (which again began with the reign of Cecrops in JP 3132/1582 BC) began with Marsham's entry for Xerxes crossing the Hellespont, which obviously promised specific correlations with Persian history. The manuscript chronological tables he composed provided Marsham with a valuable foundation for the narrative chronology of Greece he would soon begin to write, under the chapter-heading *Tempus Prolepticon*, obviously influenced by Scaliger's *Thesaurus Temporum*. Marsham used Selden, Scaliger and Goar's edition of Syncellus in parallel to establish his pioneering model for Greek archaic history. On the verso-side notes he used for glosses, he reserved special praise for Selden's 'immense erudition and sagacity' in developing the *Era Attica*, which remained the basis of his historical argument. Marsham's focus in this was Greek history, based on classical authority and newly-published sources, which promised a secure chronological framework for the first complete and systematic restoration of ancient history from the Greek Eusebius in Scaliger, coordinated with the *Marmor Parium*, and incorporating all relevant material from Syncellus. This included the actual records of Berossus and Manetho, which would finally replace both the barren paper deserts of previous Babylonian and Egyptian chronologies, and the imaginary histories which the Dominican Friar Annius of Viterbo (1432-
1502) had invented to fill the sparse citations of Jerome. In this collection of notes and drafts, Marsham's attention soon turned from Greece to Egypt. The *Thesaurus Temporum* alone provided the crucial impetus for the development of Marsham's theory of parallel dynasties. No intermediaries were necessary. At this early point, Marsham divided his history between Thebes, Upper and Lower Egypt, beginning with parallel reigns by Menes and Mizraim (Μεστρέμ), who was omitted from Manetho's dynastic lists but mentioned in passing by Syncellus. The table he created on subsequent pages clarified his position.

Egyptian history was coordinated with the period immediately following the Flood (JP 2347). Marsham created vertical Roman numerals to the far left in 100-year gradients, to JP 2947. After this, Marsham appropriated the spacious column to the right of the numerals as a type of *historium spatium* for events on the periphery of the Egyptian dynasties as they unfolded through time: for example, Abraham's peregrinations in Egypt occurred *a° post Diluvium 428*, which to Marsham occurred during the 63-year reign of Menchères in Memphis (*Ægypti*

539 Felix Hull catalogued the loose notes which followed, fols. 3-4, 12-13,41-45, 100-129 as MS U1121 Z28/2; an earlier hand which resembles Marsham's paginated the first leaf as 4.
Superioris in Marsham's early system). Historia Sacra, from Jerome through Marsham's early chronological tables, now occurred on the periphery.

Marsham created his preliminary arrangement of Manetho's 31 dynasties, specifically for the dynasties of Héracleopolis (Ægypti Inferioris), Memphis and Thebes, based on the entries of Manetho from Sextus Julius Africanus, and the Theban dynastic list ostensibly compiled by the Hellenistic chronographer Apollodorus from Egyptian records originally consulted by Eratosthenes of Cyrene. radial departures from Manetho were obvious from the beginning. The Ramesside Period from Dynasties XIX-XX of the New Kingdom was pushed back into the past, and the sequential dynasties of Manetho was divided into five parallel kingdoms, with the unification of Memphis and Thebes under Queen Nitocris. Marsham would modify this further by the time the first Chronicus canon appeared. But it appeared that Egyptian dynastic records could theoretically be accommodated to the Masoretic framework of Historia Sacra, which he had already developed, and consequently integrated into a systematic ancient history. Greaves provided the impetus, the volume of Syncellus facilitated the paradigm-shift in Marsham’s chronology, and a scholarly controversy in the Netherlands proved that his new system would find a receptive audience.

ISAAC VOSSIUS, GEORGI HORN, AND THE AGE OF THE WORLD.

By 1659, contemporary debates on the integrity and transmission of the Old Testament, the unresolved status of Berosus and Manetho following their publication by Scaliger, the recent appearance of heterodox solutions to the problems of Biblical chronology like Isaac La Peyrère's 1655 Systema theologicum ex preadamitarum hypothesi, and the increasingly defensive tenor of treatises devoted to defending the historical integrity of Scripture, all conspired to suggest that Historia Sacra, as 'a theory of providential history and a methodology of historical scholarship', was in an appreciable crisis. A logical solution to this was devised by the Dutch classical scholar, natural philosopher and manuscript-hunter Isaac Vossius.

541 Marsham cites Syncellus, 91, 96
1689), the son of G.J. Vossius and former student of the erudite French critic and controversialist Claude Saumaise (1588-1653).\footnote{See Jorink and Van Miert (eds.), Isaac Vossius, Between Science and Scholarship (Brill, 2012), esp. 43-84 for Grafton, Anthony, 'Isaac Vossius, Chronologer', 85-117 for Mandelbrote, Scott, 'Isaac Vossius and the Septuagint.'} Vossius cultivated eclectic interests, and over the course of his career wrote short treatises and observations on the Sybilline Oracles, the magnitude of ancient Rome, Chinese technology, the source of the Nile, longitude, Greek accents, and the nature of colour and light.\footnote{Cf. Vossius, Isaac, Isaaci Vossii Variarum Observationum Liber (London, 1685).} Vossius was never a promising Hebraist, like his elder brother Dionysius (1611-1633), but his Greek was superb, and he put his talents to use. In 1646, Vossius followed James Ussher in his publication of the Greek text of seven Epistolae by Ignatius of Antioch, which he had transcribed from a manuscript in Florence.\footnote{Vossius, Isaac, Epistolae genuine S. Ignatii Martyris; quae nunc primum lucem vident ex Bibliotheca Florentina (Amsterdam, 1646); compare Ussher, James, Polycarpii et Ignatii Epistolae (Oxford, 1644).} The sophisticated textual scholarship he performed on the Ignatian corpus and the specific relevance of the letters to contemporary defenses of the Episcopacy helped his reputation as a scholar, especially in England. He spoke with some authority in 1659 when he proposed a single solution, which favoured the integrity, antiquity and reliability of the Greek text of the Old Testament as a basis for chronology.\footnote{Vossius, Dissertatio de vera Aetate Mundi qua ostenditur Natale Mundi Tempus Annis minimum 1440 vulgarem Aeram anticipare (The Hague) 1659.}

It seemed like a perfect approach.

After all, Vossius argued, the Septuagint added 1,440 years to chronology. 7,048 years had elapsed from the Creation in 1659. This could accommodate the records of Chinese history which the Trentino Jesuit missionary Martino Martini (1614-1661) had just published in his Sinicae historiae decas prima.\footnote{Martini, M, Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima (Münich 1658), 11: 'Hic ergo primus est, quem Sinae Imperatorem, seu caeli filium vocant. Thiensu enim hoc sonat. Quid nomen Imperatoribus suis tribuunt, non quod eos credant, a caelo genitos, vel inde originem duxisse; sed quia putant a caelo effusius amatos, qui aliis mortalibus praetermissis, ob egregias naturae dotes ad tantam sint fortunam evecti. Hunc Fohium matre a buse patre natum memorant. [Mg.] Ante vulgarem Christo Epocham 2952.'} Martini's treatise discussed the hexagrams of the I Ching, mathematical calculations with the abacus, and Chinese constellations. Despite its multitude of learned digressions, the Sinicae historiae was principally a vast, meticulous history of China, beginning with the reign of the Emperor Fohius (Fu Xi), the son of heaven, in 2952 BC.\footnote{Martini, ibid. 34; to be sure, Vossius was quite vague on this in his original Dissertatio; cf. Chapter XI.} Martini carefully distinguished the later, historical dynasties from the first, legendary emperors, but the Xia Dynasty nevertheless began with Emperor Yū in 2107 BC, uncomfortably early for Masoretic chronology.\footnote{Vossius, ibid, XLIX-L: 'Quis etiam non agnoscat, vel sola hac adsertione magis corruere scriptoris Preadamitae conatus, quam omnibus adversariorum argumentis? Libri hujus auctor licet toties confutatus...'} La Peyrère's book, and his elusive sect of atheistic pre-Adamite readers, could also be easily confuted with his new chronology as well.\footnote{Vossius, ibid., L: 'Quis etiam non agnoscat, vel sola hac adsertione magis corruere scriptoris Preadamitae conatus, quam omnibus adversariorum argumentis? Libri hujus auctor licet toties confutatus...'} La Peyrère's controversial book provoked dozens of refutations almost as soon as it appeared, but Vossius might have also been partially motivated by La Peyrère's relationship with Claude Saumaise.\footnote{Cf. Pythius, Johannes, Responsio Exetastica ad tractatum, incerto autore, super edition, cui titulus Praeadamitae (Leiden, 1656), Hulsius, Antonius, Non-ens Prae-Adamitcum sive Contraftato Vanti & Socinzinatis ejusdam Somnii (Leiden, 1656); cf. Popkin, R.H. Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676): His Life, Work and Influence (Brill, 1987), esp 8-11; Jorink, Eric, 'Horrible and Blasphemous', Isaac La Peyrère, Isaac Vossius and the...
Vossius had entirely orthodox intentions, and can be regarded as a harbinger of the resurgent Greek scholarship in Restoration England, but his attempt to present chronology and textual criticism as mutually supportive arguments in favour of the Septuagint was dashed to splinters on the sea-cliffs of controversy.\footnote{552} His conflict with Georg Horn was the first.\footnote{553} A Reformed professor of history at Leiden since 1653, Horn (1620-1670) responded at once with a sustained defense of Hebrew chronology, and the textual stability of the Hebrew Old Testament.\footnote{554} Importantly, Vossius had incorporated the records of Manetho into post-diluvial Septuagint chronology, using a modified version of the parallel dynasties his father had first suggested from reading Scaliger's \textit{Thesaurus temporum}.\footnote{555} When Horn addressed this, he proposed a hybrid system in which the lush and fertile land of Egypt \textit{might} have been cultivated by the sons of Adam before the Flood, and was later divided into parallel dynasties located in Memphis and Thebes. By using Josephus as his foundation for the \textit{Reges Memphitici}, Horn managed to integrate a very simplified model for Egyptian history within Masoretic chronology.\footnote{556} Horn's \textit{Dissertatio} was printed after the beginning of April 1659, when he signed his preface. Vossius published his first response just after 28 May.\footnote{557} Their argument flew between the Elseviers and presses of Adrian Vlacq, across the fields and canals that separated Leiden and The Hague.

Marsham knew the philologist and art historian Franciscus Junius the Younger through both William Dugdale and John Greaves, and Junius acted as the intermediary between Vossius and Marsham. On 8 July 1659 he wrote a letter to Vossius, which assured him that he still had allies in the quarrel. Apparently, a student named Goswijn Hogers had written to the great German Latinist Johann Friedrich Gronovius with infuriating gossip, which insinuated that John Marsham opposed Vossius in the debate. Junius assured his nephew that this was certainly not the case:

Having heard from Mr. Thorndike of what you wrote to me last time, Mr. Marsham came to me the day before yesterday, and asked if I did not know what student it had been who had written such an untruth to Mr. Gronovius, declaring plainly that he had never with anyone in the world breathed a word which anyone could deduce that his judgment opposed your writing, but that, on the contrary, he has asserted

\footnote{552}See Mandelbrote, Scott, 'Isaac Vossius and the Septuagint', \textit{Id.} esp.90-117 for an overview of the later controversies.
\footnote{553}Rossi, Paolo, \textit{The Dark Abyss of Time: The History of the Earth & the History of Nations from Hooke to Vico}, trans. Cochrane, Lydia (Chicago, 1983) was pivotal in renewing interest in this episode: see esp. 145-167.
\footnote{554}Horn, Georg, \textit{Dissertatio de Vera Aetate Mundi}, \textit{qua sententia illorum refellitur qui statuunt Natale Mundi tempus Annis minimum 1440 vulgarem aeram anticipare} (Leiden, 1659).
\footnote{555}See Vossius, G.J. \textit{De Theologia Gentilli}, 211: ‘Quamobrem existimo, Manetho quidem optima fide exscripsisse ista, unde profitebatur: sed in eo cum sacerdotum aliiis, ob antiqui temporis tenebras, obserasse, quod quas primo tomo dynastias refer, eas putarit alias aliis semper successisse, cum multae, ut loquentur, non successivae fuerint, sed collaterales, hoc est, eodem tempore diversi diversius fuerint locis; Vossius, Isaac, \textit{Dissertatio de vera Aetate Mundi}, XXXIX: Clare satis ex iis quae diximus colligi potest, plerisque istos regulos, qui a Manethone memorantur, non simplici ordine sibi invidem successisse, sed plures simul in diversis nomis eodem tempore regnum obtinuisse, nec reges proprie, sed nomarchas esse dicendos.’
\footnote{556}Horn, Georg, \textit{ibid.} 43-46, C.XI: \textit{Probatur Dynastias Aegyptiorum optime conveni cere cum Codd. Hebraeiis.}
\footnote{557}Vossius, Isaac, \textit{Isaaci Vossii Castigationes ad Scriptum Georgii Hornii de Aetate Mundi} (The Hague) 1659.
with several people that it was a praiseworthy intention to propose candidly what one believes to serve as instruction for this and coming centuries.  

Marsham had known Vossius since 1656. At the time, he wished to borrow material on the ancient administrative divisions of Egypt, *nomes*, and their governing officials, or *nomarchs*. Vossius had discussed these in the *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi*, and they were a crucial element in his theory of parallel dynasties. Vossius hesitated. For in a recent conversation, John Pearson informed the catty London-based Goswijn Hogers that he had a friend, skilled in chronology, who greatly admired the other works that Vossius had written, especially the *Observationes ad Pomponium Melam*, but could not support his opinions in the *Dissertatio*. Hogers promptly wrote his former teacher Johann Friedrich Gronovius with the story, and the word got back to Vossius. For his part, the scholar and theologian Herbert Thorndike attempted to secure patronage for Vossius in England and had loaned him Walton’s London Polyglot Bible. Thorndike quoted Marsham in his Epilogue to the *Tragedy of the Church of England*, anticipated the *Chronicus canon* in his unpublished *Reformation of the Church of England*, and left him Charles Le Cointe’s *Annales Ecclesiastici* in his will.  

In a mutual attempt to ameliorate the situation, Marsham and Vossius exchanged cordial letters through the next decade, on history, coins, and inscriptions. This culminated in a letter written on 6th November 1674, when Vossius sent Marsham a manuscript excerpt of transcriptions by a 6th-century Nestorian, Cosmas Indicopleustes, of a small white-marble Ethiopian throne at Adulis, inscribed in Greek and Ge’ez, and of the black basalt stela that stood behind it. One inscription described the overseas victories of Ptolemy III Eugertes, the other, the conquests of an Ethiopian king several centuries later, and everything was edited by Leo Allatius. Vossius supplemented this with his own edition, from the *Topographia Christiana* by Indicopleustes in the Laurentian library at Florence. They clearly had great projects in mind. Conflict had shaken Marsham’s fragile alliance of scholarly contacts and friends, but due to the careful epistolary mediation of Franciscus Junius, harmonious relations were restored. In 1660, Marsham happily recorded the Restoration of King Charles II in his *Pandectae nostris temporis*: ‘May 25. The Kinge landeth at Dover, goeth to Canterbury. 29. Enters London, with greate acclamations. July 5. Kinge feasted at Guildhall London. The same morninge Sir John Marsham knted.’  

The long winter was over. In April 1660, Marsham was elected MP for Rochester in the Convention Parliament. His position at Chancery was restored. By midsummer, he was *Sir*
John Marsham for the first time. On 12 August 1663 he became a baronet. Marsham knew that he had a solution to the problem of Egyptian dynasties on hand, and that his status, and independence from the strictures of patronage, would now allow him to write exactly what he pleased, without reservation. It belonged to the same period and intellectual style as the slender books Vossius had published, but with no similar constraints on time and money, it could be written on a much larger scale.

A salient point on the importance of patronage to scholarship and intellectual research emerges, as a coda to the widespread social disruptions of the Civil War and the long tensions of the Protectorate, and as a prelude to the liberties of the Restoration. Marsham’s Chronicus canon began to take shape long before Cromwell’s death and remained his central project until 1672. Although sequestration had an impact on his finances, many of Marsham’s friends and colleagues suffered far worse indignities. John Greaves was rendered homeless by Nathaniel Brent and was forced to resort to the mutually supportive scholarly circle that formed in the aftermath of the war. With no obligations to financial backers, prospective employers, or institutional authorities, Marsham had no reason to fear breaches of propriety, scholarly controversy, or the outraged indignation of the censorious godly. Consequently, the Chronicus canon provides a unique, unfiltered perspective into the mind of a gifted scholar, lawyer, and royalist, educated in the theological vacuum of Laudian St. John’s, enjoying the liberty to discuss religion without theology, history without providence. We will begin a partial survey of the Chronicus canon, in the detail this revolutionary work deserves.
On the evening of Tuesday, 4 September 1666, Samuel Pepys buried his wine and valuable Parmigiano cheese in the gardens of the Navy Office on Seething Lane, where he lived. Admiral William Penn helped him dig the pit. Meanwhile, the Fire of London consumed Tower-Street, burning with 'infinite fury.' After sunset, Pepys walked away from his sad dinner of cold mutton and looked up at the sky. The whole heaven was on fire, and the Dolphin Tavern and Trinity House burned before his eyes. In his Diary, Pepys remarked that the fire had consumed Old Bailey and all of Cheapside, was spreading down Fleet-Street, and St. Paul's had burned. Lost among much greater tragedy and suffering, five hundred copies of John Marsham's *Chronicus canon* perished in the flames, beneath a sky the colour of cinder, glowing ochre from the embers below.565

Marsham's lasting monument crumbled into ash as soon as it was printed. The surviving copy of the first *Chronicus canon* in the British Library begins in the very same way as his later, phoenix-like edition, with the unresolved conflict on the dynasties of Egypt. He summarised this conflict.566 Joseph Scaliger had published the records of ancient Egyptian dynasties originally compiled by Manetho, a scribe and priest of Heliopolis. These antedated the epoch of creation by 1336 years.567 The Jesuit Dionysius Petavius opposed Scaliger's judgement in this and rejected the dynasties as fictions. From Marsham's perspective, it was unnecessary to extend the dynastic lists into immeasurable reaches of time, or to reject them altogether.568

In the 1666 edition, Marsham also began with an overview of the sources that preserved Egyptian dynastic-lists through the centuries, but began with Eusebius, rather than Syncellus.569 Marsham expanded his book after the Fire of London, meticulously corrected his

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565 See the manuscript note on the final page (260) of London, British Library, General Reference C.133.g.3 (Marsham, *Chronicus canon Aegyptiacus, Ebraicus et Graecus*, London, 1666).


567 See the manuscript note on the final page of London, British Library, General Reference C.133.g.3 (Marsham, *Chronicus canon Aegyptiacus, Ebraicus et Graecus*, London, 1666).

568 Ibid: ‘Mihi visum est Dynastias istas neque in immensum extendi debere, neque omnio rejici.’

569 *Chronicus Canon* (1666) 1. ‘Eusebius olim, canonem Chronicum à natalio Abrahami anno institutens, Dynastias omnes neque abdivacit, neque retinuit: tot adhibet, quot suis rationibus conveniere putabat.’
prose with marginal notes, and inserted additional tree-diagrams on Argive history.\textsuperscript{570} He clearly intended to produce an improved edition, at his leisure.

In the autumn of 1672, the prestigious London printer Thomas Roycroft released the new edition of the \textit{Chronicus canon Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus, Graecus}.\textsuperscript{571} It featured no florid, sycopanthish dedications to patrons, stilted panegyrics in Latin hexameter, open letters \textit{ad lectores}, or any other paratextual apparatus of acknowledgement and credit. Instead of a frontispiece, Marsham's coat of arms was printed on the title-page, of a lion rampant between two cotises, now with the Red Hand of Ulster. Marsham was in his late sixties, a baronet and member of parliament for Rochester, and this was very much his book. The first pages were empty, except for a single unmarked quotation from Aristotle:

\[\chiαλεπδον\ \delta\ '\ \epsilon\ \mu\ \kappa\alphaλ\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\\chi\\omicron\ont\eta\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon.\]

\textit{It is difficult to make a good argument from bad materials.}\textsuperscript{572}

Marsham listed these materials, fragments from the shipwreck of history, three ancient sources and three Christian authors. He examined them individually.\textsuperscript{573} Syncellus recorded an Egyptian chronicle known as the \textit{Vetus Chronicon}, which began with Hèphaestus and continued through 30 dynasties for a period of 36,525 years.\textsuperscript{574} Because this mentioned Nectanebô II (Nekhtharebâ) from Dynasty XXX, whom Marsham dated to Olympiad 107, 15 years before the arrival of Alexander the Great, he concluded that the \textit{Old Chronicle} was not composed before the Ptolemies. Marsham derived the total sum of the dynasties from reading \textit{Μγ'} in a marginal gloss of Goar's edition of Syncellus, meaning \textit{μυριάδας γ'} και \textit{ζοκε'} (36,525) and \textit{not ϡγ'} (3 x 900), which was recorded in the text. Once properly understood, this signified an Egyptian astronomical period of 25 Sothic cycles (25 x 1461=36,525), and nothing more.\textsuperscript{575} Marsham would address this soon enough.

Manetho was by far the most extensive source for Egyptian dynastic history and could be easily dated by the dedication letter he supposedly wrote to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who reigned 283-246 BC.\textsuperscript{576} Interestingly, Marsham left the Greek title \textit{σεβαςτ}" from the dedication.

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\textsuperscript{570} Chronicus Canon (1666) 1, eg. 132; 133 leaf Mrn, where he corrected \textit{Persicae magnitudinis} to \textit{Persicae amplitudinis}, the manuscript insertion between 234 and 235 (3O2r) where Marsham mapped the progeny of Danaus, etc.

\textsuperscript{571} Arber, Edward, \textit{The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 AD}, (London, 1903) 1.120, for Marsham, John, \textit{Chronicus canon Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus et Graecus}, (1672) =CCAE. All references will be made to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

\textsuperscript{572} Idiomatically. Aristotle, \textit{Metaphysics}, 1086a.15

\textsuperscript{573} CCAE, 1: ‘Apud Syncellum memorantur Antiquitatem Aegypti auctores, tum Ethnici, tum Christiani: Illi, tres; \textit{Vetus Chronicon, Manetho & Eratosthenes}: Hi, idem tres; \textit{Africanus, Eusebius}, atque ipsius Georgius. De singulis videamus. See Marsham, \textit{ibid}, 17: Hinc consilium obscura longinquissimi temporis vestiga persequi; inconditas historiae naufragae reliquias componere; salebrosa & perplexa əo usque lustare, donec ad plana & incontroversa perventum fuerit.’

\textsuperscript{574} CCAE 2.

\textsuperscript{575} CCAE, \textit{ibid: Summa XXX Dynastiarum, anni 36525 (legendum enim et supra My' id est, \muριδας γ' και \zοκε' non ϡγ') qui sunt Cycli Caniculares XXV. Cf. Goar (1652), p.52B, ML 91.19.}

\textsuperscript{576} On Manetho in general, see Moyer, Ian, \textit{Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism} (Cambridge, 2011), especially 84-140.
intact. Isaac Casaubon had used this, normally a Greek translation of *Augustus*, to argue that the letter must have been composed after the beginning of the Roman Empire, but Marsham had different criteria for authenticity. The dynastic records of Manetho were real but corrupted through centuries of transmission and misinterpretation. For instance, Syncellus claimed that the records of Manetho diverged from those of the *Vetus Chronicon*. For Marsham, these differences were not apparent. Like the *Vetus Chronicon*, Manetho began his dynastic lists with gods and demigods, and ended Dynasty XXX with Nectanebo: Marsham concluded both drew their accounts of the origins of Egypt from a lost *liberi Mercurii*. In any case, the astronomical period in Manetho was a later interpolation. Manetho omitted the complete list of Theban kings, but this was found in the final ancient Egyptian document.

Again, this document was attributed to Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the famous Hellenistic mathematician, geographer and librarian at Alexandria, and provided an unbroken list of 38 kings over a period of 1076 years, beginning with Mênês and ending with Amuthartes; because Marsham's chronological system hinged on the continuity of Thebes through the *Hyksôs* (*Ḥq3-ḥ3st*) period, when the rest of Egypt was conquered by shepherd-kings, the Theban king-list was centrally important.

Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160-240) was a Christian chronographer, motivated by chiliasm to demonstrate that 5723 years of history had already passed, and that the apocalypse was close at hand; he first preserved the dynasties of Manetho, but misunderstood and extended the collateral reigns into a single sequence. Eusebius of Caesarea transcribed the dynastic lists of Africanus for his *Chronicle* of universal history through the Vicennalia of Constantine, on 26 July 325. Eusebius did diverge from Africanus in several respects, placed the Exodus after the reign of Amênophis in Dynasty XVIII, but ultimately preserved the two anonymous dynasties of shepherd-kings. Both Eusebius and Africanus had been collected and transcribed by the Byzantine monk George Syncellus, who made adjustments of his own.

578 CCAE 2 ‘Quod autem tempora, quae a Manethone Diis assignatur, eadem omnio non sint, quae in Chronicco; id quidem interpolatorum vitio contigisse videtur. Numeri enim isti (de quibus mox erit dicendi locus), non tam Manethonis sunt, quam Eusebii, vel Panodori...’
579 That is, only the Theban king-list began with Menes in *Thebes*: Marsham presupposed the dynasties were parallel at the time he wrote.
580 CCAE, *ibid.* ‘Est autem hoc Eratosthenis laterculum verandissimum antiquitatis momentum & ad stabilienda Ægyptiorum tempora inprimis necessarium.’
581 CCAE, 5: ‘Sane maximus Manethonis interpolatur Africanus vetustiores suas Dynastias (si quid video), ex mero suo ipsius arbitrio dispositus: si penitiûs inspiciamus, alias illarum frustula tantum esse Dynastiarum; alias reperiemus meros esse numeros, inaniter turgentes.’ See Wallraff, M. (ed.): *Julius Africanus Chronographiae: The Extant Fragments* (De Gruyter, 2007); Gelzer, H. *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig, 1898) is also still useful.
583 Marsham didn't have a very high opinion of Syncellus, whom he thought abrasive and inept: CCAE, 7: ‘...annosque & successiones mutilat vel extendit, prout ipsi visum est, magna nominum, maxima numerorum
These were Marsham's elements. Although ruined and confused through the passage of time, they were invaluable documentary evidence for the history of ancient Egypt. Marsham's *Chronicus canon* would incorporate these materials into a systematic historical narrative, when reconfigured according to his criteria. Isaac Vossius had recently demonstrated the consequences of following the Septuagint chronology, pre-Adamitism was unthinkable, and Marsham had already built a rigorous chronological system, which used conventional, orthodox, Masoretic foundations.

For Marsham, this decision to follow the Masoretic account had less to do with Reformed biblical literalism and the status of Hebrew scripture than with the chronological books on his table, which had guided and informed the development of his system from the beginning. Still Marsham provided his readers with parallel calculations based on the Septuagint. And he eliminated all references to the date of creation, or events before Noah, from the *Chronicus canon*. After all, different patristic authorities offered various interpretations on the chronology of Moses, and 'among these learned men, there was no satisfactory agreement on the age of the world, or date of the Flood. The early Church used the Septuagint, until Jerome translated the Hebrew books. Latin was then used in the west, Greek in the east.' Both versions had points in their favour. But ultimately, Hebrew and Egyptian culture were mixed together, both were illuminated by careful comparison, and this offered Marsham the chance to renew the topics he had discussed in his *Diatriba chronologica*. The Egyptian calendar, and its chronology, was consequently essential for the correct evaluation of universal history.

So far, Marsham's introductory *Προκατασκευή* to the *Chronicus canon* had summarised the basic problem of Egyptian chronology, and reviewed the transmission of Manetho, ps.-Eratosthenes and the *Old Chronicle*. Marsham continued with a capsule-treatment of the discrepancies between the Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch, and Masoretic editions, all of which could be accommodated by his treatment of the Egyptian dynasties. He recapitulated Selden's *Era Attica* and introduced his own extension of this, the *Era Argiva*, previously developed in his chronological tables. He also addressed the Egyptian calendar, the religious significance of the Sothic cycle, and its relation to the mythological components of the dynastic lists, which could be differentiated from later, historical, content.

*The Sothic Cycle.*

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interpolatione. Ut imprudentiam hominis non possis non mirari, qui cum aliis rixatur, ipse cum sit reprehensioni maxime obnoxious.’

584 This would be supplemented with Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. CCAE, 1: ‘Quicquid suppellectilis hodie superest ad instaurandas Aegyptiorum origines, id fere totum debetur Syncello: neque tanti sunt momenti, quae Herodotus omnium primus, aut illum secutus Diodorus, de Regibus Aegypti tradiderunt.’

585 Again, Petavius, D. *De Doctrina Temporum* (Paris, 1629) at ML 81.29 for the vast majority of technical details, occasionally supplemented by Seth Calvisius ML 107.35 and Helvicius (Oxford, 1654) at ML 108.36. 586 CCAE 13-14, Table 1, leaf F2r.

587 CCAE, 12 ‘...etates vero Patrum diversi Bibliorum interpretes adeo diversas proferunt, ut inter viros doctos, de actate Muni, aut Diluvii tempore, non satis conveniat. Ecclesia Christiana codice Graeca usa est, donec S. Hieronymus libros Ebraicos transtilisset: Latina deinde versio plerumque in Occidente, Graeca autem in Oriente obtinuit.’

588 CCAE

589 CCAE 15-16.
According to Syncellus, Manetho listed a sequence of gods, demigods and spirits of the dead, who ruled Egypt before Mênês, from Hêphaestus and his son, Hêlios, through Sôsis, to Osiris and Typhôn: these were based on Egyptian theology, and began with the concept of eternity, which the Egyptians symbolised with the sun and moon, as Marsham found quoted in the Hieroglyphics of Horapollo. Numismatic evidence confirmed this: Marsham drew from his own collection for a Hellenistic stater minted for Antiochus Epiphanes with solar iconography; he also described a large class of coins from the deified Hadrian and Vespasian featuring the goddess Aeternitas, holding the personified sun and moon. Marsham referred to this:

In his attempt to separate the historically relevant passages in Manetho from theological elements embedded in the text, Marsham used familiar late-Renaissance interpretative techniques, partially stimulated by the publication of Horapollo, on non-literary evidence. But he combined this with a dynamic history of religious beliefs, as they had been derived from natural phenomena, that had little to do with the prisca theologica of Marsilio Ficino or Agostino Steuco. The dynasty of gods were simply astronomical phenomena, which the Egyptians first venerated, and which spread to the rest of the world. The importance of Sirius remained relatively unique to Egypt, and Sothis, or Σήθ, as it was called in a manuscript of Vettius Valens which Marsham quoted (presumably the apograph of Vat.gr 191 now at the Bodleian), was of paramount importance to Egyptian chronology.

For Egyptian agriculture was dependent on the annual flooding of the Nile, which fertilised the alluvial fields, and they noticed that this coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius; if this was initially observed on the new year (1 Thoth), the discrepancy between the Egyptian solar calendar of 365 non-intercalated days and the sidereal year of 365.25 days would cause the calendar to gradually shift backward through the seasons, by one day every four years: given that (365.25/0.25 = 1461), the calendar would return to coincide with the first morning visibility of Sirius once every 1,461 Egyptian years. This rested on the foundations of John

590 CCAE, 8.
592 See in general Curran, B. The Egyptian Renaissance: the Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy (Chicago, 2007), esp. 89-164.
594 If: see first, Neugebauer, O, 'Die Bedeutungslosigkeit der 'Sothisperiode' für die älteste Ägyptische Chronologie' Acta Orientala, 17 (1939) 169-195; ‘La Periode Sothiaque’ in Chronique d’Egypte 28 (1939), 258-
Bainbridge's *Canicularia*, the compact and sophisticated confection of star-lore, classical scholarship and astronomy, which John Greaves edited and published in 1648. In this, Bainbridge established Censorinus as the authority on the Sothic Period, from his calculation in the *die Natali Liber*: Sirius rose on 1 Thoth in 138 AD, on 20 July. Consequently, the prior Sothic cycle can be determined by \((1460 \text{ JY}-139 = 1322 \text{ BC})\). For Marsham, the mythological entries in the dynastic-lists designated celestial motions. Calendars, astronomy and the measure of hours metamorphosed into the theology dismissed by Eusebius as the mendacious pretense of great antiquity by Egyptian priests. Traditional Renaissance criteria of evidence and forgery were replaced in the *Chronicus canon* by a new method of evaluation: the lists of deities that preceded Mênês were genuine but were based on Egyptian astronomy.

Once the background was established, Marsham formally began the *Chronicus canon*. His Greek and Hebrew chronology emerged from the printed tables, but *Historia Sacra*, which focused on the story of Israel, was now totally decentralised. Greek history was also merged into a larger, unified, historical narrative, which emphasised the priority of Egypt in all respects. Egypt first developed civilization, with complex legal, ritual, and philosophical culture, which was then appropriated and modified. Marsham's argument for this was influenced by the *Diis Syris* of John Selden. It also borrowed techniques from the vast etymological map Samuel Bochart devised in his *Geographia Sacra* to trace the original settlement of the earth, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Bactrian Plain. Finally, Marsham extensively cited contemporary translations of Maimonides, on the religion of the Sabians, and the origins of idolatry. Still, the *Chronicus canon* was a truly revolutionary work, the first to systematically integrate numismatics, epigraphy, technical chronology, and the comparative analysis of ancient religion, into universal history. It explicitly contradicted the prevailing Eusebian model. Instead of various pagan societies absorbing Hebrew innovations, Moses derived his wisdom from Egypt. In fact, revelation is strikingly absent from the pages of the *Chronicus canon*. Marsham's

262; CCAE, 9: Ex diuturna stellae orientis observationi didicerunt Aegyptii Sothin quotannis abire in consequentia sex horis, sive quarta diei parte; ita ut in uno quadrennio fiat recessus unius diei: in 365 quadriennis, sive annis 1460, deficient dies 365, sive annus unus, nec nisi anno sequente qui est 1461.

595 Marsham's copy of Bainbridge, J. Cl. v. Johannis Bainbrigii, in celebriSSima Academiâ Oxoniensis Professoris Saviliana Canicularia (Oxford, 1648) is listed at ML 975.276.


597 CCAE 9: Nam immensa illa Aegyptiorum chronologia est astronomica; neque res gestas, sed motus coelestes designat.

proposed resolution of the problem of Egypt in chronology generated a new set of controversial questions on the unique position of Israel, and the cultural history of religious ceremonies. In the process, he introduced a new form of historiography, and the *Chronicus canon* can be seen as a catalyst in the shift away from the magisterial folio volumes of late-Renaissance technical chronology, to the speculative, inventive, and philosophical universal histories Bianchini and Vico would soon compose.\(^{599}\) And although Marsham partially inspired the vigorous defenses of Mosaic primacy by Jacques-Bénigne Boussuets 1681 *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, and Pierre-Daniel Huet's vast *Demonstratio evangelica*, both authors appropriated various techniques and references from the *Chronicus canon*.\(^{600}\) In the long development of the historiography of the ancient world in early-modern Europe, the publication of Marsham's book was one event among many, but its influence was tangible, and can be traced in the sea-changes of European intellectual culture.


Marsham divided the first two books of the *Chronicus canon* into equal periods of 700 years, measured in his *Era Ægyptiaca*, from the beginning of Egyptian history to the expeditions of Sesostris. Each book began with chronological tables featuring Egypt on the left, and Greek and Hebrew history on the right. These were tools for calculation, visualizations of the passage of time, and they offered the reader a snapshot of Marsham's sweeping historical narrative on the rise and fall of empires and nations, before his narrative formally began.

The long process of combining multiple drafts into fair-copy manuscript chronological tables finally culminated in print, and the resulting tables are worth examining again, in some detail. In all editions of the *Chronicus canon*, they were printed as two-page spreads, which allowed the reader to immediately correlate the multiple Egyptian dynasties with events mentioned in both versions of the Bible, and with Marsham's *Era Argiva*, which could be checked against the Julian Period. Because Manetho did not list the location of the First Dynasty, Marsham was free to place the reign of Kenkenês in Thinis (Tjenu), for 31 years; following Tosorthrus in the third column from the left (leaf Fv), Marsham simply moved back Tyris, Mêsochris, and the remainder of the Memphite kings from Dynasty III. After the early capital-city Thinis disappeared from Manetho's dynastic lists, Marsham continued the second column with a simple place-holder for the Fifth Dynasty, which ruled from the city of Elephantine, which facilitated his first synchronism between the Theban dynastic list, which was his constant, and

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\(^{599}\) In general, see Paul Hazard's classic and entertaining *La Crise de la Conscience Européene* (Paris, 1935); Rossi, Paolo, *La Sterminate Antichità e nuovi saggi Vichiani* (ref. ed. Florence, 1999).

Manetho. For Queen Nitôcris was listed in the Memphite Dynasty VI by Manetho, and in the twenty-second entry of Eratosthenes. She united the dynasties of Memphis and Thebes, and once the anonymous later dynasties were eradicated, Egyptian history could be visually summarised through the arrival of the Hyksôs.

In his final version, Marsham eliminated the Mizraim of Josephus and Jerome, and replaced him with Mênês, who ruled a unified Egypt just after the flood. His authorities agreed in perfect unison: ‘Hoc Herodotus & Diodorus Siculus; hoc Eratosthenes, & ex Manethone Africanus, Eusebius, Syncellus, uno ore predicant.’ From Mênês to Sesostris, Marsham was able to calculate 52 kings in 1,400 years, anchored to his synchronism in the fourth year of Sesostris, JP 3747, when Jerusalem was conquered, and the Temple destroyed. An etymological argument which took cues from the Geographia Sacra of Samuel Bochart allowed Marsham to identify Misraim not as an individual but as a region. The Hebrew מישראל (Misráyim) had a dual ending, so it more properly signified regions, which Marsham listed as Thebes, in Upper Egypt, and Memphis, in Lower Egypt. Tanis in the Nile Delta could be added to this later as well. The progeny of Mênês ruling from various Egyptian cities inspired the tradition of Mizraim in the Bible, who was a son of Ham. To Marsham, Mênês was Ham, the son of Noah.

Ruling all of Egypt, Mênês was transformed in memory, veneration and tradition to Jupiter; Ham in Hebrew, Jupiter was known as Jupiter Ammon, or simply Ammon; the aspirated Greek χ in Cham metamorphosed into a fricative θ, hence the Thammuz mentioned by Socrates to Phaedrus, and the deity worshipped in the Levant. Through a single passage in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus (40.397), Mênês could also be linked with Bacchus and Belus. Because of the tradition in which Mênês was at last eaten by a hippopotamus along the banks of the Nile, Marsham could also use the story of Typhon to identify him with Osiris. The gods worshipped throughout antiquity were based on the early kings of Egypt, and both the Ba'al of the Old Testament and the Zeus of the Greeks were first found in the deeds of Mênês.

After the death of Mênês, Egypt was divided like the Britain of King Lear. Athôthis governed Thebes, and Tosorthrus, Memphis. Once he identified Athôthís as Mercury and Thoth, Marsham again cleared the cobwebs and dust from the Prisca Sapientia and Hermeticism of Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola and Lefèvre d'Étaples, which had stubbornly persisted from the Renaissance, despite the epochal critique of Isaac Casaubon. He replaced this with

601 CCAE 22.
602 CCAE 25: Porro vox Misrajim, cum sit dualis, non tam hominis nomen haberi potest, quam terrae; neque unus terrae, sed duplicis. Nimirum Aegyptus, ita proprie dicta, & a Thebaide distincta, in duas partes divisa fuit: una Superior Aegyptus vocatur, Thebaidi contermina; cujus metropolis fuit Memphis: altera Inferior, quae loca continet Judaeae proxima: cujus metropolis olim Heliopolis, & Pastorum temporibus, Tanis.
603 CCAE, 31: Densa aspiratio vocabuli Ham aliquando vertitur in X Graecum; unde terra Chami & Χημία, aliquando aspirato ista mutatur in Θ.
604 For this, Marsham used Plutarch's de Iside as a reference, which described a statue of Typhon as a hippopotamus in Hermopolis.
605 Much of this was inspired by Selden's Diis Syriis, but Marsham again shifts the central criteria for interpretation from Hebrew, the Bible as authority, and the worship of natural phenomena to a single historical figure.
606 CCAE 34-44; on the premise that Dynasty II was based in Theny/This, Marsham transposed Tosorthrus from Dynasty III; myth confirmed this: Regum XXI, quorum supersunt nomina, postrema est Nitocris, primus est Aesculapius, cujus aetas ex cognatione diagnosticer: fuit enim Jovis filius, Mercurii frater.
a system of his own. For Athôthis was the son of the Nile, and compiled the sacred books of Phrygia, as Marsham inferred from Cicero's *de Natura Deorum* (3.16). From Pliny, Eusebius and Plato, Marsham found that *Thoth* had invented writing. There were three types of ancient Egyptian writing: epistolary, hieratic and hieroglyphic. Thoth, or really *Athôthis*, had invented the last, which was the oldest and first. Because hieroglyphics enigmatically symbolised concepts through visual elements, and were later incorporated into art, they explained the apparently monstrous images of Egyptian gods. Thoth had introduced letters, geometry and astronomy. Marsham would find a similar role for Tosorthrus. But he needed to adjust Manetho to make this work.

Although all surviving variants of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* placed Necherôphês as the first Pharaoh of Dynasty III, Marsham moved him from Memphis to This, and placed him after Chêres, 593 years from the accession of Menes. Both Sextus Julius Africanus and Eusebius stated that the Libyans revolted in the reign of Necherôphês: Marsham argued that this war with Libya, which was mentioned by Pliny (7.56), happened much later. Instead, *Tosorthrus* began the dynasty at Memphis. At this point the lacunose text preserved by Syncellus created the impression that Manetho directly linked Tosorthrus with Asclepius. Marsham accepted this. He also overlooked the contentious evidence from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which associated the medical talent of Asclepius with Imuthês/Ίμυύθης (*ỉỉ-ḥḥtp*). *Imhotep* was the physician and architect to Djoser (*Τόσορθρος* in Greek). The contemporary association was sufficient. Tosorthrus introduced surgery, anatomy and architecture.

There were certainly syncretic cults of Imuthês/Asclepius in Hellenistic Egypt, but this presented an obvious problem to Marsham's chronological system, for it was difficult to reconcile his primitive Tosorthrus with the Greek Asclepius, the son of Apollo and Arsinoë, who was adopted by the centaur Chiron, and lived in his rustic cave. A solution was at hand.

There were two Asclepii. Patristic literature had simply conflated Tosorthrus with the much

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608 CCAE, 37: De literarum initio haesitat Plinius. Literas, inquit, semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse: sed alii apud Aegyptiacos a Mercurio, which he then cross-referenced with Eusebius, *Praeperatio Evangelica*, I.9: Taautus inventit primum elementorum scripturam and the Phaedrus.


610 CCAE 86-87: Africanus, qui Memphitarum reges omnes Thinitarum regibus postposuit, hunc de calce Thinitarum in caput Mempitarum transposuit, loco Menis, ne repetitum illius nomen immensum Dynastiarum concactenationem suspectam faceret. Eo pacto Necherophes (non Menes) Aesculapii antepositus, Memphitarum coryphaeus constitutur.

611 *ML. 91.19* for Georgii Monachi...quondam Syncelli Chronographia (ed. Jacques Goar, Paris, 1651) p.56.Β’δν α Νεχερόφης, ἐτῇ κη’ ἀφ οὗ Λίβυες ἀπότειναν Αἰγυρτίον; CCAE 87: Ex istis enim quae supra [he refers to page 28] differuimus, liquet primeva tempora Meni atque Aesculapii competere: ex distinctione ista Libyca VI, hoc Seculum Necherophi magis congruum videtur.

612 CCAE 39.


later figure associated with the cult at Epidaurus. Tosorthrus had invented the arts of anatomy and medicine. Asclepius had improved upon them after they were carried across the waters of the Mediterranean. But they could be easily differentiated.

Only the Greek Asclepius was associated with serpents. For evidence, Marsham used the *Saturnalía* by Macrobius, in which Vettius Agorius Praetextatus delivered an elaborate speech on solar theology to the guests at his dinner-party. He mentioned that the images of snakes placed below Asclepius and Salus were symbols of health and rejuvenation, because the dry and discarded skin of a serpent was a potent symbol of the cyclical course of the sun.616 And this was why the Greek Asclepius had been included in the celestial sphere. Marsham uncovered this in the commentary of Maurus Servius Honoratus on the *Aeneid*. This glossed the appearance of Athena's star, when the ships of Diomedes were broken and engulfed in the storm between Euboea and Andros.617 In his commentary, Servius stated that Asclepius was Ophiucus, the serpent-handler.618 Aratus had first mentioned the constellation Ophiuchus in his astronomical poem, the *Phaenomena*, and it was vividly described by Manilius, who captured the eternal contest between Ophiuchus and the serpent he holds, which turns to regard its opponent while wrapping mortal and sinuous coils around his starry frame.619

Manilius placed Ophiuchus under Capricorn in his treatment of the paranatellonta (παρανατέλλοντα) of extra-Zodiacal constellations in Book V.620 Using his octavo edition of Scaliger's second Manilius as his basis, Marsham opened his 1551 Basel edition of the astrological *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus. Maternus also assigned Ophiuchus to Capricorn and associated its rising-influence with the Marsi.621 Long after this Italic group had been absorbed by Rome through defeat in the Social War and the passage of the *Lex Plautia Papiria*, the Marsi retained their reputation as snake-charmers, and experts in indigenous medical practices and divination. An ancient Libyan people named the Psylli were similarly associated with snakes: Seutonius reported that Octavian, afraid that he would lose the centrepiece of his triumphal procession, ordered them to draw the snake-venom from Cleopatra, as they were immune to such things.622 Pliny had also mentioned the Cypriot Ophiogenes (HN 28.30), who exposed their children to snakes. But none of these groups were Egyptian. Indeed, there was no record of Ophiuchus in the Egyptian *Sphaera Barbarica*, which Joseph Scaliger had first described in the edition of Manilius on Marsham's desk.

For his second edition, Scaliger used Abraham Ibn Ezra's adaptation of Abū Ma‘sār's Kitāb al-Madhāl to list the remaining fragments of the Egyptian decanal constellations, which were originally used to measure the passing hours of the night by associating the rise of specific stars within ten-day divisions of thirty-six decans.623 These decans were transposed onto 10º sections

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616 ML 900.200 for Macrobius, *Saturnalía*, 1.20.2.
619 ML 653.164 for M. Manili Astronomicon...Eiusdem Iosephi Scaligeri notae (Leiden, 1600) 1.331-5
of the Zodiac in the Hellenistic period, when Babylonian astronomical concepts were introduced into Egypt, and the *Sphaera Barbarica* was formed. Scaliger took Ibn Ezra quite seriously, as he had placed Draco in the second and third decans of Capricorn, which appeared to agree with Manilius. But Dionysius Petavius had since included pseudo-Achilles Tatius in his *Uranologion*. 624 Marsham found contradictory evidence on the *Sphaera Barbarica* from this much older source: *In Sphaerâ Ägyptiaca neque Draco censetur aut nominatur; neque Urse, neque Cepheus*. Instead, there were entirely different constellations in Egypt, with different names; Ibn-Ezra and his predecessor had simply imported material from the Chaldean and Persian spheres. There was no constellation named Ophiuchus in Egypt, and the Greeks alone had placed the serpents of Epidaurus among the stars.

Both Tosorthrus and Athôthis were later misunderstood by the Greeks, who attributed texts in their name, and included their traditions, corrupted and worn by the passage of time, into their Pantheon, and into the Phrygian Cabiri. The ancient wisdom wasn't terribly impressive. Several Egyptian kings had lived and died, and had introduced literature, medicine, and architecture. As their memory faded, they were incorporated into myth, and their writings were augmented through the centuries. The Hellenistic texts associated with Hermeticism contained layers of interpolation and error which had slowly accumulated, like a sand-dune, or forest-floor of autumn leaves. The roots of Classical religion and myth clutched the prosaic limestone of history. The constellations themselves were products of human culture and were not exempt. In Marsham's system, there was no contemporary relevance for any *prisca sapientia*, but the protean wisdom of Thoth would provide valuable clues to the history of Judaism. Before he discussed this, Marsham allowed himself to linger over the grandeur of ancient Egypt.

Ancient Egypt was, to Marsham, *terrarum beatissima, belli immunis, Artium parens, omnia rerum abundantiâ affluens*, a 'blessed land, immune from war, parent of the arts, abundant in everything'. 625 But Egypt soon suffered from famine in the reign of Uenephês, portents were seen under Semempês, and many unfortunate residents of Bubastis were engulfed by a chasm that appeared in the earth. Despite the occasional disaster, the stability of the first dynasties, fertility of the Nile and construction of the pyramids stood in relief to the austere desert-journeys of Abraham. 626 And this is where Marsham traced the history of idols, far from Egypt, in the sunbaked plains of the Ur of the Chaldeans (*Ûr Kašdim*), where Abraham's father Terah crafted idols from white clay. Here, he would enter the substantial contemporary intellectual discussion on the origins of idolatry. It was occasionally contentious, well characterised by the truly monumental treatise the Dutch Arminian scholar Gerhard Johannes Vossius (1577-1649) composed to establish a compendium of natural theology, and to navigate between the Scylla of the Calvinism of Franciscus Gomarus, and the Charybdis of the Socinians. 627 Marsham took his own direction on this, using objects rather than ideas.

625 CCAE 44-45.
626 CCAE 49.
627 See Vossius, G.J. *De Theologia Gentili, sive de Origine ac Progressu Idololatriae* (Amsterdam, 1642), esp. c.I-III; Vossius, G.J. *Gerardi Joan. Vossiî et Clar. Vîrorum ad eum Epistolae* (Augsburg 1691); to be sure, his motivations were manifold, and his treatise complex, cf for instance, *Ibid* 444-448 for Vossius to Hugo Grotius, 17 June 1643.
Marsham’s material history of idols began with the Panarion of Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, which he owned in the two-volume Opera Omnia, edited by Dionysius Petavius and published in Paris in 1622. In the commentary of Petavius, Marsham found an argument in which idols emerged around the time of Seruch, but they were simple, unadorned stones: ἀνθρώπινας στήλας, similar to the ἄγνωμα, the plain stone columns dedicated to Apollo by the Athenians and placed in the streets. Petavius found this reference mentioned in the scholia to the Wasps of Aristophanes. From Bochart, Marsham found that boundary-stones (cippus) of this sort were sacred to God during the time of the Patriarchs, but were later prohibited. This suggested that certain early idolatrous rites could actually be traced to Canaan. Indeed, these columns were vestiges of the first objects worshipped, the formless stones supposedly infused with life and motion, called betyls, which were discussed by Philo of Byblos in his near-Eastern cosmogony, which he attributed to Sanchuniathon. Filtered through multiple authors, this fragment stated that, ‘in the war of the gods, Ouranos devised Betyls, stones infused with life and motion’, literally λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος.’ Marsham’s sources, Joseph Scaliger and Samuel Bochart, found etymological correspondence between Betyl and Bethel (בר טוב), with connections to the dream of Jacob, and the anointed stone in Genesis 28.18.

Material artifacts informed Marsham's history of idolatry, and suggested that the Israelites, from Jacob to Abraham, had an obscure animistic ritual culture of their own, before they arrived in Egypt. In his Pyramidographia, John Greaves developed a similar evolutionary model for idols, finding that representative imagery was preceded by simple geometric shapes, like conical betyls, cylindrical or rectangular pillars and columns, obelisks and pyramids, which represented the rays of the sun. More than anything, the similarities, and crucial differences, between the material histories of religion articulated in the Pyramidographia and Chronicus canon suggest winter conversations in front of a fireplace, or across a library-table, at Marsham’s home in Blackfriars, or in the gardens and stables at Cuxton, years before. The paths of influence do not always pass through print.

**Numismatics and the History of Culture.**

Marsham's solution to the problem of Egypt ambitiously created a new model of antiquity, and established Egypt as the centrally important source for both Greek and Jewish culture. It also

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628 ML 25 for Epiphanius, Opera Omnia (Paris, 1622).
630 CCAE 56, Bochart, Samuel, Geographia Sacra (Caen, 1646).
632 ML 99.27, Scaliger, J.J. Thesaurus Temporum (Leiden, 1606) 198b-199a; ML 10 for a comparatively rare late citation of Samuel Bochart, Geographia Sacra, seu Phaleg et Channan (Caen 1646) 785b.
633 Marsham’s 1629 Elsevier edition of Selden’s De Dis Syris at ML 887.187 contains the conceptual precursor to this, ie. p.49: Etiam vetustissimus erat Graecorum mos, saxa sive quadrata, sive rudia, saltem aliam quam Saxi speciem prae se non ferentia, pro simulachris ponere, neque aliter quam simulachris divinum honorem exhibere…

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contributed to a general shift in technical chronology away from large, folio volumes on ancient calendars and astronomical dating to a discipline which principally relied on selected, centrally important, ancient documentary sources—Manetho, the Royal canon, the Parian Chronicle—and confirmed these with eclipses when necessary. Following the examples of both Selden and Greaves, he supplemented this through an extensive use of medals, inscriptions, and Greek, Roman, Carthaginian and Nicomedian coins, and used both to convey a sense of precision and historical tangibility to his prose. The original dynastic records, copied through a succession of scrolls and manuscripts over centuries of transmission, might have been altered, but engraved stones and minted coins remained. In practice, Marsham’s use of non-literary evidence was largely based on printed sources, from Jan Gruter’s Inscriptiones antiquae to the Discorso sopra le medaglie antiche of Sebastiano Erizzo. Marsham’s synthesis of literary history and antiquarianism reached an apex in his revision of the Sesostris, but his use of numismatic evidence can be seen throughout his work.

An example of this can be found in his previous chapter on the pharaoh Tosorthrus, and the scene from the Saturnalia of Macrobius, where the dinner guests discussed the Roman goddess of health Salus, and the iconography of serpents. Marsham found that her Egyptian origins were revealed by a Roman coin, which depicted Salus on the reverse:

Marsham’s coin was minted for Claudius II Gothicus, the Illyrian general who briefly ruled Rome from 268-270 CE, and his iconographic guidelines were drawn from the Mensa Isiaca of the Italian antiquarian and scholar Lorenzo Pignoria (1571-1631). This treatise was inspired by a Roman enameled bronze tabletop, produced in the Antonine Period, replete with Egyptian motifs, and once owned by the Venetian humanist, Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). Pignoria used multiple scarabs, amulets and coins to support his interpretation of the tablet, and Marsham found Pignoria’s entry on the Egyptian musical instrument known as the sistra (associated with the goddess Hathor/hwt-hr) relevant to his argument, as this was the object held aloft by Salus on the coin. From this almost microscopic detail, Marsham found evidence for Egyptian religious culture, transmitted through the centuries, and across the sea.

635 ML 391.39 for Gruter, J, Corpus Inscriptionum Romanarum (Heidelberg 1616); CCAE 415 for a characteristic reference to Sebastiano Erizzo, 271.
636 CCAE, ibid: Pignoria, Lorenzo, Mensa Isiaca qua sacrorum apud Aegyptios ratio & simulacra subjectis tabulis aeneis simul exhibetur & explicatur (ref.ed. Amsterdam, 1669).
He soon extended his technique from coins, to a description of the Tabula Bembina itself, and finally to the largest single object in his world, which still stood above the banks of the Nile in the hazy desert air of Egypt. It was something that he had never seen. In the following chapter, we will depart from the text of the Chronicus canon to retrace the voyages made by Marsham’s family and friends to antique lands, then turn to the chronology of the Great Pyramid, and its significance in Marsham’s history of the immortal soul.
CHAPTER VIII

TRAVELLER’S TALES.

In 1621, Marsham’s relative George Sandys crossed the blue depths of the Atlantic to the saltmarshes and pine-forests of the James River in Virginia. Despite enduring a series of coordinated attacks by the Powhatan Confederacy on the settlements around Jamestown, Sandys managed to translate the final ten books of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* during his time in America: ‘Sprung from the Stocke of the ancient Romanes, but bred in the New-World, of the rudenesse whereof it cannot but participate, especially hauing Warres and Tumults to bring it to light, in stead of the Muses’. 638 Poetry was never far from his mind.

When Sandys wrote the history of his sea-voyage of 1611, from Constantinople to Alexandria, he was moved to quote Ovid’s passage on Pythagoras when he remembered first seeing the coast of Samos rising to the left. Rhodes inspired lines from Horace, Virgil’s *Georgics*, the *Oracula Sybillina*, and the neo-Latin poetry of Julius Caesar Scaliger. 639 After three days on the open Mediterranean, Sandys finally saw the flat coast of Egypt, illuminated by lightning. During his journey from Alexandria to Cairo, principally in a riverboat hired for twelve dollars, Sandys encountered mud-brick houses shaped like beehives, observed the moving colours of chameleons, ate plantains, and quoted both Lucan and Juvenal. But the most important source for his description of Egypt was the prose of Herodotus, which informed Sandy’s natural history of the crocodile, his ruminations on the Nile and its floods, and his references to the conquests of Sesostris. 640

When Sandys left the fertile alluvial plain of the river to visit the margins of the desert, and climbed the 255 stones to the flattened point of the Pyramid of Khufu, he recalled the anecdotes of Herodotus, about twenty years of construction by workers who consumed 1,800 talents in ‘Radishes, Garlick and Onions’. 641 Sandys didn’t rely on classical authority alone: he climbed to the broken entrance in the Northern face supposedly created on the orders of Caliph Abū Ja’far al-Ma’mūn in the early 9th century. After his guides discharged their matchlocks into the shadows of the tunnel, Sandys entered the pyramid itself. 642 After climbing the ascending passage, Sandys witnessed the Grand Gallery by torchlight, ‘as it had been hewn thorow the living rock’, and finally saw the empty granite sarcophagus of the King’s Chamber, in a room that had gathered the shadows and dust of passing centuries: ‘This is all that this huge masse containeth within his darksome entralls, all, at least to be discovered.’ 643

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640 Ibid, 105-106.
There were no Latin hexameters to capture the interior of the Great Pyramid. Except for Strabo, it was unknown to classical antiquity. The stark impression of the empty room in the heart of the pyramid’s darkness moved Sandys to muse on the reasons it was built at all: ‘not only out of a vain ostentation, but, being of the opinion, that after the dissolution of the flesh the soul should survive, and when thirty six thousand years were expired, again be joyned to the selfsame body, restored unto his former condition, gathered in their conceits from astronomical demonstrations.’ Sandys also discussed hieroglyphics, and stole several ushabti and a scarab from a tomb, which he eventually gave to John Tradescant. Ultimately, his travel-narrative formed an inspiration and template for the more mathematically rigorous explorations of Egyptian antiquities by John Greaves, who visited and entered the pyramid as well.  

Late in the summer of 1638, Greaves crossed the Mediterranean for Alexandria. In 1639, Greaves entered the sands of the desert near Cairo, together with the Venetian engineer and nobleman Tito Livio Burratini. After carefully measuring the base of the Pyramid using a radius-sector, Greaves climbed the ascending passage by candlelight, visited the Queen’s Chamber, which he found ‘half full of rubbish’, and finally reached the King’s Chamber, ‘made of vast and exquisite tables of Thebaick marble’.  

Like Sandys, Greaves reported that the sarcophagus sounded ‘like a bell’ when struck. And like his predecessor, Greaves discussed the Egyptian conception of the soul, and its reunification with the body after the passage of a Platonic epoch of 36,000 years. But unlike Sandys, Greaves produced a cross-sectional diagram of the interior of the Pyramid of Khufu.
Over three decades after George Sandys traveled down the Nile to Cairo, Greaves integrated the exact sciences into antiquarianism and travel-literature: he attempted to place the construction of the pyramids within a framework of technical chronology, and calculated the perimeter of each equilateral face as 2,079 feet, that of the base as 2,772 feet, and the area of the base of the pyramid \((2,772/4)^2\) as 480,249 square feet. In this, Greaves participated in a well-established tradition of antiquarian metrology in Egypt, to which he brought a new level of precision.\(^{646}\)

Greaves even used his meticulous observations on the Egyptian brick-oven egg incubators which Sandys had seen in Cairo: beginning in mid-February, Greaves reported, the Egyptians carefully placed at least seven thousand chicken eggs on mats above heated channels in fourteen ovens made from sun-dried brick; the eggs were then systematically circulated for twenty-one days, until they hatched.\(^{647}\) Ultimately, this report would only be published by the anatomist and physician George Ent (1604-1689), long after Greaves had died.

Marsham’s cultural history of Egypt was first occasioned by his friendship with Greaves. Like George Sandys, who died alone and unmarried in Boxley, just across the Medway and through the woods from Marsham’s estate, in 1644, John Greaves directly witnessed the antiquities of Egypt as they stood broken and surrounded by sand. Both used classical authorities to place the civilization of ancient Egypt in a meaningful historical context. When Marsham wrote from the comfort of his estate in Cuxton, he incorporated notes, observations and books by Greaves into the first comprehensive attempt to systematically integrate Egypt into ancient history. And there were certainly stories, and memories, too.

Contemporary accounts of Egyptian antiquities formed one element in Marsham’s history of Egyptian culture. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Strabo, Pliny and other classical sources, when combined with Eusebius, Josephus and other early Jewish and Patristic literature, ultimately provided most of the material he would use to construct a history of Egyptian religion from the chronological blueprints offered by Syncellus. Marsham supplemented this with Renaissance antiquarian literature on obelisks, Egyptian iconography, and coins from his collection. Although he used exegetical techniques associated with contemporary treatises on hieroglyphics, he replaced philosophical interpretation with a strictly historical approach to religious and ceremonial practices.\(^{648}\) This, in turn, formed the immediate stimulus for his extended critique of the Mosaic legislation. The influence of John Selden, Hugo Grotius, Petrus Cunaeus, and other books in his library, when read together

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647 *Philosophical Transactions*, 137, January-February, 1677-8; *Miscellaneous Works of John Greaves* (London, 1737), Vol. II, 359-363; compare Sandys, George, *A Relation of a Journey* (London, 1615), 125: ‘Here hatch they egges by artificiall heate in infinite numbers, the manner scene thus briefly. In a narrow entry on each side stood two rows of ovens, one over another. On the floores of the lower they lay the offals of flaxe, over those mats, and upon them their egges, at least six thousand in an oven. The floores of the upper ovens were as rofoes to the under, grated over like kilnes.’

648 Compare Sutcliffe, Adam, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003), esp. 63-64.
during his work on the chronology of the Exodus and Judges, would shape his argument, which he composed with personal antipathies, but with no heterodox arrière-pensée, no expertise in ecclesiology, and no intentions at creating a new, Anglican, orthodoxy. This chapter will examine Marsham’s historical reconstruction of Egyptian religious practices, including their invention of the concept of the immortal soul. For evidence, Marsham used the Great Pyramid itself.

In the final, printed edition of the *Chronicus canon*, the chronological tables provided the structure for the text. In Marsham’s system, Sûphis (Σούφις) was the tenth ruler of Memphis, with a 63-year reign that overlapped centuries III-IV of the Era Ægyptiaca (JP 2580-2680); Manetho’s Sûphis was the second king of Dynasty IV who reigned for 63 years (ἐτη ζευ’), and is equivalent to the name Khufu (ḥw.f-wḥ) of the king-lists and the Hellenised Cheops (Χέωψ) of Herodotus. When read horizontally, the chronological table indicated that the reign Sûphis was contemporary with the birth of Aran (נרה), son of Terah (Gen. 11:26-28).

The entry in the tables functioned as an index and guide to Marsham’s extended discussion of the origins of the pyramids, his criticism of the chronological system of Herodotus, his extracts from Greaves on the dimensions of the Pyramid of Khufu, and the curious section entitled Θεοπτία (divine vision) which Marsham had derived from the entry for Sûphis by Manetho: οὗτος δὲ καὶ ὑπερστησε τὸ θεοῦ ἐγένετο, usually translated as [Sûphis] showed disdain for the gods. As codex Parisianus 1711 reads ὁ περστὶς for ὑπερστῆς, Jacques Goar translated this as an alternate name: *Idem Peropites dictus*.

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651 See Synceillus (Paris, 1652 = ML 91.19), p. 56 D.
Marsham dismissed Goar’s misreading, and instead used a parallel story from Josephus, *Contra Apion* (1.232), in which the Pharaoh Amenôphis ‘wished to see the gods’. Marsham placed the reign of Amenôphis in JP 3460, centuries later. Sûphis was the first to *contemplate* the gods. These were not simply the Egyptian intermediaries of deified cows, goats and crocodiles, which Josephus suggested. Instead, Sûphis wanted to *know* God, or in the language of the Pentateuch, to *see God face to face*. Marsham used the Hermetic Greek word *Θεοπτία*, which he found in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of ps.-Dionysius the Aeropagite, to describe this contemplative vision of God.

This expression was found in classical literature as well. Marsham quoted Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* (2.6), *saepè visae formae deorum*, and used Arnobius to argue that temples originated from the popularization of the desire to directly encounter the divine. Festivals like the *θεοφάνια* at Delphi, in which the statues of gods were displayed to the people, evolved from this. Indeed, the cognomen *Epiphanius*, from *ἐπιφανής* (*manifest*), was also originally derived from the vision of divinity, as a concept, and was carried across the Mediterranean and into Asia and Africa by the Seleucids and Ptolemies. Marsham proved this from his edition of Appian and extensive collection of coins:

Marsham’s description makes the particular class of coins that provided his reference clear. In the illustration, a small (32mm) 36g bronze coin minted at Antioch for Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*c.* 215-164 BC), displays an eagle atop a thunderbolt on the reverse, and the legend *ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ* (*God Manifest*), which suggested that the passage on Sûphis recorded by

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Manetho had a long afterlife indeed. But Sūphis initiated this, and his pyramid was enduring confirmation on the Egyptian invention of the immortality of the soul, as a concept.

In the Chronicus canon, Marsham treated both the tiny minted legends of coins, and the vast edifice of the Great Pyramid, as historical evidence of the origins and transmission of religious practices, which in turn suggested a historicity of belief. Marsham’s use of iconography in artifacts and numismatic evidence was largely based on established Renaissance exegetical techniques. These were initially stimulated by two Hellenistic texts with ostensible Egyptian influence: the Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, and the Corpus Hermeticum. Although Marsham realised that the Corpus Hermeticum contained elements of genuine Egyptian culture, they had been extensively corrupted over centuries of transmission. Ultimately, he followed Isaac Casaubon’s philological critique. The Poimandres, along with other books in the Hermetica, was a conflation of the New Testament and Plato, and had not been written by Hermes Trismegistus at the dawn of time but assembled in late Antiquity.

Again, after the Florentine citizen and Franciscan friar Christoforo Buondelmonti (c.1386-1430) discovered the Greek manuscript containing the Hieroglyphica, traditionally ascribed to the fifth-century AD Egyptian priest Horapollo, on the island of Andros in 1419, real and invented Egyptian hieroglyphics inspired myriad efforts to interpret, decipher and imitate them, throughout the Renaissance. This tradition would culminate in the vast Oedipus Ægyptiacus, published by Marsham’s contemporary, Athanasius Kircher (1602-80) between 1652 and 1654. Unlike Kircher, Marsham made no effort to directly translate or explain hieroglyphic inscriptions. Marsham also explicitly rejected the Prisca Sapientia which Kircher inherited from his Neoplatonist predecessors. Broadly, the Prisca Sapientia of the Renaissance philosophers Francesco Patrizi and Agostino Steuco consisted of primordial, refined philosophy, amenable to Christian theology, inherited from antediluvian Patriarchs. or introduced by Noah, encoded in the fragments of Pythagoras, the Hermetic books, and the Orphica, which influenced Plato. In Marsham’s new model, all philosophy was derived from Egypt, but this had been invented, in stages, after the flood.


658 CCAE, 46, quoting Herodotus β123: Aegyptii primi sunt, qui Animam hominis immortalem esse dicerunt, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστι. Ejus transmigrationem in alia animalia terrestria, marina, volucria, rursusque in corpus humanum...


661 Iverson, ibid, 47-50; Curran, Brian, The Egyptian Renaissance: the Afterlife of Egypt in Early Modern Italy (Chicago, 2007).

662 On Kircher, see especially Stolzenberg, Daniel, Egyptian Oedipus, Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity (Chicago, 2013), who importantly distinguishes Kircher from prior placements within a ‘Hermetic Tradition’.
Above all, the innovative aspects of Marsham’s approach were based in his synthesis of antiquarianism and historical chronology. Marsham was not the first scholar to discuss the origin and construction of the pyramids, or the rituals of the ancient Egyptians. The Venetian humanist Marcus Antonius Coccii Sabellicus (1436-1506) cited Herodotus in his early universal history, the *Enneades* (1498), for information on the funerary rites of the Egyptians, and the legacy of Cheops. Polydore Vergil (1470-1555) memorably included a study of the pyramids in his 1521 *De inventoribus rerum*, and cross-referenced Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus to properly identify the pharaoh who built the second pyramid. In his popular and extensively reprinted *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*, the Lutheran pastor and chronologist Heinrich Bünting (1545-1606) lingered over the description of an Egypt he had never seen to echo Herodotus and Strabo on the pyramids.

In this instance, however, Bünting’s narrative reveals the truncated antiquity assigned to the Great Pyramid by contemporary historical chronology: *Maxima harum Pyramide, à Cheope Ægyptiorum rege extructa est, regnante in populo Israëlitico Davide, annis mille & centum ante natum Christum*. Following Herodotus, Diodorus mistakenly transferred the Egyptian kings of Dynasty IV to a period just after Ramessês III, in Dynasty XIX. In all cases, this would have placed the construction of the pyramids at a comparatively late point. In Bünting’s own 1590 *Chronologia*, this would have been AM 2855, 1,113 BC, Dominical letter AG, Metonic cycle γ10 (which Bünting marked by *Cyclus*):
Bünting’s work is representative of late-Renaissance technical chronology at its most sophisticated, but his placement of the construction of the pyramids 69 years after the capture of Troy reveals the limitations of his authoritative classical sources. His predecessor and model, the celebrated cartographer Gerhard Mercator (1512-1594) was obviously dependent on the same authorities, and reached the same conclusions.669

For Mercator, the Great Pyramid would have been constructed 402 years after the Exodus, which in his calculation occurred on 15 Nisan, AM 2454. These were typical calculations, and the first truly compelling evidence for a revised date occurred in 1606, when Joseph Scaliger first published the dynastic lists of Manetho within the pages of his Isagogici chronologiae canones.

In Scaliger’s revolutionary new entry, Sūphis was the second ruler in Dynasty IV, with a 63-year reign that began in the proleptic JP 7818. Even in the abbreviated history of Marsham’s parallel dynasties, in which Sūphis was placed in JP 2670, the pyramids now predated Abraham and Jacob, Phoroneus and the beginning of the Era Argiva.670 They preceded all other material evidence that could be used to demonstrate the concept of an afterlife. Herodotus stated that the Egyptians were the first to devise the concept of the immortal soul (B.123.2); Marsham read this in conjunction with his edition of Diodorus, who claimed that the Egyptians considered

669 Mercator, Gerhard, Chronologia, hoc est Temporum Demonstratio Exactissima, ab Initio Mundi (Cologne, 1569), 40.
their houses temporary lodgings, but their tombs ‘homes for eternity’. These quotations acquired new relevance with an earlier historical placement and facilitated Marsham’s material history of religious practices.

Greaves attempted a chronology of the pyramids, but confessed that upon careful examination of the sources: ‘we shall find ourselves intangled in a labyrinth, and maze of times, out of which we cannot, without much perplexity, unwind ourselves.’ Greaves ultimately dated the pyramids after both Sesostris and Amenophis, in JP 3448, 490 years before the first Olympiad (1,265/6 BC), in Manetho’s anonymous Dynasty XX. Marsham’s system allowed him to begin from Dynasty IV, and combine traditional literary references to make a new argument, involving descriptions and measurements provided by Greaves. Once the chronological priority of Sūphis, the history of Θεοπτία, and the pyramids as the first evidence for the immortality of the soul had been established, Marsham moved on to the other major element in his historical sketch of Egyptian religion: at the same time Sūphis was assembling his pyramid from stones in Memphis, the sacred cattle Apis and Mnevis were deified under the Pharaoh Kaiechōs, who ruled from Thinis (Tjenu).

Kaiechōs originally belonged to Dynasty II in Manetho, and had been allocated a parallel reign with Sūphis, but the cult of Apis began in Memphis, rather than Thinis, while the apotheosis of Mnevis occurred in Heliopolis. In his entry on Athôthis/Thoth, Marsham had already formulated his theory on the symbolic character of Egyptian philosophy, which was expressed in images and hieroglyphics. Athôthis invented geometry, music and writing, which denoted concepts through images: hieroglyphic thought explained the origins zoömorphic Egyptian pantheon, and the basic mechanism of their theology. It also required an attentive reading of Egyptian iconography.

OBJECTS AS EVIDENCE IN MARSHAM’S HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN THEOLOGY.

Marsham’s discussion of the cult of Apis in Memphis began with a series of conventional references drawn from classical authorities. For the extended introductory quotation, Marsham preferred his 1636 Paris edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, edited by Henri de Valois (1603-1676) over his alternate edition, which was edited by Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn (1612-1653); his choice was perhaps due to the superior layout and integrated chapter-headings of the Valois. In the passage Marsham quoted, Ammianus had digressed from his narrative of Julian

671 Marsham, CCAE 46: Ἀεγυπτίων ορθώσας, qui Animam hominis immortalem esse dicerunt, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἔστι [...] Τότε Ἀεγυπτίων τῶν μὲν κατά τις ōικίας κατασκευαζόν ἤστον φροντίζουσι, περὶ δὲ τὰς ταφὰς ὑπερβολὴν ὁὐκ ὑπολείπουσι φιλοτιμίας, de structura Domuum minus sunt solliciti, in Sepulcri vero omnem superat magnificientiam.

672 Greaves, John, Pyramidographia (London, 1646), 16-17.

673 Greaves, John Ibid.

674 Marsham, CCAE 42: Ex occultâ hâc Symbologia orta est insana Ἀγυπτiorum Theologia, & monstrosa Deorum simulacra, etc.

675 Marsham, CCAE 42: Ex occultâ hâc Symbologia orta est insana Ἀγυπτiorum Theologia, & monstrosa Deorum simulacra, etc.

the Apostate’s pardon of Theodotus on the forested slopes of Mount Casius, to describe Apis and Mnevis:

Of various animals consecrated by ancient religious observance, Apis and Mnevis are most notable: Mnevis was consecrated to the sun, but there is nothing memorable to say about him; Apis is sacred to the moon. Apis is a bull characterised by various natural markings, above all the shape of a crescent moon on his right flank...677

Pomponius Mela and Diodorus described the characteristics of Apis and Mnevis in similar terms. For the Egyptian motivations for the deification of Apis, Plutarch offered a compelling interpretation, in which Apis was regarded as the living manifestation of Osiris (εἰκόνα μὲν Ὄσιριδος ἐμψυχον ἔλαι).678 Marsham saw this as confirmation of the contemporary invention of the soul. Osiris was identified with the moon, hence the lunar symbolism associated with Apis. But Marsham had already identified Osiris with Athôthis from Thebes and needed to link the cult of Apis with Memphis, and Tosorthrus. Marsham found evidence for this with an extremely complex reading that combined numismatics with a reference to the Antonine-era bronze tabletop with Egyptian stylistic elements, which again, was once owned by the Venetian literary scholar Pietro Bembo (1470-1537) and known as the Mensa Istitaca.

677 Marsham, CCAE, 50, quoting Ammianus, ibid: Inter animalia antiquis observationibus consecrata Mneuis & Apis sunt notiora: Mneuis Soli sacratur, super quo nihil dicitur memorabile; sequens Lunae. Est autem Apis bos diversus genitalium notarum figuris expressis...
678 Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 368C.
Marsham’s citation of the *Mensa Isiaca* occurred as an afterthought, hastily attached to a quotation from Pliny, but his reference provides the reader with a starting-point for the iconography of Apis.679

The bull, with his characteristic white crescent-moon shaped marking, could be seen on a bronze coin minted in Alexandria for the Emperor Hadrian in regnal year 19, as Marsham knew from the first volume of the numismatic *Commentaires Historiques* by Jean Tristan de Saint-Amant (1595-1656); it is uncertain whether Marsham had actually had seen an engraving of the *Mensa Isiaca*, but he certainly relied on the *Commentaires* (■).680 Marsham cross-referenced the issue date (L CNNAKΔ = 19) with an engraved image of another coin from the same period in Hadrian’s reign (134/5 CE); he discovered this in the 1571 edition of Sebastiano Erizzo’s *Discorsi sopra le Medaglie Antiche* (■).681 This coin featured Asclepius, and as Marsham had already associated Asclepius with Tosorthrus, he felt free to use this tenuous confection of references to justify the origins of the cultic centre of Apis in Memphis.

To avoid contradiction and paradox, Marsham carefully orchestrated multiple, partial, elements to form persuasive arguments where no authoritative historical evidence existed. In this case, iconography and chronological dates were more important than text. These exegetical techniques for images would have been familiar to a contemporary reader. Athanasius Kircher made extensive use of the *Mensa Isiaca*. In the third volume of the *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, he marked his fold-out engraving of the table with printed capital letters as a visual key, and systematically interpreted each section as a component in an elaborate visual treatise of his

679 See for instance Pignoria, Lorenzo, Thomasoni, Giacomo Fillipo, Laurentii Pignorii Patavini Mensa Isiaca (Amsterdam, 1669); Marsham, CCAE, 60: In Mensâ Isiacâ Bembînà conspicitur Apis, & insigne ei in dextro latere candicans macula Cornibus Lunae crescere incipientis; that said, the most likely source (reproduced here) for either Marsham or Tristan was the engraving in Herwart von Hohnenburg, Johann Georg, *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum*, Munich, 1608, f.25. Diagram note: The bull depicted on the *Mensa Isiaca* is actually Mnevis.


681 Errizo, Sebastiano, *Discorso sopra medalige antiche* (Venice, 1571).
Neoplatonic Egyptian philosophy. 682 Both scholars combined text and images, and made no distinction (in this case) between engravings and artifacts, but Kircher used the Mensa Isiaca systematically, as symbolically encoded evidence of an Adamic Prisca Sapientia, while Marsham used the table incidentally, to establish a point on the specific historical origins of an Egyptian religious practice.

The veneration of Apis and Mnevis supported the argument on Sūphis, the pyramids, and Θεοπτία, with evidence on the simultaneous emergence of metempsychosis, and the transferece of the soul; this established, Marsham expressed skepticism that the soul of Osiris could migrate to two bulls at once. 683 Osiris was universally popular in ancient Egypt, but the political division of Upper Egypt and the Delta, with Memphis and Thebes as their capital cities, necessitated separate ritual centres; these were the predecessors to the two golden calves, commissioned by the King of Israel, Jeroboam (JP 3743), in Bethel and Dan, to the north of Jerusalem. 684 This was also the source of the golden calf, which was cast after Moses ascended the barren slopes of Sinai alone. Deified cattle would have been familiar to the Israelites, long accustomed to the ritual practices in the cities of Memphis and Thinis. For readers of the Chronicus canon, an inchoate, but centrally important, historical connection between Egyptian and Jewish ceremonial practices began with this identification.

To be certain, Marsham soon demonstrated his familiarity with the extensive Jewish apologetics and Patristic literature that argued the primacy of Moses as legislator and philosopher. In subsequent chapters he would rely on a hidden infrastructure of contemporary Arminian commentary on the Pentateuch, Rabbinical literature in Latin translation, and the antiquarian Hebraism of John Selden. 685 But for the first few centuries of the Chronicus canon, the numerical data of historical chronology was the most important tool in placing the Egyptians and their objects at the origins of human civilization, long before the birth of Moses, or indeed, the journeys of Abraham. From this, Marsham would trace the origins of the afterlife, and concept of the soul, from Egypt to the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries. In this case, Marsham’s solution to the basic chronological problem of the construction of the pyramids, which had remained from the first inquiries of Herodotus to the travel-reports of John Greaves, gave him persuasive auxiliary evidence to confirm his reading of classical literary references. In turn, this undermined the Prisca Sapientia with a historicity of theology, and apologetic claims to Mosaic primacy. The Egyptians had invented the afterlife. 686 Indeed, the purpose of Mosaic laws was simple, eminently practical, and applicable only to the Israelites; it allowed them to ‘distinguish between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean’, and had nothing to do with salvation. The Israelites could not have cared less what happened

683 CCAE, 60, De Osiridis animâ dubitare liceat, utrùm illa in tauros duos transmigraverit...
684 CCAE 60-61; cf. 1 Kings 12,26; Veteri hâc Ægyptiorum superstitione inquinati Israelitae, etiam cum servitutem exuisissent, etc.
685 In general, Josephus, Contra Apion, 2.168, Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.22, Origen, Contra Celsum, 4.39, Eusebius, Praepratio Evangelica, 8, etc.
686 Marsham, CCAE, 217: Nobilissimum autem eorum inventum fuit Immortalis Animae, ita ut de Vitâ speram aliquid haberen, etiam post hujus vitae interitum...Aegyptii primi fuerunt qui dicerent Animam hominis esse immortalem. Cum verò racionicatione sua nihil magis de Anima Hominibus, quam de Bestiâ, assecuti fuerint, existimabant Animas de hominibus in Bestiâ, de bestiis in homines transire. cf. Herodotus, β.123.
to them after death. Hugo Grotius had already made this point clear. Moses promised nothing beyond the benefits of life, a fertile land, substantial wealth, victory over enemies, longevity, health, and hope in future generations. Everything else was obscure.

From its Egyptian origins, these doctrines were propagated across the Mediterranean by the voyages of Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus. These would inform the Greek concept of the soul. Appropriated by Plato, this would inspire syncretic models for an ancient, universal, wisdom that only appeared in late, Hellenistic Greek literature. To be certain, Marsham’s history of Egyptian theology would prove less controversial than his subsequent critical analysis of the Decalogue. It inspired William Warburton to compose a protracted variant on Marsham’s reading of Sûphis and Θεοπτία in his vast and idiosyncratic Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated, although he deliberately misread Marsham’s chronology to allow Abraham to ‘instruct the idolatrous Egyptians in the knowledge of the True God’. Still, Marsham’s argument lingered long enough to scandalise future generations of ecclesiastics who used his book as both a reference and adversary in their attempts to champion typological correspondences between Leviticus and the New Testament. Thomas William Lancaster (1787-1869), the fellow of Queen’s College Oxford and Vicar of Banbury, accused Marsham of misreading Herodotus, and ‘on the grounds of this misconstruction, he speaks of the immortality of the soul as the noblest of Egyptian discoveries; and seems to think of the doctrine of a future state was as much the peculiar fruit of that people’s ingenuity, as a certain artificial method of hatching chickens which is related to have been in use among them.’

The implications of Marsham’s history of religion were curious indeed.

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687 Marsham, CCAE, ibid. De statu post Mortem illi minus erant solliciti.
689 Warburton, William, The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated, 1 (ref. ed. London 1846) 392: ‘Suphis, according to Marsham, died about forty years after Abraham. The Patriarch without question instructed the idolatrous Egyptians in the knowledge of the True God. Suphis therefore might take advantage of that knowledge (which he found amongst the Priests, with whom Abraham, as Damascenus in Eusebius informs us, had many disputes and conferences about religion)...’ In Marsham’s system, Suphis was contemporary with Abraham’s grandfather Nachor, the son of Serug.
CHAPTER IX. THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN.

From Sir Thomas Browne’s new home in Norwich, he could hear the cries of the marketplace, and the bells of St. Peter Mancroft. The great square keep of the Norman castle rose to the north on its weedy motte, faced with decorated blocks of Pierre de Caen, which had been shipped up the chalky river Wensum from Normandy long ago. It was in the very heart of the second-largest city in England, that Browne created paradise in the microcosm of his garden, and a cabinet of coins, medals, books, plants, and natural specimens from his rooms.691 And it was here, during the Interregnum, that he turned to the text of his Pseudodoxia Epidemica, and carefully corrected the ancient names of seven Herodotean arms of the Nile. For the 1646 and 1650 editions, Browne had transcribed Βολβίτινος as Bulbitinum, which he carefully adjusted to Bolbitinum.692

Surrounded by the fens and pine-forests of Norfolk, Browne used his copy of George Sandys in similar ways that Marsham did, for descriptions of palm-groves and papyrus-marshes he had never seen, which would add detail to his newly polished cabinet of common errors. Lost among his written collections of ostriches and iron, chameleons and air, glow-worms and spermaceti, loadstones and amber, Browne reflected on the river Nile. According to modern travelers, there were only four channels of the delta, and the rest had been subsumed by silt and reeds. But the source and origins of the Nile, and the reason for the clockwork precision of its annual floods, were still obscure. Browne’s argument on the floods combined the ancient testimony of Diodorus and Strabo, with the recent reports of the Portuguese priest and missionary Francisco Álvares, who had spent seven years in Ethiopia, and had seen ‘continuall raines’ from June to September, feeding the tributaries of the Blue Nile.693 Even so, reports on the scale of the Nile, Fluviorum Pater to Abraham Ortelius, had been exaggerated, as the copperplate path of the river on his maps made clear.694

Marsham was far from alone in his attempts to explain the floods. Marsham would have read that they once coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius, and occasioned the Sothic cycle, which regulated the Ancient Egyptian Mānuu.695 And as Browne responded to Peter

691 See Barbour, Reid, Sir Thomas Browne, a Life (Oxford, 2013), esp.320-325.
692 Robbins, Robin, (ed.) Sir Thomas Browne’s Pseudodoxia Epidemica, Volume I (Oxford, 1981), 493-494. To be sure: We wonder much at the Ancients, who assigned seven mouths unto Nilus: which we can not otherwise salve, than by the processe of time, the face of places is altered, and the river hath lost its channels; or that our forefathers did never obtain a true account thereof. In the 1650 edition, leaf Nnv is mispaginated as p.271.
693 Browne, Pseudodoxia Epidemica (London, 1650), 268; Álvares, F. Verdadeira Informaçao das Terras do Preste João das Indias (facsimile, Lisbon, 1889), 196: ‘Aho tempo que ho nillo no Egipto enche he (segundo dizem) de xv dias de setembro por diante & em todo Outubro: & ha rezam disto he porque ho inuerno de Etiopia começa de meado de Junho, ate meado Sete[m]bro...’
694 Browne, ibid, 267/Nn2; among other geographical books and atlases, Browne owned the 1618 Leiden edition of Ptolomy, Geographia, in folio, Ortelius, Abraham, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (Fº, Antwerp, 1574), Mercator, Gerhard, Atlas sive Cosmographicae, Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi, & Fabricati Figura (Fº, Amsterdam, 1613); cf. A Catalogue of the libraries of the learned Sir Thomas Brown, and Dr. Edward Brown his Son...Consisting of many very Valuable and Uncommon Books (London, 1711), 5.
695 CCÆ 9-10, 295-296; ML 945.276 for Bainbridge, John, Canicularia. Unà cum demonstratione ortus Sirii Heliaci (Oxford, 1648); see ibid, esp.27: ‘Et, ut tradit Hephæston Thebanus...Aegyptii ex aspectu Sothis, ejusque
Heylin’s *Microcosmos*, Marsham directly engaged with the recent scholarship of Isaac Vossius, and his little treatise on the inundation of the Nile. Vossius had correctly identified the rains in Ethiopia as the cause for the floods, but dismissed the idea that the course of the Nile extended beyond the equator, and past the Mountains of the Moon.\(^{696}\) His arguments convinced Hiob Ludlof (1624-1704) to revise the maps in his newly published *Historia Æthiopica*.\(^{697}\) But to Marsham, the matter was not quite settled, and he used the very same set of classical sources, geographical terminology, and modern travel-literature as both Browne and Vossius to make his case that the Nile did indeed cross the *Zona Torrida*.\(^{698}\) And Marsham used the same maps available to both Vossius and Browne, as visual evidence for the length of the Nile, and Egypt’s place in Africa.

Gerhard Mercator’s luxurious folio atlas, which Marsham owned in the *Editio Quinta*, printed in Amsterdam in 1623, clearly showed the serpentine ribbon of the Nile crossing the dashed band of the equator, and ending in the same lake that fed the Congo river.\(^{699}\) The map of northern Africa in his copy of the *Theatrum Veteris Geographiae*, produced by Petrus Bertius (1565-1629), was deliberately stylised to reflect its classical source, but offered a closer perspective of Egypt, isolated by linear mountains, and oceans of sand:\(^{700}\)

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\(^{696}\) Vossius, Isaac, *De Nili et Aliorum Flumine Origine* (The Hague, 1666), esp. 21-27 for VIII: ‘Ad Nilum acceditur, & ostenditur error eorum qui fontes Nili in Australi hemisphaero ultra Aequinoctium collocant…’

\(^{697}\) See Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. d’Orville 470 p.172 for Ludlof to Vossius, 29 September, 1683.

\(^{698}\) CCAE 80-81: ‘Sed errorem hunc eruditè coraguit Isaac Vossius, Vir inter literatos celeberrimus. Quidquid, ait, in Ægyptum adfluit aquaram, id omne Æthiopiae tribuendum, & quidem isti Æthiopiae quam Abassenam hosie adpellant, Abasseni regni terminos inter VIII gradum & XVI latitudinis Borealis constituit.’ To be sure, with the contemporary metrological arguments of Browne, Vossius and Marsham aside, the Blue Nile originates at Lake Tana in Ethiopia, at 12º0’ N, the White Nile at 02º16’56’’ S.

\(^{699}\) ML 383.31 for Mercator, Gerhard, *Atlas, sive Cosmographiae Meditaciones de Fabrica Mundi* (Amsterdam, 1623).

\(^{700}\) ML 369.17 for Bertius, Petrus (ed.) *Theatrum Geographiae Veteris* (Amsterdam, 1618), leaf Ov.
Marsham’s digressions on the river, its floods, and the ancient limestone Nilometer at Memphis were placed deliberately, at the conclusion of the first book of the *Chronicus canon*. Egypt had been alone in history for five centuries, and Marsham’s historical arc had been interrupted only by the peregrinations of Abraham. In Book II, his narrative would unfold like a lotus to contain a larger world, encompassing the arrival of the *Hyksos* and Israelites, the colonial foundation of Argos by Danaus, and the Egyptian origins of both Greek and Jewish cultural practices. Unlike the erudite miscellany of Thomas Browne, or the focused and incisive octavos of Isaac Vossius, the *Chronicus canon* incorporated its geography as an integral component of a larger historical project. Marsham would expand the scenes of history north, across the Mediterranean, and east, to the Sinai Peninsula and the Levantine coast.

The engraved maps in the pages of his books would soon offer a hidden guide through the bitter desert wastelands of the Exodus, and the blue inlets of the Argolic gulf. The temples, rites and records of ancient civilization, in its broadest sense, would soon expand to new regions. But far more important were the texts he would use to build his new tripartite analysis of Egypt, Greece and Israel; in the *Chronicus canon*, the intellectual and theological primacy of Mosaic legislation familiar from Patristic literature would be inverted, like seasons in the antipodes, to restore historical and cultural centrality to Egypt. But Marsham’s integrated ancient history needed firm chronological foundations to encompass the larger world, and preserve his system of parallel dynasties, especially after the appearance of the *Hyksōs* (*Ἠχυκσῶς*), an elusive Semitic group who had overrun and conquered Egypt after Manetho’s anonymous Dynasty XIV.

The first chronological puzzle was relatively straightforward. Marsham had already integrated the Parian Chronicle as the singular authoritative documentary basis for Greek history in his manuscript chronological tables and extended the first regnal date for Cecrops (JP 3132) with his *Era Argiva*. This needed to be integrated with his printed sources.
In his copy of the *Thesaurus Temporum*, Marsham found a table, excerpted from Castor of Rhodes, which listed the Argive kings, assigning the primordial ruler Phoroneus a regnal period of 60 (ξ) years. This sequence could be traced through the landing of Danaus at Argos, *Era Attica* 72, for a total of 332 years, from JP 2872 to JP 3203. He compared his 1613 Wechel edition of Pausanias to weed out spurious entries from the corrupt list of Castor, including the mythical Aesis. Spanning two tables, and ultimately linked with the authoritative pages of Selden’s *Marmor Parium* (●), the *Era Argiva* promised to systematise Greek history from its first, mythical origins. In two parallel columns, Jewish and Greek history emerged from Egypt. This subtly contradicted one of the central tenets of Josephus, in *Contra Apion*: Moses and Danaus were contemporaries, and the earliest documentary evidence for Greek history preceded the Exodus. Using Manetho, Josephus had argued that the ancestors of the Jewish people, the Hyksōs, had departed Egypt 393 years (τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις) before the foundation of Argos by Danaus. Marsham’s carefully structured Mediterranean theatre for ancient history allowed the simultaneous development of Greek and Hebrew culture. But this necessitated a solution for the second problem. Who were the Hyksōs? This question was important enough to compel Marsham to import the relevant sections from Josephus into the text of the *Chronicus canon* in their entirety.

Marsham used the Greek column from his 1611 Geneva edition of Josephus, began his extract with the quoted passage from Manetho, and faithfully incorporated errors transmitted by his preferred source. But the central point remained. In the reign of the Pharaoh Tutimaeus (Τουτίμαιος), ‘God’s wrath appeared in a group of unexpected barbaric invaders from the east. Confident in victory, they defeated Egypt’s rulers, then cruelly burned its cities, ruined its temples, killed its residents, and sold both wives and children into slavery.’

His edition of Josephus identified Tutimaeus as Timaus (Τίμαος), but this was irrelevant. Marsham had already established a correspondence between the dates for Queen Nitocris, who reigned in Memphis during Dynasty VI, and simultaneously as the twenty-second ruler of Thebes from the crucially important *canon* of Ps.-Eratosthenes. Her Theban predecessor Apappûs had ruled for almost exactly 100 years (ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ρ´); the Memphite Phiôps had ruled for the same period. Both were replaced by a pharaoh with a short-lived reign of one year, just before Nitocris. This was instrumental in correlating the parallel dynasties for his first period, as Thebes had successfully weathered the Hyksōs invasion. Tutimaeus was safely relegated to the minor dynasty of Elephantine. The Hyksōs arrived after Nitocris had reigned 20 years in Memphis. Marsham had effectively combined the First and Second Intermediate

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701 Scaliger, J. *Thesaurus Temporum* (1606), page 214, printed as 204.
702 CCAE 82-83: ‘Apim Sicyonium, cum toto illo laterculo...rejiciunt Pausanius & Hygenus...’
705 Marsham CCAE 98: ‘...Deus iratus fuit, & inopinato, ex partibus Orientalibus homines genera ignobiles sumpta fiducia regionem bello aggressi, illa que facile potiti sunt absque paelix: principibus ejus in potestatem redactis, quod superest urbes crudelitur incenderunt, templam everterunt; incolas caedentes, filios & uxores in servitutem redigentes.’
706 See Manetho, *Fr.20*: both Greek variants can be correlated with the reign of Pepi II, with Africanus stating that Phiôps began his reign at age 6, until his 100th year. Ps-Eratosthenes preserved a simple numerical misreading, which Marsham easily managed in his tables: *Hic sexennis regnare coepit. cf. CCAE 85: ‘Ista regnandi aequalis inaequalitas nimis insolita est, ut illam bis & simul fortuito contigisse credimus. Verum omnem hac de re dubitationem tollit Reginae successio. Nitocris enim tam apud Memphitas quam Thebanos vicesimum secundum locum obtinet: neque post earum cujuspiam superest Memphi regnantis nomen.’
151
Periods in his chronological framework. The tranquility of Egypt had been broken, and its isolation had ended.

It was comparatively easy to follow the authority of Josephus, who was the single source for the lost, narrative *Ægyptiaca* that could be glimpsed in the *Contra Apionem*. For he had vividly described the first Hyksōs king, Salatis, and his foundation of the new city Auaris, on the Bubastite arm of the Nile in the Saïte nome. The Hyksōs ruled over Egypt for 511 years, until their city in the Delta was besieged by Thummòsis, and 240,000 Hyksōs departed for the deserts to the east. Dispossessed, in fear of the Assyrians, the Hyksōs founded the city of Jerusalem. Josephus related two etymological arguments on the word ‘Hyksōs’ drawn from Manetho, both mistakenly based on (*ḥqȝ-ḥȝswt*), the first as ‘Shepherd-Kings’, given their pastoralist culture. Apart from Perizonius, few early modern readers found Josephus persuasive. Samuel Bochart argued that the Hyksōs were Phoenicians. To Marsham, the identification of the Hyksōs as ancestors of the Israelites defied logic. But Josephus had specifically related that the Hyksōs arrived έκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολή μερῶν, from the east. The same maps that Marsham had used to trace the sinuous course of the Nile depicted the great emptiness of *Arabia Deserta* expanding to the east of the Delta. Neither the Persian Kings nor the Macedonian armies of Alexander managed to entirely subjugate the nomadic people who inhabited the date-palm oases and sand-dunes of this region: these were the Hyksōs, who had invaded Egypt. Indeed, the Israelites had settled in Goshen, on the Peleusiac branch of the Nile, a region that was soon conquered, along with all Lower Egypt, by the Asiatic pharaoh Salatis. In the *Chronicus canon*, the pharaohs of the Exodus were acculturated shepherd-kings.

While the Israelites were building the cities of Peleusis and Tanis, the first Egyptian cultural diaspora rippled across the Mediterranean. The Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in his *De Thematibus et Administrando Imperio*, had preserved scattered references to the Hellenistic scholar Istrus the Callimachean, Ἱστρος ὁ Καλλιμάχειος, and his treatise on the colonies of the Egyptians (Αἰγυπτίων ἀποικίαι), but this had been lost. Marsham needed to do the work himself. Fortunately, the folio columns of his Diodorus Siculus confirmed the Egyptian origins of Greek politics, culture, and the cities themselves: Argos had...

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708 Josephus *Contra Apion* 1.90.


712 CCAE 105: ‘Secundum canonem nostrum, *Rex novus est Tanitarum primus, Salatis nomine.*’

been founded by Danaus; Athens itself was a colonial foundation of Saïs, on the Canopic branch of the Nile.\textsuperscript{714} Egyptian influence spread to the banks of the Euphrates, where Belus introduced astronomical observations, divination, and astrology on the Egyptian model.\textsuperscript{715} The specific examples of Cecrops, the archaic Greek Amphictyonic council, Cadmus, Lacedaemon, and Danaus, examined individually, would provide a detailed overview of the Egyptian origins of Greek civilization. In turn, this would inform the parallel history of the Exodus, and the codification of Jewish ritual practice and legislation. But the examples of Egypt’s colonies would be determined specifically by the order of entries in the \textit{Marmor Parium}, which, like Josephus, was now incorporated directly into the \textit{Chronicus canon}.

When Marsham reproduced Selden’s transcription of the Parian Chronicle, and created his own Greek translation, he also provided a schematic outline of his argument, beginning with Cecrops, and continuing through the Deucalionian Flood, Amphictyon and the eponymous council, and the Athenian king Erichthonius.\textsuperscript{716} Each would be linked to Egypt, in a modified commentary based entirely on the central authority of the \textit{Marmor Parium}. From the sparse entries in the Parian Chronicle, the chronological, geographic, and cultural details of the origins of Greece could be expanded and traced in detail. And in each instance, Marsham would continue to incorporate new forms of historical evidence.

\textsuperscript{714} CCAE 108, citing ML 2 p. 24 for 17b.
\textsuperscript{715} CCAE, \textit{ibid}, 107: ‘Quae de Babylone narrat & de Athenis, hoc Seculum spectant. Aegyptii, inquit, colonias plurimis ex Aegyptio in terrarum orbem disseminatas fuisse dicunt. In Babylonem enim (Babyloniam, nondum condita Babylon) colonos deduxit Belus, qui Neptuni & Libyae filius habetur, & posita ad Euphratem sede, instituit Sacerdotes ad morem Aegyptiorum exemptos impensis, & oneribus publicis, quos Babylonii vocant Chaldeos’ etc.
\textsuperscript{716} CCAE 112-113.
When he distinguished the Delphic Amphictyony from the Thessalian, Marsham implemented his 1616 Heidelberg edition of Janus Gruter’s massive Corpus romanarum inscriptionum, a seminal text of Renaissance epigraphy. In this, ancient inscriptions gathered and edited by Gruter’s network of associates and correspondents, including Joseph Scaliger, Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), and Johannes Wowerius (1574-1612), were gathered on folio pages with little distinction between texts and objects.\textsuperscript{717}

In his subsequent chapter on Cadmus and the foundation of Thebes, Marsham used the occurrence of the word βὐβλος for papyrus in the story on the origins of writing by Herodotus to expand his argument on the Egyptian invention of letters, the epistolary form of which was originally difficult to distinguish from the commercial notation-system used by the Phoenicians.\textsuperscript{718} And in his extended interpretation of the dissemination of the cult of Dionysius by Cadmus, Marsham used additional coins from his collection as material evidence. Although he called the first coin a stater, it belongs to the class of silver tetradrachms minted at Thasos in the Hellenistic period, and depicted Dionysius, crowned with ivy. Hercules, armed with a club, stood on the reverse side, a lion-skin draped over his arm. This could be read in context with the foundation of the Temple of Herakles at Thasos by Cadmus, which Marsham found in his copy of Herodotus.\textsuperscript{719}

In the broad context of Marsham’s narrative, the tonsured Hyksōs imported the rites of Bacchus from the arid expanses of Arabia Deserta, and in turn, the colonial expeditions of Cadmus and Danaus had spread the seeds of Egyptian culture and belief through Greece and its islands, like sparks stirred from a dying fire, only after five centuries of peace and stability had been broken. The same sources Marsham used to trace the origins of the Nile helped make their landings tangible.\textsuperscript{720}

Using the pages of his Thesaurus geographiae veteris, Marsham traced the path of Danaus and his Egyptian pentekontor (πεντηκοντόρος) as he crossed wine-dark seas and cast anchor in the harbour of Lindos on the coast of Rhodes. Cadmus could be mapped as far as Samothrace. Both initiated temples and cultic centres for Minerva, Cybele, or the Cabiri. Using both his editions of Josephus and Selden’s Marmor a Arundeliana as guides, Marsham mapped the new


\textsuperscript{718} CCAE 119-120.

\textsuperscript{719} CCAE 122: ‘ibi Herculis templum, à Phoenicibus conditum, qui ad quaerendam Europam navigentes, Thasum condiderunt. Id autem quinque virorum aetatis prius fuit, quam Hercules Amphitryonis in Graecia existeret. In statere nostro ΘΑΣΙΩΝ, stat ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΘΡΟΣ, Herculis Salvatoris simulacrum...’

\textsuperscript{720} \textit{ML 369.17}, Tabula Decima, Lv-L2r.
tripartite history of the ancient world. But importantly, in the models he provided, the rituals and deities of Egypt transformed into new, Greek, cultural practices.

The Athenian festival held at the end of Hecatombaeon, in the heat of summer, in honour of Athena, and which featured equestrian races, gymnastic competitions, and solemn evening processions with lamps, was based upon Egyptian cultic precedents at Bubastis, and Saïs. Herodotus claimed the festival at Saïs was dedicated to Athena, who can be correlated with the Egyptian deity Neith (nt), and the annual Feast of Lamps, in which participants lit saucers of oil and salt in circles around their homes. Far from the arms of the Nile, the cultural memory of Egypt resonated and shifted in the new world of the Greek polis.

In the printed, physical, pages of the Roycroft Chronicus canon, the transition from the Mediterranean sea-voyages of Egyptian colonists and navigators, and the beginnings of Greek history and culture, to the Exodus, was deliberate, and abrupt. Moses and Cadmus inhabited the same world. And the story of Israel would also emerge from the chaos of Marsham’s Saeculum IX and mirror his model for Greece. It was superfluous to distinguish Moses the Egyptian from the Hebrew Moses, the Pharaoh of the Old Testament from a forgotten Hyksôs king, the bays and inlets of the Cyclades from the Stations of the Exodus. Although this naturally emerged from Marsham’s historical system, it is also tempting to search for possible motivations, and memories that still lingered through the Interregnum, when his world was turned upside down. We might use a metaphor from the diary of Lady Isabella Twysden.

For, on the first day of February 1647/8, Lady Twysden opened the pages of her Pond’s Almanac. The Essex-based mathematical practitioner, physician, and almanac-maker Edward Pond had died nearly twenty years before, on 10 September 1629. He was buried at the Church of St. John the Baptist at Peterborough. The registry records Pond’s name between entries for the ‘poore labourer’ Zachary Barker, who was struck by lightning while mowing corn in a field, his cloaths set on fire, and Godfrey Capstaffe, who was run over by a cart. But Pond’s almanac continued to be printed by the successors of Chantrell Legge at Cambridge, in quiet defiance to the monopolies of London.

And so Lady Twysden’s copy was brand new, for the yeare of our Lord Christ 1648. 5,570 years had passed since the creation, as the title-page informed her. In the generous blank spaces to the right of the calendar tables, beneath the weather predictions, she continued her diary. Sparse and terse, her entries first began in 1644/5, with the executions of Sir John Hotham, the governor of Hull, and his son, on Tower Hill. She recorded the birth of her niece at Town Malling, a month after the birth of her own son Charles. As her diary continued, the familiar cycles of birth and death, with their impressions of candlelit bedchambers and cold white

721 Marsham CCAE, 128, quoting Herodotus 2:59-62, ie: ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἔπαυ τοῦ λατοσάκισθαι, τῆς θυσίας ἐν τῇ νοκτί λύχνα καίσυσι πάντες πόλλα ἑπαύτα ἐν τῇ δόματα κύκλως, etc; CCAE 129, Hic Sacrum illud omnibus Atticae populis commune fecit; unde Festo nomen. Hic quadrigarum certamin instituit, discendens paullum a ritu ᾿Ειγυπτιο.’


linens, were interspersed with entries on battles in green and distant fields, riots and tumult in London. Thomas Fairfax and the New Model Army were victorious at Naseby. Prince Rupert surrendered Bristol. Soldiers were billeted at Peckham. The Civil War had been a difficult experience for her. Although Roger had been released from prison, Roydon Hall had fallen into disrepair, and the ancestral forests that surrounded their house had been cut to stumps. This provides Isabella Twysden’s first diary entry for February 1648 its striking, resonant quality:

I was told this day the first of February: for certain, of a great fight which lately happened in the bishoprick of Durham, betwene the Jackdaws and the rooks, they gathered them selves together, in too bodys like 2 great armyes, and fought till abundance were slain, the dawes at first had the better but after the rooks beat them out of the field, and quit a waye, the dawes came from the north to the place where they meet, this was dun the 11 of January: before, as is said.

She had remarked upon unusual events before. There was a light in the northern night sky in January, and a terrible wind in March 1644. But on the day she wrote this passage in an almanac, in the midst of Sequestration, one wonders whether she thought of the recent conflicts, reflected in microcosm by birds in Northumberland on a winter’s day. From a distance, both corvids are difficult to distinguish, apart from the faintly iridescent silver hood and smaller beak of the jackdaw. This was not lost on Lady Twysden’s contemporaries. In 1655, Edward Stokes, a Wiltshire Justice of the Peace, issued a diatribe against the young itinerant minister Thomas Webb, who gained one hundred signatures of ‘school-boys, deboist, swearers, covetous earthworms, drunken companions, with unknown names, to fill up the number’ among ‘three or four plain-hearted men, brought in through deceit, whose names passe like Jackdaws among the Rooks.’

As her husband’s advocate and legal representative during his imprisonment at Lambeth Palace, it might have been difficult to know the rooks from the jackdaws. Spared the custody of Alexander Leighton and the brick-and-ragstone cells of Lollard’s Tower at Lambeth, but similarly stripped of his estate by the depredations of Parliament, Marsham used conflation deliberately, as a rhetorical tactic. As we have seen, in Marsham’s Propylæion to the Monasticon Anglicanum, his compact Latin prose brushed aside decades of impassioned scholarly debate on the historical validity of episcopacy:


On Paul’s first journey, he ordained Presbyters. At his last, when he giving his final farewell, Bishops. At Mile-tus he convened the Presbyters, not just the Ephesians, but all of them, and told them, sensing that he would be captured at Rome, And now I know that none of you will ever see my face again...the Holy Spirit has made you bishops. Presbyters were summoned, Bishops dismissed.

725 Stokes, E. The Wiltshire Rant, or, a Narrative wherein the most unparallel’d profane actings, counterfeit repentings, and evil speakings of Thomas Webbe, late pretended minister of Langley Buriall, are discovered (London, 1652), 59. Jackson, John, (ed.), Wilshire, the Topographical Collections of John Aubrey (London, 1862), 99-100.
726 Dodsworth, R, Dugdale W. (eds.) Monasticon Anglicanum (London, 1655), Προπύλαιον, a1r.
And in the sustained, erudite analysis of the Mosaic legislation that would emerge in the *Chronicus canon*, Marsham would blur the dichotomies of the fast-sermons and Parliamentarian speeches: Egypt and Israel were no longer quite so distinct. Acculturated inhabitants of the Nile Delta entered the desert and left as the Children of Israel. As we have seen, Marsham began his comparative analysis of Jewish and Egyptian ritual practices with manuscript booklets, with parallel quotations from Arminian Biblical commentaries, Hebrew Republican treatises, Porphyry, and Herodotus. In the next chapter, we shall examine Marsham’s sources and method for his inversion of Mosaic primacy.
On 18 October 1658, a wooden effigy of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, was displayed on a catafalque, in Somerset House on the Strand, illuminated by candlelight, in a room draped with black velvet, and taffeta banners of arms.\textsuperscript{727} The real Cromwell had been furtively buried in the Henry VII chapel at Westminster Abbey, several weeks before, in two coffins of wood and lead. But his effigy was given the death of a king. Its features had been cast in wax by the talented medalist Thomas Simon, it was dressed in a purple velvet robe trimmed in gold lace and snowy ermine, and a royal crown rested on a golden throne behind its head. Every detail carefully evoked the stage-settings by Inigo Jones for the obsequies of James I in 1625.\textsuperscript{728} The symbolic narrative of regal apotheosis was reminiscent of the Peter Paul Rubens canvases mounted on the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. When the effigy was moved to Westminster on 23 November, John Evelyn witnessed the procession, and dryly remarked in his diary:

He was carried from Somerset-house in a velvet bed of state drawn by six horses houss’d with the same: The Pall held-up by his new Lords: \textit{Oliver} lying in \textit{Effigie} in royal robes, & Crown’d with a Crown, scepter & \textit{Mund}, like a King: The Pendants, & Guidons were carried by the Officers of the Army, The Imperial banners, Atchivements & by the \textit{Heraulds} in their Coates, a rich caparizon’d Horse all embroidered over with Gold: a Knight of honour arm’d \textit{Cap a pè} & after all his Guards, Souldiers, & innumerable Mourners: In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster \textit{μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας} &c: but it was the joyfullest funerall that ever I saw, for there were none that Cried, but dogs, which the souldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise; drinking, & taking \textit{Tobacco} in the streetes as they went...\textsuperscript{729}

Others were more effusive. In the first week of February, 1659, Henry Daubeny published his fawning \textit{Historie & Policie Re-viewed}, which systematically compared Cromwell to Moses.\textsuperscript{730} As Moses survived the treacherous waters of the Nile in his fragile ‘floating Cradle of Reeds’, Cromwell survived the falls from ‘Coaches, Horses, and Houses too’ of childhood; as Moses retired to the land of Midian after he had ‘suckt in all the seeds of good literature from the Schools’, Cromwell withdrew from Sidney Sussex in 1617. While Daubeny led the reader up the stony slopes of his tedious linguistic Sinai, he was careful to distinguish his pious subject

\textsuperscript{727} See most recently Knoppers, Laura, \textit{Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait and Print 1645-1661} (Cambridge, 2000) esp. 139-145; Rutt, John Towill (ed.) \textit{Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq. Volume II, April 1657-February 1658} (London, 1828) 516-530; Sharpe, Kevin, \textit{Image Wars}


\textsuperscript{730} H.D. \textit{Historie and Policie Re-Viewed, in the Heroick Transactions of his most Serene Highnesse, Oliver, Late Lord Protector, from his Cradle, to his Tomb, declaring his steps to Princely Perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the Ascents of the Great Patriarch Moses} (London, 1659); on Daubeny, see Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Rawlinson A.55.34 for John Thurloe’s papers from November 1657; in general, Coffey, John, ‘England’s Exodus: The Civil War as a War of Deliverance’ in Burgess, G. and Prior, C. \textit{England’s Wars of Religion, Revisited} (Ashgate, 2011), 253-280.
from the bellicose virtù of Moses in Machiavelli’s *Il Principe*.731 Cromwell had used the rhetoric of Exodus throughout his life, in letters and speeches to Parliament, and the fiery power of the story resonated in the minds of his contemporaries. James Harrington revisited the political, republican, Moses of cinquecento Florence in his utopian *Oceana*, although he created an idealised Archon as a critical response to Cromwell’s role as Protector.732 Gerrard Winstanley opened his *Law of Freedom* with a direct association of Cromwell and Moses, and Charles I to ‘an Oppressing Pharaoh.’733 During the Interregnum, from the whitewashed walls of St. Stephen’s Chapel in Westminster, to the broken earth of Little Heath, Cobham, the name of Moses was politically charged. This overlapped in myriad, bewildering, ways with the typological Moses of fast-sermons and Biblical commentaries, and the erudite *Vir Archetypus* of contemporary historical philosophy.734 In his engraved portrait, and inverted *Eikon Basilike*, Daubeny exchanged an effigy for Cromwell, the Protector for a king, a jackdaw for a rook.735

732 See Toland, John (ed.), *The Oceana of James Harrington, and his Other Works* (London, 1700), esp. 81, 346-347, 397-400; Woodford, Benjamin, *Perceptions of a Monarchy without a King: Reactions to Oliver Cromwell’s Power* (McGill, 2013) 164-172.
735 Daubeny, Henry, *The Pourtraiture of His Royal Highness Oliver, Late Lord Protector &c. in his Life and Death* (London, 1659).
But Daubeny also revealed a passing familiarity with the ‘wisdom of the Egyptians’ and the testimony of Philo Judaeus that Moses learned ‘Arithmetick, Geometry, Musick, both Theorical, and Practick; together with all sorts of Philosophy, and the Secrets of Hieroglyphicks’ from them.  

He superficially alluded to Basil of Caesarea’s account of Numenius, Clement of Alexandria, the Orphic hymns, and the *Harmonia mundi totius cantica tria*, which the Venetian friar Francesco Giorgio published in 1525. In his brief and facile summary of the ancient wisdom, Daubeny affirmed that ‘Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians’ as he had read in Acts 7:22. He never questioned the paradox embedded in this verse.

Marsham and Daubeny inhabited the same world, broken and reformed by war and revolution, and the social, political, and cultural implications of the Exodus story were common to both. But Marsham had first approached the Exodus for its chronological details. He revised and adjusted these over the course of a decade, beginning with a synoptic list of the formation of Israel, which could be easily correlated with his principal tables, and dated to *Anno Mundi* 2513.

And as we have seen, Marsham’s chronological system gave Egypt centrality and precedence. He used as the foundation for an integrated history of religious practices; this was consistently informed by material evidence, from primitive stone betyls to the Great Pyramid and the *Mensa Isiaca*. So when Marsham turned from Egyptian colonial expeditions and the origins of Greek culture to Moses, he quoted the same verse as Daubeny:

> *Moses ἐπαιδεύθη πάσῃ σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίον, ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις φύτῳ, Eruditus est omni sapientiā Ægyptiorum, & erat potens in verbis & in operibus.*

738 ‘Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and great in words and deeds.’ But what exactly was the wisdom of the Egyptians?

His rhetorical question subverted the very basis of late-Renaissance Mosaic perennial philosophy. In the *Chronicus canon*, the sacred arts of Thoth had first been codified in the *libros Mercurii*. These were the original basis for the Hellenistic Corpus Hermeticum and were created by the pharaoh Siphthas (Σιφθάς), more than a century after the Exodus. This was unavailable to Moses. From his large 1613 edition of Philo Judaeus, Marsham read that Moses studied under many instructors, from Egypt and Greece.

> *Itaque numeros & geometriciam, universamque musicam, rhythmicam, harmonica[m], metricam...accepit ab Aegyptiis doctoribus...reliquas liberales artes Graeci docebant.*

Unlike his humanist predecessors, Marsham interpreted the Greek word *ἐγκύκλιος* in this passage to infer that, according to Philo, Moses studied astronomy, rather than general (encycloidal) liberal arts. For *κύκλον* as the circular motions of the celestial sphere, see for instance Plato, *Timaeus*, 38d.

739 This was unavailable to Moses. From his large 1613 edition of Philo Judaeus, Marsham read that Moses studied under many instructors, from Egypt and Greece.

740 Clement of Alexandria used Philo in the *Stromata*, affirming that Moses had been taught astronomy by the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The pseudepigraphic *Questiones* traditionally attributed to Justin Martyr also glossed Acts 7:22, dismayed that Moses had learned the vulgar disciplines of astrology and

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739 CCAE 137: ‘Quanam verò fuit ista Αἰγυπτιοράμα Σαπιεντία? Non dūnum enim Mercurius Secundus absconditas Thothi artes evulgarat. Mercurium enim iste (tam secundum Eusebii canonem, quàm nostrum) est Moses recentior.’

geometry from the Egyptians.\textsuperscript{742} For these were full of deceit and imposture. Ultimately, Marsham found insufficient evidence for Egyptian astronomical techniques and practices, from the establishment of the Hebrew year, and before the books of Mercury. But Egypt did invent astrology and magic, and this infused the Exodus story.

In Marsham’s brisk review of ante-Nicene Jewish and patristic thought on the education of Moses, he deliberately separated Moses from the history of the \textit{Corpus Hermeticum}. This connection had been a recurrent motif in Christian Platonism since 1471, when Marsilio Ficino produced the first Latin translation of the Hermetica.\textsuperscript{743} The plain, clear, Greek of Acts in Marsham’s copies of the \textit{Textus Receptus} seemed to directly contradict claims of Mosaic primacy. And completely unlike John Spencer, who attempted to decrypt the hidden significance of hieroglyphic thought in the education of Moses, Marsham dismissed the very idea.\textsuperscript{744} Egyptian wisdom preceded Moses, but the traces that remained revealed a shadowy culture of oracles and hierophants. Pliny had traced the origins of magic to Persia and Zoroaster and listed Moses in his catalogue of magicians.\textsuperscript{745} Apuleius used Pliny as a reference and inherited his error. Magic was much older than Zoroaster. The fragments of the Book of Enoch, preserved in Syncellus, claimed that the eleventh Watcher (έγρηγρος/עַרִי), Pharmaros, taught medicinal preparations and spells. Because Marsham lacked the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions of this, the interpolated Greek name Pharmaros, with its putative etymological similarities to φάρμακον (medicine, drug), might have looked especially persuasive.\textsuperscript{746} The ps.-Clementine \textit{Recognitions} argued that magic was first developed in Egypt by Ham, and then disseminated to Babylon and Persia, which broadly agreed with Marsham’s established model for the origins of Babylonian culture.\textsuperscript{747}

Zoroaster was problematic to Marsham’s history of religious practices, and to his chronological system in general. This required a brief digression from the story of Moses. In his second Estienne edition of Diogenes Laërtius, Marsham read that according to Xanthus of Lydia, Zoroaster lived 600 years (ἕξακόσια) before the transit of Xerxes; the ambitious, corrected, Aldrobandini edition in folio, which John Pearson printed in London in 1664,

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\textsuperscript{742} Ps.-Justin, \textit{Questiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos} in Migne, \textit{Patrologia Graeca} Vol. 6, 1271-1272 for XXV.

\textsuperscript{743} In general, Walker, D.P. \textit{The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century} (Cornell, 1972); Fowden, Garth, \textit{The Egyptian Hermes} (Cambridge, 1986).


\textsuperscript{745} CCAE 137-138, citing Pliny \textit{Historia Naturalis}, 30.1-11: ‘Sine dubio illic orta in Perside a Zoroastre […] est et alia magicae factio a Mose et Janne et Latope ac Iudaes pendens.’


\textsuperscript{747} Migne, \textit{Patrologia Graeca} Vol. 1, p.1326 for ps.-Clement, \textit{Recognitionum} Libri IV: ‘Ex quibus unus Cham nomine, cuidam ex filiis suis qui Mesraim apellabatur, a quo Aegyptiorum et Babyloniorum et Persarum ductit genus, male comptaret magicae artis tradidit disciplinam…’
provided the same date.  

Other sources placed Zoroaster at the dawn of history. The Greek astronomer Eudoxus of Cnidus, quoted by Pliny, claimed that Zoroaster lived 6,000 years before the birth of Plato; Hermippus, Plutarch, and Hermodorus of Syracuse seemed to confirm this. But the Greeks were incompetent at technical chronology, and there were at least two Zoroasters.

A footnote by Antonius Thysius the Younger in Justinus offered the key. The first supposed Zoroaster was the Bactrian king Oxyartes; Arnobius had enumerated others, which Marsham easily disentangled. Zoroaster belonged to the Achaemenid period, and hence did not exist before the victories of Cyrus, and the capture of Babylon. Porphyry’s *De abstinentia* claimed that Darius had ordered an inscription on the tomb of his father, Hystaspes, that he instructed the Magi. The late Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus might have traced the secret lore of the Chaldeans through the centuries, from the Bactrian Zoroaster, to the wise King Hystaspes, but there was no Bactrian Zoroaster and no rex Hystaspes. Persian culture simply absorbed astrology and magic from its conquest of Egypt and Babylon. Throughout Europe, humanists and erudits, from Goropius Becanus, to Francesco Patrizi and Athanasius Kircher, had struggled with the problem of many Zoroasters. Marsham’s nephew, Thomas Stanley, opened his *History of the Chaldaick Philosophy* with a discussion of this. Giambattista Vico and Thomas Hyde both attempted to have the final, authoritative word, in entirely different ways. Marsham simply brushed the wisdom of the Chaldeans aside.

Moses lived long before the Persian Empire, in the original Egyptian culture of magic, and although he shared its intellectual and cultural tenets, he could not be listed in the census of magicians. For Moses was serving God’s purpose. The Israelites had indeed been an obscure people, without a name or fatherland, without laws and rulers; Moses was their liberator, the

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750 See British Library Gen. Ref.9039.bbb.5 for Justinus, *cum selectum variorum observationis* (Leiden, 1650); although this is extensively annotated, in several different hands, I will not conclude that the annotations were Marsham’s in the absence of direct evidence of provenance; CCAE 139.


754 CCAE 138: ‘Magi igitur isti ex Aegypto fuerunt. Moses autem, qui divina potentia operatus est, in Magorum censu non est numerandus.’
leader on their journey, the author of their laws. Marsham began with the stations of the Exodus, mapped in Latin like the board-game pips on the Sinai Peninsula, from the *Atlas Minor* of Gerhard Mercator and Jocodus Hondius.

Again, Marsham deliberately ignored the court of the Pharaoh, the rod of Aaron, plagues of locusts, frogs and shadow, and the flight from Egypt. Instead, he developed a terrestrial geographic parallel to the prior Mediterranean voyages, but over sunbaked, arid plains and barren mountains, to reinforce a physical separation from Greek cultural history. The nations of antiquity shared common, Egyptian, origins, but were now on different routes. Jerome’s *Epistola ad Fabiolam* had enumerated 42 stations; Marsham began with the journey from Ramesses to Sukkot (םְסֶכְת), and the bitter herbs and fire-roasted lamb of the first Passover. This was similar to Egyptian practices, as Epiphanius had pointed out in his *Panarion*. For at the time the Passover was first celebrated, in early spring, at the vernal equinox, all the Egyptians took red ochre (μίλτος), and marked their sheep with it, without explanation; they also marked various trees, including fig-trees, and everything else, and they said that the earth was once engulfed in flame upon that very day, but the red colour of blood was an amulet against calamitous fire.

Aelian’s *De natura animalium* gave Marsham the perfect transition between his sober, naturalistic, discussion of fallen quail in the desert of Sin, and a second meditation on the symbolic use of objects. For although it was commonplace for quail to settle in large flocks, the Egyptians believed they could ‘coax birds from the sky with magic, and use certain incantations to charm snakes, to easily lure them from hiding’. And when the Israelites were bitten on their journey by venomous snakes, Moses made a bronze serpent and placed it on a pole, so that all who looked at it might live.

This was reminiscent of a passage from the *Pharsalia*, in which Lucan described the Libyan Psylli, reciting breathless incantations over recent snakebites. But the Egyptians were the first snake-charmers, and spread the practice to their far colony at Colchis, past the Cynæan Rocks and across the rippling Black Sea. These

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755 CCAE 140: ‘Israelitarum gens hucusque obscura fuit; sine Nomine, sine Patriâ, sine Lege, sine Magistratu; Moses, Libertatis auctor, Dux erat itineris, & Legislator.’


757 CCAE 141: ‘Epiphanius ad primum illud Pascha retulit non dissimilem Ægyptiorum morem. [...] Quo tempore Pascha illic celebratum fuit (id autem est ineunte Vere, ad aequinoctium) Ægyptii omnes rubrica ovēs, & arboreōs, & ficus, & alia ejusmodi inficiunt: dicientes illo die totum mundum conflagrasse; & spectum sanguinis esse amuletum igneum istis calamitatus.’ Marsham’s translation diverges from that of Petavius, who chose the word *Minim* (lead oxide, or Pb3O4) for the red pigment.


759 CCAE 141, ¶3, cf. Numbers 21:6-9; ‘venomous’ is literally *fiery* (םיפרשה) in this passage.

760 CCAE 141. ‘Statione XXXV (Tsalmonā, ab imagine dicta) fecit Moses Serpentum aereum & posuit eum super perticam: quem cum percussi aspicerent, sanabatur. Sic—Pestis nigris inserta medullis (¶) Excantata fugit. Ægyptii imprimis,...ob serpentum incantationem celeb rantur: post eos, Psylli,’ Africae populii; ML 973.294.
beliefs were preserved by poetry, in the serpent coiled in the sacred grove of the *Argonautica*, and in Orpheus healing Eurydice with song in the Byzantine *Chiliades*. Numismatics confirmed this. In Strabo’s geographic survey of the Hellespont, he mentioned the city of Parium (Πάριον) in Mysia, on the shores of the Propontis, where the populace told the legend that the *Ophiogenes* (Ὀφιογενεῖς), a tribe who cured snakebites, were related to serpents, and their founder could change into a snake. Strabo speculated that they might be related to the Psyli from Libya. Marsham owned a silver hemidrachm, which depicted the terrifying face of a Gorgoneion, in the form of Medusa, with serpents twined about its hair. Minted at Parium, it provided auxiliary evidence of common, Egyptian, threads between the shores of Libya and the Dardanelles. In the midst of the desert, the Israelites carried the same, Egyptian, superstitions. Moses set the bronze serpent on the pole as a simple talisman. Marsham stated that the purpose of this was to extinguish their venom, but the subtext was clear. This was merely an object, with no inherent power to heal. In Marsham’s historical system, there was no revelation; nothing miraculous intruded on the vicissitudes of human history. He remembered the red ochre the Egyptians used to mark their flocks, and left its similarities to the paschal lamb, and blood painted on lintels and doorposts, unspoken. Some of Marsham’s readers found the ramifications of this section deeply unsettling. The Bishop of Ely, Simon Patrick (1626-1707) read it literally: 

It is something strange that any learned Christian, should so much admire the *Egyptian* Learning, as not to forbear the mention of their *Incantations* of Serpents, when they speak of this relation which Moses makes, concerning the brazen Serpent which God ordered him to set up. Yet *Sir John Marsham* (in his *Chronicon*, sect. 9), when he comes to treat of this Station of the *Israelites* at *Tsalmona*, hath a long discourse to show how famous the *Egyptians*, and other Nations were in this sort of Magick: and thus concludes it, that Moses putting up this brazen Serpent upon a Perch, *non tam serpentes igneos incantabat ne nocerent, quam eorum venenum extinguebat*, did not so much charm these Serpents that they should not hurt, as extinguish their Venom. This seems to me a Scurvy intimation, that Moses had their practices in his mind; but went beyond them.

From the Rectory of St. Mary’s in Shelton, Norfolk, Samuel Shuckford read Marsham with far more attention to the nuances of his prose, but was still mystified by the tenor of this passage:

Sir *John Marsham* is very particular in his Remarks upon the setting up of the brazen Serpent: He has collected several Passages from the prophane Writers, which hint at Charms and Inchantments to cure the Bite of Serpents, and he says, the *Hebrews* made use of Inchantments for this very Purpose, which Assertion he endeavours to support by a Citation from the *Psalms*, by another from *Ecclesiastes*, and by a third from *Jeremiah*; and from the whole of what he offers, he would intimate, that the Cure of the *Israelites* here, that were bitten, was not miraculous; but that the brazen Serpent *venenum extinguebat*  

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763 CCAE 143: ‘Nummum habeo argentum ΠΑΡΙ id est, ΠΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ; in quo Caput est, ore hirculo, lingua exerta, & (instar Medusae) serpentibus crinitum. *Parium* urbs est in ora Hellesponti, juxta Lampsacum. *Ibi fuerunt Οφιογενεῖς cognitionem quondam habere cum serpentibus, & eorum mares iis medicari, qui à vipere morsī sunt, continenter tangendo (ut solent incantatores) & livorem in se primum transferre, deinde inflammationem doloremque sedare...Hero ist signatur in nummo.’  
—& morsus arte levabat, was a Charm for the Calamity, or an Amulet for the Distemper, ἀλεξητηρίων τοσαύτης πληγῆς. It would be trifling to endeavour to refute this Opinion: No one acquainted with Sir John Marsham’s way of thinking, can imagine he believ’d it...To a reasonable Inquirer the brazen Serpent cannot appear to have been, of it self, of any Effect at all: This unquestionably was Sir John Marsham’s Opinion, and what he cites from the Heathen Writers was intended by him to prove, not that Charms had ever been a real cure for the Bitings of Serpents, but that the World had always been amused with such Fancies... 

Shuckford spent considerable effort creating a measured, orthodox response to Marsham’s provocative argument. Fifty years before, Herman Witsius was less sympathetic. For not only were the typological parallels to Christ from John 3:14 jeopardised by Marsham’s argument, it cast Moses in the role of a wandering thamaturge. Pierre Jurieau echoed this sentiment: C’est transformer Moïse en un Magicien d’Egypte. But this was the point. In the Chronicus canon, the Exodus story had become an extended meditation on Zoroaster and the Magi, horoscopes and oracles, bronze model serpents on poles in the desert. This was not the fraudulent Moses of the Trois Imposteurs, entertained by libertines. Instead, Marsham believed that although Moses was an instrument of God’s providence, and the liberator of the Israelites, his value as a philosopher and political model were strictly limited to his specific historical role.

When the obscure Henry Daubeny portrayed Moses as a philosopher in his printed encomium of Cromwell, he echoed an established tradition, which can be followed through millennia, to Hecataeus of Abdera, the Peripatetic Theophrastus, and the Neo-Pythagorean writer Numerinus of Apamea. Using chronology, Marsham consistently subverted the apologetic dependency model that Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Augustine, and other early Christian Theologians had developed from the shared intellectual world of late antiquity. Egypt preceded both Moses and Pythagoras. But the secret arts of Thoth, like hieroglyphics engraved on limestone ruins, were totally inaccessible. And the sparse evidence of ancient wisdom that could be gathered from scraps of Greek revealed that philosophy and magic were hopelessly confused. Marsham replaced both Moses as Vir Archetypus and ‘the wisdom of the Egyptians’ with the protean arcana of their early culture. Historicism supplanted eternal truths.

766 Witsius, Herman, Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon sive de Aegyptiacorum sacrorum cum Hebrais (Amsterdam, 1683)114: ‘Nihil tamen in praestigiis illis est quod cum admirabili illo serpente a Thamaturgo Mose in perticam Dei jussu erecto configi ullo modo mereatur. Quidquid enim hic factum est, non est factum excantatione aliqua, ut Nobilissimo Marshamo loqui libuit, quippe qua severissime suis interdixit Deus; sed expresso Dei mandato: non malis Diaboli artibus; sed Divina omnipotentia, piis Mosis precibus in Israelitarum auxilium solicitata...’
767 Jurieau, Pierre, Histoire Critique des Dogmes et de des Cultes (Amsterdam, 1704): ‘...que Moïse procura par se Serpent d’airain, cependant je ne saurois m’empêcher de donner avis qu’on doit être en garde du côté de l’erreur de Marsham, Gentilhomme Anglois très savant, mais trop hardi en conjectures...’
There were compelling reasons at hand. Moses, the Exodus, and the law of the Israelites were essential symbolic components of the Protectorate identity, from fast-sermons and cheaply printed tracts, to debates on the floor of Parliament itself. The trial of the charismatic Quaker preacher James Nayler provides a relevant example. In October 1656, Nayler approached Bristol from the muddy streets of Bedmister, leading a horse by the bridle. He entered the city by the Redcliffe gate on horseback, while six of his followers, including Martha Simmonds, Hannah Stranger, and Timothy Wedlock, sang psalms beside him. Nayler made a spectacle reminiscent of Christ’s entry into Jerusalem and managed to ride to the High Cross in the very centre of the city, before being captured at the White Hart on Broad Street.\(^770\) In December, the Second Protectorate Parliament began debating whether it had the judicial authority to punish Nayler for his apparently blasphemous visit to Bristol. Henry Daubeney dutifully noted these events in his *Portraiture* of Oliver Cromwell:

> Novemb. 10. Iames Nailor, Iohn Stranger; and his wife, Martha Simonds, and Dorcas Erbury set forth from Bristol with the Messenger of Parliament with them to bring them prisoners; in their passage to London, they were conveyed from Constable to Constable, guarded with Country men; at the entrance into most Towns, they fell a-Singing, which caused admiration in the Country people, and so likewise at their entrance into Westminster; which they performed very melodiously.\(^771\)

Far from his home in the parish of Long Marton, Thomas Burton, the new MP for Westmorland, kept a record of the Parliamentary proceedings that followed in his manuscript diary.\(^772\) On Saturday, 13 December 1656 (O.S.), a sharp barrage of Biblical quotes echoed from the wooden benches and leaded-glass windows of Commons, as Parliament argued Nayler’s fate. Bernard Church, sometime mayor and sheriff of Norwich, spoke first, remarked that the Quakers were ‘not only numerous but dangerous’ and quoted both Chronicles and Kings. Bulstrode Whitelocke responded. He was three years younger than Marsham. Both men had crossed the Front Quadrangle of St. John’s College, Oxford, as undergraduates, on September days. Both had stood under the varnished dusk of the great hammer-beam hall in the Middle Temple, while masques and revels were performed. Whitelocke and Marsham knew the statutes of the realm and had read the *Tenures* of Littleton. They had chosen opposite allegiances but were equally capable scholars. And when he replied, Whitelocke used the erudition he shared in common with Marsham, to a similar effect.

In August 1650, the Rump Parliament had passed an act against professing, maintaining, or publishing *Atheistical, Blasphemous, or Execrable Opinions*. Leviticus 24 made the penalty for this clear, printed in the simple English prose of the Geneva Bible: *and they brought the blasphemer out of the hoste, and stoned him with stones*. Nayler’s life was in the hands of

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\(^771\) Daubeney, Henry, *The Pourtraiture of His Royal Highness Oliver, Late Lord Protector &c* (London, 1659) p.56.

Parliament. Whitelocke knew the significance of this verse and had carefully prepared his opinion. The uncertainty of Moses over the fate of the Egyptian son of Shelomith, who had cursed God, suggested that a reflexive appeal to *ius naturale* was inapplicable. Whitelocke referred to the Biblical commentaries of Henry Ainsworth and Hugo Grotius, used Hebrew etymologies, and significantly, argued that:

Very learned Divines are of the opinion, and I think it not to be confuted, That no part of the law of the Jews doth bind any other nation, but that part of it only which is moral. The laws of the Israelites were by the wisdom of God, suited to the inclinations and dispositions of that people; and others (as there is a great difference between the inclinations of people) must have different laws... But to come to a more particular disquisition of the case of this Egyptian. He was one bred up in the worship of the idol gods of Egypt; and in striving with the Israelite, it is conceived, that he preferred his own god before the God of Israel, and said, that their god did not bring them out of the land of Egypt, nor was able to do it. There is a difference to be observed in this chapter between the offense of this Egyptian, and the offense of blaspheming or cursing God in another case...\textsuperscript{773}

*Quod dubitas ne feceris.* Whitelocke presented a human Moses instead of a Puritan effigy, and rendered the passage from Leviticus into a limited, culturally and historically specific role, relevant only to a forgotten quarrel below the barren arms of Sinai. Parliament soon erupted into argument, and cries to adjourn. Later, in the Painted Chamber, Sir John Lisle, the MP for Southampton and regicide, began a heated exchange with Whitelocke. After two days of debate, Commons voted. Nayler was placed in the pillory at the Old Exchange and was branded with the red-hot letter B for blasphemy. But he was allowed to live.\textsuperscript{774} Marsham developed the general method Whitelocke had used in his defense, loosely based on conformist Elizabethan Anglican theology, to an unprecedented degree. The self-righteous assurance of Judaizing Puritans, quoting scripture in English ‘from their little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves’ and the militant confidence of Republican experimenters using the image of Moses as a paragon of rational virtue, had both done enough harm.\textsuperscript{775} Marsham made no attempt to directly, explicitly, confront Scriptural literalism or anti-ceremonialism in theological terms.\textsuperscript{776} He was a lawyer, and historian, not a divine. It was far easier to replace their foundations with the *terra incognita* of ancient culture, in which there no firm distinctions between truth and falsity, theological ivory from esoteric horn. Moses the legislator was Moses the magician, and it was futile to search for hidden allegorical meaning in the strange and arbitrary particulars of history.

Hezekiah’s destruction of the bronze serpent, the *Nehushstan* (נְחוֹשַׁן) in II Kings 18:4 had become a commonplace argument for Reformed iconoclasm, long before Marsham began compiling the literary references for his argument in folded booklets and strips of paper. The early Puritan controversialist William Fulke (1538-1589) made extensive use of the passage in his anti-Catholic attack on the Dominican Priest Thomas Heskyns, the Oxford-trained recusant

\textsuperscript{774} Diary of Thomas Burton, ibid, 
\textsuperscript{775} Whitelocke, R (ed.) *Memoirs, Biographical and Historical, of Bulstrode Whitelocke* (London, 1860), 178.  
\textsuperscript{776} In this sense he must be contrasted with Spencer, see again Levitin, D. ‘John Spencer’ in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 76 (2013) esp. 64-80.
Nicholas Sanders (1530-1581), and the English Jesuit, John Rastell (1532-1577). John Rainolds soon followed. The condemned recusant missionary John Hart was allowed a brief respite from the Tower of London to attend a conference with Rainolds at Oxford. In the frequently reprinted summary of their debate, Rainolds badgered the Jesuit, and compared Catholics burning incense before a crucifix, to Israelites venerating the bronze serpent in the Temple. Before he fled to America and was appointed president of Harvard, the Congregationalist Charles Chauncy insistently associated Laudian communion rails with the idolatrous Nehushstan. Samuel Rutherford, a Scots Presbyterian minister and political theorist, incorporated the passage on Hezekiah into both his theological critique of Erastus, and his invectives against the failure of Charles I in upholding the divine Covenant. The argument of George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, which urged Cheapside Cross to be demolished by King James in the manner of Hezekiah, was resurrected as an iconoclastic pamphlet in 1641. Hezekiah’s action emerged as a topic in the polemics triggered by Laud’s theological debates with Buckingham’s chaplain John Percy; the year before his triumphant entry into Bristol, James Nayler appropriated the story to reject ‘carnal perishing things’ like the sacraments. In Marsham’s Britain, allusions to the bronze serpent had tremendous symbolic power.

But idols could be broken. Marsham’s treatment of Moses, and the wisdom of the Egyptians, was written not only in response to the Respublica litterarum, but also to the political and confessional world in which he lived. The content and structure of the Chronicus canon discouraged exemplary, typological, or allegorical readings. Any attempt to theologically demarcate the ‘Mosaic distinction’ between truth and falsehood was historically impossible, and in practice, irrelevant. The apparent clarity and force of the Exodus story, in translation, was easily appropriated. For instance, when Thomas Sprat (1635-1713), the future Bishop of Rochester and historian of the Royal Society, was moved to compose ‘Pindarick Odes’ to commemorate the death of Cromwell, the brazen serpent seemed an appropriate metaphor:

Then thou (as once the healing Serpent rose)

779 Chauncy C. The Retraction of Mr. Charles Chauncy formerly Minister of Ware in Harfordshire wherein is proved the unlawfulness and danger of rayling in altars (London 1641), esp.25-26; Spraggon, Julie, Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War (Boydell, 2003) 40-41.
780 Rutherford, S. The Due Right of Presbyteries, or, a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland (London, 1644) 442; The Divine Right of Church-Government and Excommunication, or a Peaceable Dispute for the perfection of the Holy Scripture in point of ceremonies and church government (London, 1646) 175: Papists may deny that sacrifices may be offered to images, yet they burn incense to images...burning incense to the Brazen Serpent is condemned as Idolatry, and Altar and Priest is not the essence of a sacrifice[…]; 185-188. cf. Coffey, John, Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The mind of Samuel Rutherford (Cambridge, 1997), esp.146-187.
782 Burton, Henry, A Replie to a Relation, of the conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite (1640), 172-173, etc; Naylor (sic), J. A Salutation to the Seed of God (1655) 33-34.
Was lifted up, not for thy self but us.

Thy Country wounded t’was, and sick before,
Thy Wars and Arms did her restore:
Thou knewest where the disease did lye
And like the Cure of Sympathy,
Thy strong and certain Remedy
Unto the Weapon didst apply.  

Marsham used the arc of his *Chronicus canon* to defuse the political power of the appropriated Pentateuch. Its readers would find cultural obscurities, and historical contingencies, in place of the confident platitudes of the godly, a human Moses instead of an impeccable effigy, fabricated to justify the broken altars and pillories of reformation, the scaffolds and battlefields of revolution, with myths of providence and universality. But Marsham’s principal ambition was to assemble a comprehensive and sensible history of the ancient world from the broken sources at his disposal. And although the Mosaic Law was for the Israelites alone, it still occupied an important role in his structure, and it needed proper elucidation.

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Located just to the east of the single Gothic spire of the Église Saint-Pierre in Caen, the stately French Renaissance Hôtel d’Escoville was completed in 1538 and was eventually inherited by the aristocratic Huguenot Jacques Moisant de Brieux (1611-1674), who had studied under Gerhard Johannes Vossius in Leiden. In his lifetime, the salons, halls, and courtyard of the mansion quickly became a leading centre of Protestant intellectual culture in France, and the predecessor of the Académie des Sciences, Arts, et Belles-Lettres de Caen.785 Both Pierre-Daniel Huet and Samuel Bochart worked in Caen as colleagues and friends, until a bitter disagreement over Huet’s emendation of Origen drove them apart, and possibly contributed to Bochart’s sudden death of an aneurysm, on 16 May 1667, in the midst of a discourse on Spanish coins.786

The intellectual culture of Caen, and the magnetic influence of Bochart, can link the blurry, meandering arguments of the English nonconforming minister Theophilus Gale with Huet’s far more rigorous Demonstratio Evangelica, and its quasi-geometrical suite of definitions, propositions, and axioms. Years later, Huet remembered the experience of first reading the Geographia Sacra. When he realised the poverty of his own erudition in comparison, his reading encouraged him to develop a relationship with Bochart.787 Huet drew inspiration from the second half of Bochart’s masterpiece, entitled Chanaan. In this, the intrepid Phoenicians disseminated Hebraic culture about the sea-routes of antiquity, from the arctic mists of the North Sea to the tropical palm-forests of the Indian coast.788 And both were based on the supreme historical centrality of Moses as legislator, philosopher, and author of the original

theology, which was subsequently corrupted into the pantheons of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. This was the precise opposite of Marsham’s argument.

The table of contents in Huet’s *Demonstratio evangelica* became a litany of the many identities of Moses, from Thoth and Osiris, to Apollo, Pan, Asclepius, Prometheus, Musaeus, Orpheus, Amphion and Janus.789 Gale similarly found it easy to argue that after Pythagoras was captured by Cambyses in Egypt, and taken to Babylon, his conversations with the Chaldeans and exiled Jewish community, particularly Zabratus, stimulated the development of his derivative philosophy. In this case, Gale supplemented the *Geographia sacra* with the historical scholarship of John Selden. There was never a single, dominant, source for the sudden florescence of literature on Moses during this period.790 This implementation of Judaic primacy for apologetic purposes by Gale and Huet has been capably treated in recent scholarship.791 The *Chronicus canon* was diametrically opposed to the conclusions articulated by the *Demonstratio evangelica* and *Court of the Gentiles*. Furthermore, Marsham’s arguments were developed in isolation, and without access to a vibrant, localised intellectual community, or the personal attention of an esteemed mentor. His work was completed in the first years of the Restoration, at the latest, and he never owned editions of Huet or Gale.

The Dorset theologian Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699) also utilised Bochart in his post-Restoration defense of Scriptural history, and critique of Epicurean and Cartesian philosophy, the *Origines Sacrae*. Marsham owned an edition of this, but never provided any indication that he had read it.792 Marsham also owned a copy of Samuel Parker’s *Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie*, but this arrived too late, and offered too little.793 And Marsham seems never to have acquired works by any of the scholars later known as Cambridge Platonists. Henry More and Ralph Cudworth might have written on similar topics, but their books are completely absent from Marsham’s library-lists.

Personal contact, conducted in the spacious rooms of the Hôtel d’Es coville, or in the chambers, corridors, and grassy courts of Christ’s College Cambridge, where Cudworth and More taught together, supplemented the epistolary republic of letters, with a lost world of living words.794 If anything, More’s extensive correspondence with the philosopher Anne Conway (1631-1679) seemed to offer a welcome respite from the fractious academic relationships at Christ’s.795 But

789 Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Paris, 1690), fol. āiir-v, 104-140;
793 See ML 752.50 for Parker, *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie, Being a Letter Written to his much Honoured Friend Mr. Nath. Bisbie* (Oxford, 1667), which Marsham never quoted or cited; compare BL Gen. Ref. C.133.g.3 (London, 1666).
through harmony and conflict, and across confessional divides, intellectual movements were shaped by shared acquaintances, and mutual proximity. After his loss of Greaves, Marsham had no such distractions. There is little evidence that when he wrote his chapters on the law of the Israelites in the last years of the Interregnum, Marsham had anything more than the books on his shelves and desk.

Marsham’s basic sources were largely identical to those used by Gale, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, and More. Similar references to Bochart, Grotius and Selden punctuate the margins of these contemporary works and helped to shape their selected Patristic and classical quotations into cogent and directed arguments. But Marsham took a singular route and departed from his references. For when he began his lengthy treatment of the Lex Mosaica, Marsham contextualised Josephus, Origen, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Ambrose within the history of Hellenistic Judaism, and its apologetics. Egyptian origins were the only connection between Moses and the philosophy of the Pythagoreans, and the apparent authority of Greek Patristics reflected nothing more than the bias of its source-materials. Bochart’s Geographia Sacra provided early inspiration, but Marsham eventually rejected its Phoenician model for cultural diffusion, and it soon faded to the periphery of his attention. Marsham’s reading of his 1644 edition of the Annotata in Vetus Testamentum, which focused on Grotius’s historicism and ignored the prophetic and typological elements, would be instrumental in the earliest formation of his argument. And as we have seen, substantial extracts from John Selden’s Iure Naturali & Gentium would be incorporated into the fabric of the Chronicus canon itself. In all cases, Marsham’s readings were unique.

Marsham had no Independent or Latitudinarian orthodoxy to impose upon the brave new ecclesiological landscape of Restoration Britain. Marsham indifferently owned, cited, and appropriated a wide variety of theological texts. Recusant literature and Socinian treatises shared space on his shelves with Henry Hammond and Herbert Thordike, Calvin and Beza. But these formed a comparatively modest portion of his library. Marsham’s Christianity was instead grounded in the aesthetics of Laud’s restored formal mass, with its chromatic pools of morning sunlight through eastern stained-glass windows, embroidered altar cloths, pungent


797 CCAE 144-146, esp. ‘Neque versimile videbitur Philosophiam Platonicam aut Pythagoricam ex fonte Judaeico derivatum fuisse; si vel Judaeorum Republicam, vel illorum Moses examinemus.’


800 ML 256.162, 300.193, 68, 511.22, 727.25, 508.19, 61, 706.4, 709.7, etc.
incense curling from bronzethuribles, eagle lecterns, and the Book of Common Prayer.\textsuperscript{801} Books like the \textit{Devotionis Augustinianae Flamma} by William Austin might have supplemented this faith. Other theological volumes were curiosities, like William Seaman’s problematic Turkish translation of the New Testament, which was printed at Oxford in 1666, at Robert Boyle’s expense.\textsuperscript{802} The majority were scholarly tools. When Marsham extended his critique of Moses to the Laws of the Israelites, he creatively used Casaubon’s \textit{Exercitationes} on Baronius, his Buxtorf edition of Maimonides, and many other volumes from his collection, which are reflected in abundant citations.\textsuperscript{803} Marsham was silent on his motivations for this long, controversial, digression from chronology, but the language of his centrally important opening passage suggests other sources were left unquoted.\textsuperscript{804}

In partial defense of this confessional identity, Marsham made the Laws of Moses entirely arbitrary, and limited to their immediate historical context. The Israelites had inherited many Egyptian customs. Moses prohibited those Egyptian religious rites which interfered with the true religion of God, but modified others; some were regarded as indifferent; others were permitted, indeed, commanded. Importantly, when Marsham paused to consider this Mosaic indifference toward the many Egyptian customs that most resembled Hebrew rituals, he uncharacteristically used the Greek word \textit{ἀδιαφορία} when he had nothing to quote. The margin to the right is empty, and devoid of references or notes. Perceptive contemporary readers would have known this word without a lexicon, from its complex and significant history in Anglican apologetics.

Marsham was following the logical strictures of his historical system, engaging with Selden, and developing an entirely new history of religious practices, but his subtext was deliberate, and barbed. The contemporary Reformed position, summarised in the Westminster Confession

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\textsuperscript{803} ML 122 for Maimonides, \textit{Liber Moreh Nevukhim Doctor Perplexorum} (Basel, 1629).

\textsuperscript{804} CCAE 149, in general, see Levitin, D. \textit{Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science} (Cambridge, 2015) 161-162.
of Faith, prohibited any worship not expressly prescribed by Scripture. Despite efforts by Richard Hooker and subsequent English divines to claim that ceremonial and liturgical details of worship were *adiaphora*, or indifferent to salvation, Puritan opponents had continued to equate the traditional mass with Roman Catholicism, idolatry, and inherited paganism. The *Chronicus canon* would demonstrate that the even the Decalogue and Sabbath were similarly infused by the relics of Egyptian culture. Not even the text of the Old Testament was exempt from the accretions of history. Unlike his contemporaries, Marsham consciously undermined the certainty of Scripture, in a deliberate effort to prevent the imposition of future, misguided, orthodoxies, which might use the Bible as a foundation to strip the beautiful holiness of Christian antiquity from the altars of the world. And for that, there was little that Bochart, or Caen could offer.

MARSHAM’S HISTORICAL MODEL FOR HEBREW LAW: ITS ORIGIN AND SOURCES.

Marsham opened his analysis of the *Corpus Juris Mosaici* abruptly. He found strong evidence of the original Hebrew divine philosophy, and its Egyptian precedents, in a passage from the *Philosophia ex Oracula Haerienda* by Porphyry, preserved by Eusebius, in which Porphyry quoted an oracle of Apollo in dactylic hexameters:

Αἰπεινή γὰρ ὄδὸς μακάρων, τρηχεία τε πολλῶν
Χαλκοδέτοις τὰ πρῶτα διοιγομένη πυλέσιν
ἀτραπτοὶ δὲ ἔασιν ἀθέσφατοι ἐγγεγαυμένοι,
αὐτὶ πρῶτοι μερόπον ἐπ’ ἀπείρων πρήξειν ἐφηναν
οἱ τὸ καλὸν πίνοντες ὕδωρ Νειλότιδος αἰτίς
πολλάς καὶ Φοίνικες ὀδὸς μακάρων ἐμάνσαν,
Ἀσσύριοι Λυδοὶ τε καὶ Ἑβραῖοι γένος ἀνδρῶν.

*The path to blessedness is precipitous and hard,*
*Entered at the earliest through bronze-bound gates,*
*Once within, uncountable routes are found,*
*These, for the endless benefit of all humanity,*

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807 CCAE 149: ‘Corpus Juris Mosaici vel rectam Credendi Faciendi rationem; vel Ritus Sacros; vel Republican spectat. Si fides Apollonis Oraculo adhibenda sit (quod, apud Eusebium, profertur à Porphyrio) Philosophia Divina, viam ad Beatitudinem demonstrans, ex Aegyptiorum Scholâ prodit; quae fuit Ebraeorum Philosophiâ vetustior.’
Were revealed at first by those who drink the Nile’s sweet waters,  
From them Phoenicians learned the road to beatitude,  
Assyrians, Lydians, and the Hebrew people too.\(^{809}\)

This appeared to map the evolution of theology from its Egyptian roots, conveniently encapsulated in a single stanza and its associated commentary. Marsham translated μακάρων ὁ δ ὁς as *Via Felicium, the road to happiness*, and used Porphyry’s commentary to interpret this as ἡ πρὸς θεοῦς ὁ δ ὁς, *the road to the gods*. The language of the Old Testament (Genesis 18:19) revealed a similar idiom: *ut custodiant Viam Domini, & faciant justitiam*, ‘to keep the way of the Lord, by doing righteousness and justice.’\(^{810}\) This persisted through the Synoptic Gospels. The Pharisees and Herodians claimed that Jesus taught τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, the ‘way of God’ before they tried to ensnare him with questions of tribute unto Caesar.\(^{811}\) Hellenistic Greek culture also inherited this, as the allegorical Tablet of Cebes made clear: the steep and narrow road of true knowledge (ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἄγουσα πρὸς τὴν Ἀληθιων Παιδείαν) led through gates of life to the house of blessedness.\(^{812}\) At the origins, this doctrine was Egyptian. From his printed citation, Marsham had deftly used his 1628 Paris edition of Eusebius (*ML* 20, 412-413). But it wasn’t the only book on his desk.

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810 CCAE 149-150.


During the process of revision, Marsham used scissors to cut his manuscripts into paragraph-sized strips, which were then recombined and copied, and the top half of this fragment (●=U1121/Z25/1.5) is missing. Marked by the plum-coloured box (■), Marsham’s transcription of the Oracula Apollonis from his Eusebius is unchanged in the final, printed, text of the Chronicus canon. Even his scribal error of writing ἀτραπετοὶ for ἀτραπιτοὶ, the nominative plural of ἀτραπός (path), was preserved.

On close inspection, it becomes obvious that Marsham found his references to the New Testament from Selden’s De Jure Naturali (●), in a citation that is missing from the printed edition. In subsequent revisions, Marsham would modify the rhetoric of the first paragraph, but even in the earliest surviving manuscript version, his emphasis on Porphyry as a counterpoint to the Mosaic narrative is manifest. It is unlikely that he would have found the passage from the Tablet of Cebes if his reference edition of Porphyry’s De Abstinentia, printed with the Enchiridion of Epictetus in Cambridge in 1655, hadn’t also contained the Tabula, translated by the German humanist Hieronymus Wolf (1516-1580), and accessibly printed in parallel columns of Latin and Greek.

Porphyry’s discursive Neoplatonic treatise on vegetarianism, and philosophical meditation on the soul, the Abstinentia, revealed additional fragments of the ancient Egyptian ethical and civil teachings in its description of their funeral rites. For during their elaborate mummification rituals, one of the priests would speak on behalf of the corpse, and holding the Canopic chest (κιβωτὸς) aloft to the sun, would say ‘Receive me, Lord Sun, and all gods who grant life to

813 Cf. ML 366.14 for Selden, John, De Iure Naturali & Gentium, iuxta Disciplinam Hebraeorum (London, 1640) 754: Nam, quod ex jure illo etiam est permissum... τὴν ὀδὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Viam Dei nuncupabat. The marginal note (h) exactly corresponds to the citations Marsham used.
814 ML 1032.333 p.33/l.C-52/D2v. To be certain, Marsham also owned the 1654 Rotterdam edition of Wolf’s Epictetus, which also contained the tablet of Cebes, but this was a small 12º volume with no De Abstinentia, and hence no reason to be on his desk at the moment he wrote.
humanity.\textsuperscript{816} Porphyry’s rendition of the rest of the priest’s litany seemed important enough for Marsham to transcribe in entirety. He included the Latin translation of Holstenius below each sentence:

\[\text{ἐγὼ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς οἱ γονεῖς μοί παρέδειξαν, εὐσεβῶν διετέλουν ὅσον χρόνον ἐν τῷ ἐκείνων αἰῶνι τὸν βίον ἔχον, τοὺς τε τὸ σῶμα μου γεννήσαντας ἐτίμων ἀι.}\]

\[\text{Ego enim Deos, quos mihi parentes communstrârunt, piē colui quamdiu in hoc seculo vixi. Et illos qui corpus meum genuerunt semper honoravi.}\textsuperscript{817}\]

Marsham continued, translating the contents of this prayer, which claimed the deceased worshipped the gods with piety in his lifetime, honoured his parents, did not kill, did not steal, and had committed no unforgivable act.\textsuperscript{818} Such were the Egyptian funeral rites (\textit{talis erat funebris Ægyptiorum apologia}). The formula revealed the predecessor to the Decalogue, which the Hebrews inherited. The Egyptians passed the \textit{Via Felicium} to the nations of antiquity. The Talmudic Rabbis knew these as the Noachide Precepts. Marsham used one of his editions of the Babylonian Talmud, specifically the tractates Sanhedrin and Makkot, edited by the Dutch Reformed theologian and Hebraist Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669), under the guidance of his teacher Sixtinus Amama (1593-1629), and printed in Amsterdam in 1629.\textsuperscript{819} This affirmed that the Israelites received ten commandments at Marah, specifically, the seven \textit{mitzvot} of Noah, together with Judgement, Sabbath, and honouring one’s parents.\textsuperscript{820} Common to all humanity, these precepts were again disseminated by the ancient Egyptians. Because they were not directly mentioned in the Bible, but preserved in Talmudic literature, Marsham found it prudent to conduct an historical survey of the Talmud, using all the resources at his disposal.

By the early recensions of drafts for these chapters of the \textit{Chronicus canon}, Marsham’s sophisticated analysis of the \textit{Lex Mosaica} incorporated references from a wide range of Classical and Jewish sources; he used Porphyry and Josephus, Maimonides and Rashi, together, demonstrating countless parallels between Egyptian and Jewish cultural practices. Each would be keyed to the \textit{Jure naturali & gentium} of John Selden. But Marsham’s recondite method had only evolved slowly, over the course of a decade, from more modest beginnings. At first,

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\textsuperscript{816} Porphyry, \textit{De Abstinentia} 4.10.17 ῥῷ δύσποτα ἡλις καὶ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν ζωὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δόντες, translated by Holstenius in \textbf{ML 1032.333} p. 157 as: \textit{Sol omnibus imperam, uosque Dii universi, qui vitam hominibus largimini}; Marsham’s: \textit{Domine Sol omnes qui vitam Hominibus largimini, Me accipite}, etc.

\textsuperscript{817} CCAE \textit{ibid.}: I have piously worshipped the gods as my parents taught me, while I have lived in this time, and have always honoured those who gave me life, etc.

\textsuperscript{818} CCAE \textit{ibid.}: Cf Assman, Jan, \textit{Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt} (Cornell, 2011) 83-85; Levitin, D. \textit{Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science} (Cambridge 2011) 162-163.


\textsuperscript{820} ML \textbf{609.120} for Cocceius, Johannes, \textit{Duo Tituli Thalmudici Sanhedrin et Maccoth, quorum ille agit de Synedris} (Amsterdam, 1629) p.268-269: Decem præceptsae inuncta sunt filiis Israel in Marah. Praeter enim septem Noachidarium accepurerunt præceptum de judiciis, sabbato, honorandis parenti &c. Sanhedrin 56b.
\end{flushleft}
Scaliger, Selden, and significantly, Samuel Bochart, were his principal sources for the exegesis of the Pentateuch. The origins of Marsham’s erudite and provocative historical analysis can be traced to the margins of his Junius-Tremellius *Biblia Sacra.*821

This was the first Geneva folio printing of the Old Testament which the converted Jewish humanist Immanuel Tremellius translated while he was Professor at the University of Heidelberg.822 After Franciscus Junius the Elder arrived in Heidelberg in 1573, they collaborated, and their new Latin Old Testament was printed in five volumes by the Wechel Press in Frankfurt between 1575 and 1579. It was immediately popular, and was reprinted throughout the sixteenth century, in London, Hanau, Amsterdam, and Zürich. Marsham presumably acquired this in 1646, given the small date in the lower right-hand corner; he signed it and pasted his bookplate opposite the title-page. Marsham would have found it an appealing scholarly Bible, more immediate and accessible than his octavo Greek New Testaments, and far more refined than the single English Bible in his library-catalogue, an old Geneva Bible printed by Christopher Barker in 1576.823

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821 See University College London, Ogden A Folio 470, for ML3: Junius, Franciscus, Tremellius, Immanuel (eds.) *Biblia Sacra, sive Libri canonici Priscae Iudaeorum, Ecclesiae a Deo Traditi* (Geneva, 1617).
822 Cf. Austin, Kenneth, From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510-1580) (Ashgate 2007), esp. 145-149; ML3 fol.*6*: […] Duo ergo maxime in reprehensionem posse mihi videntur incurrire: mutatio atque adiectio, præsertim quum ego non solus antehac, sed cum doctissimo viro & collega mihi conjunctissimo D. Immanuelle Tremellio operam in hoc labore consumerim, etc.
823 ML 6 for The Bible and the Holy Scriptures, Contaigned in the Olde and Newe Testament, translated according to the Hebrewe and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages (London, 1576). See Daniell, David, The Bible in English (Yale, 2003) 291-319.
Indeed, Marsham might have valued his five-volume set of Brian Walton’s London Polyglot for its association with Herbert Thorndike, together with its Prolegomena, scholarly apparatus, and status-symbolism, then for its columns of Masoretic Hebrew, Arabic, Samaritan and Syriac. The Junius-Tremellius Biblia Sacra would have been a pleasure to read, with a literal translation, and extensive historical and theological annotations wrapped about the main text like scholia. But Marsham didn’t only read his Bible, he transformed it into a directory of relevant sources. Soon after he purchased the Biblia Sacra, Marsham began writing comments and cross-references in the margins, linked to single, underlined words. A broad impression of their precision can be gathered from this example, from the Book of Ezra. In this early session, Marsham underlined the words annum secundum and Darii in Ezra 4:24, for the completion of the Temple in Jerusalem, and referenced Scaliger’s De Emendatione Temporum, page 594, at the bottom of the page:

Similar links to Scaliger’s De Emendatione Temporum are visible in the margins. These are joined by a reference to Samuel Bochart’s Phaleg, on the left, written at a different, probably earlier, time, with a much bolder quill, in a quick and careless hand. Bochart had provided an Aramaic etymology for the Archevite (ראוכי) colonists, who the Neo-Assyrian empire sent to Samaria. Marsham found this important enough to gloss the page-number from the Phaleg to

824 ML 28 for Scaliger, Opus De Emendatione Temporum (Geneva 1629) p. 594: Vnde opus templi a reditu Iudaeorum & fundamentis iactis, ad secundum annum Darij Nothi, intermissum per annos 107.
the underlined word *Aceruaei* in Ezra 4:9. So far, these belong to the *Diatriba chronologica*, and the emergence of Marsham’s chronological system between 1646 and 1648. But he soon expanded this with annotations on the Pentateuch, which firmly established the works of John Selden as invaluable resources to his interpretation of Mosaic Law:

In Marsham’s hands, the Pentateuch became a directory to Selden’s works, with numerous references to the *Uxor Ebraica, De Anno Civili & Calendrium*, and principally the *Jure Naturali & Gentium*. In this, Selden's use of the seven Noachide precepts as the basis for his theory of natural law, which he continued to expand through the manuscripts for *De Synedriis*, would be seminal to the development of Marsham's account of Hebrew ritual. In the Hamitic diffusionist model postulated by the * Chronicus canon*, the Egyptians preserved and disseminated the precepts, as an integral aspect of the path to beatitude. Since the historicity of the universal flood was assumed, and post-diluvian Egyptian cultural influence absolute, it was historically irrelevant to distinguish the pre-Mosaic Noachide precepts of the Israelites

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825 See *ML 10* for Bochart, Samuel, *Geographia Sacra Pars Prior, Phaleg, seu Dispersione Gentium* (Caen, 1646), p.268: Ex hoc oppido coloni Samaram deducti Archeuaje Chaldaiue nominatur Esdre 4.9... 826 See *ML 613.124, 366.14.* 827 The basic idea can be conveyed in Selden's preface to *De Jure Naturali & Gentium* (London, 1640) A4: Hoc praeprecepta seu Ius Filiorum seu Posteriorum Noachi appellitant Ebraei; utpote quo nomine Gens Humanum; for the *De Synedriis Hebraeorum, ML.610.121*, CCAE 154-178, but especially 155: De Noachidorum Praeceptis, ex Talmudicorum scriniis, toto demensa horreo congessit Vir praestantissimus Johannes Seldemus, *Libri VII de Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*...
from the *Ius Gentium*, and both from natural law (*Ius Naturale*): Selden’s disquisitions on the rational *Intellectus Agens* and its origins in the innate ‘Presence of Divine Majesty’ (שנין הַנָּכָר) were beside the point.\(^828\) Nothing was exempt from the vagaries of human culture. Although Marsham overturned the major arguments of Selden’s *Jure Naturali*, he appropriated the particulars of Selden’s Hebraism to his own purposes. But the connected texts of the Junius-Tremellius Bible and Selden’s works on Jewish law were only one aspect of Marsham’s analysis.

The origins of his comparative analysis of ancient religious practices can be traced to a small notebook which Marsham created, and which he entitled *De Ritibus congruis & incongruis Ægyptiorum, atque Ebraeorum*.\(^829\)

On the left-hand side of the bifoliate notebook (*lv*), Marsham listed Egyptian rituals, which were drawn from Herodotus, Isaac Casaubon, Samuel Bochart’s *Hierozoicon*, Scaliger’s notes

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\(^828\) ML 366.14 (*De Jure Naturali & Gentium*) p.115-116, esp. [...]Atque is sanè sensus est Hebraeorum; unde & supremam illuminationis qualis dicta est maxime clioris & perfectionis causam seu divinitatem qua hac spectat sexcenties in commentarius мнין id est praesentiam seu majestatem divinam (verbam sonat ac si diceres *habitationem* dei in homine), etc; on this, see Toomer, G.J. *John Selden, a Life in Scholarship* (Oxford, 2009), Vol. II, 500-504.

\(^829\) Kent Library and History Centre Ms. U1121 Z25/1/4 fol.1r-2r.
Indeed, although Marsham obviously owned, read and quoted the 1655 Cambridge edition of Porphyry, in this case his edition of Grotius was the only necessary text to devise a parallel between Egyptian and Israelite practices, as the specific entry for Leviticus 14:4 from his edition of the Annotata clearly shows: 831

The Annotata was sufficient to provide Marsham’s parallel on the use of Hyssop in one paragraph. In his drafts to the Chronicus canon, Marsham first transcribed this, then used the outline in his notebook to expand upon each instance as his ideas took shape; in this case, he copied the complete quotation from Porphyry in an early draft recension for the Chronicus

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canon, and only later expanded upon this with a quotation from Johannes Buxtorf the Younger’s 1629 translation of the More Nevukhim by Moses Maimonides. Grotius had a possible motivation for these references to Porphyry. His friend, colleague and correspondent, the Hamburg scholar Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661) had moved to Rome after his conversion to Catholicism. Holstenius remained an important connection for Grotius to the artistic and intellectual circle social circle which flourished under the patronage of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), and to the possibility of theological reconciliation with Counter-Reformation Rome. In fact, when Grotius composed a letter to Holstenius from Paris on 2 February 1628, he knew the historical value of Porphyry’s criticism of the book of Daniel from reading Jerome, and tactfully wondered if there might be a manuscript of this in in the Vatican Library, as Holstenius had regular access to its incomparable collections. In turn, the text of the Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum quietly promoted the new edition of Porphyry by Holstenius, by reflecting the scholarly interests, irenical ambitions, and personal connections of its author. This convinced Marsham of the utility of the full text of De abstinencia, printed in the 1655 Cambridge edition of Epictetus. The elements of the Egyptian Via Felicium were in place. Many additional references for connections between Egyptian and Hebrew religious rites that found their way to the Chronicus canon were also derived from the commentary on Leviticus by Grotius, as additional notes appended to the drafts for his chapter Sacrificia illustrate:


In the first entry of the lower section Marsham found relevant information by reading John Selden, on ecclesiastical primogeniture from De successione pontificatum Hebraeorum. In this, Selden used the Targum of Onkelos to confirm that the 'young men' (עניר) of the people of Israel who made sacrifices and prepared burnt offerings from Exodus 24:5 were indeed the 'firstborn.'

Directly across the page, he correlated this with a reference from the Contra Apion of Josephus, on the Egyptian priests, who were circumcised, abstained from pork, were responsible for divine worship and learning, and sacrificed domesticated animals. Marsham created the additional entries for his list from large folio volumes on his table, including the 1611 Geneva Josephus, his Wechel Diodorus, his 1618 Herodotus, his Junius-Tremellius Bible, and the first volume of the Grotius commentary. But smaller volumes were interspersed with these, including his compact octavo copy of Petrus Cunaeus, De republica Hebraeorum, from the Elsevier Press at Leiden. Cunaeus presented a fundamentally Erastian interpretation of Hebrew legislation, as evidence of an ancient republic of believers sanctioned by God; the argument of De republica Hebraeorum was antithetical to Marsham’s purposes, and its historical scholarship was insubstantial, but it could offer an auxiliary guide to the Contra Apion.

Once Marsham’s basic concept of Egyptian cultural precedence had formed, he used the infrastructure of references he had loosely sketched in these comparative tables to assemble his sources: Selden’s Jure naturale & gentium formed the basis, read in conjunction with the Junius-Tremellius Bible, the Annotata of Hugo Grotius, and finally, his edition of Porphyry, bound with Epictetus and the Tablet of Cebes, edited by Lucas Holstenius, and printed at Cambridge in 1655. Marsham’s analysis of the Lex Mosaica was constructed incrementally, from a limited set of identifiable books, which were placed on his table, coordinated with

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835 U1121/Z25/1/4 (8); ML368.16 for Selden, De Successionibus in bona defuncti (London, 1636), 110: ‘Qui **juvenes** heic dicti sunt, pro Primogenitos, utpote qui jure suo tunc sacerdotes fuerunt, sunt. Unde etiam eodem in Loco Chaldaeus paraphrastes. Onkelus expressim...misit primogenitos.’
836 ML 57: Josephus, Flavius, Opera Quae Extant, Nempe Antiquitatem Judaicarum (Geneva, 1611) p.1069c, for Contra Apionem 2.140-141.
marginalia and manuscript booklets, and read together. From the printed marginal citations of the *Chronicus canon*, it would be easy to assume that Maimonides had been a principal source, and inspiration. But Marsham only arrived at the *More Nevukhim* during the later phases of composition. And this was necessitated by his reconfiguration of John Selden’s *Jure Naturali*, which was itself a systematic exposition of the Noachide precepts. Although Selden used innumerable historical references, his analysis was insulated from the larger history of the ancient world. By placing Selden’s erudition in an historical framework, Marsham uncovered parallels between the ethical teachings embedded in Egyptian ritual, and the Noachide precepts, which were reformed by Moses into the Jewish Law.

**LAW, RITUAL, AND SACRIFICE.**

When Marsham began his historical survey of Talmudic literature as a *prolegomena* to his critical analysis on the Noachide Precepts, his assortment of essential references was in place, but he would expand upon these with new works by German Rabbis and Dutch Hebraists as his history of Jewish philosophy unfolded. This began after the Hasmonean Dynasty gained political independence from the Seleucid Empire, which culminated in the victories of Jonathan Apphus, and the loss of Jerusalem by Demetrius II Nicator in 142 BC. Around the time Jonathan sent diplomatic missions to Rome and the Lacedaemonians, new philosophical sects emerged in Judaism. The Pharisees emerged from the school of Antigonus of Sokho, and in his *Josephus*, Marsham found that ὅτι νόμιμα τίνα παρέδοσαν τῷ δῆμῳ οἱ Φαρισαίοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἀτερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις, *the Pharisees delivered to the populace many precepts from their ancestors, which are not written in the laws of Moses*; the Sadducees opposed them and claimed that the only obligatory regulations were expressly written in Scripture.838

Before the death of Judas Maccabaeus and accession of Jonathan in 588 *Era Nabonassar* (=JP 4553/160 BC), there was no record of Jewish sectarianism, or philosophy; after this, the Essenes established a contemplative view of life; the Sadducees, who denied the immortality of the soul, were more active.839 According to Pliny the Elder, the Essenes lived in the desolate hills west of the Dead Sea, without any money, women, or desire, and only the palm-trees for company.840 Although Marsham created an impressive mosaic of Greek quotations from Philo of Alexandria, the *Myriobiblion* of Photius, and Eusebius, his original source on the Essenes, and the etymology of *Therapeutae* (θεραπευται) was Joseph Scaliger’s *De emendatione*

838 CCAE 151, quoting ML 57 p.453g, for Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 13.6 (misprinted as 13.8): ‘Postquam Macedones rerum in Orienti potiti essent, & Hasmonaei patriae libertatem asseruissent; ex Antigoni Sochaei scholâ prodierunt Pharasei (a separatione dicta), qui...Tradiderunt populo praecepta multa, a Majoribus accepta; quae inter Leges Mosaicas non sunt scripta; Refrangentibus interim alis Antigoni discipulis, qui (à Sadoco duce, Sadduceai vocati) dixerunt...Praecepta ea, quae scripta sunt, observari debere, non autem debere ea quae (tanquam) ex Majorum traditione...’

839 CCAE 151, citing 57 p.442.

840 CCAE 151, ML 445.93, Pliny, *Natural History* 5.15: ‘Ab occidente litora Esseni fugiunt usque qua nocent, gens sola est in toto orbe praeter certas mira, sine ulla femina, omni venere abdicta, sine pecunia, socia palmarum...”
temporum. The Sadducees and Pharisees both lived in Jerusalem, but only the Pharisees became influential among the citizens. Marsham concluded that these doctrines of the Pharisees were the origins of Rabbinic culture, transmitted in the schools and synagogues of Jerusalem, although they remained unwritten.

In fact, the period from destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in September, 70 CE, to the foundation of Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian in 130 CE, had eradicated everything. After the Bar Kokhba Rebellion, the Jewish people withdrew into the deserts, as Marsham found in the Epitome Historiarum of the Byzantine administrative official and monk Johannes Zonaras. The diaspora had begun, the people were scattered, the schools, abandoned.

But like a phoenix, Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, the Blessed (quem Hakadosh, Sanctum appellant), collected all Jewish traditions, and all laws, judicial procedures, expositions, and commentary, creating the first written redaction of the Mishneh Torah. Maimonides had preserved this history, but for specific dates, Marsham relied on another important source. The sophisticated Chronologia Sacra-Profana of Rabbi David ben Solomon Gans (1541-1643), the Prague-based astronomer, mathematician and historian, had been edited and translated into Latin by the Leiden Remonstrant Wilhelm Hendrijck Vorstius, and printed in 1644. As Gans had written that the Mishneh Torah had been compiled 120 ab excidio templi, Marsham easily converted this to 190 CE, given the destruction of the Temple in 2 Vespasian/70 CE. The first mention of the Mishneh Torah in Christian literature was in 25 Justinian/ 551 CE, in the Corpus Jurius Civilis, Novel 146, which permitted Jewish congregations to read Scripture in Greek and Latin. 300 years after the destruction of the Temple, Jerusalem Gemara were added to the Mishneh, to form the Jerusalem Talmud; the Babylonian Talmud soon followed, from academies in the Sassanian Empire. Marsham traced Talmudic literature and Jewish scholarship through the sun-washed streets of medieval Córdoba, where Moses Maimonides was born in 1135, to late 15th-century Portugal, where Abraham Zacuto created ephemerides and astrolabes, before he fled to Tunis. Marsham’s overview came to rest far from the orange-groves of the Mediterranean, in snowy Prague, where Rabbi David Gans wrote letters to Johannes Kepler, translated astronomical tables, and recorded the history of his people, and their scholarship. The Noachide precepts had their own history, which passed from spoken language to manuscript, to printed text, through the centuries, and across wide continents of exile.

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842 CCAE 151, quoting Josephus, Jewish Antiquities 18.3.

843 ML 607.118 for Gans, David (Vorst, Wilhem Hendrik ed) Chronologia Sacra-Profana, a Mundi Conditu ad Annum M. 5332, vel Christi 1592 (Leiden, Johannes Oporonius, 1644).


The Babylonian Gemara were the first to mention the Noachide precepts. They reflected the original Veterum Religione, but Rabbinic literature preserved a specific, historical, version, adapted by the Israelites for their immediate circumstances, during their journeys. Selden had already written an extensive, scholarly, treatise on these, to which Marsham was indebted, but more work remained. Four of the Talmudic precepts were universal, two were unique to the Israelites. Marsham began with the first listed precept: De cultu Extraneo, or idolatry. This was more complex than it seemed.

The Egyptian funerary rituals recorded in Porphyry’s De Abstinentia specifically stated that the Egyptians worshipped the gods οἱ γονεῖς μοι παρέδειξαν, as their parents had taught, which indicated that they detested extraneous rituals. The Hebrews defined these as the veneration of human creations, angels, celestial, terrestrial, or imaginary objects, all of which were forbidden. The source of Jewish (and Christian) piety was the knowledge of One God. Tacitus had remarked on these differences, in his digression from the campaigns of Titus, and account of the destruction of Jerusalem. In his Histories, he stated that although the Jewish people followed the Egyptians in burying their dead, and held the same beliefs on the underworld, their ideas of heavenly things were opposite: ‘The Egyptians worship many animals and images. The Jews meditate on one God alone. Representations of gods in the form of men, created from perishable materials, are profane. Their highest and eternal God cannot be represented and is endless. So they place no statues in their cities, let alone their temples.’

So although the Israelites venerated the singular divine majesty of God alone, the Egyptians used intermediaries, as Marsham found in his Porphyry: διὰ τῶν συννόμων ζώων ὄν ἕκαστος τὸν θεὸν παρέσχεν ἐθρήσκευσαν, in each Nome (administrative region) they worship the God who is above all, through their own animals, as given by each of the gods. The More Nevukhim of Maimonides confirmed this: No one, in worshiping idols (‘Cultus Extraneus’, literally בּצֹדוּהוֹז הַזָּרוֹן, or ‘foreign worship’) believes that there is no God apart from them. No one thinks that statues made of metal, stone or wood created the heavens and earth, and govern them. Instead, idolatry is based on the belief that a specific object represents an intermediary between God and creation. The injunction in the Decalogue was specifically designed to prevent the multiplication of these practices, and those most familiar to the Israelites were specifically prohibited. For as the Israelites had settled in Lower Egypt, and as Herodotus had reported that rams and goats were venerated in the eastern Nile delta city of

846 CCAE 154, citing ML 609.120 268, V, and note (1) to Septem praecepta injuncta sunt Noachidis, etc.
847 CCAE 154 ‘De Noachidarum Praeceptis, ex Talmudicorum scriniis, toto demensa horreo congessit Vir praestantissimus Joannes Seldenus libris VII de Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum: Qui cum sint summa diligentia & mira eruditione conscripti, nemini, saltem e doctoribus, non sunt sedulo evolvendi. Ex illo fonte non siniti saturavimus.’
848 CCAE 155.
849 CCAE 155, quoting Tacitus, Histories 5: ‘Aegyptii pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur, Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt; profanos qui deum imaginee mortalis materiis in species hominum effigiant; sumnum illud aeternum neque imitabile neque interitum. Igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt…’
Mendes (Mévônəc/ Djedet/dd.t), unsanctioned goat-sacrifice was expressly forbidden. The language of Leviticus 17:7 was clear. Maimonides commented on this passage, stating that some of the Sabians worshipped demons, and believed they assumed the form of goats. Maimonides used the same word שִׂירְיָמ, se’irim, as Leviticus. Marsham decided that this was originally a breed of long-haired goat, worshipped in Mendes. And to Marsham, the Sabians of Maimonides were merely the Egyptians, particularly the inhabitants of Mendes, close to the cities of the Israelites.

In Spencer’s theological De Legibus Hebraeorum, the More Nevukhim of Moses Maimonides, and his example of the idolatrous Sabians (šā’aba), became centrally important to his argument on the creation of the Mosaic Law. Marsham used a single reading, and the logic of history, to render the long debates on their precise identity irrelevant. While living in Egypt, the Israelites not only encountered long-haired goats, cows, and sheep, but countless other sacred animals, including cats, dogs, bears, wolves, lions, ichneumons, monkeys, apes, and weasels. They probably worshipped these, together with various birds, reptiles, and fish. This explained the specificity of Deuteronomy 4:16-18, which forbids any idol in ‘the form of male or female’ or in the likeness of any animal (בְּהֵמוֹת, bêhêmâh, beast) upon the earth, bird in the air, or fish beneath the water. And cattle, cats, and dogs were worshipped throughout Egypt, rams in Thebes and Sais, wolves in Lycopolis (Asyut), the ichnemon in Herakleopolis Magna. Monkeys were esteemed near Memphis. The ibis and falcon were universally sacred. Near Thebes, serpents were associated with Zeus, and Marsham learned of the κνῆφος of Amun from Eusebius and Plutarch. Crocodiles and hippopotami were also deified, hence the reason for the annotation of Hugo Grotius on Deuteronomy 32:17, where he glossed הָאֲלִים (lasisdim, demons) as ἕνυδρος (aquatic). In all cases, these were originally symbolically sacred animals, later prohibited by Jewish law, and nothing more. The strong language of proscription created the fictitious malevolent spirits of the Old Testament.

The ancient Egyptians also worshipped the sun, moon and stars, together with the rest of the gentiles; these were also prohibited by Moses, for ‘the Lord had brought them out of the iron-furnace, out of Egypt; Marsham’s equation of the metaphor in this וַיִּמְנוֹר (mikrû, membrorum)
habbarzel, iron-furnace) with the word βδελύγματα (abominations) from the Septuagint version of Exodus 8:26, suggests that he was reading Selden’s treatise on the golden calf in De Anno Civili et Calendrio Veteris Ecclesiae, and was using it as a guide. But the text of Deuteronomy itself made the point clear. Moses stated that God had spoken from the fire at Horeb, and had no form. Marsham was reminded of the Stoic philosopher Seneca, in his meditative discourse on comets, who remarked that the God who established, orders, and governs the universe effugit oculos, cogitatione visendus est, ‘has escaped our eyes, and must be perceived in thought.’ Before the Law, Jacob had constructed tabernacles and standing-stones; sacred pillars and carved stones (םספנ) were also condemned in the Pentateuch. And in his discussion of the specific injunctions against the use of images by Jews and proselytes in Israel, Marsham specifically cited Selden’s De Jure Naturali, Book II, chapter 6. For the prohibition of idolatry was unique to Israel, and was a specific extension of the Noachide Precepts which applied not only to the Jews, but to all who resided in Israel; the indefatigable John Selden had conveniently organised the extensive Rabbinic scholarship on this.

Marsham couldn’t match Selden’s capabilities as a Christian Hebraist, but he could extend the details into Egyptian history, and use his incomparably dry wit to consider the implications of these rules. The injunction against idolatry was especially severe, even for proselytes. Although proselytes were permitted to remain in Israel, except for Jerusalem, they could not use images or artifacts in religious practices. Simple decorated furnishings were allowed, but the possession or sale of idols was strictly forbidden, along with offerings, oblations, vessels, and accessories that might be associated with this; idols were to be burned, or smashed into bits, and the ashes scattered


858 CCAE, ibid: ‘Deus Opt. Max. est invisibilis, non per simulacra aut symbola colendus. Non vidistis, inquit Moses, aliquam simulitudinem in die qua locutus est vobis Dominus in Horeb de medio ignis, ne forte decepti faciatis vobis sculptile.’

859 See Seneca the Younger, Questiones Naturales,7.30.4, ML 1004.324x.


861 ML 366.14 p.197 (left), 203 (right); see Toomer, G.J. John Selden, a Life in Scholarship (Oxford 2009) II, 511-512.
to the winds, or thrown into a river or sea; nor was it allowed to keep the ashes or cinders of
them. Natural objects like mountains, springs, rivers, herds, flocks of cattle were not prohibited
as such. But it was (for instance) forbidden to plant a sacred grove for cultic purposes, or to
cast dappled shadow on an idol. It was not allowed to enjoy the cool leafy shade produced by
such trees, or to stop for rest beneath them; the eggs and hatchlings of the birds that built nests
in their boughs were illegal, as well as the wood from their branches: bread could not be baked
in a brick oven with their logs; the trees could not be used for roof-beams or as kindling for
firewood.862 There was no rule against burning the grass, at least. In any case, this precept was
unique among the Noachides. The second precept, against blasphemy, had Egyptian origins;
Hermippus of Smyrna proved this in his Vita Pythagorae, when he stated that Pythagoras πασίς
ἀπέχειν βλασφημίας, abstained from all blasphemy.863 But to the Israelites, this became
associated with the first mitzvah, and idolatry.864
As he continued through the remaining precepts, Marsham turned the sections into a sustained
critical commentary on Selden’s De Jure Naturali; Egyptian parallels were found for each, and
these were occasionally supplemented with numismatic evidence. In Marsham’s chapter on
Concubito illicito, or prohibited relations, he used the apotheosis of the Hellenistic Egyptian
ruler Ptolemy II (Πτολεμαῖος φιλάδελφος) and his sister and queen Arsinoë II, as an
illustration, with references to their encomium in the Idylls of Theocritus (κασίγνητ ἀπὸ πόσιν
τε, her brother, her husband) and to the series of gold coins minted in their honour:865

862 CCAE, 158-159: ‘Imagine, Ormatus tantum gratia facta, inter bona uti frui licuit: Cultus gratia à Gentili
factam, in usum promiscuum adhibere non licuit; neque victimas, oblationes, vasa, instrumenta idololatrica aut
possidere, aut vendere: Pretiam fuit etiam illicitum. Neque uspia retinenda res erat, cujus interdictus est usus;
sed aut comburenda, aut conterenda, & in aerem, flumen, Mare, projicienda: neque licitus cinerus aut carbonum
usus...Quicquid autem ab homine non factum est (ut Mons, Fons, Flumen, Pecus) etiamsi velit idolum, cultum
uerit, ejus usus & possessio non interdictur. Lucus (aut Arbor) cultus causa plantatus, vel ut obumbraret idolum,
idolumve ornaret, adeo erat illicitus, ut nec licitum esset umbrae refrigerium, nec transitus per eum, si alia esset
via; nec ova aut pulli volucrum in eo nidificantum; neque Lignatio ex eo; neque panes aut cibi eo ligno cocti;
neque radius textorius ex eo ligno factus...neque ligni cinis. Licitus autem erat herbarum ibi satarum usus, quia
solum non erat illicitum.’
863 See ML 57 I, p.1046e for Josephus, Contra Apionem 1.163.
‘Jews and Greeks as Philosophers: A Challenge to Otherness’ in Harlow, D, et. Al (eds.) The ‘Other’ in Second
Temple Judaism, Essays in honor of John J. Collins (Grand Rapids, 2011), esp. 419-422.
865 CCAE 165, quoting Theocritus Idyll 17 (misprinted as XVIII) 130; ML 430.78; CCAE ibid. ‘Ut hinc
intelligamus, Occidentis Numina ex Aegypto traducta fuisset. Philadephus & Arsinoe, quodam ἀποθεόσας
connubio, ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΑΦΩΝ titulum, in nummis & marmoribus, obtinent.’ Cf. SNG Copenhagen 132.
Often entertaining, Marsham’s commentary recast Selden’s *De Jure Naturali* into a comparative study of the Noachide precepts as they intersected and overlapped with other cultures, and as they changed over time. Both the original Egyptian *Via Felicium* and the often arbitrary legal and ritual reformation Moses initiated at the bitter springs of Marah were imperfectly transmitted, by Porphyry and the long Talmudic tradition. But the connections between them could be discerned through diligent comparison.

Marsham’s final entry, on honoring one’s parents, made this clear; although it wasn’t formally enumerated as a Noachide precept, it was certainly part of the *Jus Gentium*. In his *Decalogue*, Philo of Alexandria argued that the Fifth Commandment in the Septuagint was on the boundary between an obligation to God, and one to society (inter hominum & proximum suum): τῶν γονέων ἡ φύσις ἀθανάτου καὶ θνητῆς οὐσίας ἔοικεν εἶναι μεθόριος, for parents by nature are on the boundary between mortality and immortality. Plutarch, in *De Fraterno Amore*, claimed that both nature and the law ὡς γονεῦσι τιμὴν μετὰ θεοὺς πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην ἢ τε φύσις ὃ τε τὴν φύσιν σφών νόμος ἀπέδοκε, have given to parents, after the gods, first and greatest honour. This of course was similar to the Egyptian funerary invocation, which served as precedent for the Jewish commandment. The Egyptian sons were not legally compelled to do so, as the *Histories* of Herodotus (2.35.) indicated, but there was a firm moral basis for this. Diodorus Siculus offered another late, Hellenistic perspective of the funeral rites of the Egyptians (1.93), and stated that ‘it was a sacred duty (σεμνότατον δὲ διείληπται) of the Egyptians that they should be seen to honour their parents and ancestors even more, after they had passed to their eternal home.’ This was absorbed by the Pythagoreans, and the *Golden Verses* became a Greek parallel to the Decalogue: τούς δὲ γονέις τιμά, honour your father and mother. Again, the copy of Porphyry on Marsham’s table guided him to articulate a dual history for Greek and Jewish morality, both historically based in the Egyptian path to beatitude.

In the *Chronicus canon*, the Hebrew rituals instituted by Moses continued, modified, or replaced culturally familiar precedents; there were no general theological conclusions that could be adduced from these, there was no hieroglyphic encoding of higher truths, no esoteric secondary purpose to the Hebrew law, and no accommodation; there was consequently no need to disparage the intelligence, autonomy, and capabilities of the Israelites, as Spencer did throughout *De Legibus Hebraeorum*. Their legal, ceremonial, and political innovations were sophisticated, but only applicable to their unique historical circumstances. And although Marsham referred to Maimonides for numerous details on the Noachide precepts and the history of their transmission, he appropriated neither his basic dichotomous principal of normative inversion, nor his emphasis on the Sabians. Many things were commanded by Jewish Law, many prohibited. Moses did not reveal the causes.

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866 CCAE 180: ‘Philoni Judaei Praeceptum hoc est ultimum Primae tabulae, & in consinio utrisque. Ratio est, τῶν γονέων ἡ φύσις ἀθανάτου καὶ θνητῆς οὐσίας ἔοικεν εἶναι μεθόριον, Natura Parentum videtur esse confinium immortalis & mortalis essentiae.’ cf. ML 56

867 CCAE ibid, Marsham probably refers to the Xylander edition of Plutarch, *Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1624) at ML 110.58.


869 For a bibliography of Pythagorean literature in the Renaissance, see Heniger, S.K. ‘Some Renaissance Versions of the Pythagorean Tetrads’ in *Studies of the Renaissance* Vol.8 (1961), 7-35.


871 CCAE 204: ‘Multa jabet Lex, multa vetat; quorum causas non traddit Moses. Haeret in his ingenium humanum; nisi ad Consuetudines pristinas concedatur refugium.’
This would have been an intractable riddle, without due attention to ancient customs. And historiography was the proper approach for this task.

Marsham specifically followed Grotius and Selden in his focus on the Talmudic Noachide precepts rather than the Decalogue, which is only incidentally treated in the *Chronicus canon*. And he used a wide array of Rabbinic and Christian Hebraist literature, including more obscure sources like Jan Evertszoon Cloppenburch’s *Sacrificiorum Patriarchalium*. But from the beginning, he read these in conjunction with classical literature, with the ultimate objective of integrating his arguments into a larger historiographic project. It is usually counterproductive to attempt firm demarcations between disciplines in seventeenth-century scholarship, but it must be emphasised that the *Chronicus canon*, with its byzantine digressions, subsidiary disquisitions, and ambiguous conclusions, was fundamentally a book on ancient history; it was not a work of political theory, or politicised theology, *critica sacra* or philosophy. Theophilus Gale, Pierre-Daniel Huet, and indeed, Spencer, might have used similar references, but their purposes were fundamentally theological. Ultimately, neither Scripture nor the traditions recorded in the Talmud were free from the cultural flotsam of earlier traditions. But Marsham’s interests were not limited to subtle defenses of ceremonialism, and the Hebrew calendar and institution of the Sabbath offered him the occasion to return to chronology.

**THE JEWISH CALENDAR, AND ORIGINS OF THE SABBATH**

On Friday, 2 May 1617, the Lancashire squire Nicholas Assheton (1590-1625) recorded his busy day at the river in his journal: ‘Hunting the otter: killed one: taken another, quick, at Salley. Sp Vld.’ On 2 June he ‘Tryed for a fox but found none.’ Two weeks later, he went fox-hunting again, on the wooded hill above Whalley, then ‘To the pond: a duck and dogg’ before he went ‘To the Abbey: drunk there. Home.’ The ruined buildings of the former Cisterian Abbey at Whalley would finally be torn down by his cousin Sir Ralph Assheton 2nd Baronet (1605-1680) when he inherited the estate in 1644. Passing references to his cousin occur in Nicholas Assheton’s journal, but his principal interest was sport. Fox-hunting and rabbit-hunting were only broken by rainy weather, like the day Nicholas rode to Slaidburn, but ‘It rayned; so we stayed and tipled most of the day ’On 9 July, he was ‘sick wth drinke’ but the next day, he recovered, and ‘fyshed with great netts; got some 47 fishes, and layde away.’ By August, his indolence reached its zenith, when King James I made a visit to Preston on his return from Scotland, went hunting in the searing heat, and ‘killed afore dinner a brace of stags.’ On Sunday, 17th August, Assheton was present at the royal dinner which included boiled capon, roast shoulder of mutton, duck, venison pasties, fried rabbit, roast swan, curlew pie, cold roast heron, gammon of bacon, wild boar pie, pear tart, and buttered peas. For his all his bucolic

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debauchery, Assheton was surprisingly dedicated at keeping the Sabbath. But there were always exceptions: the report of a stag, the arrival of the King.

His younger cousin, Sir Ralph Assheton, was more vocal in his convictions. He had married twice, to Lady Dorothy Tufton, then to Elizabeth Harrington, the sister of the political theorist, and author of the Oceana, James Harrington. But he remained a dedicated Presbyterian, and when he returned to the Convention Parliament, Assheton demanded the reproval of his fellow MP Sir John Marsham for expressing doubts on the Sabbath. On 28 November 1660, two religious bills were read before the House of Commons, against ‘the profanation of the Lord’s Day’ and the other against ‘profane Cursing & Swearing etc.’ Marsham suggested throwing the first bill out, ‘not being satisfied which Day in the Week, that ought to be kept holier than the rest, but said, It was Novelty.’ William Prynne rose from his bench, and responded at once, ‘vouching divers Authorities for the Antiquity of the Custom.’ He was still scarred with the branded letters SL, which he had once called stigmata Laudis. Assheton asked for the speaker to censure the impiety he had just witnessed, but Marsham defended himself. ‘He spoke against the Bill only because it was a Transcript of one in Oliver’s Time, and therefore he could not consent to any Thing that was done by him.’ Sir George Booth (1622-1684) defused the appreciable tension. In 1659, he had commanded a Royalist military uprising against the Republican government, and fled after his failure, across the fields and hills of England, from Cheshire to Newport Pagnell, disguised in woman’s clothing as ‘Mistress Dorothy.’ Captured while relaxing for a shave, and briefly confined in the Tower of London, he had little dignity to lose. ‘The Devil spoke Scripture sometimes’ Booth said from his bench and moved for the bills to pass.

In 1660, these topics would have been on Marsham’s mind. Sabbatarianism had been a centrally important, and controversial, theological subject in British society since the Elizabethan Reformation, with Medieval antecedents. Marsham would have understood the connection between this and ascendant Puritanism from the historical outline in his two copies of Peter Heylyn’s unapologetically Laudian History of the Sabbath. This was published in the midst of the vitriolic debates which followed the reissued Declaration of Sports in 1633. A decade later, the pamphlets allowing maypoles, archery, morris dancing, leaping, vaulting, and other ‘harmlesse Recreations’ were publicly burned on the site of Cheapside Cross. To its defenders, the Sabbath was assumed to be an integral and binding part of Mosaic Law, and a reflection of the hexameron. As late as 1693, the mathematician John Wallis, who was already approaching eighty, affirmed this in his Defense of the Christian Sabbath. In 1660, when Marsham took his place in the House of Commons, the heated quarrels, book-burnings, and

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876 Ibid.


878 Wallis, John, A Defense of the Christian Sabbath...In Answer to a Treatise of Mr. Thomas Bampfield (Oxford, 1694).
Sunday prohibitions were still relatively recent memories. The *Chronicus canon* would include an entry on the Sabbath, as part of his larger study on Mosaic law and ritual. But the Hebrew calendar needed to be established first.

Exodus 12:2 stated that the seventh month of the civil year, *Nisan* became the first month of the new ecclesiastical year; in the prior civil calendar, this had occurred in the autumnal month Tishri (תשרי), which corresponded to the Egyptian Thoth (Ḏḥwtj), the first month of inundation. Marsham had previously consulted the calculation by Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* for the precise date of the Flood. This necessitated a conversion between Dios/Δίος (≈October) in the Macedonian calendar, and the second month of the old Hebrew calendar, Cheshvan (חֵשְׁוָן Marhešvan), based on the Egyptian Phaophi (ḏḥwtj), with the institution of the new calendrical year as Nisan (approximately Macedonian Xanthicus) by Moses. For Marsham, the ‘ancient order’ (πρὸτον κόσμον) mentioned by Josephus was simply the Egyptian calendar, which had twelve equal months of thirty days (XII habuit aequales tricennûm dierum menses). The truncated intercalary month of five epagomenal (ἐπαγόμεναι) days had not yet been introduced. In Marsham’s system, the Theban Pharaoh Siphoas would institute these reforms decades later.

There were then two Hebrew calendars, civil and sacred: the former consisted of equal months of thirty days; the latter was based on synodic, or lunar months of 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes (dies facit 29, horas 12, & majorem horae partem), forming a lunar year of 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes (annus Lunaris habeat dies 354, & horas fere novem). The Jewish ecclesiastical calendar was only based on direct observation of the moon and was regulated accordingly. To Marsham, it resembled the legendary Roman calendar of Romulus and Servius Tullus, as described in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius. The discrepancy required occasional adjustment with an intercalary month, and although Marsham knew of Adar II (אדר ב), he could not determine when this had been introduced. It was still important to distinguish the pre-Exilic Hebrew calendar from that of the Second Temple period, and both from the revised calendar instituted by the Patriarch Hillel II in AG (Seleucid Era) 670/358 CE. Any attempt to derive artificial cycles and precise dates from the old Hebrew calendar was just a chronological game. For nothing was originally written, or computed, but based entirely on observations of the new moon; the earliest times were uncertain; there were no vestiges of intercalation in the Old Testament, nor any indication of advanced chronological techniques during the pre-exilic period. With this, Marsham casually dismissed one of the many fiercely contested subjects of early-modern technical chronology.

In his *Annales Veteris Testamenti*, Archbishop Ussher had memorably assigned a precise date for the creation. Ussher’s certainty was fundamentally based on his static, fixed, model for an

879 CCAE 182: ‘Prima liberi populi constitutio fuit Anni ordinatio. Israelite, quamdiu in Aegypto commorati sunt, non aliam habuerunt Anni formam, quam qua usi sunt ipsi Aegyptii. Sub exitu, qui fuit mense septimo, sive Nisan, datum est mandatum hoc, Hic mensis uobis erit principium mensim. Primus ille sit uobis inter menses anni. Thoth primus est Aegyptiorum mensis, qui respondet Ebraeorum Tisri.’


882 CCAE, *ibid.* ‘Istis Ebraeorum mensibus non dissimiles sunt menses Romuli, qui: Initium cujusque mensis ex illo sunebat die quo novam lunam contigisset videri...’ cf. Scaliger, *De Emendatione Temporum*, 116-117. For Marsham’s purposes, it was irrelevant whether this primitive Roman calendar existed.
ancient solar Jewish calendar of 12 months of 30 days, with five epagomenal days, and an additional intercalary day every four years. By making the Hebrew year functionally equivalent to the Julian year, Ussher was able to proceed with simple calculations from the death of Nabuchadnezzar II, and accession of Amel-Marduk in JP 4152, Era Nabonassar 186, 562 BC. As 2 Kings 25:27 stated that this occurred in the 37th year of the exile of King Jehoiachin, Ussher had a tangible synchronism, and with little effort, he could reconstruct prior Biblical history, and promote the textual stability of the Masoretic Old Testament. Prior scholars like Dionysius Petavius had already consulted astronomical tables to determine the nearest autumnal equinox to their calculated date. As we have seen, Ussher decided that this must be Sunday, 23 October, 4004 BC. But all of this needed a stable, convertible, year.

In 1677, the Devonian chronologist Robert Cary (1615-1688) pointed out the inherent flaws of Ussher’s assumptions, which he traced to arguments for an intercalated solar year by Petavius and before him, Johannes Kepler. In turn, Cary’s Paleologia Chronica was criticised in print by the nonjuring former 5th Prebend of Ripon, and vocal critic of Locke, John Milner (1628-1702). For Marsham, the arguments were pointless. Both the solar and lunar calendars were in concurrent use, both were products of a process of historical evolution, and it was categorically impossible to derive precise dates using retroactively imposed rules. Despite the intricate order of the Chronicus canon, its finest historical gradients were in years, not months or days, with limited exceptions. But he was writing ancient history. For Marsham, there was absolutely no purpose for dates like Bünting’s 28 May 585 BC for the Battle of Halys.

To be sure, Marsham would factor Egyptian calendrical reform into his tabulated data, but ultimately any assertion on the earliest Jewish history must accept the ability of the ancient Israelites to conduct observations of the neomenia, and for the Great Sanhedrin to periodically regulate their calendar with the introduction of intercalary days. Marsham’s principal source in this was Selden’s De Anno Civili, & Calendario Veteris, which he left unmentioned, but future exegetes like Benjamin Marshall would detect parallels between the two books and use them together.

Marsham summarised the principal Jewish feast-days, and their Egyptian precedents, then turned his attention to the Sabbath. With a sense of paradox and irony, Marsham argued that this was first observed in the desert of Sin, after the Israelites had collected manna for six days,
which began on the 15\(^{th}\) day of the 2\(^{nd}\) month after the Exodus. This month was יyar/ירא (although the Hebrew months had not yet been named); the date corresponded to 23 May in the Julian calendar; the *Seder Olam* made this a hollow month of 29 days.\(^{889}\) Philo of Alexandria reflected on this miraculous rain of manna and compared it to the six days of creation. But the Israelites wouldn’t have known the association at the time, before the Decalogue and Hexameron were composed. Although some scholars maintained that the seven-day period was instituted by Adam, and others, Seth, Marsham preferred a different explanation.

Philo had also mentioned the importance of the number seven to Greek mathematicians. The first mathematicians were Egyptian and influenced the Pythagoreans and Platonists. In the *Attic Nights*, Aulus Gellius preserved a lengthy and meditative fragment on the significance of the number seven (ἐβδομάς) from the lost *Hebdomades vel de imaginibus* by Marcus Terentius Varro, which Marsham quoted. There were seven stars in the Greater and Lesser bear, seven in the Pleiades, and seven planets; and the zodiac involved the number seven, for the summer solstice occurred seven signs from the winter...and one equinox is seven signs from the other.

In the climacterics of the Chaldeans, or critical periods in life, the most serious involve the number seven.\(^{890}\) In the *Aeneid* (6.145) Virgil described the groves and meadows of Elysium, where Orpheus composed songs on his seven-stringed lyre.\(^{891}\) Varro had described the lunar sidereal period of 28 days as a multiple of seven.\(^{892}\) And Hesiod, in his *Works and Days*, hinted at an early Greek concept of a sacred seventh day:

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\text{αἴδε γὰρ ἡμέρας εἰσὶ Δίως παρὰ μητιόεντος}
\text{πρῶτον ἕνη τετράς τε καὶ ἐβδομή ἵερόν ἡμάρ}
\text{(τῇ γάρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ)...}\(^{893}\)

*These are the days that emerge from the wisdom of Zeus, the first, the fourth, and the seventh, a holy day, (for on this, Leto gave birth to Apollo with golden sword)*...

And the symbolic importance of the number seven was found throughout the Bible. Moses consecrated the altar in the tabernacle by anointing it with oil seven times, and the ordination of Aaron lasted seven days. Eliphaz the Temanite was commanded to sacrifice seven bulls and seven rams, at the end of the book of Job. Balaam asked for seven altars, seven bulls, and seven rams. Joshua circled the city of Jericho seven times, on the seventh day, with seven priests blaring seven trumpets, before the walls collapsed.\(^{894}\) This persisted through the number-

\(^{889}\) CCAE 187: ‘Mensis hic, ab Exitu *Secundus* postea *Jiar* dictus est.(Nondum enim nata sunt Ebraicorum mensium nominia). Ejus dies XXII respondet XXIII Maii in anno Juliano.’

\(^{890}\) CCAE 188: ‘Sane vetustissimi Mathesos Magistiri fuerunt Aegyptii; a quibus Schola Pythagorica atque Platonica edoctae, impense philosophantur de vi & dignitate Numeri generatim Septenarii, quam Graeci ἐβδομάδα apellant. *Is numerus Septentriones majores minoresque facit in Celo*...’

\(^{891}\) See Walker, D.P. ‘Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists’ *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 16, 1-2 (1953), pages 100-120.

\(^{892}\) Aulus Gellius, III.10.6. More precisely, 27.32 days. This must be distinguished from the longer synodic month, or apparent period of lunar phases, which is slightly longer at 29.53 days.

\(^{893}\) CCAE 188-189; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 765. **ML 430.78**

\(^{894}\) Leviticus 8:11, 8:32; Job 42:8; Numbers 23; Joshua 6:15.
symbolism in Daniel and Revelation. This significance, and the seven-day weekly cycle, originated in Egypt, and was based on the number of the planets; the Egyptians had introduced natal astrology, as Herodotus reported, and each of the months and days was assigned a dominant planet. Cassius Dio confirmed that the Egyptians instituted the custom of giving days names of the seven planets.

The weekday-names from Hellenistic astrology didn’t quite match the astronomical order of planets. Sunday (ἡμέρα Ἡλίου) and Monday (dies Lunae) made sense, but Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn corresponded to the rest of the week. The Babylonian astrological order of planets common in Persian and Hellenistic astrological texts had nothing to do with physical distances, but a new ordering system emerged, which distinguished between the inner and outer planets. This system was used in Ptolemy’s *Planetary Hypotheses*, and by Roman scholars, including Vitruvius and Pliny, and became the antecedent for the sequence of days of the weekdays. But this was unknown to Marsham, and he finally resorted to the Venerable Bede’s *De Temporum Ratione* for the simplest explanation: the weekdays were arranged in alternating order from the sun and moon. In astrology, the final planet Saturn was gloomy, malevolent, and inauspicious. Tacitus had suggested that the Jewish observation of the Sabbath was originally in respect to Saturn. Egypt had developed astrology, and Marsham returned again to his edition of Porphyry to close his argument, using the rituals of the Egyptian priests, who practiced chastity and strict dietary restrictions for a minimum of seven days.

The Jewish Sabbath emerged from Egyptian mathematical culture, and like the Mosaic Law, was applicable only to the historical Israelites and proselytes living among them. The Scriptural roots of theology were themselves products of history. Marsham’s convictions on this were not limited to the private intellectual world of his library and manuscripts, which he composed alone. After the Restoration, when his career was renewed, Marsham shared them publicly. These views had the capacity to outrage godly members of Parliament like Sir Ralph Assheton, who physically lived in the ruins of the Henrician Reformation. His older cousin was a better model for Marsham’s vision of morality: in the *Chronicus canon*, history was a weapon against the hypocrisies of theology. Marsham’s long analysis of Moses and Jewish law and sacrifice became the most controversial aspect of the *Chronicus canon*, and the historical rhetoric of skepticism, Socinianism, and Deism would find its foundations in the aesthetics of Marsham’s Anglican historiography, which actively celebrated the beautifully complicated origins of Christian ceremony. Marsham was able to build his erudition alone, and without any capacity in Hebrew, by using his printed sources in combination, and although Selden played a central role.

898 CCAE 190: ‘Bedae nostratis ratio, quo simplicior, eo est melior: Gentiles, inquit, quasi jure Primam diem Soli, quia maximum est luminare; Secundam Lunae, quia secundum luminare est, se consecrare putabant. Dein ordinata alternation…’
899 Ibid, quoting Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4: ‘Septimo die otium placuisse ferunt; quia is finem laborum tulerit. Alii honorem eum Saturno haberi; seu quod e septum sideribus (quis mortales reguntur) altissimo orbe, & praeципua potestia, stella Saturni feratur…’
900ML 1032.333 pages 151-152 for Porphyry, *De Abstinentia* 4.6.
role in this, Marsham’s discovery of the original Egyptian *via deorum* would have been impossible without the scholarship and social circle of Hugo Grotius. This was only the first part of Marsham’s history of religion. The second followed Jewish philosophy through the Second Temple period but focused on the development of Greek religion. Read together, the implications for Restoration-period Christianity were profound. We will now examine Marsham’s ritual history of the origins of Greek philosophy.
CHAPTER XII.


Interlude.

Marsham continued the history of the Israelites to their conquest of Canaan, and the fulfillment of their promised inheritance. The conditions of Joshua and the Sanhedrin for the equitable division of their new and fertile land gave Marsham one final occasion to cite John Selden’s *De Jure Naturali*, and the Babylonian Talmud.\(^901\) Although Marsham’s historical overview formally concluded with the dedication of the Second Temple in the sixth regnal year of Darius, *Anno Nabonassar* 232, JP 4198, his analysis of Jewish ritual and legislation was complete. The elaborate interlocking jigsaw-pieces of his *Era Templi* were crucial to his chronological system, and later sections of the book would feature erudite digressions on the metrology of Solomon’s Temple, the navigation of the Red Sea, and the location of Ophir.\(^902\) But with scattered exceptions, like Saul’s meeting with the Witch of Endor, and νεκρομαντεία, oracles, and ventriloquism in antiquity, the *Chronicus canon* never returned to Moses the Egyptian.\(^903\) After 1667, Marsham did compose an *Appendix ad Chronicum canonem de Statu Judæorum post reditum è Babylone sive sub Templo Secundo* in manuscript, which clearly shows that the philosophy, theology, and culture of post-Exilic Judaism continued to occupy his thoughts. The manuscript begins with a neatly plotted chronological table from 1 Cyrus/AN 210 to the death of Alexander of Macedon at the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar II in Babylon, which Marsham placed at *Nabonassar* 424.\(^904\) Beside the numerical columns, Marsham positioned entries on dates for the Second Temple, its location according to ps.-Hecataeus of Abdera, and the regnal dates of the late Egyptian pharaoh Amyrtaeus.\(^905\)


\(^{904}\) Kent Library and History Centre Ms. U1121/Z22 fol.1v-2r; Marsham characteristically follows Ptolemy’s Royal canon.

Two additional tables traced a simplified version of the Ptolemaic dynasty through Cleopatra VII Philopator, concluding with the 43rd imperial year of Augustus, *Era Philip* 337. Marsham then created dense scholarly vignettes in the empty pages between the tables. In his first entry, entitled *Sub Persis*, Marsham compared the Vulgate with the Septuagint to identify the persistence of Jewish ceremonial practices in the late Northern Kingdom of Israel:

*Dies multos sedebunt filij Israel sine Rege & sine Principe (οὐδὲ ὄντος ἄρχοντος) & sine sacrificio (οὐδὲ οὕσις θυσίας) & sine altari (οὐδὲ ὄντος θυσιαστήριου) et sine Ephod (οὐδὲ ἱερατείας) et sine Theraphim (οὐδὲ δήλου), id est, sine Urim, sine Oraculis, & responsis Sacerdotum. LXX Urim δήλος & δήλων vertunt. Menochius di Rep. Ebræorū l.4.c.i.§.5.p. 383. / Spencer de Urim c.4.§3. De Theraphim, Kircher. Edip. Ægypt. Tomi Syntag.4.c.3.*

This passage is just above an entry on the Aramaic dialects Nehemiah found spoken in Judah instead of Hebrew, on his second visit to Jerusalem, during the 32nd regnal year of Artaxerxes. In its context, this suggests that Marsham placed the compilation of the Book of Hosea after the Exile. But in the capsule-treatise on Ezra that followed, Marsham showed no indication of formulating any similar argument for the Second Temple-period composition of the Pentateuch. Instead, Marsham continued to assume the validity of the Books of Moses as historical evidence, and extended his labours through the rebellion of Mattahias ben Jonathan and the Maccabees against the encroaching pollution of Greek religious influences. But not all intersections between Hellenistic and Judaic culture were antagonistic. Marsham included Ben Sira, the Peripatetic Aristobulus of Alexandria, and the historian Eupolemus as examples of *Judæi Græci docti*. Most of these entries were unfinished, synoptic notes under topic-headings. But the last two sections are more extensive and refined, echoing the striking arguments Marsham developed for the origins of Greek religion and philosophy in the *Chronicus canon*, and bringing balance

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to an abrupt disjunction in his otherwise symmetrical work. Each emerged from the controversy between the Sadducees and Pharisees during the Hasmonean dynastic period. Once he had outlined the history of the *Lex Oralis* as a continuous tradition, using Selden’s *De Synedriis*, Marsham moved to abstruse and resonant topics, which had not been transmitted by Moses. The first entry was simply titled *Fatum*, and was drawn from a familiar passage in the *Jewish Antiquities*, in which Josephus stated that the three principal philosophical schools (αρέσεις) of Judaism were the Essenes, Sadducees, and Pharisees.910 Reading Josephus, Marsham found that the Pharisees ‘propose that everything happens by fate’ (πράσσεσθαι τε είμαρμένη τὰ πάντα ἀξιόντες) although they did make concessions for human will.911 In the same passage, Josephus claimed that unlike the Sadducees, the Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul.912

To Marsham, fate was an astrological doctrine, first developed by Athôthis, instituted by the Theban pharaoh Siphoas, and disseminated by Nechepsôs of Saïs.913 From the seminal chapters in the first volume of the *Historia Iulia* by Reiner Reineccius, which were formative in Marsham’s identification of Sesostiris with Sesac, Marsham learned that there was a manuscript copy of the astrological works of Nechepso at the ‘Bibliotheca Carpensis & S. Angeli.’914 In the dense micro-history of Hellenistic astrology which Marsham had composed for the final section of the *Chronicus canon*, he listed a wide array of more accessible, printed, sources, from Pliny to Vettius Valens.915 For the moment, Marsham found it sufficient to use his tiny sextodecimo *Saturnalia* to trace the Egyptian origins of Necessity (ινάγη) or fate, one of the four deities that attend the human nativity.916 And from Diogenes Laërtius, Marsham argued that Pythagoras first correlated fate with the cycles of the soul through multiple incarnations. From Aristotle and Theophrastus, the doctrine of fate spread to Chrysippus and the Stoics. The evolution of the soul could be similarly traced through the debates in Second Temple Judaism. From the *Observationes* Conrad Vorstius had included in his 1644 translation of the *Chronologia Sacra-Profana*, Marsham traced the origins of these disputes to Zadok and Boethus, two disciples of Antigonus of Sokho.917 In the *Chronologia*, David Gans quoted the Haggadic *Tractate Avot de-Rabbi Natan* for the story of how the two students questioned the...

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910 ML 57 p.454a for Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 18.5.9; familiar: cf. CCAE 152.
912 ML 57 ibid; U1121/Z22 11r: Doctrina de fato, ut et altera de *Immortalis Animae* vetustissime fuerunt a Judaeis autem (utpote à Moysis non traditae) sero receptae sunt, etc.
915 CCAE 447-453.
wisdom of Antigonus, doubted the afterlife, and founded the Sadducees and Boethusians.\footnote{918 ML 587.118 67-68:} The Panarion of Epiphanius, following ps.-Tertullian, identified the Samaritan Dositheus (Δοσίθεος) as the progenitor of the Sadducees, but gave a similar narrative of students rejecting their teacher.\footnote{919}

In Marsham’s historical reconstruction, there was no single, authoritative, doctrine of the soul or resurrection to be heretically rejected at the time. As concepts in Judaism and subjects of disputation, they emerged together with the philosophical sects after the Maccabean revolt. As evidence, the written law was silent, and without recourse to the Lex Oralis and tradition, there was no compelling reason to accept the immortality of the soul. But in the Gemara, Sadducees were identified as heretics, and were similarly attacked in patristic apologetics. Indeed, the controversies lingered through the centuries, and the word Sadducee was still weighted with insinuation. Marsham owned an edition of Menassah Ben Israel’s treatise De Resurrectione Mortuorum, quibus animae immortalis & corporis resurrectio contra Zaducæos, published in Amsterdam in 1636.\footnote{920} The word Sadducee in the title was most likely directed toward the Portuguese scholar Uriel da Costa, and his Exame das tradições Phariseas (1623), which found immediate controversy among both Jewish and Christian communities with its arguments against scriptural evidence for the immortality of the soul.\footnote{921} Not least due to its critique of Rabbinic Judaism, da Costa’s book was burned by the authorities of Amsterdam.

Long before Marsham devised the armature of his book over tabulated sheets of paper, scholars from Scaliger to Isaac Casaubon, to Richard Montagu traced the histories of Second Temple Jewish thought, for confessional and apologetic purposes. But the implications of tracing two religious concepts, fate and the soul, from their Egyptian origins, to the disputations of the Pharisees and Sadducees, were profound. The structural limitations of the Chronicus canon, which abruptly concluded with the death of the Athenian ruler Pisistratus, Era Attica 1055, OI.62.4, JP 4185 (≈528/7 BC), prevented Marsham from expanding on these topics, and the Appendix was never published. A single, cryptic indication of Marsham’s perspective surfaced once in the Chronicus canon, as a digression.\footnote{922}

At the conclusion of his long history of the soul and afterlife in classical literature, Marsham returned to quote and modify Josephus, who had claimed the Essenes shared the same opinion as the Greeks on the afterlife (ὁμοδοξοῦτες πασιν Ἑλλήνων). More provocatively, Marsham also found it plausible that belief in reincarnation (μετενσωμάτωσις) circulated in the Judaism of the New Testament, using Matthew 16:14 as evidence. ‘For why else would people claim that Jesus was John the Baptist, while others claimed that he was Elijah, Jeremiah, or another

prophet? Indeed, there was no cohesive position on reincarnation in patristic Christianity until the Second Council of Constantinople, which was held in 553, during the reign of Justinian I.

Greek philosophy and Christian theology shared common origins in Egypt. Marsham never completed his planned religious history of post-Exilic Judaism. Instead, the text of the *Chronicus canon* resumed its focus on Egypt and Greece, on the solar calendar and the predecessors to the Hermetic corpus, and on its delicate arithmetical clockwork of historical chronology. For this, Marsham returned to his preferred sources, the catalogue of Theban kings, and to the *Marmor Parium*. From an attentive reading of these sparse historiographical records, the *Chronicus canon* plotted revolutionary new histories of Greek religion. As ever, these were rooted in Egyptian culture.

**MERCIURII SECUNDUS.**

The Theban Catalogue of Kings had been Marsham’s constant metric through the Hyksōs invasions and consequential periods of political instability in Lower Egypt, but it was approaching its end. Syncellus listed Siphoas as the thirty-sixth pharaoh of Thebes, according to the list attributed to Erathosthenes. He was also called Hermes, son of Hephaestus (Ἑρμῆς, υἱὸς Ἡφαίστου). There were then two Egyptian Mercuries. The first was of course Athôthis, or Thoth, who had invented writing. In his dedication to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, which Marsham considered authentic, Manetho stated there was a second, Hermes Trismestigus, who first preserved the wisdom of Athôthis in sacred books. These were not the later, corrupt *Corpus Hermetica*, but genuine books of Mercury. Marsham found the best evidence on the *Libri Mercurii* in Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromata*. In this, Clement described an elaborate procession of Egyptian priests, following the lead of a cantor (ᾠδός), who carried the symbols of music, and was in charge of two books, the *Hymn to the gods*, and *The Account of Royal Life*. After him, a priest followed who was learned in the four astrological books: on the order of the fixed stars; on positions of the sun, moon, and five planets; on phases, conjunctions, and rising-times. There were books in hieroglyphics on cosmography, geography, Egypt, the Nile, and the architecture of temples; there were books on sacrifices, processions and sacred feasts, and hieratic books on laws and gods. All Egyptian philosophy was contained in these forty-two books. Marsham combined Clement’s description of the Egyptian temple-texts with reports on the priesthood by the Hellenised Egyptian hierogrammateus Chaeremon, which he found preserved in Porphyry.

924 CCAE 231: ‘Moeri successit Tricesimus quintus Rex Siphoas, qui & Mercurius dictus est, filius Vulcani. Interpretatio est Eratostenis.’ To Marsham, Siphoas was the 35th Theban King.
926CCAE 234, quoting Porphyry, *De Abstinentia* 4.8.
As Marsham correctly surmised, these were accurate descriptions of Egyptian scribal culture and technical *Hermetica* in its final phase. The books depicted had long since perished from the earth. The philosophical treatises in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, translated into Latin by Marsilio Ficino in 1463, and the inspiration for scholarly Renaissance syncretic philosophy and erudite magic, from Pico della Mirandola to Cornelius Agrippa, were again interpolated late-Antique confections of Christianity and Platonism.927

Between obscure beginnings, and a deceptive later history, Egyptian philosophy had a history. It was first codified from obscure tradition, in texts written after the time of Moses, but nothing that could reconstruct an ancient wisdom could be gathered from the books. History replaced the *prisca*.

At this time Siphoas also reformed the Egyptian civil year, which previously consisted of 360 days, and hence diverged from the tropical year of 365.24 mean solar days. Strabo reported that the Theban priests were astronomers and philosophers and introduced the solar year of twelve 30-day months with an additional 5-day period: τοῖς τριακονθημέροις δόδεκα μησίν ἐπαγόντων πέντε ἡμέρας κατ’ ἐναντίον ἔκστον, *XII 30 dierum Mensibus adiunctum quotannis dies V*.928 And they attributed this to Hermes. Marsham revised Strabo and distinguished the five additional days from the single epagomenal day added to the four-year intercalary cycle. After Siphoas, the Egyptian solar year was 365 days long, and not 365¼. Syncellus confirmed that five additional days were introduced to the original 360-day calendar, in what Marsham reconstructed as the same time, but claimed this was invented in Tanis. But surely, Marsham argued, it was more consonant with reason to assign this astronomical innovation to Thebes than Tanis, which was still ruled by the barbaric Hyksōs, the shepherd-kings.929

According to Diodorus Siculus, the Thebans discovered astronomy, since the topography of the region facilitated their observations of the rising and setting stars; uniquely, they used a solar calendar with 12 months of 30 days, then add 5 and ¼ days (πέντε δ’ ἡμέρας καὶ τέτρατον τοῖς δώδεκα μησίν ἐπάγονοι) to complete the yearly cycle. By the time Diodorus wrote, just before the Roman Principate, intercalation had been introduced at Thebes. From the great calendrical discussion Macrobius included in the *Saturnalia*, Marsham could infer that all Egypt had adopted an intercalary scheme by the time of Caesar Augustus.930 The story from Plutarch’s *de Iside et Osiride*, of Mercury playing dice with the Moon, and winning the five epagomenal days, was originally an Egyptian educational riddle on the new calendar. And when Diodorus described the sepulcher of Ozymandias at Thebes, he mentioned a circular ring of gold crowning his monument, 365 cubits in circumference, and one cubit in width, with inscriptions of the days of the year, each one cubit in length, marking the rising and setting

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929 CCAE 236: ‘Et sane rationi magis est consentaneum existimare Thebanos fuisse hujus astronomiae authores, quam Pastores...’

930 ML 900.200; Macrobius 1.10-16, esp 1.15, quoted by Marsham: ‘Aegyptii Menses tricenum dierum omnes habent, eoque explicitis XII mensibus, id est, 360 diebus exactis, tunc inter Augustum atque Septembrem reliquis V Dies Anno suo reddunt, adiectentes Quarto quoque anno exacto Interalarem qui ex Quadrantibus confit. Ita ut exitu Anni Quarti Epagomenae sint dierum VI post Augusti Caesariis tempora.’

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stars, and their astrological influences. The true Hermetica were gone, but the solar year remained.
The penultimate Theban pharaoh, who reigned after Siphoas was called Nilus (Νεῖλος) or Phœurô and would be instrumental in extending the Theban catalogue attributed to Eratosthenes with Africanus, and in an identification that could link Biblical and Egyptian chronology. For in the scholia to the Argonautica of Apollonius of Rhodes, a lost work by Dicaearchus, a student of Aristotle at the Lyceum, was mentioned in passing, with provocative evidence.

In the first book Dicaearchus claims that after Orus, the son of Isis and Osiris, Sesonchosis became king. From Sesonchosis to the reign of Nilus, 2,500 years [from the reign of Nilus to the fall of Troy 7 years]. From the fall of Troy to the first Olympiad, 436 years, totaling 2,943 years (ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡλίου ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν α´ Ὀλυμπιάδα ύλες´δομο, β´μυ´).\footnote{931}

To Marsham, the 436-year interval postulated by Dicaearchus from the Trojan war to the first Olympiad, \textit{Era Attica} 807 (JP 3938) broadly agreed with the Parian Chronicle, which specifically placed the fall of Troy in \textit{Era Attica} 374, JP 3505 (≈1209/8 BC), during the 22nd regnal year of Menestheus, on 23 Thargelion. Although the \textit{Marmor Parium} never specifically mentioned the beginning of the Olympic Era, this was easily determined.\footnote{932} The rest of the passage was more problematic.
The 2,500 years could be dismissed at once. \textit{Orus} was the first demigod from the mythical dynasty of gods and demigods, which the Egyptian monk Panodorus had tried to integrate into an antediluvian total of 1,183 years. Furthermore, his putative successor \textit{Sesonchosis} was never mentioned in this list. In Dynasty XII, however, Africanus listed \textit{Sesonchosis} just before \textit{Sesostris}. And the quoted passage in the \textit{Argonautica} was specifically on the foundation of Egyptian colonies. A quick comparative reading with Herodotus revealed that this must have been Sesostris, who founded the colony of Colchis on the farthest shores of the Black Sea. The identification was most important.
The first detailed list of Theban pharaohs by Africanus began with Dynasty XII, and Marsham connected this to the end of ps.-Eratosthenes, with adjustments. He was comfortable with the margin of error involved. But before he described the conquests and exploits of Sesostris, Marsham returned his attention to the entries in the Parian chronicle, and the strange picture of religious mysteries, purification rituals and the early history of Greek philosophy that emerged from these.

\textbf{THE SACRED CAVE AND THE TOMB OF ZEUS.}

The printed inscriptions in Selden’s edition of the *Marmor Parium* were Marsham’s metric for Greek history all along. *Disquisitiones* had already been devoted to Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, and he would use the next series of entries in the chronicle not to discuss the arrival of colonies, but the migration of ritual. The first was brief and cryptic:

ἀφ ὁ Μίνως (ὁ) πρ(ότερος ὁ) βα(σιλέως Κρήτης καὶ Απολλιώνιαν ἀνισκε καὶ σίδηνος ηŰρεθη ἐν τῇ Ἰδη, εὐρόντων τὸν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων Κέλμιος...

From the eroded and pitted stele, Selden created a similar transcription using accented minuscule letters in the Greek column of his *Marmora Arundelliana*, in a truly admirable example of both epigraphy and conjectural emendation. In the right-hand column, he translated this as: *Ex quo Minos primus regnavit...aonia sedes fixit, & Ferrum repertum est in Ida ab Ideis Dactylis. Chelmide.* That is ‘since Minos first reigned...and iron was discovered on Ida, by the Idean Dactyls, Kelmios...’

Using the Greek column carefully, Marsham perceptively, and correctly, read ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΝ as the missing word on the inscription, as Kydonia was a city in Crete, founded by Minos according to Diodorus Siculus. It was also named Apollonia. Marsham followed an established literary tradition in assuming that there were two kings named Minos. The second Minos ruled in Knossos, not Kydonia, and commissioned Daedalus to construct the labyrinth near his palace; although Marsham related Plutarch’s story of the Minotaur, the creature itself was too improbable to have a place in his history. Both kings were conflated in the *Iliad*, when Idomeneus spoke. For Zeus...

...πρῶτον Μίνωα τέκε Κρήτη ἐπίουρον
Μίνως δ᾽ αὖ τέκεθ᾽ιον ἀμύμονα Δευκαλίωνα.

...first fathered Minos to watch over Crete,
and Minos fathered the noble Deucalion his son...

The second Minos was the father of Deucalion, grandfather of Idomeneus, and commander of the Cretan armies in the Trojan War. The first ruled over Crete and was called the son of Jupiter. In fact, the scholia to Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.8 explained the Cretan tomb of Zeus might have resulted from the name ΜΙΝΩΣ wearing off the inscription of the tomb of Minos, which might have originally read ΜΙΝΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ, making *The tomb of Minos, son of Zeus* into *The tomb of...Zeus*. Greek authors from Diodorus to Porphyry claimed that Zeus was raised in Crete, in a cave at the base of Mt. Ida, by nymphs who fed him with milk and honey. Unlike the cultic rites celebrated by the Athenians at Eleusis, the Cretan initiation rites were practiced

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933 There is no copy of the *Marmora* in Marsham’s library-catalogue. Perhaps it fell apart from use. But cf. Selden, *Marmora Arundelliana, sive Saxa Graece Incisa* (London, 1628), 7-8, leaf C2r-v. I have created a hybrid between Selden and Felix Jacoby in this instance.

934 CCAE 242.

935 CCAE 277-279.

openly, and preceded all others. Once it was established, the cult of Zeus Kretagenes was disseminated, as Jupiter Sabazius (Σαβάζιος), and Attis by the Phrygians. It was clear from the Parian Chronicle that mystery cults appeared throughout the Aegean soon afterwards, and they all had common characteristics. For the moment, Marsham kept his attention on Crete, and the rest of the entry from the Parian Chronicle. *Iron was discovered on Ida, by the Idean dactyls.*

This must have been Mount Ida, the loftiest mountain in Crete, and not the eponymous mountain in the Troad. Marsham suspected that a volcanic eruption of Mt. Ida left iron deposits on its lower slopes. The Idaean Daktyloi were known as metallurgists, magicians. Although the Marmor Parium only named the Phrygian Dactyl Kelmis, there were more, as Marsham found in the fragment of Pherencydes preserved in the scholia to the *Argonautica*. Pausanias reported there were ten, associated with the number of fingers on each hand. The Daktyloi overlapped with the Kouretes chosen by Rhea to guard the infant Zeus in the cave, and both were assimilated into the cult of the Cretan Jupiter by the time of the first literary attestations. Porphry described the initiation rites of Pythagoras at the Idaean cave in detail. After Pythagoras visited Egypt, where he lived with the priests and learned hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic writing, he returned from his travels to Samos, until he fled the tyranny of Polycrates, to Delphi, and Crete. In Crete, Pythagoras was ritually purified with a betyl by the assistants of an Idaean Daktyl and forced to sleep beside a river with a wreath of black wool, before descending into the Idaean cave for twenty-seven days. He then inscribed an epigram on the tomb of Zeus. Marsham turned to the extracts from Porphyry preserved by Eusebius in the *Praeperatio Evangelica* to explain the symbolism of the rite. Black sheep and rams were proper sacrifices for subterranean, or infernal, gods, as black is the colour of the earth. Other similar rituals emerged in Greece at this time, in many locations, devoted to Orpheus, Musaeus, Athenus, Melampus, Argus, and Trophonius in Boeotia. The ceremonial descent into the cave generated later myths and ecstasies about descent into the underworld. *Omnium autem illustriissima sunt,* Marsham promised, and began a survey that linked Egyptian ritual with Greek cultic practice, and with the religious origins of philosophy.

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**INVENTIONS OF IMMORTALITY**

Using the next entries in the Parian Chronicle as his guide through the shadowy origins of Greek ritual, Marsham turned to Persephone and Demeter, chthonic goddesses associated with fertility and with the underworld. Using Diodorus, Marsham found that Erectheus first imported grain from Egypt during a drought, and subsequently instituted the rites of Demeter in Eleusis, which were derived from Egyptian rites of Isis.\(^{940}\) Since his association of the first pharaoh Menes with Zeus, Ammon, Ba’al and Jupiter Belus, Marsham had devoted a significant portion of the *Chronicus canon* to reducing the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman pantheons to the prosaic contingencies of history, and phenomena of symbolic association. In his analysis of the Eleusinian Mysteries, Marsham found common characteristics of initiation, secrecy, and purification. These soon developed additional layers of complexity, with specialised orders of priestesses, and elaborate *myesis* (initiation) ceremonies, which everyone was technically allowed to join, despite their status. The Eleusinian festival was held in autumn, beginning in Athens on 13 Boedromion. Three days later, the initiates participated in ritual baths, while holding sacrificial piglets, in the sea at Phaleron, before fasting, then walking to Eleusis in a celebratory procession on the nineteenth.\(^{941}\) They would do this, as Marsham found, in the hope of life beyond death.

The Orphic Mysteries also incorporated ritual purification, and it was around at this time that Hades was first mentioned, along with the Eleusinian conception of a future state and afterlife.\(^{942}\) A fragment of Sophocles, quoted by Plutarch in his passage on the underworld in *de Audiendis Poetis*, portrayed the hope maintained by initiates (ὡς τρισόλβιοι, thrice-blessed) for Hades: *for they alone have life.*\(^{943}\) The chorus in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes sang that because they were initiated, μόνοις γὰρ ἵλιος, for us alone there is sun; Plato claimed that those who arrived in Hades properly cleansed and initiated will ‘dwell with the gods.’\(^{944}\) In *de Legibus*, Cicero praised the mystery cults for replacing barbarism and savagery with civilization, teaching its initiates the beginnings of life, the power to live happily, and the ability to die with a better hope.\(^{945}\) And there was a beneficial, educational aspect to the cults, as they taught a form of natural philosophy, as Seneca attested. Dio Chrysostom gave a glimpse of this in his twelfth *Oration*. Initiates would see many visions and hear many voices, in which light and darkness appeared in turns.\(^{946}\) *Nature* was signified through the Greek Ceres. The Egyptian Isis was the female principle of Nature, receptive to all forms of generation. Her robe had variegated colours, which according to Plutarch, symbolised her power, involving the 'matter

\(^{940}\) ML 76.2 p.17d.
\(^{942}\) CCAE 254.
\(^{944}\) Marsham uses Ficino’s edition, cf. ML 441.89 Plato, Phaedo, 69c.
\(^{945}\) ML 434.102, 636.142; I paraphrase de Legibus, 2.36: ‘tum nihil melius ills mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus, neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore mortiendi.’
that becomes everything, and receives everything, light and darkness, day and night, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end.\textsuperscript{947} The robe of Osiris was the single colour of light.

To Marsham, life was light, the darkness, \textit{mater} (𒆠𒆠), also \textit{māter} for mother. From the ancient philosophical principle of opposition, or contradiction, two classes of gods emerged: \textit{Deus Opifex}, the creator, Zeus to the Greeks, was associated with life; \textit{Mater}, matter, Ἅδης, signified dissolution, and death. Jupiter inhabited the sky, Hades was placed in the subterranean regions, and everything was between these two contrary principles, in perpetual struggle: life and death, light and darkness, good and evil.

The Greek concept Ἅδης was called \textit{Amenthes} by the Egyptians, who again were the first to articulate the concept of the immortal soul. From in his well-worn edition of Herodotus, Marsham gathered that the Egyptians also maintained that after death, the soul entered some other creature then being born, and after passing through all animals on land, sea, and sky, it once again enters a human being, in a cycle that lasts 3,000 years. And, as Marsham argued, Homer learned of the transmigration of souls from Egyptian Orphic doctrines and encoded a philosophical model of the world in his description of the Cave of the Nymphs, as Porphyry showed.\textsuperscript{948} Marsham surveyed later developments of the afterlife, from the veneration of effigies to the geography of Tartarus, Oceanus, and Elysium, using the epic poetry of Homer, who flourished in Era Attica, 676.

Marsham extended the cultic practices and rites from the Greek of poetic memory to the Academy, Garden, and Lyceum of classical philosophy, which despite its logical progression from the initiation of Pythagoras in Crete, was a revolutionary step in the early-modern history of philosophy.\textsuperscript{949} The \textit{Placita philosophorum}, a pseudepigraphic work attributed to Plutarch, proved a useful source for Marsham’s history, which began with Thales, regarded as the first philosopher. Thales held that ‘the soul is in constant and perpetual motion, or a motive force itself’ (τὴν ψυχὴν φύσιν ἀεικίνητον ἢ αὐτοκίνητον).\textsuperscript{950} This doctrine was appropriated by Plato, in the \textit{Phaedrus}, and explained by Cicero in the meditation on death and mortality in his first \textit{Tusculan Disputation}: ‘That which is always in motion is eternal, but that which causes something else to move, and is itself set in motion from elsewhere, when it stops moving it also ceases to live.’

Pythagoras lived 400 years after Homer, and didn’t absorb Orphic doctrine from the Homeric current, but directly from the source in Egypt.\textsuperscript{951} To Pythagoras, the soul was a number moving itself, which was also the mind ( νοῦς); numbers were the first principles, and their harmonic proportions, exemplified in the \textit{tetractys}. Marsham moved through the theories of Empedocles

\textsuperscript{947} Plutarch \textit{de Iside} 372e.
\textsuperscript{948} \textit{ML} 55.1, Herodotus, \textit{Histories}, 2.143.2; \textit{1032.333} for Porphyry, \textit{De Antrou Nympharum}, commenting on Homer, \textit{Odyssey} 13.109
\textsuperscript{949} CCAE 263: ‘Liceat hic traditionem hanc de \textit{Anima & Infernis in Academiam} usque persequi. Poetae quidem apud Graecos vetutissimi fuerunt Theologi; sed fide digniores Philosophi.’ This can be seen as a separate parallel to Levitin, D. \textit{Ancient Wisdom} (Cambridge, 2015), and his analysis of Samuel Parker’s \textit{Tentamina de Deo}, esp.413-417.
\textsuperscript{950} CCAE 263: ps.-Plutarch, \textit{Placita Philosophorum} 4.2, Cicero, \textit{Tusc. Dispt.} 1.23: ‘Quod semper movetur, aeternum est...’
\textsuperscript{951} CCAE 263-4: ‘Pythagoras, 400 ferme annos post Homerum (is enim inter captivos Aegyptios a Cambyse abucta est) non ex Orphei aut Homeri rivulis, sed ex ipso Aegypti fonte, doctrinam de \textit{Anima} propinavit.’ In general, see Celenza, C. ‘Pythagoras in the Renaissance, the case of Marsilio Ficino’ \textit{Renaissance Quarterly}, vol. 52, no. 3 (Autumn, 1999) 667-71
and Plato, before arriving at Virgil, and the *Aeneid*, in which the Cumaean Sybil guides Aeneas into the underworld, passing the Acheron and sedating Cerberus, to reach the layered and complicated levels of hell, which Marsham enumerated as: *I. Infantum, II. Falso damnatorum, III. Αὐτογεγομένου, IV. Amantium, V. Bellatorum, VI. Tartarum, and VII. Elysium.* And after he discussed the Roman purgatory, and subsequent release of souls, Marsham moved to the Essenes, and concepts of reincarnation at the time of Christ. *For why else would people claim that Jesus was John the Baptist, while others claimed that he was Elijah, Jeremiah, or another prophet?*\(^{952}\)

Marsham created a history which led from Athôthes and Egypt, through the emergence of mystery cults in the Mediterranean, using the *Marmor Parium* as his criterion, to the theological roots of Greek philosophy, by focusing on two concepts: the afterlife, and the soul. His final aside, layered in irony and intimation, raises striking questions on his soteriological positions, and indeed, his faith. Marsham did not expand on this: ‘Nos autem extra callem vagamur nimis: redeamus ad Marmor.’\(^{953}\) And he concluded his historicization of both Jewish religion and Greek philosophy. From Marsham’s single question on the wisdom of Moses, which he answered, to his rhetorical question on Jesus, this long segment of the *Chronicus canon* was perhaps the most provocative, controversial, and influential. Religion now seemed to have a single history, and it was difficult to distinguish the rites of the gentiles from the customs, laws and beliefs of Judaism and Christianity.

The descriptive history of religious practices was well-established in seventeenth century European intellectual culture, from its origins in the works of Johannes Boëmus and Alessandro Sardi, to folio cosmographies by Sebastian Münster and Abraham Ortelius, to the slender treatises by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Samuel Purchas, and Alexander Ross.\(^{954}\) Marsham replaced plagiarism and corruption with diffusion and evolution, and modified condescendence, or accommodation (*synkatabasis*), by framing ritual innovation within historical contingency; this was presented less transparently and systematically than Spencer’s *de Legibus*, but it is precisely its ambiguity that made it more radical to its readers. That said, from Marsham’s fundamentally Anglican perspective, it would have been a breach of propriety to write theology without ordination and works of this type by nonconforming Puritans were anathema to his identity. In this respect, he was defending the liberty of his liturgical Christianity by following the basis of *adiaphora* to an extreme definition.\(^{955}\) Marsham’s

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953 CCAE 274: ‘But we’ve wandered off track. Let’s return to the Marble.’


955 See Article X of the 1577 High Lutheran *Formula Concordiae* on adiaphora, and its use of the maxim *Dissonantia Jejuni non dissolvit consonatiam fidei;* Matthew 15:9, etc. Marsham ultimately used elements of both the ‘corrupt monotheism’ and ‘pagan animism’ dichotomy proposed by Levitin, D. ‘What was the Comparative History of Religions in 17th-century Europe (and beyond)?’ Gagné R, Goldhill, S and Lloyd, G. (eds.) *Regimes of Comparatism, Frameworks of Comparison in History, Religion, and Anthropology* (Brill, 2018) 49-
Historicism of religion was an effort to preserve the decorated faith he found in the college chapel at St. John’s, in his parish church of St. Michael & All Angels in Cuxton, where his sons were buried, and in the histories of British piety illuminated by manuscripts and monastic records. Tradition was preferred to Reformation. But in the turbulent intellectual and confessional climate of the Restoration, Marsham’s histories of the afterlife and soul might have been received in unintended ways.

In his 1704 Letters to Serena, an overture for Hanoverian patronage and critique of Newtonian philosophy, the Irish political controversialist and pantheist John Toland derived a substantial amount of Letter II, The History of the Soul’s Immortality Among the Heathens, from Marsham, beginning from Pherecydes, Thales, and Cicero’s Tusculan Disputations. Natural philosophical and physico-theological defenses of the immortality of the soul were common responses to the perceived threat of Cartesian mechanical philosophy, and Hobbesian materialism. Henry More, Kenelm Digby, Walter Charleton, Edward Stillingfleet, and Henry Dodwell all entered the controversy, with a variety of defenses and attempted proofs on the immortality of the soul. Toland found that history was a convenient expedient for his version of materialism.

Marsham had much more elaborate plans, as his unpublished manuscripts for his history of Sheol suggest. Marsham’s fair-copy manuscripts display the single, vertical strike-through characteristic of work submitted to the printer, which raises the question on whether this polished, erudite and sustained history of the Jewish afterlife had been printed, intended for the 1666 Chronicus canon when the Fire of London swept through St. Paul’s Churchyard. Intriguingly, Marsham honoured Dr. James Windet, with a direct reference in the text. Windet was the author of De vita functorum statu, an erudite 1663 historical treatise on Sheol and Tartarus. If Marsham’s work had seen print, scholarly histories of hell might have changed the tenor of religious debate in early modern Britain. That said, Marsham’s disquisitions in the Chronicus canon were always occasioned by a specific entry in Manetho, the Marmor Parium, or a Biblical verse, and his arguments were always incidental to the momentum of his narrative. In this case, Marsham raised questions, but did not linger for an answer.

**INTERLUDE. READING SESOSTRIS.**

Sicut *Alexander Macedonici, Cyrus, Persici; ita Sesostris Ægyptiaci in Asià imperii autor fuit.*

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115, which raises more interesting questions on Marsham’s personal definitions of Judaism and Christianity, than on his indifference to formulating a single explanatory approach to paganism.


958 CCAE 357.
Marsham expanded on every entry chiseled into the marble of the Parian chronicle, and discussed Hercules and the foundation of Tyre, the location of Ophir, the construction and design of Solomon’s Temple, and the madness of Orestes. But at the very core of the Chronicus canon was his identification of the Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris, with the Biblical Sesac. It gave a tangible sense of unification to Egyptian and Biblical history, and satisfied Marsham’s rule of chronological parsimony. Marsham's heroic character Sesostris was the equivalent of the Persian Cyrus and Macedonian Alexander. The Sesostris of the Chronicus canon was principally based on the accounts in Herodotus and Diodorus. The name (Σέσωστρις) was derived from Senusret, used by three kings of Dynasty XII. Sesostris was most likely a combination of Khaʿkheperrēʿ and Khaʿkaurē from the king-lists, that is, Senusret II and Senusret III. The latter did lead campaigns south, past the Second Cataract of the Nile and into Nubia, but for Herodotus, this expanded to the conquest of the known world, including the shores of the Indian Ocean, and every nation in Asia. Sent at an early age to Arabia Deserta to hunt wild animals by his father, trained to endure thirst, Sesostris ascended to the throne as a seasoned and confident general. He extracted tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory elephant-tusks from the defeated Nubians, passed over the river Ganges, and subjected the Cyclades. In all lands Sesostris conquered, he left stone stelae inscribed with hieroglyphics, which read:

Τήδε τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ κατεστρέψατο τοῖς ἑαυτῷ βασιλέας βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σεσόωσις.

Hanc Regionem suis armis devicit Rex Regum et Dominus Dominorum Sesostris.

This country was conquered with arms by the king of kings, and lord of lords, Sesostris.

According to both Herodotus and Diodorus, Sesostris inscribed these with a less delicate message as well. Marsham used the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius to map the course of Sesostris across the waters of the Black Sea and between the Cyanean rocks, as Dicearchus confirmed in the scholia printed in his Hölzlein edition. Here, Sesostris left a colony of soldiers on the banks of the Phasis and founded Colchis on the far side of the Black Sea. From the commentary of Eustathius of Thessalonica on Dionysius Periegetes, Marsham learned that Sesostris left maps of his journeys, not just of Egypt, but of Scythia as well. This must have referred to the Egyptian colony at Colchis, where Herodotus reported the inhabitants had black complexions (μελάγχροες εἰσὶ).

Colchis was then a living vestige of the great colonial expeditions of Sesostris.

960 Herodotus 2.102-104, Diodorus 1.53-58.
961 CCAE 361, Diodorus 1.55-57, notice Σεσόωσις.
962 CCAE 361: In cippis autem, apud gentes pugnaces, pudendum viri posuit; apud ignavas, & timidas, feminae.
963 See ML for Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticorum Libri IV (Leiden, 1641).
964 CCAE 365, Herodotus 2.104-105.
Marsham had long realised the chronological value of the argument linking Sesostris to the biblical Sesac, which allowed his conquest of Jerusalem in JP 3747, the fifth year of Rehoboham, and established the crucial synchronism linking Egyptian to the secure astronomical data of the accession of Cyrus, hence to all ancient history.\(^{965}\) But he was not the first to make the association, and in the course of his early revisions of the *Chronicus canon*, the initial, vital connection was made through the physical placement of two folio volumes, together on his table. This was then reinforced by reading one of his auxiliary, and unquoted Catholic sources for Egyptian religious rites, Giambattista Casali.\(^{966}\) The *Historia Iulia* of Reiner Reineccius equated Sesonchis with Sesostris, and reinforced Marsham’s linguistic identification.\(^{967}\) The names existed in parallel long before they merged. In Marsham’s manuscript *canon Chronicus Historiae Sacrae*, an early revision of his first major chronological tables, *Sesak* captured Jerusalem, *Era Templo* 41, JP 3748.\(^{968}\) Several years later, in 1658-9, Marsham crossed out the title on his very long draft treatise on Egypt, which read *Liber III, De Magnitudine Ægyptiaca*, and retitled it *Chronici canonis, Liber Tertius*.\(^{969}\) With large, folio books on his table, including the second volume of Brian Walton’s London Polyglot, his folio Andreas Wechel edition of Diodorus Siculus, and his 1611 Geneva edition of Josephus open around the stacked manuscript drafts, Marsham forged his final decision.\(^{970}\)

Using the draft manuscript for the *Chronicus Canon, Liber Tertius* and Marsham’s folio editions of Diodorus Siculus and Josephus we can reconstruct the books he was reading together.\(^{971}\) His editions of Herodotus and Syncellus these gave him a convincing basis for his


\(^{966}\) ML. 543.45, C.II, *De Veteribus Aegyptiorum Ritibus*, p.5: Sesostris in sacro textu Sesac apellatus...

\(^{967}\) ML. 96.24 for Reineck, R. *Historia Iulia, sive Syntagma Heroicum* Vol. I (Helmstadt, 1594)

\(^{968}\) Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/Z25/1.3 fol.4r.

\(^{969}\) Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/Z21/2 fol. 1r.


\(^{971}\) MS U1121/Z21/2, ff.13v-14r
identification. Marsham would find *Sesostris* in the Latin translation used for the Σεσόωσιν in the printed Greek. Confusing this with the Σουσακείν from Syncellus, and the Σούσακος of Josephus would have been straightforward when the necessary elements were together, on Marsham’s table.

Misreadings, confluations, and the emergence of new ideas can be traced from the mechanical processes Marsham used to assemble his erudition. But ultimately, the original source for the association of Sesostris and Sesac was his friend John Greaves, who disagreed in the details, but provided all the necessary elements in his *Pyramidographia*. Once Marsham revised the chronology with parallel dynasties, the ancient Mediterranean seemed to have a unified history. Classical authorities, from Herodotus, Manetho, and Diodorus, to Plutarch, Strabo, Pausanias, and Arrian, had given Marsham a wealth of detailed evidence on Sesostris, but unfortunately, the pharaoh proved to be a historical chimera. Marsham assembled a mosaic of classical literary testimony on Egyptian culture, but in retrospect, the limits of this are clear.

Marsham’s use of antiquarian evidence produced similar results. Later in the *Chronicus Canon*, as he surveyed the Ramesside dynasty, Marsham copied Gruter for the Latin inscriptions on the eastern and southern bases of the Lateran Obelisk, which the Emperor Constantinus II transported to Rome in 357 CE. For the Greek translation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the smaller Flaminian obelisk, shipped from Heliopolis by Augustus in 10 BC, Marsham used Ammianus Marcellinus, who directly identified the original translator: *Hermapionis librum secuti interpretatum litteris subiecimus Graecus*. But even the apparently authentic classical source Hermapiou could produce fanciful translations. Marsham reproduced the entire passage, in both Greek and Latin. The opening lines of the first stanza provide an impression:

'Ἡλίος βασιλεία Ῥαμέστη.
Δεδώρημαί σοι ἀνὰ πάσαν οἴκουμένην μετὰ χαρὰς βασιλεύειν.
'Ον Ἡλίος φιλεί καὶ Απόλλον κρατερὸς φιλάλήθης υἱὸς Ἡηρωνος θεογένητος
Κτίστης τῆς οἰκουμένης...

*Sol Regi Ramesti,*
*Dedi tibi super totum mundum gratiose regnare,*
*Quem Sol amat & Apollo, fortis, veri amator, filius Heronis, Deogenitus,*
*Conditior mundi...*  

This obelisk was indeed first raised by Ramesses II, and created for his father Seti I, and the actual hieroglyphics are quite different. For instance, the centre inscription of the obelisk’s eastern face reads: 'Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, beloved of Maat, King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, who makes his monuments like

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972 ML1062.362 28-30.
973 CCAE 431-433; Gruter, J. *Inscriptiones Antiquae Totius Orbis Romani* (Heidelberg, 1603) I, 186.
974 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 17.4
975 CCAE 434-436.
976 Cf. Jacoby, FgrHist 658: The Sun to King Ramesses/I gave you the entire world to rule in joy/You, loved by the Sun and mighty Apollo, lover of truth, son of Heron, born of God/Creator of the world...
the stars of heaven, his achievement keeps company with the sky[...]. Marsham's antiquarian sources could only lead him to the twilit memory of Egypt recorded in Greek. And yet Marsham opened the ancient world, its geography and architecture, regional cults and sacred rites, its funerary ceremonies, and laws, to a new sense of historical reality.

CHAPTER XIII.

ST. MICHAEL’S CHURCHYARD & THE SANDS OF EGYPT.

Reputation and Tranquility.

In the late pages of his Pandectae Nostri Temporis, Marsham inserted a small torn sheet of paper, both poignant and joyous, on the children he had lost, and the sons and daughters that survived. Elizabeth, who had recently married William Hammond. John, his eldest son and heir, who inherited his father’s interests in English antiquarianism, and assisted with assembling extracts from the Domesday Book, and transcripts of pipe-rolls from Henry II, for the family library. Margaret married into the Twysden family. And his youngest son Robert emulated his interest in ancient history, assembled cabinets of coins as a virtuoso, and followed his father to Chancery. Marsham assisted his children in purchasing estates of their own, at the scenic and dignified Mote Park in Maidstone, and at Bushey Hall in Hertfordshire. But Marsham was still dissatisfied. When the 1672 Chronicus canon, clearly and beautifully printed by Thomas Roycroft in large folio, was first placed on the shelves of the booksellers William Wells and Robert Scott, at the Prince’s Arms in Little Britain, it ended abruptly and was left incomplete. Marsham soon resumed work on his manuscripts and extended his history with a treatise on the Persian monarchy, Greek history through Alexander of Macedon, and the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires, incorporating extensive numismatic evidence, from the treatises of Ezechiel Spanheim, and Hubert Goltzius, as well as coins from his own collection. His histories needed a reference-work, and Marsham initiated his Numismata, quædam ex musæo I.M.

978 See for L'Obelisco Vaticano e le fabbriche de Sisto V dissertat. (Rome 1590); in general, Curran, B. Grafton, A. Long, P. Obelisk: a history (MIT 2009). To be clear, Marsham never thought of possible links between Coptic and Ancient Egyptian.
979 Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/Z47-Z-49.
nondum edita in a grey pasteboard volume with leather ties, thickly populated with scholarly references, which began with a quote from Maccabees 15:6, and attempted to coordinate numismatics, geography, and chronology into classical history.\textsuperscript{981} Unfinished illustrations of coins, on circular graphite templates, haunted the pages of his incomplete treatise, with rings of handwritten Greek surrounding empty cores. On other loose pages, the illustrations were complete, with the youthful Emperor Gordian III staring into the emptiness of unread letters, crowned with laurels, the mint of Berytus written beside, in Marsham’s quilled Italic hand. The eulogised decline of chronology in scholarship has promoted disciplinary purity over utility, and consequently ignored the absorption of technical chronology into history itself.\textsuperscript{982} Less a decline than a transformation, the 18\textsuperscript{th} and early 19\textsuperscript{th} century subordination of chronology, numismatics, and geography into new forms of history and archaeology remains largely unmapped. Marsham’s unpublished archive provides an early episode of these efforts, and his ambitions were vast.

Marsham marked the upper margins of his copy of Henry Savile’s translation of Tacitus, with the dated names of two consuls above. The death of Iulia. Tiberius crueltie increaseth. And above: L. Rubellius Geminus. 781. Everything was tabulated, organised, counted, measured, included in time. Marsham made tables for the life of Christ, Athenian archons, Roman emperors, and traced history from Justinian through the year 1290.\textsuperscript{983} He was building a new history, unprecedented in detail, that would lead from the Noachides to the Pandectae Nostri Temporis, and the accession of James I, Raleigh’s History of the World scraped to its foundations and rebuilt from scratch, merging the universal and personal.

But once it was printed by the presses of Thomas Roycroft, Marsham’s book was in the hands of its many readers, and forever left his control. The reception of the Chronicus canon cannot be properly addressed within the constraints of this study, but a detailed, intimate, and idiosyncratic picture of the reception of the Chronicus canon might be glimpsed from Isaac Newton’s copy. Ideally, it will form a second voice in what might become a contrapuntal study of readers, authors, and books, but this can only be foreshadowed here.

\textit{Permutations.}

The Chronicus canon was reprinted in 1676 in Leipzig, by Matthäus Birkner and Johannes Colerus, under the direction of Otto Mencke, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leipzig.\textsuperscript{984} The title correctly stated this was a Liber non chronologicae tantum, sed &

\textsuperscript{981} Kent Library and History Centre MS U1121/Z36 esp. 3r.
\textsuperscript{983} \textit{ML}, \textit{94.22}, ie. 117; I thank Scott Mandelbrote and Sarah Anderson for their assistance with this.
Historicae Antiquitatis, and an engraving by the talented Nuremburg artist Peter Troschel depicted Historia, the personification of history, restraining the winged Chronos, who holds an hourglass and scythe, symbols of time and mortality. Historia holds a Pythagorean decad aloft, and a mason’s square with the motto Imperii metas et rebus tempora porro. The Four Beasts of Daniel rise from the sea.

A copy of this edition might have been placed for sale at a bookshop in Cambridge, perhaps at the cluster of stores in the narrow street of half-timbered buildings across from Great St. Mary’s, where Samuel Simpson, John Creed, and other booksellers lived and worked. But when he came to compose a draft treatise which he entitled the Theologiae Gentilis Origines Philosophicae, his edition of Marsham, bound in brown calf, was certainly open, and on his desk. In the clear hand of his amanuensis Humphrey Newton, the opening reads:

Philosophiam antiquam duplicem coluere, sacrem et vulgarem. Sacram Philosophi per typos et ænigmatica discipulis suis traditere: vulgarem oratore aperte et stylo populari scripsereunt. Philosophia sacra in Ægypto apprimè floruit et in scientia syderum fundata fuit. Id ex annua sacredotum processione in honorem Philosophi hujus instituta manifestum est Cujus Processionis formulam Clemens Alexandrinus ὄντος sic descripsit.

In antiquity, Newton argued, there were two types of philosophy, sacred and vulgar. Sacred philosophy was transmitted to a select group of initiates through enigmas and abstruse symbols. It initially flourished in Egypt and was based on principles derived from astronomical phenomena. Newton cited Clement of Alexandria’s Stromata, which described a procession of Egyptian priests, following the lead of a cantor (ὦδός), each bearing the symbol of his position, and carrying one of forty-two books of Hermes. But the erudition of the entire passage was copied from the Chronicus canon, from the chapter on Siphoas, Mercurius Secundus, down to the tiny Arabic numerals Marsham used to list the books themselves. And Marsham’s long labours on the Egyptian origins of philosophy lay beneath all. One reader among many transformed the Chronicus canon to his own purposes, physically turning, creasing and folding the pages to mark quotations as he actively copied them into his manuscripts. Newton folded the pages of his book into precise dog-ears, to mark passages he had cited, while actively writing. This combined the advantages of a bookmark with a marginal note and organised the multiple erudite references in the books on his table into a recoverable directory. The folds indicate several readings, in specific clusters. In one of the sessions related to the composition of draft scholia for a projected second edition of the Principia, Newton turned page 277, leaf Mm3, from above to indicate:

Vide! Quae tibi videntur quatuor, sunt decem; & nostrum Jusjurandum; & Trigonum perfectum, Quatuor. Et paulò post, Pythag. Γνώσεαι τὸν θεὸν ἄριθμον ἑοντα καὶ ἄρμονιν, Cognosces ipsum Deum, qui est Numeros & harmonia.

While he wrote:

985 Plomer, H. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922).
986 Jewish National Library, Jerusalem, Yahuda MS. 16.2 fol.1r.
Newton found erudite material for the ancient knowledge of the ratios between orbits of the planets in Marsham’s account of the Pythagorean transmission and modification of the Egyptian doctrine of the soul. The folds not only pinpoint the classical references that emerge from the manuscripts, they also offer new perspectives on how Newton’s ideas emerged. For instance, Newton’s unique innovation of using equinoctial precession as a metric for astronomical dating was dependent on the reconstruction of a primitive celestial sphere, invented by the centaur Chiron and used by the Argonauts. It would be helpful to think of Newton’s prior use of the *Sphaera Barbarica* in his earlier, mythographic, literature, and the ways in which this idea might have transformed over time, informing and shaping his Primitive Sphere. Similar folds mark the colony of Sesostris at Colchis, the role of betyls in the history of idolatry, the expeditions of Danaus, the inscriptions on the Ramesside Obelisk, and Newton’s identification of Hercules with Mars. An author, a single physical copy of his book, a reader, and the permutations of books on the table will form another story, of Newton as a reader, and the ways in which the *Chronicus canon* was reconfigured and transformed.

**Conclusion.**

Marsham initiated a new phase in historical chronology. He replaced the discrete, separate eras and systematic exposition of calendars, which were epitomised in the works of Scaliger, Petavius and Calvisius, with a new reliance on coordinated dynastic lists, and material artefacts. Newton, Francesco Bianchini, Henry Dodwell, and Giambattista Vico all responded to Marsham’s influence, and attempted to integrate chronology into a coherent history of culture and civilization, as they confronted the contradictions and paradoxes inherited from the broken tradition of Eusebian *historia universalis*. In his rejection of providence, eschatology, and the centrality of the Biblical narrative, Marsham reconfigured the historiographical model which had dominated Europe for over a millennium. And he presented religious ceremonies as a form of culture, with a history of their own, which were passed between Egypt, Israel, and Greece. Everything, from writing to laws to astronomy, philosophy, theology, and the soul, was historicised, and its readers were given nothing but their status as products of the contingencies of human culture, and their place at the end of time, as inheritors of the inescapable labyrinth of historical tradition. Rather than marking the decline of a discipline, when taken in its own context, the *Chronicus canon* can be seen as inaugurating a new era, when the history of the ancient world could be written again. Although Marsham ended his published text with

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987 Yahuda 17.3 (c. 1692) fol. 2v; Linda Hall Library, Kansas City, Missouri, D59.M36 1676. I prepared this for digitization in 2005.
989 I cannot promise whether this will ever appear.
disquisitions on Greek theatre and the Tyranny of Pisistratus, which just overlapped with
Herodotus, his manuscripts reveal his ambitions. In his epochal 1950 Ancient History and the
Antiquarian article, Arnaldo Momigliano supported his dichotomy between antiquarianism
and historiography by observing that early seventeenth century historians did not write ancient
history, from deference to the canonical authority of ancient historians.990 The Chronicus canon
stands at the end of this era, and Otto Mencke’s subtitle on the Leipzig edition was an accurate
assessment: Liber non Chronologicae tantum, sed & Historiae Antiquitatis reconditissima
complexus. Marsham’s synthesis of antiquarianism and historical narrative changed the
boundaries of a discipline. The importance of a single historical system stood at the centre of
this synthesis.

Yet framed in the constraints of a truncated chronology, and with no overarching
methodological statements, Marsham’s book was misunderstood by subsequent generations.
Any attempt to explain the evolution and composition of Marsham’s book must be firmly based
on his scholarly techniques, personal library, and intellectual standpoint. The first necessitated
new approaches to the history of reading and scholarship, in which multiple references,
together in a workspace, can be coordinated with manuscript recensions, and used to plot the
evolution of his ideas.

In turn, Marsham’s intellectual world emerged from his social, political and cultural
circumstances, and E.H. Carr’s advice, ‘to study the historian before you begin to study the
facts’ emerges in this instance as the only tenable approach.

Although it was published in 1672, the intellectual origins of the Chronicus Canon predate the
Restoration scholarship of John Spencer and his ecclesiastical colleagues. It can be traced to a
distinct social and intellectual circle that first formed in Royalist Oxford and persisted through
the instabilities and challenges of the Interregnum. Although he went further than his senior
colleagues, Marsham’s role in this culture was shared, and predicated by an earlier, institutional
context which gave him the confessional inclinations, and scholarly tools, to reforge his
identity after the breakdown of his legal career. And this cannot be separated from the social
turmoil and war that affected England, and broke the very concept of a neutral, apolitical, polite
‘republic of letters’ which has long been assumed sufficient for contextualizing intellectual
history. In all cases, there were social, economic and political catalysts for patterns of
intellectual change.

The scholarship of Sir John Marsham cannot be easily distinguished from his identity, as a
Clerk of Chancery, husband, father, or member of the Kentish gentry. History and erudition
gave him a sense of purpose in the trials of life, when all else had been broken, and it became
a tool to uncover and correct the injustices of his world, and to defend his sense of beauty and
order from the imposition of misguided ideologies. Ultimately, everything was connected, the
particular and universal, the ruins of antiquity, the immediacy of life. In this study I have
attempted to capture both, as a hybrid portrait of an early modern scholar, and the story of the
book he created, from the books on his table.

esp.6-8; cf. Clark, F. ‘The Varieties of Historia in early Modern Europe’ in Blair, A. Popper, N. New Horizons
for Early Modern European Scholarship (Johns Hopkins, 2021), esp. 115.
Coda.

The order of his estate merged with the order of history. The orchards and warrens were measured in perches and rods, his leases were listed in breviates, bees gathered in the garden, the fields flowered, brown leaves fell from the branches of the oaks on the crown of the hill behind his home. Everything was written, recorded, committed to memory, from St. Michael’s churchyard to the sands of Egypt, and the years were arranged from the foundation of the pyramids, through Greek archons and Roman consuls, bishops, patriarchs, and popes, to the history of his family. Everything was marked in tables, measured in time, the liturgical calendar, the stations of the sun, the birth of his wife, the death of his sons.
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Sharpe, Kevin, Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England (Yale, 2000).


Steiner, Benjamin, Die Ordnung der Geschichte: Historische Tabellenwerke in der Frühen Neuzeit (Cologne 2008).

Stenhouse, William, Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History, Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance (London, 2005).


Stolzenberg, Daniel, Egyptian Oedipus (Chicago 2013).

Stroumsa, G., A New Science, the Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason (Harvard, 2010).

Sutcliffe, Adam, Judaism and Enlightenment (Cambridge, 2003).


Walraff, M., Iulius Africanus Chronographiae, the Extant Fragments, (Berlin 2009).


Woolrych, Austin, Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660, (Oxford, 2002).


I: Maidstone, Kent Library and History Centre, Marsham Mss. U1121/E7.

This is a folio codex bound in calf, with hand-numbered paper leaves. Marsham originally intended to use it as a commonplace book, as scattered topical headings suggest, but like so many similarly ambitious volumes, it was soon abandoned. At some point after 1697 the otherwise empty book was appropriated by a professional secretary to catalogue John Marsham’s personal library, classified by size (Fº, 4º, etc.) and subject (Libri Theologici, Libri Historici). Several catalogue entries list books published after 1683 and suggest that Marsham’s eldest son John occasionally incorporated additional titles, especially on English political history and antiquities, into the library until his death in 1696. Two books were published in 1697: William Wotton’s Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning and James Tyrell’s General History of England. There is nothing published after this in the catalogue, which provides a firm terminus post quem for the catalogue. I have surmised that, together with the rest of Whorne’s Place, the library was inherited by Robert Marsham, who added these volumes before his death on 25 July 1703, age 52. It is logical to conclude that the catalogue was created at this time.

It is also reasonable to assume that the secretary recorded the books in the order they were found on the shelves, starting from the folio volumes on the lowest shelves, and working his way up after he had completed a circuit of the library. The entries are in a legible and fair hand, although it is obvious that the secretary was working quickly, possibly with an assistant, and there are several examples of scribal metathesis and haplography in the entries. Most entries contain four elements: the name of the author (α), a title or description (β), a place of publication (γ) and a date (δ). This facilitated a straightforward process of identifying the titles by using three of the four elements as a minimum (β+γ when α is missing, etc.). I first created a diplomatic transcription of the list, preserving all errors and making no adjustments, from digital photographs. I then used a combination of databases in tandem, including the British Library’s ESTC, COPAC, the Bodleian Library’s SOLO, Gallica, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek OPAC+ to create a list of provisional matches, which were then evaluated against Marsham’s citations, and physical examples at the Cambridge University Library, the British Library, and occasionally the library at Trinity College, Cambridge. Some of the assignments were given a statistical weighting by the accumulated dataset, which provides a good idea of Marsham’s preferences: folio over quarto, quarto over octavo, Wechel over Estienne, etc. The integrity of the list has been tested and confirmed by positive identification of books that have emerged in recent auctions.

This is an invaluable tool to understanding Marsham’s scholarly methods, and a premiere example of a state-of-the-art collection of historical literature in early modern England. A full study and statistical analysis are forthcoming, and the catalogue is still in process. A fundamental aspect of my method of historical research was to consult every book that Marsham owned, where possible, and immersing myself in his sources, until I gained enough familiarity with his intellectual world to make confident historical judgements. It is an integral part of the bibliography to my dissertation.

II. Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Marshamianæ.

Libri Theologici in Foliio.

2. Edmundi Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton. 2. Vol. Lond. 1669
3. Tremelii et Juni Biblia Latina, Genevae. 1617
6. The Bible with Notes. London. 1576.
7. La Biblia Español 1569.
11. Caroli a St.º Paulo Geographia Sacra, Lutetiae 1641.
12. Christiani Adrichemii Theatrum terrae Sanctae
21. Eiusdem Historia Ecclesiastica -gr et lat. Coloniae All. 1612
25. St. Epiphanii Opera Omnia gr et lat. 2 Vol. Parisiis 1622
26. St. Cyrilli Opera Omnia gr et lat. Lutetiae 1640
27. Severini Binii Concilia Omnia 10 Vol. Lutetiae 1636
34. Hugonis Grotii Annotata ad vetus testamentum. Lutetiae, 1644.
35. Eiusdem Annotationes in Libros Evangelicum. Amsterda(m). 1641
39. Photii Bibliotheca gr et lat. 1612
40. Balsamonis Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum^ gr et lat. Lutetiae 1620.
41. St.us Irenaeus adversus haereses. Lat. Parisiis 1570
42. S.ti Cypriani Opera lat. Lutetiae 1648.
44. Sti. Augustin Opera Omnia lat. 4 Vol. Basilae 1569.
46. Sti. Chrysotomi Orationes 80 gr et lat. Lutetiae 1669
47. Rodolphus Hospinianus de Monachis, Genevae 1669.
48. Vincenti Burgundi Bibliotheca mundi Duaci, 1624.
51. Nicephori Ecclesiastica historia. Francofur. 1588
52. Historia Ecclesiastica acephalos (Then a book without a title-page, etc).
55. Menochius de Republica Hebreorum, Parisiis 1648.
56. Philonis Judaei Opera gr et lat, Coloniae Allobro. 1613.
57. Flavii Josephi Opera Gr. et Lat, Genevae, 1611.
58. The same English, London, 1683.
60. Innocentii Papae Opera.
63. Cantacuzensus in Canticum Canticorum, Romae, 1624.
64. An Apology of ye power & providence of God in the government of the world, Oxford, 1627.
66. The Life of bishop Usher, ibid, 1686.
68. Mason of ye consecration of ye English Bishops, ibid. 1613.
69. The expiation of a Sinner upon ye Epistle to ye Hebrews, ibid 1646.
70. Austins devotions, ibid, 1637.
71. Perkins works, 2 Vol, 1617.
72. Thorndike's Epilogue to ye tragedy of ye Church of England, ibid, 1659.
73. Fuller Pisgah sight of Palestine, ibid, 1650.
74. Ainsworth's annotations on ye 5 books of Moses, ibid, 1639.
75. Mare Oceano di tutte le Religione del Mundo, Alessina 1613.

Libri Historici in Folio.

hist: Universalis

1. Herodoti historia gr. & lat. 1618
2. Diodorus Siculi Bibliotheca historica gr et lat. Hanoviae 1604
3. Thucididis Historia gr et lat. Francofurti, 1594.
4. Xenophontis historia gr et lat. Ibid. 1594.
6. The Institution of the Life of Cyrus English by Holland, ibid 1632.
7. Dionysii Halicarnasei Historia et Rethorica gr & lat franc. 1586
10. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri Magni gr & lat. 1575.
11. Appiani Historia Romana gr & lat. 1592
18. Labloc Corpus Byzantiae historiae gr & lat. Ibid. 1648.
20. Belledenus de 3 luminibus Romanorum ibid. 1634.
21. Tacitus cum notis Lipsii, Antwerpiae 1627.
22. Idem in English, 1612.
25. Surii Commentarius de rebus in orbe gestis, Coloniae 1568.
30. Eiusdem systema variorum Authorum, ibid. 1630.
31. Simsonii Chronicon Catholicum, Oxoniae 1652.
33. Funccii Chronologia, Wittenbergiae 1601.
34. Bucherius de Doctrina Temporum Antwerpiae 1634.
35. Calvisi Chronologicum, Franc ad Oder, 1620.
36. Helvici Theatrum Chronologicum, Oxoniae 1654.
37. Corpus historiae Byzantiae, franc ad ma. 1568.
38. Thauni historiae 3 Vol. 1626
40. de Fresne historia Bizantina, ibid. 1680.
41. Procopii Arcana Historia, gr & lat. Lуд. 1623.
44. Pauli Iovii historia sui temporis, Lutetiae, 1559.
45. Guicciardini historia, Basilae 1566.
46. Massati historia Augusta henrici, Venitiis, 1636.
47. Abbatis Uspergensis Chronicon, 1540.
48. Cuspinianus de imperatoribus Romani, Basilae.
49. Sciliae historiae compendium, Venitii, 1570.
50. Ramnusius de bello Constantinopolitano, ibid. 1634.
51. Coccii Sabellici Opera 3 Vol, Basilae, 1560.
53. d'Aubigne L'histoire universelle, Amsterdam 1626.
55. Pedro Mexia's history of ye Roman Emperors, ibid. 1604.
56. Causoboni Animad in Athen. Deipnosophistes, Lugdun. 1621.
57. Atheni Deipnosophistae, gr & lat ibid. 1612.
59. Caesaris Commentarii, franc. 1575.
60. Petit Leges Atticae, Parisiis 1635.
61. The history of ye late warrs of Christendom, London, 1648.
62. Codinus Curoplata de officiis et officialibus Ecclesiae & Aulae Constantinopolitanae, Parisiis 1625.
63. The history of ye Council of Trent, London, 1620.
64. Cary's Chronological Account of ancient time, ibid. 1677
66. Germanicum rerum scriptores, 2 Vol francfurti 1624.
67. Freheri Origines Palatinae, 1613.
69. Kranzii Saxonia, & Wandalia, franc. 1621.
71. Freheri Germaniae Scriptores hactenus incogniti Franc. 1624.
72. Aventini Annales Boiorum, Basilae 1615.
73. Lazius de Gentium Migrationibus, Sedibus &c. Francof. 1600.
74. Orbini il regno di Schiavoni, in Pesaro, 1601.
75. Sambuci Epitome rerum Vngaricarum, Viennae, 1558.
76. Dubravii historia Bohemica, Basilae, 1575.
77. Bonfinii res Hungaricae, Hanoviae, 1606.
78. Reineccii Chronica Sclavorum, Francof. 1581.
79. Pistorii Historica Polonica, Basilae.
81. Meursii historia Danica & belgica, Amstelode. 1638.
82. Olai Wormi Fasti Danici, Basinae, 1643.
83. Ejusdem Danicae Monumenta, ibid, 1643.
84. Saxonis Grammatici historia Danica, 1644.
87. Metehn L'histoire des Pays bas, De la Haye, 1618.
89. Langenhoven Journael van de Prince von Orangen, 1633.
90. St. Francis Vere his commentaries, Cambridg. 1657.
91. Premeperart his relation of ye Siege of Busse, Amsterdam, 1630
92. The Siege of Breda, 1627.
94. Historia rerum Belgicarum à diversis Auct. Francofurto, 1580.
96. Vaelesii Gesta veterum Francorum, 3 Vol, ibid. 1646
97. Labbe Nova Bibliotheca Manuscripta de hist. Franc. 2V ibid, 1677.
98. Balusii Capitularia Regum Francorum, 2 V, ibid 1677
100. Aimoinus de Gestis Francorum, Parisus 1603.
101. Caroli Martelli Historia Francorum Scriptorum 3 Vol ibid. 1641
102. Sirmondi Concilia antiqua Gallicae, 3 Vol, ibid. 1629.
104. Paulus Æmilius de rebus gestis Francorum, Basiliae.
106. Valesii Notita Galliarum, ibid, 1675.
108. d'Argentre, Histoire de Bretagne, ibid. 1618.
111. Froissart Histoire et Chronique de France, ibid. 1574.
112. Pasquier Les Recherches de la France, ibid. 1596.
113. de Serres Histoire de France, ibid. 1627.
114. Les commentaires de Caesar acephalous.
117. Mezaray history of France English by Bulteel, ibid. 1683.
119. Lettres à Cardinal d'Ossat, ibid. 1627.

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hist: hisp.

120. Marianae historia Hispaniae, Toleti, 1592.
122. Indices rerum ab Aragoniae Regibus Gestarum, 1578.
123. de Mayere Gen hist of Spain English by Grimeston, London, 1612.
124. Cabera Phillipe Secunda Rey de Espana.

Italia hist.

125. Sigonius de antiquo Jure Civium Romanorum, Parisiis, 1576.
126. Idem de Regno Italiae, Hanoviae, 1613.
127. Tesauro del Regno d'Italia, in Torino, 1664.
128. Flavius de Roma Triumphante, Basiliae 1531.
129. Vitae Poniicum Romanorum, Romae 1630.
130. Rubaei historia Gothorum & Ravennae, Venitiis, 1572.
132. Tristani Historia Mediolanensis.
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133. Frazellus de rebus Siculis.
134. Tavola delle historiae Fiorentinae.
135. Villani Chronique Fiorentinae.
137. Paruta Historia Venetiana, ibid, 1645.
139. Excelencias de la Monarquia de España, 1625
140. La Vida de Carlos Monarquia de España, 1625

_hist. Anglicana._

141. Bedae Historiae Ecclesiastica Anglicana, Cantabrigiae, 1644.
143. Rerum Anglica scriptores post Bedam, ibid. 1596.
144. Matthew Westmin. Flores historiarum et Chronicex Chronicis, Francofur. 1601.
145. Polydorii Vergili Anglia historia, Basiliae, 1555.
146. Historiae Anglicanae scriptores Antiqui, Londini, 1572.
147. Spelman Ælfredus Rex Anglorum, Oxonii 1678.
150. Eadmeri historia novorum in Anglia, Londini, 1623.
155. Balei Scriptores majoris Britanniae, Basiliae.
156. Campani historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica, Duaci, 1622.
159. Speed history of Great Britain, London 1627
163. Buck's Richard ye third, ibid, 1647.
164. Edward ye Second, ibid, 1680.
165. Virulam, Henry ye Seventh, ibid, 1629.
166. A continuation of Daniel's Collection of hist of Eng, ibid, 1636.
168. The continuation of this collection by Trussell, ibid 1641.
169. Godwin Hen.8 Edw.6 & Queen Mary, ibid, 1630.
170. Sanderson Mary Queen of Scot. & James K. of Scot. & Eng, ibid, 1656.
171. Dodsworth & Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum, 3 vol, ibid, 1655.
174. Prideaux Marmora Oxoniensia, Oxonii, 1676.
177. Nova Legenda Angliae,
178. Polychronicon English.
181. Du Chesiae Hist d'Angl, d'Ecos, et d'Irelande, a Paris 1641.
182. Sti. Langfranci Opera, ibid, 1648.
183. Stillingfleet Antiquities of ye British Church, London, 1688.
184. Edward ye Fourth his warrs with Henry 6, ibid, 1659.
185. Brady complete history of England from Caes to h. 3, ibid. 1688.
188. Sammes Antiquites of Ancient Britain, ibid, 1676.
189. Rushworth historical collections from 1 16 J to 5 Ch ibid, 1659.
192. Reyneri Apostolatus Benedictum in Anglia, Duaci, 1626.
196. Vincent Discovery of Errors in ye first edition of ye Catalogue of Nobility of Brook, ibid. 1622
197. Drauton's Chorographical description of Britain, ibid, 1613.
198. Thoroton Antiquities of Nottingham Shire, ibid, 1677.
200. Wright, Antiquities of Rutland, ibid. 1684
201. Plott Historie of Stafford-shire, Oxford 1686.
204. Philipott survey of Kent, London, 1659.
206. Burton Antonius his Journey to G. Britain, ibid, 1658.
207. Camden Britannia, ibid, 1607.
208. King Survey of ye County of Chester & a discourse on ye Isle of Man, ibid, 1656.
212. Monmouth ye Civil wars of England, ibid, 1641.
214. D'EWes Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, ibid, 1682.
215. Tyrell Hist of England to Will. 3, ibid, 1697.
217. An Account of ye Conspiring against K.C.2 82, ibid, 1685.

_hist: Scotia_

218. Deidonani Historia Scotorum, Parisiis, 1574.
220. Skenaei veteres Leges Scotiae, ibid, 1609.
221. The reformation of ye Church of Scotland, London, 1644.
223. Ubaldini descrittione di Scotia, Anversa, 1588.
224. The Late Tumults in Scotland, London, 1639.

_hist: Hibernia._

225. The history of the wars in Ireland, ibid, 1633.
227. Campion History of Ireland, Dublin, 1633.
228. Cox hist of Irel. from ye Conquest of ye Eng. to this time, London, 1684.

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_Jurisconsulti in Folio_

5. Lindenburgii Codex Legum antiquarum, Francofur. 1613
6. Leuwenclavii Jus Canonicem & Civile, ibid, 1596.
7. Mabillon de re Diplomatica, Lutetiae, 1681.
9. The whole Volume of Statutes, ibid, 1587.
10. Dalton Countrey Justice, ibid, 1630.
11. The same with additions, ibid, 1677.
12. Acts of Parlement of Ch. 2. from 61 to 70, Lond. 1670.
13. Keble's Statutes from 1640 to this time, ibid, 1676.
15. Ejusdem collection of Statutes, ibid, 1640.
17. Keble's Assistance to Justices of ye peace, ibid, 1683.
18. Dugdale Historical memorials of ye English Laws, ibid, 1666.
19. A collection of statutes from 40 to 67, ibid, 1667.

_Miscellania in Folio_
1. Bodinus de Republica, Lugduni, 1580.
3. Idem en François par le Sr de, a Lyon, 1579.
8. Turnebi, Adversariorum, Argentinae, 1599.
11. Orientales expeditiones Francorum, Hanoviae, 1611.
15. Idem de Dominio maris, ibid, 1635.
16. Idem de succesionibus ad leges Ebraeorū, ibid, 1636.

Geographia

17. Bertii Theatrum Geographicae veteris.
23. Merulae Cosmographia generalis, Amsteloda. 1621
24. Cluverii Italia Antiqua item Sic. Sard et Cor, ibid, 1624.
25. Ejusdem Sicilia Antiqua, item, Sard. & Cors. ibid, 1619.
27. Italia Illustrata a var Auth. Francof. 1600.
31. Mercatoris geographia, Amstelodam, 1623.
32. Guicciardini description des Paiis-bas, ibid, 1625.
33. Alberti descrittione del' Italia, Bolognæ, 1550.

In folio

36. Hornii Orbii antiquus, ibid, 1654.
37. Keerius les 17 Provinces, ibid, 1622.
38. Old maps colour'd, 1579.

_Antiquarii._

41. Bosio Roma Sotteraenea, ibid, 1632.
42. Boissardi Antiq. et Inscriptiones Romanae, 2 Vol. Francof. 1597
43. Gruchius de Comitiis Romanorum, Lutetiae, 1555.
44. Sigonii Fasti Consulares et Triumphi, Basilae, 1559.
45. Licetus de Lucernis Antiquorum reconditis, Patavii, 1662.
46. Onuphrius de Ludis Circen et de Triumphis, ibid, 1642.
47. Eusdem antiquitates Veronenses, 1648.
48. Eusdem Fastorum, 1588.
49. Boissardi Topographiae Romae, 1597.
50. Campo di la Citta di Cremona, in Milano, 1645.
52. Pancioli Comment in Notitiam Dignitatum, Lugdun 1608.
55. Fasti Romani a Romulo ad Carolum V.
57. Le Antiquites de Nismes.

_Mathematici_

58. Maroloi Mathematiques, a la Haye, 1614.
59. Tensini, La Fortificatione, in Venetia, 1630.
60. Military Instructions for Cavallrie, Cambridge, 1632.
61 De Ville des Fortifications, a Lyon, 1629.
64. Apiani Cosmographia, Parissiis, 1553.
65. Uptonus de studio Milit. de Budo aureo, de Armis, et Spelmani de Aspilogia, Londini, 1654.
66. Patrizi parallelis Militari, Romae 1594.
68. Ælian's Tacticks English, London, 1616.
69. Durero della Commentaria de i corpi humani, in Venetia, 1591.
70. Melzo regale Militari per la Cavaleria, Antwerpiae, 1611.
72. Sherburn Sphere of Manilius, ibid 1675.
73. Firmici Astronomia, Basilae, 1551.
75. Scamozzi Architettura, Venetiis, 1615.
77. Palladi Architettura, Venetiis, 1642.

Poetae

78. Poetae Graeci Majores, gr et lat, Aureliae Allobrog, 1606.
79. Poetae Graeci Minores, gr et lat, Coloniae Allobrog. 1614.
80. Epigrammata Graeca cum notis Brodaei, Francofur. 1600.
81. Martialis cum notis Raederi, Ingolstatti, 1611.
82. Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide de Renouard.
83. Chaucer.
84. Aristo Orlando Furioso, 1564.
85. Diebartas English by Sylvestre.
86. Dante cum il Comment di Landino.
88. Spencers Poems, ibid. 1609.

Philosophi.

89. Platonis Opera Ficino Interpretae, Francofurti 1602.
90. Senecae Opera cum notis Justus Lipsii, Antuerpi, 1615.
91. Diogenes Laertius Aldobrandino Interpetae, Londini, 1664.
92. Aristotelis Opera, gr. et lat, Aureliae Allobrog. 1605
93. Plinii Naturalis historia, Lugdun. 1561.
94. The Same in English, London 1635.
95. Biscolae Opera Phylosophica, Ingolstati 1611.
96. Giraldi historia Deorum, Basilae 1580.
97. Iambichus de Mysteriis, Gale Interprete, Oxonii, 1678.
99. Stanley Chaldaick Phylosophy, ibid, 1662.
100. Ejusdem the History of Phylosophy 2. Vol, ibid 1665.

Oratores

103. Orationes ex Graecae Latinisque: historicis Excerptae, 1570.

Dictionaria.

104. Heysichii Lexicon, Hagenoae, 1521.
105. Æmili Porti Suidas gr et lat. 2 Vol. Coloniae Allob. 1619.
106. Sylburgii Etymologion Mega, 1594.

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110. Erasmi Adagia, Hanoviae 1617.
111. Cooperi Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Brittanicae, Londini 1584.
112. Scapulae Lexicon, Genevae 1628.
113. Ortelii Thesaurus Geographicus, Antuerpi, 1596.
115. Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae, Londini 1671.
118. Vocabulario de gli Academici de la Crusca, in Venetia, 1623.
120. Minshen's dictionary Spanish & English, ibid, 1623

Itineraria.

121. Purchas his Pilgrimes, 4 Vol. Ibid, 1625.
123. Bizari Persicarum Rerum historia, Antuerpiae, 1583.
124. Masteii Historia India, Colon. Agripp. 1593
127. Smith history of Virginia, ibid 1632.

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129. Ludolfi Historia Ætiopica, Francofu. 1681.
130. Novi Orbis descriptio, Basilaeus, 1555.
131. Leunclavii Historia Turcorum, Francoff. 1591.
134. Villadiego Instruccion Politica, en Madrid, 1617.
135. Memoires per L'histoire des Animaux, a Paris, 1671.

Libri Theologici in Quarto

2. Philosophia Ecclesiastica historia, cum Vers et nota, Genevae, 1643.
4. Clemens ad Corinthios Epist. gr et lat, Oxonii, 1633.
11. Usseri Britannicarum Ecclesiæ Antiquitates, Dublinii 1639.
20. Daillé ye right use of ye Fathers, ibid, 1651.
25. The Quarrels of Pope Paul V with Venice, ibid, 1626.
26. Pseudomartyr, the allegiance of ye English papists, ibid, 1610.
27. Thorndike Weights of Religion, ibid, 1662.
29. Stillingfleet Truth of Scripture History, ibid, 1663.
30. Heylin History of ye Sabbath, ibid, 1636.
32. Ejusdem ye history of St. George, ibid, 1631.
33. Hincmari Epistolæ, Argentiae, 1602.
34. Sculteti excertشنæ Evangelicae, Amstelodam. 1624.
35. Paulii de Vita & Miraculis, Patrum emeritensium, Antuerpi. 1624.

Libri Historici in 4º.

Hist. Univ.

37. Samothei Emendatio Temporum, Venetiis, 1575.
38. Sigonius de Antiquo Jure Civium Romanorum, ibid, 1560.
40. Index Thauanae historiae, Genevae, 1634.
41. Chronicon Monasterii Reicherspergensis, Monachii, 1611.
42. Camusaei Chronologia, Trecis, 1608.
43. Iuliani Imperatoris Opera, Parisiis, 1630.
44. Gutherius de officiis Domus Augustae, ibid. 1628.
45. Cassini Symbolica Ægyptiorum Sapientia, ibid. 1647.
46. Valesii excerpta ex Graecis historiis, gr et lat, ibid, 1634.
47. Ammiani Marcellini Res Gestae, ibid. 1636.
52. Constantini Manassis Annales, gr. et lat. ibid. 1616.
54. Leonicus de Varia Historia, Basiliae, 1531.
56. Abu-Pharagii Historia Dynastiarum, Pocockio^ Interp.
60. Fabricii Res Misniae, Lipsiae.
61. Solimani Elogia Ducum, Regum Boemiae, Pragae, 1629.
63. Ejsudem epistola et libellus de rebus Islandicis, Hamburgi, 1618.
66. Oihenarti Notita utrisuque Vasconiae, ibid, 1638.
67. Aldrete de Origen de la Lingua Castellana, Roma, 1606.
69. Capriata Le Guerre d'Italia dat. 1613, fin 1634, Bologna, 1639.
70. Onuphrius Romani Pontifices, Venetiis, 1557.
71. Fazellus de Rebus Siculis, Parisiis, 1550.
73. Paruta Historia Venetiana, in Venetia, 1605.
74. Sardi Historiae Ferraresi, in Ferrar, 1646.
75. Compendio dell' Istoria di Napoli, in Venetia, 1613.
77. Epistolae Gerberti et Jo. Sacrosberiensis, Parisiis, 1611.
79. Godwinus de Praesulibus Anglius, Londini 1616.
80. Seldendi Analectum Anglo-brittaniccon, Francof. 1615
82. Nevyllis de furor Norfolk, Ketto duae, et Norvicus, ibid, 1575.
83. Reformatio Leg: Ecclesiast: Hen: 8 et Edw. 6, ibid, 1640.
84. Vita Sti. Thomae Cantuar. per Berbrand, Parisiis, 1495.
85. Coutumes de Normandie, ibid, 1586.
86. Clementis à Lybaeo-monte Trinobantias Augusta in vers.
88. Coopers Chronicle, 1565.
90. The lives of Will.1, Will.2, Hen.1, ibid. 1613.
91. Kilburn Survey of Kent, ibid. 1659.
92. Sommers Antiquities of Canterbury, ibid, 1640.
94. The manner of holding Parle. in England, 1641.
95. Letters of Mysteries of State, ibid, 1654.
96. Symmons Vindication of King Charles, 1648.

in 4°

hist: Scot

100. Vitae Episcoporum Aberdoniensium, 1522.
101. Waraeus de Scriptoribus Hiberniae, Dublinii 1639.
102. A discourse of ye State of Ireland, 1613.

Jurisconsultio in 4°

103. Lancelotti Corpus Juris Canonici, Lugduni, 1614.
104. Bracton de Legibus et consuetudinibus Anglica, Londini, 1640.
105. Fleta, seu commentarius Juris Anglicani, ibid. 1647.
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1110.3. Barclay, John, *Barclay his Argenis, or, The Loves of Polyarchus & Argenis, faithfully translated out of Latin into English by Kingsmill Long Esquire*, London, 1636. 4°

1111.4. La Mothe le Vayer, François de, *De le Vertu des Payens*, Paris, 1647, 4°

1113.6. Eustathius Macrembolites, "Eustathii de Ismeniae et Ismenes amoribus, libri xi, G. Gaulminus Gr. ed & Lat vertit, Paris, 1618. 8°

1114.7. Morisot, Claude Barthélemy, "Gabrielis à Shupen Alitophili Veritatis Lachrymae, sive, Euphormionis Lusinini continuatio," Geneva, 1626, 8°

Bibliography section 7: Kent Library and History Centre U1128 Z19, Catalogus Bibliothecae Cottonianae, Anno 1674. 991

Transcription of fol.129r:

Books given to S'r John Cottons Library by John Marsham, Esq.

1. Thomas Asheburne ex Ordine Fratres B. Maria de Monte Carmet. Conventus Northampton. Scripsit aº 1384 De Contemptu Mundi (Hujus tractatus non memit Balaeus vid: p. 404.) Rithmicū 992

2. Johes Lydgate ad Edmund fanum Buriensis canobii Monachus, ðîtu(m) sui temporis in Angliâ Poetarû, absit invidia dicto, faciliâ primus floruit. Claruit sexegenarius å D' 1440 sub Rege Henrico VI°. Scripsit Vitam S.æ Mariæ ad Henricu(m) V(m) ... p. 586.993

3. Gulielmus Anglicus__________p: 44 a
Ypocras de Astronomicâ________ p: 52 a.
Liber Aristotelis in Scientiá Astron.ca 55: a
de Nativitatis p: 58: b
de Electionibus p: 60: a
Com(m)enta sup(ra) praedict. Libr p 67 b
Expositio ad literas superioris tract: 70 b
Tract' ali(x) b Tabulis de Aspectibus(us) 76.a
Astronomia secundum Judaeos____p: 78,b
Tract. alius secundum Juadeous de acci=
dentibus nati &c. ____________p: 89.a
Flores Albumasar__________p: 92 a
Alkindus de Impressionibus æris p:100 b.
__de theoria Planetarû(m) p: 110 b
Azerchel de Eclipsibus


Notes:

1. British Library, Cotton Manuscript Appendix VII, 14th century. Thomas Ashburne (fl. 1384), a Carmelite friar at the Convent in Northampton, wrote a poem entitled *de Contemptu Mundi*.


3. British Library, Cotton Manuscript Appendix VI, 260 x 80mm, 196ff. Part one dates from the late 13th-early 14th centuries, after folio 109r the material dates from before 1250. It contains: William of England, *De urina non uisa* (fol. 2r-5r); Hippocrates, *Astrologia Medicorum* (fol. 5r-8r); ps.-Aristotle (Ptolemy), *lucidia ad Aristonem filium suum* (8r-20v); ps.-Aristotle, *Commentum Astronomia* (20v-23r); ps.-Aristotle, *Expositio ad litteram superioris tractatus* (23v-29r); ps.-Aristotle, *Treatise on Astrology* (29r-31v); *Astronomia secundem Judaeos et libros eorum* (31v-45r); Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhi (787-886), *Kitāb taḥāwīl sinī al-'ālam* (45r-53r), the Latin translation of this, entitled *Flores astrologiae*, is attributed to John of Seville (fl. 1135-1153); Abu Yūsuf ibn 'Ishāq as-Ṣabbāh al-Kindī (c.801-873), *de pluviis imbribus et ventis ac aeris mutatione* (53v-63v); Al-Kindī, *de Triplici loco* (63v-70r); attrib. Abū Ishāq Ibrahim al-Zarqālī, *de Eclipsibus* (70v-77v); *De equationibus planetarum* (77v-78v); Al-Kindī, *de Planetis sub radiis* (78v-80r); al-Farghānī (c.805-870), *de Nativitatibus*, also translated by John of Seville; Masha'allah ibn Atharī (c.740-815), *de Nativitatibus*; Al-Kindī, *Judicia*, translated by Robert of Ketton (109r-162v); Abū Ali, *de Iudiciis nativitatum*, translated by Plato of Tivoli (163r-196v).

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22. Oil on panel, 75 x 62 cm, Maidstone Museum accession PCF112. Robert White engraving courtesy Bodleian Library.


47. Image courtesy of Bodleian Library Archives & Manuscripts digital imaging service.

59. Medway Archives and Local History Centre DE106.

63. cf. Cambridge University Library Map Room, Atlas 7.61.3

69-70. Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS. Don.c.60, photographs by author.

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137. Greaves, *Pyramidographia* engraving detail. SUB Göttinger Digitalisierungzentrum,
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189. cf. British Museum 1964, 1303.3 Coin, gold, 28mm, Alexandria, Egypt.

*Acknowledgements:* I would especially like to thank Richard Serjeantson, Dmitri Levitin, Niccolò Guicciardini, Nicolas Bell, Adam Perkins, Paul Cavill, Sandy Paul, Mark Goldie, Ann Blair, Kate Peters, Peter Jones, Mike Webb, David McKitterick, Moti Feingold, Tanya Kelley, Bill Ashworth, Harold Stone, Sam Kennerley, Simone Hanebaum, Jack Atkinson, Jack Dixon, Jonathan, Christa, Felix, and many others for their generous assistance, support, and advice. Above all, I would like to thank my supervisor Scott Mandelbrote, for his guidance as a teacher, and patience as a friend.
Frank, this is dedicated to your memory.