

Training the Virtuoso: John Aubrey's Education and Early Life

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Abstract

John Aubrey's contributions to antiquarianism and archaeology helped to shape the development of several disciplines in English scholarship. This paper looks at the educational milieu that produced his pioneering work, following him from his Wiltshire gentry background through school at Blandford Forum, Dorset, to Trinity College, Oxford, the Middle Temple, and beyond as a young gentleman with a scientific turn of mind in Commonwealth London. It substantially clarifies and revises previous estimates of the extent and nature of his education and offers a case study in the early training of a Restoration "virtuoso".

Keywords: Antiquarianism, Education, Oxford, Rota, Science

John Aubrey (1626-1697) is well-known for his contributions to the intellectual life of the early Royal Society, prehistoric archaeology in Britain, and other scientific and antiquarian disciplines.¹ His education, however, has been comparatively neglected. Since Anthony Powell's 1948 biography, there has been no full-scale study of the young Aubrey within his scholarly contexts.² Historically, there existed a perception of Aubrey as a dilettante, an amateur with superficial knowledge of many subjects but who lacked the will, or the ability, to become master of any.³ While that tradition has been exploded by the work of Kate Bennett, Michael Hunter, Rhodri Lewis, and William Poole, more recent studies have focused on Aubrey's major scholarship, rather than its educational underpinnings.⁴ This paper explores those underpinnings by reconstructing his intellectual development up to his election to the Royal Society in 1663. Building on studies of university education, scientific culture, and the origins of the Royal Society by Mordechai Feingold, Robert G. Frank, Jr., Michael Hunter, and Charles Webster, it establishes a more nuanced intellectual biography and places his education within its larger context.⁵ Attending to the familial, social, and scholarly networks in which he moved by virtue of his class, his education, and his residence, it situates him within the contexts of Early Modern English scientific and antiquarian scholarship and amends prior assessments of the extent and nature of his education. In doing so it paints a portrait of Aubrey at the inception of his major research projects and encourages a reassessment of his approaches and contributions to individual disciplines. It also delineates the social and scholarly circles within which he moved in Civil War-era Oxford and Commonwealth London, networks that played significant roles in the foundation of the Royal Society and the conduct of scholarship in Restoration England.

Wiltshire and School

Aubrey was born at Lower Easton Pierse (now Easton Piercy) in northern Wiltshire, on 12 March 1626.⁶ He was the eldest child of his parents, Richard and Deborah (Lyte) Aubrey. On his father's side, he was the great-grandson of the lawyer, M.P., and confidant of Queen Elizabeth, William Aubrey, and cousin to Sir John Danvers the Regicide.⁷ However, his grandfather Aubrey was a younger son and his father, though owning land in several counties, possessed only moderately substantial means when he married Deborah, daughter and heir of Isaac Lyte of Easton Pierse. Deborah Lyte's family were of more modest background than her husband's: yeomen and small gentry whose estates were grouped around the village of Kington St. Michael, a few minutes walk from Easton Pierse.⁸ The farm of Broad Chalke in south Wiltshire, where Aubrey spent much of his early life, had been leased by the Brownes, Deborah's mother's family, from the Earls of Pembroke and by 1640 this lease had passed from Aubrey's great-uncle to his father.⁹

Aubrey was born into that class of gentry who could boast of ancient descent and who had cousins in positions of wealth and power, but whose own resources were more limited. Richard Aubrey's will disposed of substantial landed property in Wiltshire, Herefordshire, and Wales, but, by his son's account, also left his estate encumbered with £1,800 in debt.¹⁰ Aubrey's affluence was precarious, and would gradually crumble during the course of his adult life.

During his childhood, Aubrey was plagued with illness, including a potentially fatal fever and a "sickness of vomiting" that lasted until he was sent to school, aged twelve.¹¹ This may partly be responsible for the fragmentary formal schooling he was given prior to his matriculation at Oxford. In 1634, he began to study Latin grammar under Robert Latimer, rector of Leigh Delamere, near Easton Pierse, but Latimer died soon after and the young Aubrey was given over to a succession of "dull ignorant rest-in-house teachers" before finally being sent to Blandford School in Dorset, and the care of William Sutton.¹² He appears to have benefitted from his time at Blandford. Despite using Cowper's *Dictionary* as a crib for Terence and Cicero and reading Ovid in Sandys' translation his use of Latin in later works such as the *Remaines of Gentilisme* suggests a good reading ability of the language.¹³

Though his formal education was haphazard, Aubrey remembered his childhood as one of learning and discovery. He began to draw at eight, to paint the following year, and possessed an early fascination for history, antiquities, and the natural world.¹⁴ He was exposed to Bacon's *Essays* at an early age, though in later life he offers two somewhat different recollections of his first acquaintance with the book. Either he "met accidentally" with his mother's copy or was advised to read it by Theophilus Wodenote, a clergyman who lived for two years in Broad Chalke, "being obnoxious to danger of arrests", perhaps for debt.¹⁵ Wodenote had matriculated at King's College, Cambridge, in 1606 and later succeeded his father as vicar of Linkinhorne, Cornwall. He was ejected about 1645, but his fugitive residence in Broad Chalke must have occurred some years before that date.¹⁶ What little is known of him can largely be inferred from the two works of his sequestration: *Hermes Theologus* (1649), a diatribe against Puritanism and the disorders of the 1640s, and *Eremicus Theologus* (1654), a

collection of aphorisms and advice with a moderate Laudian, Royalist bias.¹⁷ During the two years Wodenote lived in Broad Chalke, he had a significant influence on Aubrey's burgeoning intellectual life. Aubrey remembered later that "[h]e did me much good in opening of my understanding; advised me to read lord Bacon's Essayes and an olde booke of proverbs (English); answered me my questions of antiquities>, etc."¹⁸

At his entrance into Oxford, Aubrey appears to have already had a precocious interest in the natural world in both its historical and scientific aspects. He himself implies, in his autobiography and elsewhere, that this enquiring turn of mind owed much to his isolated but happily bookish life at Easton Pierse and Broad Chalke in the years before and during his time as an undergraduate.

Oxford and the Middle Temple

On 4 June 1641 Aubrey matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, and he went up as a gentleman-commoner (the highest social class of undergraduates) on 2 or 3 May of the following year.¹⁹ It is not clear if his family had any prior connection to Trinity, though his cousin, Daniel Danvers, was a commoner there a few years later.²⁰ His choice may have been determined by the presence of William Browne, formerly an usher at his old school and soon to be his tutor.²¹ Browne, like many Trinity men, was from the South West, the son of the rector of More Crichell, Dorset, and was only seven years older than Aubrey. He had matriculated at Trinity in 1634, receiving a scholarship in 1635, was granted his M.A. on 18 March 1642, and had just entered into his fellowship when Aubrey came up.²² Aubrey was probably one of his first students, suggesting that their academic relationship may have been maintained almost without break from school to university. Another reason for the choice may have been Trinity's increasing affluence and willingness to take in the sons of gentlemen, part of a larger shift in which the university accepted increasing numbers of undergraduates, often sons of the gentry who never took degrees.²³ In any case, his first sojourn in Oxford was brief. After three months of looking "through Logique and some Ethiques", reading *Religio Medici* and Sir Kenelm Digby's response (the former of which, Aubrey remembered as the book "which first opened my understanding", suggesting that he may have held it comparably life-changing to Bacon's *Essays*), and hearing his tutor, Browne, prognosticate the fall of the king, he was summoned home by his father in August, "for feare" of civil war.²⁴

Some light can be shed on Aubrey's studies by the account-books of two brothers, John and Richard Newdigate, who had studied at Trinity as fellow-commoners a generation earlier, before going on, like Aubrey, to the Inns of Court.²⁵ These accounts suggest, *pace* Hopkins, a relatively relaxed academic career, with significantly more outlay on lute strings and silk stockings than books, and those books bought often being of a recreational nature.²⁶ The academic books they did purchase, however, delineate the course of study pursued in Trinity at that time. Purchases in the first week of term included Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Pliny's *Epistolae*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Ravisius Textor's *Epithets*.²⁷ Book buying falls off steeply thereafter, but notable later

purchases included Bacon's *Essays*, Lucan, Masius on logic, Martial, Florus' *Histories*, and Theophrastus' *Characters*.²⁸

Unlike the Newdigates, Aubrey wrote that his "fancy lay most to geometry" while at Trinity, a statement borne out by the books he is known to have acquired there.²⁹ Michael Hunter has suggested that what Aubrey's library can suggest about his scholarly interests is "almost always better illustrated by evidence from his writings and letters", but despite its fragmentary nature, what survives of Aubrey's library, particularly those books with dated ownership inscriptions, can serve as an illuminating supplement to other sources.³⁰ In this instance, Aubrey's claims to mathematical study at Trinity are supported by several items in the collection of mathematical works which he later donated to the library of Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford. What may be the earliest surviving book known to have been part of Aubrey's library is a copy of Robert Record's *Arithmetick* signed "Jo Awbrey Trin: Coll: Oxon."³¹ During his third and final period of residence in Oxford he was also evidently studying astronomy and geometry as the ownership inscriptions in his copies of Blaeu's *Institutio Astronomica*, Michaelis' *Epitome Astronomiae*, and Commandinus' bilingual edition of Euclid's *Elements* indicate purchase at that time. By then, he had graduated from the basic arithmetic described by Record to the geometry of Euclid and Blaeu's and Michaelis' discussions of Ptolemaic and Copernican astronomy.³²

Aubrey briefly returned to Trinity in February 1643 but was ill with smallpox in April, and upon his recovery in June was once again sent for by his father. He recalled this event with regret, writing that "it was a most sad life to me, then in the prime of my youth, not to have the benefitt of an ingeniose conversation and scarce any good bookes".³³ His enforced residence in the country, with his parents and, later, two much younger brothers, continued until the spring of 1646, when, "with much adoe" he convinced his father to let him enter the Middle Temple.³⁴

During this second absence from Oxford, William Browne wrote him a series of letters detailing battles of the Civil War and the worsening of the King's cause. The first letters, which appear to date from autumn and winter 1643, are full of reports of Royalist victories.³⁵ The tone soon changes, however. In the spring of 1644, Browne bewails the public sufferings and in a letter of 9 September 1645 advises Aubrey not to return to Oxford, but instead to enter the University of Leiden, it being cheaper and safer.³⁶ In a final letter of 12 November 1646, he assures Aubrey that he will remain in Oxford, despite the turmoil of the times, and without sacrificing his conscience (Browne was a committed Royalist).³⁷

Aubrey was admitted to the society of the Middle Temple on 18 April 1646 and bound with a former Trinity man, Anthony Ettrick³⁸ and John Love, having paid the expected fine of £5.³⁹ As a special admission, Aubrey was exempt from attendance during the learning vacations.⁴⁰ There is no mention of legal studies in his later writings, nor does his name appear in the Middle Temple records beyond the date of his admission, but by his own account he remained associated with the Temple for the next ten years.⁴¹ At the beginning of his time there, Aubrey frequented the Middle Temple dining hall and had some contact with the older lawyers, but it seems likely that, at most, he used the Temple as a convenient base of operations while in London and nothing more.⁴² He did not

live in chambers, but during his sojourns in London regularly lodged at the sign of the Rainbow, near Temple Gate.⁴³

That summer, Aubrey remained in London, making the acquaintance of "many of the king's party" who had fled Oxford at the surrender of the garrison in late June. On 6 November, he returned to Trinity, where he "was much made of by the fellowes; had their learned conversation, lookt on bookes, musique."⁴⁴ He lived in "greatest felicity" there and at the Middle Temple until called home a third and final time by his terminally ill father on Christmas Eve 1648.⁴⁵ During this latter sojourn in Oxford, it is unlikely that he was formally a member of the college. He does not appear on the lists of Trinity men examined by the parliamentary Visitors on 4 May 1648, nor in any other college records of the period.⁴⁶ This does not mean that he did not follow some course of study while there, albeit probably largely self-directed. John Lydall, a fellow of Trinity who became one Aubrey's close friends, writes in a letter soon after his departure that he assumes Aubrey will continue his "studys" and promises to be "a most ready & devoted servant" for their execution.⁴⁷

Lydall's letters of the next few years include greetings from mutual friends that help demarcate the limits of the circles in which Aubrey had moved during his time at Oxford. Lydall began to write within days of Aubrey's departure and it may be assumed that the friends named therein were those with whom the two men had associated during Aubrey's time there between 1646 and 1648.⁴⁸ Names in the letters written by Lydall between 1 January 1649 and 10 February 1652 include Bathurst (nine times), Hawes (five times), Highmore (four times), Douch, How, Proctor, Meese, and Yates (once each).⁴⁹ All of these men can be confidently identified. Ralph Bathurst had been elected scholar at Trinity in 1637, was a fellow of the college, and at the time of the letters practiced medicine in partnership with Thomas Willis.⁵⁰ William Hawes had matriculated at Trinity in 1636 after going to Edward Sylvester's school in Oxford, where Bathurst's partner Willis was a fellow pupil, and in 1658-1659 was briefly president of the college.⁵¹ Richard Highmore had matriculated at Trinity in 1638, was elected a scholar in 1639, and was fellow and bursar by 1648.⁵² Douch was probably one of the two sons of William Douch, rector of Stalbridge, Dorset, who were at Trinity: either John, who matriculated in 1639, or James, who came up two years later.⁵³ William How was the only one of the group who was not a Trinity man - he had matriculated at St. John's in 1637. Like Bathurst and Highmore, he had a medical background, as well as being a botanist, and had commanded a troop of horse for the king during the civil wars.⁵⁴ Proctor was probably the Thomas Proctor who matriculated at Trinity in 1635 and proceeded B.A. in 1637.⁵⁵ He does not appear on the Trinity protestation return for 24 February 1642 but may have remained in the area and maintained an unofficial association with the college.⁵⁶ Nicholas Meese had matriculated at St. John's in 1645 and was a scholar in Trinity, 1648-1649, receiving a B.D. after the Restoration.⁵⁷ Finally, John Yates had matriculated at Christ Church in 1632, but had migrated to Trinity by the time he was granted his M.A. in 1639.⁵⁸ Aubrey seems to have known his father.⁵⁹ Lydall himself had matriculated at Trinity in 1640 and appears to have already been a fellow when he was granted his M.A. in 1647.⁶⁰

The core members of this group seem to have been Bathurst, Hawes, Highmore, and presumably Lydall himself. These men were all older than

Aubrey, had, with the exception of Lydall, joined the college in the 1630s, and with the exception of Hawes, had known medical interests or were active medical practitioners.⁶¹ It is likely that these were the fellows who "made much of" Aubrey on his return to Trinity in 1646.⁶² The one mention of How appears together with Bathurst, Hawes, and Highmore, suggesting that his medical vocation may have served as a link to the larger group.⁶³ Little is known about Yates, but he would have been coeval with the other older men, while Douse and Meese were closer to Aubrey's age and seem to have been slighter acquaintances. Aubrey is the odd man out in this group, all the more so as it becomes clear that, at least at the beginning of his correspondence with Lydall, he does not yet know Thomas Willis and lacks detailed knowledge of the other men's experiments.⁶⁴ There may be other, less obvious, bonds between these scholars, however. Hawes, How, and Highmore were expelled by the university visitors on failure to submit to the new regime in 1648 and Bathurst, though he submitted at the time, later protested that he had maintained his loyalty to the Royalist cause throughout the Commonwealth.⁶⁵ Aubrey's dislike of the Parliamentary leadership was unequivocal and, though no direct evidence of his political opinions from this period survives, it may be that shared dissident sympathies joined him to this group of scientifically-minded fellows as much as science itself.⁶⁶ Aubrey has been cautiously described as "dissident" rather than "Royalist" in this context due to his involvement with James Harrington's club of republican theorists, discussed below. His later friendship with adherents of the Parliamentary cause such as William Petty, Seth Ward, and John Wilkins offers little insight into his private politics of the 1640s as cross-political acquaintance within the early Royal Society was the norm rather than the exception.⁶⁷

What did Aubrey talk about with these dons and physicians? No direct evidence of his studies during this stint at Trinity survives, but his correspondence of the following decade, discussed below, allows for an educated guess.

London and independence

Aubrey divided his time between Broad Chalke and his lodgings in London during the course of his father's last illness, perhaps due to the latter's request that he "looke after his country businesse and solicite a lawe-suite".⁶⁸ While in Broad Chalke he remained in correspondence with Lydall and exchanged letters and visits with Francis Potter, another fellow of Trinity with an "ingenious" turn of mind, then rector of Kilmington, Somerset. These two correspondences provide the best evidence for Aubrey's scholarly preoccupations during this time. The fourteen letters from Lydall date from between January 1649 and June 1655, while the nine letters from Potter cover the period between April 1651 and May 1656. Regrettably, the portion of these correspondences surviving amongst those letters which Aubrey donated to the Ashmolean Museum appears to represent only a moiety of the original *corpus*. No figures survive for the number of letters written between Aubrey and Lydall, but in his life of Potter Aubrey wrote that he had "all his letters by me, which are very good, and I beleeve near 200, and most of them philosophical".⁶⁹ If this is representative of the collection of letters to Aubrey preserved in Bodleian MSS. Aubrey 12 and 13, it forces a note of caution to be sounded in any attempt to reconstruct Aubrey's

activities during this period. While he may be presumed to have preserved the most important (as he saw them) letters for deposit in the Ashmolean, such a fragmentary body of evidence can only provide the basis for a fragmentary biography.

Bearing these caveats in mind, the contents of the surviving letters between Aubrey, Lydall, and Potter suggest an internally consistent plan of research and study by Aubrey. He appears as the junior partner in both relationships, soliciting information, asking for advice on books, and allowing his studies to be guided by the two older men. Notable is the almost complete lack of references to stereotypically "Aubreian" subjects: antiquarianism, astrology, or the occult. These are not completely absent -- a letter from Lydall of 11 March 1650 contains a report of the Just Devil of Woodstock -- and other, more historical, lines of study are suggested by a letter from Lydall of 13 March 1649, enclosed within which Bathurst sends Aubrey a catalogue of "the writers of the Saracen history", but these are exceptions rather than the norm.⁷⁰

This is not to suggest, however, that Aubrey had no antiquarian interests at this time. He famously recorded that it was in 1654, while staying with his cousin Sir John Aubrey at his estate, Llantrithyd, that "he began to enter into pocket memorandum bookes philosophicall and antiquarian remarks".⁷¹ In the same year he rescued an altar on the site of Roman Caerleon from a workman's hammer. "I did intend to have presented this draught to M^r Jo: Selden, but he fell sick", he recalled, "and never recovered."⁷² Aubrey's engagement with Selden's work continued when he purchased, for four shillings, Selden's *Jani Anglorum facies altera* (London, 1610) on 11 December 1654.⁷³ Aside from these instances, however, his antiquarian studies were secondary to his other "philosophical" pursuits at this period.

Aubrey, in accordance with contemporary usage, used "philosophical" to mean anything concerned with the pursuit of knowledge, including the physical and natural sciences. His philosophical researches are abundantly evident in the letters, which suggest that he was chiefly concerned with mathematics, in their pure form and as applied to astronomy, navigation, and mechanics (i.e., "mathematics" and "mixed mathematics" in Early Modern terminology), with strong secondary interests in medicine and chemistry.⁷⁴ He also began a biographical study of Francis Bacon, but this endeavour, qualitatively different from his scientific studies, will be considered separately.

An example of the didactic nature of many of the letters from both correspondences is Lydall's of 18 September 1649. He explains to Aubrey "the cause of the hunters moon" which Aubrey "will easily perceive", if he remembers "out of Blondewill the difference of the rising of the ecliptique", i.e., that some signs of the zodiac rise obliquely, and so more quickly than those which rise vertically. Lydall then explains the astronomy and apologizes for not being able to immediately send Aubrey a copy of Pitiscus' *Trigonometry*.⁷⁵ Potter also contributed to Aubrey's mathematical education, lending him a book by the same author as "he who wrote the discourse of the world in the moon", discussing gravity with reference to Wilkins' *Mathematicall Magick* in 1651, and explaining a speedier method for obtaining logarithms in 1654.⁷⁶ At this time, Aubrey was building a library of mathematical texts. In 1652 he purchased Gaspar Ens' *Thaumaturgus mathematicus* and also owned or had read the mathematical

works of Leonard Digges and an unidentified essay by the mathematician Edmund Wingate by the early 1650s.⁷⁷

It was probably in the mid-1650s that Aubrey began to take instruction in algebra from the mathematician, Edward Davenant.⁷⁸ They were presumably introduced through Anthony Ettrick, who had married Davenant's daughter, Anne, herself "a notable Algebrist", in 1650.⁷⁹ A composite mathematical manuscript donated by Aubrey to the library of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, contains his fair notes on this education in algebra out of Davenant's manuscript treatise, the *Algebra Literalis*.⁸⁰ The eighty-two pages of this document suggest a careful and systematic approach to learning the principles of algebra and an interest in both pure and applied mathematics.⁸¹ Undated, within the same collection, is a smaller treatise "of Logorithmes [*sic*]" which likely relates either to his education by Davenant or by Francis Potter.⁸²

Much of this interest in mathematics was channeled into a fascination with inventions, perhaps inspired in part by Potter, whose "genius lay most of all to the mechanicks".⁸³ In spring 1649 Lydall thanked Aubrey for "your description of y^e glasse diall" which he has seen "geometrically set down" in John Wells' *Sciographia*.⁸⁴ In 1651 Potter promised to repay him for his kindnesses with a "device" of his making and explained the logistics of building both a flying chariot and a submarine.⁸⁵ That same year, Lydall wrote of new inventions in Oxford: William Petty's improved harvester and Christopher Wren's scales and engine for double writing, mentioning also that he was reading Kircher's *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* and quoting various contrivances from it.⁸⁶ He remarked that Aubrey may have seen a trick of perspective with a drawing and cylindrical mirrors in Tradescant's museum.⁸⁷ Two years later, Potter gave Aubrey a graduated compass of his design and promised to supply him with a quadrant of his making.⁸⁸ In May 1656 Potter sent Aubrey on a mission in London to search out a certain type of sheet metal for the better making of the compass.⁸⁹

Another interest of Potter's which Aubrey may have shared as early as the 1650s was in artificial language. Rhodri Lewis noted that among the subjects of discussion at Aubrey's first meeting with Samuel Hartlib was Potter's study of "a common or Vniversal Character", and in December 1653 Hartlib again mentions that Potter is "about a common-Language to bee written in ordinary Characters".⁹⁰ Lewis has cautioned that these references could simply be a misunderstanding of a form of cryptography, but they could equally anticipate Aubrey's known interest in the revision of John Wilkins' *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* in the 1670s.⁹¹

Aubrey was also fascinated by what Lydall described as "the more scholastick & geometricall part of navigation".⁹² This interest presumably went hand in hand with his several aborted plans to take up various grants of land in the Americas. Navigation and exploration, as manifestations of a wider interest in mathematical and descriptive geography, were well known in 1640s Trinity.⁹³ On 5 April 1649, Lydall wrote thanking Aubrey for intelligence concerning the new plantations. Lydall's brother was going to Barbados, and would, he wrote, be glad of Mr. Ettrick's company.⁹⁴ In later letters from the early 1650s, Lydall passes on a letter from Aubrey to Thomas Mariett in which Aubrey mentions finding latitude in the dark, recommends Gilbert's *De Magnete*, but thinks that Blundeville is more commodious for use, and answers Aubrey's opinions on the relative merits of various books of practical and "scholastick" navigation.⁹⁵ A

hint of applied navigation appears in a letter of 22 February 1654 in which Lydall reports that he has not found anyone "that are for such a voiage as yours", though, given its timing, this could refer to Aubrey's projected tour of Italy rather than a more purely maritime adventure.⁹⁶

Chemistry and medicine were subsidiary but not inconsiderable topics of interest in the letters. Throughout the winter and spring of 1649, Lydall attempted to procure an unspecified quantity of *aurum fulminans* for Aubrey, hampered first by the absence from Oxford of Thomas Willis, "our chymist", and later by the irregularities of the mail.⁹⁷ *Aurum fulminans*, a highly explosive gold compound, was regularly prepared by chemists in the first half of the seventeenth century and was sometimes attributed medical properties.⁹⁸ Its appearance here, in association with Bathurst and Willis, suggests that Aubrey was aware of the nature of the experiments being conducted by their circle at this time, among which appears to have been Willis' demonstration of its explosive capabilities.⁹⁹ Another chemical or geological reference appears in two letters from Potter of 1655 and 1656 in which he describes the unexplained growth of a mark upon the surface of an agate, later allowing Aubrey to lend it to William Harvey for further observation.¹⁰⁰

Given the medical interests of Aubrey's Oxford friends, it is unsurprising that it too was among his subjects of study. Impetus for this may also have sprung from his friendship with William Harvey, which appears to have begun about this time. Aubrey had seen Harvey from a distance during his visit to Trinity in 1642 but "was then too young to be acquainted with so great a doctor." They became known to each other in 1651, when Harvey was attending Aubrey's cousin, Mrs. Montague, in his medical capacity, and at the time of his projected journey into Italy Harvey "in order to my journey,

gave me, i.e., dictated to me, what to see, what company to keepe, what bookes to read, how to manage my studies: in short he bid me goe to the fountain head, and read Aristotle, Cicero, Avicenna, and did call the neoteriques shitt-breeches.¹⁰¹

Harvey became another of Aubrey's teachers. In a note of June 1655 Aubrey records a set of queries to ask Harvey on mineral waters, the curative qualities of whey, and why people recover better from fainting fits on their backs, and in November of that year Harvey purged him to prevent an abscess.¹⁰²

The attempts by Potter to establish transfusion of blood are well known. In letters to Aubrey of November 1652 and October 1653, Potter discussed the practicalities of transfusion, including the instruments needed.¹⁰³ In the latter year, Aubrey had purchased a copy of Sanctorius' *De statica medicina* from Lydall and in the same year Lydall answered a question "in Anatomy" of Aubrey's by suggesting that while Riolanus was more accurate, Bartholinus was "easier".¹⁰⁴ Frank does not gloss these authors, but the latter is clearly Caspar Bartholin's standard textbook, *Anatomicae institutiones corporis humani* which Aubrey may have been familiar with in the Oxford edition of 1633. It is not clear to which work of Jean Riolan Lydall refers. Perhaps Aubrey's query related to theories of the circulation of blood and Lydall directed him to Riolan's contradictions of Harvey in his *Opuscula anatomica nova* (London, 1649). Aubrey was directed to the work of Bartholin's son, Thomas, in 1655, this time by Potter, who advised

Bartholin's *Animadversions upon Pequetus* ("a new little book") for details on the progression of chylus and its emptying into the vein of the neck.¹⁰⁵

Aubrey did not limit himself to study during this period, but also began to make contacts outside of the circle of his Trinity friends and to embark upon at least one of his major works, albeit in embryonic form. On 2 December 1652, Aubrey, of his "owne accord", paid a visit to Samuel Hartlib who recorded an impression of the younger scholar in his *Ephemerides*:

Hee seemed to be a very witty man and a mighty favorer and promoter of all Ingenious and Verulamian Designes. especially interested [sic] in Mr Potter the 666. divine . . .¹⁰⁶

Aubrey attempted to interest Hartlib in Potter's inventions, and his notices of Potter's latest progress appear in Hartlib's notebooks for the winter of 1652-1653. Also present, however, is the germ of a new idea. Hartlib noted that "My Lady Mitton is said to have the remainder of all Verulam's MS. which Aubrey will labor to get from her".¹⁰⁷ Aubrey's interest in Bacon had continued during this period with the purchase of his *Historia naturalis et experimentalis de ventis* in 1650, his *Remaines* in 1651, and, in the former year, a biographically informative visit to Bacon's old retainer, Thomas Bushell, during the latter's concealment at Lambeth.¹⁰⁸ He had evidently become interested in collecting Bacon's unpublished manuscripts by the time of his meeting with Hartlib. In a letter of 8 March 1653, Hartlib mentions that he has "a piece of L^d Verulam's, w^{ch} was never yet extant in print", with the implicit assumption that Aubrey will be particularly interested to learn this.¹⁰⁹ It is not immediately clear what, if anything, came of Aubrey's search for Baconian manuscripts at this time, but by 12 December 1655 Hartlib could write to John Worthington that "one Mr. Aubrey an English gentleman is about to write the Life of that Noble Scholar [*i.e.*, Bacon]. I wish he may do it to the life."¹¹⁰ This is almost certainly the extensive life of Bacon which later appears in Aubrey's collections for the *Lives*. It is Aubrey's first known biographical attempt and is also of interest because it suggests how his more literary endeavours derived not solely from acting as research assistant and dogsbody for Anthony Wood, but out of an independent interest in the biographical and historical background of the men of science whose works he was studying at this time.¹¹¹

This record of study, experiment, and research suggests something more than the passing enthusiasms of a dilettantish amateur. Although not always undertaken through conventional avenues, it was a directed, internally consistent, and wide-ranging attempt to obtain and systematize knowledge of the new philosophy. Lacking the necessary framework for more than basic formal education in mathematics and experimental science, Aubrey found his own tutors – Lydall, Bathurst, Potter, Harvey, and possibly others – through existing networks of friendship, kinship, and patronage, and embarked upon a campaign of reading and study as soon as he found himself sufficiently independent to do so. There can be little doubt that the scholar who in the 1650s and 1660s began works such as the *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire*, *Monumenta Britannica*, and the *Idea of Education of Young Gentlemen* was firmly grounded, less in the philological, humanist tradition often associated with antiquarians, but rather in the same Baconian tradition of applied mathematics and

experimentally proven knowledge which influenced the creation and development of the Royal Society.

Republicanism, Restoration, and the Royal Society

Aubrey's extant correspondence largely ceases between late 1655 and mid-1659, but whether this indicates a falling off in his friendships with his Oxford friends or is merely a lacuna in the record is uncertain. One reason for the cessation of letters was probably the death of John Lydall on 12 October 1657. He was buried in Trinity College chapel and Ralph Bathurst wrote a fulsome elegy for his friend, asserting that

No one examined the inner recesses of nature more openly
or sagaciously: no one was more lynx-eyed in mathematics:
no one, through anatomy, botany, or alchemy, more fruit-
fully laid out the basis of medicine.¹¹²

With his passing, Aubrey's link to the Trinity circle seems to have been broken and in 1656 he gave up any association with the Middle Temple, leaving him unoccupied, of independent means, and largely resident in London.¹¹³ At this time he came into the company of two other men: John Hoskins and Stafford Tyndale. Hoskins was a fellow Middle Templar with scientific tastes, later both Fellow and President of the Royal Society, while Tyndale was a neighbour from Wiltshire who lived in London and was later secretary to Archbishop Sheldon.¹¹⁴ In 1656 the three men viewed an engine for weaving stockings in Pear-pool lane but throughout this and the following year Aubrey seems to have been more concerned with love than scholarship.¹¹⁵

This is, however, as likely to represent a lack of information as a cessation of study or curiosity on Aubrey's part. In the 1685 preface to his *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire*, he recalled that he had "begun" it in 1656, by which he probably meant that he began to collect materials for it.¹¹⁶ Other evidence of scholarship during this period includes sustained engagement with Thomas Willis' medical writings before and after their publication. Sometime between 17 September and 1 December 1656 Hartlib noted that

Dr or Mr Willis a leading and prime man in the Philosophical Club
at Oxford. Hee hath written a *Treatise De Fermentatione* and of
Colours much commended by Mr Aubrey.¹¹⁷

The first treatise was the *De fermentatione* of Willis' *Diatribæ duæ medico-philosophicæ* (London, 1659), a copy of which Aubrey acquired upon its publication in 1658.¹¹⁸ There is nothing among Willis' published works that could plausibly be the treatise of colours described by Hartlib.¹¹⁹ Aubrey's copy of the former has been carefully studied, with underlinings and tick marks in red pencil throughout, and the end-papers are crammed with Aubrey's notes on practical medicine, including *notae* such as "Cloves of Garlick eaten / conduseth exceedingly to long life / . . . q'. when & how often?" and summaries or references to the text for ague, itch, fever, and, unexpectedly, brewing.¹²⁰

Aubrey bought another book in 1658, strikingly different from Willis' medical tracts: James Harrington's *Oceana*.¹²¹ The only annotations in this volume are corrections of printing mistakes, but both the first three and the last leaves have been cut out. It was Aubrey's habit to write notes, observations, or cross-references on the blank leaves at either end of a volume and their excision here suggests the possibility of self-censorship.¹²² It may be significant that the edition Aubrey purchased was not the 1656 *editio princeps*, but the 1658 reprint. Aubrey was to become a friend of Harrington, but the beginning of their acquaintance seems to have been no earlier than 1658 or 1659, despite the tantalizing coincidence of the shop of *Oceana*'s publisher, Daniel Pakeman, "at the Rain-bow in Fleetstreet", which was undoubtedly "the Rainbow, a stationer shop between the two Temple-Gates" where Aubrey roomed during this period.¹²³ It may be that Aubrey's residence played a role in throwing them together.¹²⁴

Aubrey and Harrington were certainly acquainted by the autumn of 1659, when Harrington's "Rota Club" began to meet at the Turk's Head in New Palace Yard.¹²⁵ Its purpose was to propose and debate an alternative model of government for England and by 20 December of that year its plans were sufficiently advanced for it to resolve to print a *précis* of conclusions so far, which was issued as a pamphlet early in the new year.¹²⁶ The club's ideology was republican and aligned against both the Commonwealth and any restored monarchy. As Aubrey described it, it consisted of a group of men broadly considered to be Harrington's "party", another group of "auditors" (in which he placed himself), and a group of antagonists. John Hoskins was amongst Harrington's adherents, as were such politically dangerous figures as Cyriack Skinner, Milton's pupil, and Maximilian Petty the Leveller.¹²⁷

It is unclear to what extent Aubrey supported Harrington's proposals. His only description of this period, in his life of Harrington, was written long after the fact and likely represents the wisdom of Restoration-era hindsight rather than the possibilities available in 1659. Even so, Aubrey wrote that "the doctrine was very taking" and there is a wistful note in his account of the Club's last days:

[T]his meeting continued Novemb., Dec., Jan., till Febr. 20 or 21; and then, upon the unexpected turne upon generall Monke's comeing-in, all these aierie models vanished. Than, 'twas not fitt, nay treason, to have donne such.¹²⁸

Aubrey escaped the Restoration unharmed, but the danger of being associated with such an institution is apparent in his excision of the names of Hoskins and Thomas Mariett from the list of members, adding that they "would not like to have their names seen".¹²⁹ Mariett was Aubrey's bed-fellow during his time in the Middle Temple and had held treasonable correspondence, first with Charles II, then with General Monck, during the 1650s. Aubrey recalled that "Every night late, I had an account of all these transactions abed", suggesting that he was more than merely a fellow lodger of the dissident.¹³⁰ There is not enough evidence to suggest how these episodes fit within Aubrey's larger political and ideological life, but they complicate any portrait of him as a doctrinaire Royalist, seeking solace in science during the Commonwealth, a portrait which was frequently and self-servingly drawn by many intellectuals after the Restoration.

In March 1660 Aubrey was in Wiltshire, attending a meeting of local gentlemen to choose M.P.s for the Convention Parliament.¹³¹ An incidental result of this electioneering was the decision by Aubrey, William Yorke, Thomas Gore, Jeffrey Daniel, and Sir John Erneley, all Wiltshire gentry, to attempt an antiquarian "Description" of Wiltshire in imitation of Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*.¹³² The only portion completed of this work was Aubrey's own description of the "North Division" of the county, that part including his childhood home of Easton Pierse. Writing in his preface to this work, he lamented that he had "not sett downe the Antiquities of these parts" before this meeting, for many things had since been irrecoverably lost.¹³³ The grammar of the passage is ambiguous, but seems to indicate that it was only in 1660 that he began systematically to record antiquarian, as opposed to natural historical, notes on Wiltshire.

Aubrey's activities at this time are preserved in the letters sent him by Tyndale and Hoskins during their trips to Europe in the late 1650s and early 1660s. On 28 July 1659 Tyndale wrote from Alençon, encouraging Aubrey to join him in Paris in time to see the royal marriage ceremonies there, but Aubrey seems not to have taken advantage of his friend's offer, remaining in England until a brief and unexplained visit to Ireland with Anthony Ettrick in the summer of the following year.¹³⁴ Aubrey had been bitterly disappointed at the failure of his scheme to visit Italy earlier in the decade and this must still have rankled, for in a letter of 18 December 1660 Hoskins, writing from Rome, feared to tell Aubrey of its wonders for making him melancholy.¹³⁵ Aubrey appears to have been meditating on another continental venture, however, for in a letter of 21 August 1661 Tyndale wrote that

Some vessels are gone already to Portugall, & others are ready to transport Sr Richard Fanshaw, as soone as advice comes from thence, that all things are matured; & if you intend that journey, you must hasten . . .¹³⁶

This refers to Fanshawe's expedition as ambassador to Portugal from September to December 1661.¹³⁷ No other mention of this proposed journey to Portugal, presumably attached in some capacity to the ambassadorial retinue, appears in Aubrey's papers and it must have proved abortive. It is curious, however, that Aubrey could even be considered for such an official role, given his apparent dissociation from Restoration politics.

Almost a year before the inaugural meeting of the group that became the Royal Society had been held on 28 November 1660.¹³⁸ This organizational meeting compiled a list of those "judged willing & fit to joyne them in their design" from which Aubrey was conspicuously absent.¹³⁹ The first evidence of any association between him and the Royal Society comes from a letter written from Venice by John Hoskins on 12 July 1661 in which he wonders that "you tell mee nothing of the famous Academy of or philosophicall scepticks y^t believe nothing not tryed".¹⁴⁰ There is little to suggest, however, that Aubrey would have any privileged knowledge of the Society at this time. His name is absent from the records of the Society at the adoption of the first charter on 15 July 1662 and a letter from Stafford Tyndale of that May chides him for absenting himself so long from London.¹⁴¹ It was only on 24 December that his name was

proposed as a possible member by Walter Charleton, a former student of John Wilkins at Magdalen Hall, who had in the same month given Aubrey a copy of his *Consilium hygiasticum*.¹⁴² He was elected on 7 and admitted on 21 January 1663.¹⁴³

The reason for this lapse between the initial organization of the Royal Society and Aubrey's admission to membership is probably due to his comparatively peripheral role in the larger intellectual community. Aubrey was experienced in mathematics, mechanics, and natural philosophy, but had remained outside the core groups of experimental scientists whose work preceded and informed that of the Society. He was more than a dilettante, but neither was he a pillar of the scientific community. Occupying a liminal position between virtuoso and more serious student of experimental science, he was like many intellectually-inclined members of the gentry: inclined towards, and even experienced in, the new philosophy, but, not an active contributor of knowledge to the larger projects of the Society and other learned ventures.

Placed within this biographical framework, the genesis of Aubrey's later research and role within the Society can be seen to lie precisely within this "virtuosic" background. Over the remaining thirty-five years of his life, he honed and refined the knowledge he had acquired in his youth, putting it to use for the advancement of learning, partially through the vehicle of the Society, but largely on his own account. Aubrey's life and intellectual pursuits are far better documented, and far better studied, after the early 1660s, but the above offers an intellectual biography that may serve as a framework within which to view his later achievements. As William Poole has recently observed, the better-known achievements of Aubrey the biographer, the antiquarian, and the surveyor of Stonehenge should not blind us to the less obvious, but nonetheless important, achievements of Aubrey the learned observer and practitioner of mathematics and natural philosophy. Aubrey, though only in the intellectual front ranks within his preferred discipline of antiquarianism, came from an educational background also steeped in the practices of the new philosophy.

Aubrey's career should not, however, be neatly divided into early "scientific" and late "antiquarian" periods. Nor, indeed, is it useful to distinguish between "scientific" and "antiquarian" in this context. A scholar like Aubrey, who could simultaneously read Selden's *Janus Anglorum*, collect materials for a biography of Francis Bacon, and learn algebra, existed in an intellectual sphere that made no clear distinction between the two. His early career demonstrates how, under the all-encompassing umbrella of "scholarship", Aubrey could investigate the natural history that would eventually inform his study of prehistoric archaeology and the mathematics and mechanics that would prompt him to reflect on the history of invention. In microcosm, his education and life reflect a scholarly world before the blinders of specialisation, when polymathy, rather than something suspicious, was something to be respected and praised.¹⁴⁴ As such, it offers a valuable corrective to historiographies of science that neglect its wider context as well as to historiographies of antiquarianism that ignore the profound influence of the experimental sciences.¹⁴⁵

1 Michael Hunter, *John Aubrey and the Realm of Learning* (London, Duckworth, 1975) is the standard discussion, to be consulted together

- with William Poole, *John Aubrey and the Advancement of Learning* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Publishing, 2010).
- 2 Anthony Powell, *John Aubrey and his Friends* (1948; rev. ed., London, Heinemann, 1963).
 - 3 See, for example, Lytton Strachey's assessment of Aubrey as "an amiable muddler" (*Portraits in Miniature and other essays* [London, Chatto & Windus, 1931], p. 20) and the derisive criticism throughout John Collier's *Scandals and Credulities of John Aubrey* (London, D. Appleton, 1931). David Tylden-Wright's *John Aubrey: a life* (London, Harper Collins, 1991) is written in a similar vein and Kate Bennett has demonstrated in a recent review of Allan Pritchard's *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005) that this tradition of undervaluation still persists (*Review of English Studies*, 57 [2006], 803-805). The blame does not rest entirely at their doors. Aubrey may have unintentionally cultivated this image, describing himself, after Horace (*Ars Poetica*, lines 304-305), as a whetstone that could sharpen others, though itself unable to cut, which seems to have been taken, incorrectly, by some as an admission of his own dilettantism (John Aubrey, *Brief Lives, chiefly of contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the years 1669 and 1696*, ed. Andrew Clark [Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898], vol. 1, p. 39).
 - 4 Besides Hunter, Aubrey, and Poole, Aubrey, see Kate Bennett, *Materials towards a critical edition of John Aubrey's Brief Lives*, University of Oxford unpublished D.Phil. Thesis (1993), soon to be replaced by her edition of the *Lives*; Kate Bennett, 'Editing Aubrey', in Joe Bray, Miriam Handley, and Anne C. Henry (eds.), *Ma(r)king the Text* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000); Kate Bennett, 'John Aubrey's Collections and the Early-Modern Museum', *Bodleian Library Record*, 17 (2001), 213-45; Kate Bennett, 'John Aubrey, Hint-Keeper: Life-Writing and the Encouragement of Natural Philosophy in the pre-Newtonian Seventeenth Century', *The Seventeenth Century* 22, 358-380 (2007); Rhodri Lewis, 'The Efforts of the Aubrey Correspondence Group to Revise John Wilkins's Essay (1668) and their Context', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 28 (2001), 333-66; Rhodri Lewis, *Language, Mind, and Nature: artificial languages in England from Bacon to Locke* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007).
 - 5 Mordechai Feingold, *The mathematicians' apprenticeship: science, universities, and society in England, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984); Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities' and 'The Mathematical Sciences and New Philosophies', both in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume IV: The Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 211-448; Robert G. Frank, Jr., *Harvey and the Oxford physiologists: a study of scientific ideas* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1980); Robert G. Frank, Jr., 'John Aubrey, F.R.S., John Lydall, and Science at Commonwealth Oxford', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*

- 27, (1973), 193-217; Michael Hunter, *Establishing the new science: the experience of the early Royal Society* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell Press, 1989); Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows, 1660-1700: the morphology of an early scientific institution*, 2nd ed. (Stanford in the Vale, British Society for the History of Science, 1994); Michael Hunter, *Science and the shape of orthodoxy: intellectual change in late seventeenth-century Britain* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 1995); Michael Hunter, *Science and society in Restoration England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981); Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626-1660* (London, Duckworth, 1975)
- 6 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 35. His birth would have fallen within 1625 in the Julian calendar. All dates are given in Old Style but the year is assumed to begin on 1 January rather than 25 March.
- 7 Bodleian MS. Malone 33, fo 59v (pedigree of the Aubrey family, from a manuscript of James Gilpin copied by Edmund Malone); Thomas Wotton, *The English baronetage: containing a genealogical and historical account of all the English baronets, now existing . . .* (London, Printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741), vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 111; George E. Cokayne, *The Complete Baronetage* (Exeter, Pollard, 1900-1909), vol. 3, pp. 93-94; F. N. Macnamara, *Memorials of the Danvers Family (of Dauntsey and Culworth): their ancestors and descendants from the Conquest till the termination of the eighteenth century* (London, Hardy & Page, 1895).
- 8 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 3, fo 51r; George W. Marshall (ed.), *The Visitation of Wiltshire, 1623* (London, George Bell & Sons, 1882), pp. 28-29, 56; J. E. Jackson, 'Kington St. Michael', *Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine*, 4(1858), 71-72.
- 9 D. A. Crowley (ed.), *A History of Wiltshire, Volume XIII: South-West Wiltshire: Chalke and Dunworth Hundreds* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 40, 44.
- 10 Public Record Office, PCC Wills, Prob 11/230, fos 129r-130v; Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 38.
- 11 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 35-36.
- 12 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 29, 35-36. Sutton came from a distinguished family of schoolteachers associated with Blandford School (Alfred A. Mumford, 'The Suttons, a Dorset race of scholars', *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, 10[1907], 202-203). Blandford may also have provided the first point of contact between Aubrey and his future fiancée, Katherine Ryves. Her father, George Ryves, was buried there, per her will, and was evidently a member of the learned gentry family of that name living at Damory Court, Blandford (Powell, *Aubrey*, pp. 83-84).

- 13 Powell, *Aubrey*, pp. 40-43. The books mentioned were Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ* (London, 1573) and George Sandys' *Ovid's Metamorphosis* (London, 1626), or later editions (for convenience, publishing data of works predating 1750 has been suppressed). The *Remaines of Gentilisme*, Aubrey's treatise on the survival of Greco-Roman traditions in modern folklore, is now British Library Add. MS. 72850, fos 100r-243v.
- 14 Writing of himself (in the third person) he recalled that, "[w]hen a boy, he did ever love to converse with old men, as living histories. He cared not for play, but on play-dayes he gave himselfe to drawing and painting" (Aubrey, *Lives*, vol 1, p. 43).
- 15 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 36 (his mother), vol. 2, p. 307 (Wodenote).
- 16 John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I: from the earliest times to 1751* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1922-1927), vol. 4, p. 460; *ODNB*, sub Theophilus Wodenote, which is confused as to the time of his residence in Broad Chalke.
- 17 Theophilus Wodenote, *Hermes Theologus: or, A Divine Mercurie . . .* (London, 1649); Theophilus Wodenote, *Eremicus Theologus, or, A Sequestred Divine his Aphorisms, or Breviats of Speculations* (London, 1654). One or both of these were in progress when Wodenote was in Broad Chalke as Aubrey remembers their writing, though he confuses the title of Wodenote's work, probably the *Eremicus*, with that of Thomas Fuller's *Good Thoughts in Bad Times* (London, 1646).
- 18 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 307.
- 19 Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, Parker, 1891-1892), vol. 1, p. 44; Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 37, 46.
- 20 Danvers proceeded B.A. in 1651 (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 371). He addresses Aubrey as "cousin" in two undated letters, at least one of which dates from his time at Trinity (Bodleian Aubrey MS. 12, fos 90r-93v).
- 21 Powell, *Aubrey*, p. 44.
- 22 Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 198.
- 23 Clare Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 86-92. For the shift from a graduate to an undergraduate focus and its consequences see Tyacke (ed.), *History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 4, *passim*.

- 24 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 37. The story of king Charles' dream, which Browne interprets as the animus of London against the king is found in John Aubrey, *Miscellanies* (London, 1696), p. 38. Aubrey would have read the 1642 pirated edition of the *Religio Medici*. Its sustained impact on his thinking is attested by the quotations from it throughout his works, e.g., Bodleian MS. Aubrey 1, fo 20v. The response was Sir Kenelm Digby's *Observations upon Religio Medici* (London, 1643).
- 25 Vivienne Larminie, 'The Undergraduate Account Book of John and Richard Newdigate, 1618-1621', *Camden Miscellany XXX* (London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1990), pp. 149-269.
- 26 Larminie, 'Account Book', pp. 162 ("lutte strings"), 164 ("lute strings"), 171 ("silke stockings" and "silke garters"), etc. Hopkins suggests that the Newdigate brothers "worked rather harder" than the "haphazard" Aubrey (Hopkins, *Trinity*, p. 89). There is some debate as to whether gentleman-commoners were set an easier curriculum than their poorer counterparts destined for the cloth, cf. Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 26-47, but Mordechai Feingold has made a strong case for the similarity of curricula across the social spectrum (Feingold, 'The Humanities', in *History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Tyacke, vol. 4, pp. 217-218, 295-296).
- 27 Larminie, 'Account Book', pp. 162-163.
- 28 Larminie, 'Account Book', pp. 171, 178, 193-194.
- 29 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 43.
- 30 Hunter, *Aubrey*, p. 245.
- 31 Robert Record, *Records Arithmeticke: Contayning the ground of Arts . . .* (London, 1615), now Worcester College E.X.5. For Aubrey's library see R. T. Gunter, 'The Library of John Aubrey, F.R.S.', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 6 (1931), pp. 230-36, supplemented and corrected by Anthony Powell, 'John Aubrey's Books I, II', *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 (20 January, 1950), pp. 32, 48.
- 32 The texts in question are *Eukleidou stoikeion biblia. Elementorum Euclidis libri tredecim*, ed. and trans. Federicus Commandinus (London, 1620), now Worcester College MSS. 5.4. and signed "Jo: Aubrey Trin: Coll: Oxon. 1648."; Gulielmus Blaeu, *Institutio Astronomica* (Amsterdam, 1640), now Worcester College E.X.2. and signed "Joⁿ Awbrey | 1647."; and M. Michaelis, *Epitome Astronomica* (Tübingen, 1624), now Worcester College E.X.9. and signed "Jo: Aubrey Coll. Trin. Oxon. 1646".
- 33 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 38. That Aubrey's departure from Oxford was initially seen only as a temporary measure seems evident from the Trinity

- caution book, which records £3 caution money paid by Aubrey for the academic years 1641-1642 to 1644-1645 inclusive (Trinity College MS. II. C/1, fos 290r-295r).
- 34 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 38. For his brother's baptisms see Cecil Gurden Moore, *Registers of Broad Chalke, co. Wilts, from 1538 to 1780* [London, Mitchell & Hughes, 1881], p. 20.
- 35 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fos 41r-42v, 47r-48v, 49r-50v. fos 41r-42v are dated 17 December 1643. The date of 47r-48v is probably late September or early October 1643, assuming it is the first, and not the second, battle of Newbury that is described, and 49r-50v must date from late July or early August as it refers to the recent capture of Bristol by the Royalists.
- 36 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fos 35r-36v, 43r-44v.
- 37 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fos 45r-46v. Browne was on the Trinity bursar's books as late as 1648-1649 (Trinity College MS. *Computi Bursariorum*, fo 99v). Sometime thereafter he was preferred to the living of Farnham in Surrey, which he held until his death on 21 October 1669 (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 198).
- 38 Ettrick was one of Aubrey's "*amici*" and they likely became acquainted at Trinity. Ettrick matriculated there in September 1640 and was admitted to the Middle Temple on 26 November 1641, but his name appears in the Trinity caution book for 1641-42 (Trinity College MS. II. C/1, fo 291r). He was called to the bar in 1652 and had a distinguished legal career in the Temple (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 2, p. 467; Arthur Robert Ingpen, *The Middle Temple Bench Book* [London, Chiswick Press, 1912], p. 215).
- 39 *Middle Temple Records*, ed. Charles Henry Hopwood (London, Published by order of the Masters of the Bench, 1904-1905), vol. 2, p. 938. Aubrey mistakenly gives the date as 6 April (Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 38). John "Love" is probably to be identified with John Lowe of New Sarum, Wiltshire, who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1618 and called to the bar in 1626 (H. A. C. Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple* [London, Published for the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple by Butterworth, 1949], vol. 1, p. 108). Aubrey may have known him from Wiltshire.
- 40 Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1590-1640* (London, Longman, 1972), p. 15.
- 41 Powell, *Aubrey*, p. 59.
- 42 Aubrey recalled a witticism of Sir John Maynard told over dinner in Middle Temple hall about 1646 or 1647 which suggested some acquaintance with its senior members (Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 203-204).

- 43 As evidenced by the directions on his letters. He first lived in the house of Mr. Bird, a glover, by the Middle Temple Gate (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 45v) but was at the Rainbow as early as 27 May 1651 (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 308v). Chambers were expensive and difficult to come by, so it is unsurprising that Aubrey chose to live out (Prest, *Inns of Court*, pp. 13-14).
- 44 Aubrey's mention of music may be related to the overlap between musical and scientific circles in the university. Many of his future associates, including John Wilkins and Anthony Wood, were involved in the musical circle centered around William Ellis, ejected organist of St. John's, in the late 1640s and 1650s (Penelope M. Gouk, 'Music', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, vol. 4, pp. 621-640).
- 45 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 38.
- 46 *The register of the visitors of the University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658*, ed. Montagu Burrows (London, Printed for the Camden Society, 1881), pp. 35, 551-554. His absence from college records is unsurprising given the poor state of Trinity's administrative archive during this period. No entries were recorded in the caution book between 1646 and 1660 and no bursar's accounts were recorded between 1640 and 1646 (Trinity College MSS. II. C/1 [*Liber Cautionum*] and *Computi Bursariorum*).
- 47 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 292r. The Lydall-Aubrey letters have been discussed partially printed in Frank, 'John Aubrey', which remains an essential reference for their study.
- 48 The first letter in the sequence is dated 1 January 1649 (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 292r).
- 49 Statistics derived from letters of John Lydall to Aubrey at Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fos 292r-310v, 319r-v.
- 50 *ODNB*, sub Ralph Bathurst; Thomas Warton, *The life and literary remains of Ralph Bathurst, M.D., Dean of Wells, and President of Trinity College in Oxford*, (London, Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, et al., 1761), pp. 34-38.
- 51 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 303; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 2, p. 675.
- 52 Burrows (ed.), *Register of visitors*, p. 551; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 2, p. 708. I have followed Frank in his identification of "Mr. Highmore" with Richard, rather than his brother, Nathaniel (Frank, 'John Aubrey', p. 196). Nathaniel, though seemingly a better candidate, was already practicing in Sherborne, Dorset, by 1645 and would likely not have been present in Oxford (*ODNB*, sub Nathaniel Highmore).

- 53 Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 416. Aubrey mentions “Jack Dowch” in the anecdote of President Kettell’s hour-glass (Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 24).
- 54 Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 2, p. 755; *ODNB*, *sub* William How. How was one of the first botanists to study native English plants, work which was published in his *Phytologia Britannica* (London, 1650). He also edited the *Stirpium Illustrationes* of James I's "botanographer", Matthias de l'Obel (London, 1655). See Richard Pulteney, *Historical and biographical sketches of the progress of botany in England . . .* (London, Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1790), vol. 1, pp. 169-74; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, et al., 1813-1820), vol. 3, cols. 418-419.
- 55 Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1215.
- 56 *Oxfordshire protestation returns, 1641-2*, ed. Christopher S. A. Dobson (Oxford, Oxfordshire Record Society, 1955), pp. 116-117.
- 57 Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 999.
- 58 Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 4, p. 1699.
- 59 See Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 214, for an anecdote about Sir Henry Savile told by “old Mr. Yates”.
- 60 Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 952. The names of Bathurst, Hawes, Highmore, How, and Lydall appear in the bursar’s book under disbursements to the fellows for the years 1647-1649, while Meese’s name is listed among the scholars of the college. Lydall, together with one Mr. Unite, also a fellow, was paid an additional £4 *per annum* for unspecified “lectoribus philosophicis” (Trinity College MS. *Computi Bursariorum*, fos 87v-88r, 99v).
- 61 Lydall's kinsman, Richard, was an M.D. and at one time shared a horse with Thomas Willis, Bathurst's colleague (Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 203; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 952).
- 62 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 38.
- 63 How begs to be remembered in Lydall’s letter of 20 February 1649 (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 296r).
- 64 Cf. Lydall’s letter of 23 January 1649 in which Aubrey’s friends “desire to be remembered”, while Willis, whom Lydall has earlier described as “Mr. Willis our Chymist” “presents his service” to Aubrey (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 294r).

- 65 Burrows, *Register of the visitors*, pp. 111, 162, 215, 551; Warton, *Life of Bathurst*, pp. 205-206 (in which he also identifies Thomas Willis as a crypto-Royalist).
- 66 See Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 291, for Aubrey's opinion of the Commonwealth: "'twas worse than tyranny".
- 67 For the politically mixed nature of the early Society, see Hunter, *Establishing the New Science*. Poole, *Aubrey*, p. 25, has suggested that Aubrey was 'politically tone-deaf', but his association with the Rota cannot be ignored.
- 68 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 38.
- 69 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 165.
- 70 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fos 298r (Saracen history), 306r (apparitions at Woodstock).
- 71 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 39.
- 72 John Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica or A Miscellany of British Antiquities*, ed. John Fowles and Rodney Legg (Sherborne, Dorset, Dorset Publishing Company, 1980-1982), vol. 1, p. 453. Selden's death on 30 November provides a *terminus post quem* for this event.
- 73 Bodleian Ashmole 1555, signed "Sum Joannis Aubrij é / societate Medij Templi."
- 74 For the distinction between "mathematics" and "mixed mathematics" in the seventeenth century, see Gary I. Brown, "The Evolution of the Term "Mixed Mathematics"", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 52 (1991), 81-102.
- 75 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 304r. "Blondevill" is Blundeville's *Exercises* (London, 1636). Aubrey would probably have used an edition of the English translation of Pitiscus's *Trigonometrie* (London, 1630). This and other identifications of books from Lydall's letters are taken from Frank, 'John Aubrey', *passim*, unless stated otherwise.
- 76 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fos 141r-142v, 148r. The "discourse" is undoubtedly John Wilkins' *discovery of a new world, or, A discourse tending to prove, that ('tis probable) there may be another habitable world in the moon* (London, 1638) and the reference to *Mathematicall Magick* (London, 1648) later in the same letter suggests that it may be that book which Lydall lent to Aubrey.
- 77 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 304r; Aubrey 13, fos 142r, 148r.

- 78 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 201 ("He was very ready to teach and instruct. He did me the favour to informe me first in Algebra").
- 79 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 202.
- 80 Worcester College MS. 5.4., fos 65r-106v, identified on its title-page (fo 65r) as "Algebra Literalis. | Jo: Aubrey. 1659."
- 81 The existence of Worcester College MS. 5.4. (now bound together with printed editions of Euclid and Mercator) was noted by Michael Hunter (*Aubrey*, p. 49), but he seems to have thought that it was a miscellaneous volume of calculations rather than a student's work- and textbook similar in form to Worcester College MS. 4.9. (Aubrey's record of his lessons from Nicholas Mercator on William Oughtred's *Clavis Mathematicae*).
- 82 Worcester College MS. 5.4., fos 137r-139v.
- 83 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 162.
- 84 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 300r (Frank, 'John Aubrey', p. 213, for the identification of Wells' *Sciographia*).
- 85 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fos 141r-142r. Potter was not entirely original. Cornelis Drebbel had already navigated a submarine-like ship down the Thames about 1620 and the engines of Salomon de Caus anticipate several of Potter's ideas. See Rosalie L. Colaie, 'Cornelis Drebbel and Salomon de Caus: Two Jacobean Models for Salomon's House', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 18 (1955), 245-266, *ODNB*, *sub nominibus*, and sources cited therein.
- 86 Petty was another member of the Oxford medical and experimental circle and had taken part in the "revival" of Anne Green the year before, with Bathurst, Willis, and Henry Clerke of Magdalen. The most recent study makes no mention of his harvester, cf. Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).
- 87 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 308r. It is unclear if Aubrey is expected to know Petty and Wren. The item described is probably the "choice piece of perspective in a black Ivory case" listed in John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum: or, a collection of rarities preserved at South-Lambeth near London* (London, 1656), p. 42. The several optical illusions that Lydall described are Propositions IX-XI in Liber II, Pars II ("Ars Sciagraphica") of Athanasius Kircher, *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, pp. 184-187 (Rome, 1646). Aubrey's interest in optics can also be seen in his ownership of Jean-François Nicéron's *Perspective curieuse . . . avec l'optique et la catoptrique . . .* (Paris, 1651-1652), now Bodleian Ashmole G 19, for which cf. Noel Malcolm, 'The Title Page of *Leviathan*, Seen in a Curious Perspective', *The Seventeenth Century*, 13 (1998), 124-55.

- 88 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 146r.
- 89 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 152r.
- 90 Lewis, *Language*, pp. 72-73; Poole, *Aubrey*, pp. 52-53.
- 91 For the Aubrey correspondence group and their efforts see Lewis, *Language*, pp. 188-221 and Lewis, 'Aubrey Correspondence Group', pp. 331-364.
- 92 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 319r.
- 93 The Trinity library had a number of geographical texts by the time of Aubrey's matriculation. For these and the rise of academy geography in the first decades of the seventeenth century see Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 112, 153, and *passim*.
- 94 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 302r.
- 95 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fos 310r, 319r. The books mentioned in the undated letter at fo 319r (which Frank, 'John Aubrey', pp. 216-217, plausibly assigns to the Spring of 1654) are Smith's *Seaman's Grammar* (London, 1627), Mainwaring's *Sea-Mans Dictionary* (London, 1644), Wright's *Certain Errors in Navigation*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1610), Norwood's *Trigonometria* (London, 1631), Snell's *Tiphys Batavus* (Leiden, 1624), and Gunter's *Description and Use of the Sector*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1636).
- 96 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 315r. About this time Aubrey planned a multi-year tour of Italy and had progressed enough to compose a draft will and enquire after traveling companions, but to his "inexpressible griefe and ruine" his mother "hindred this designe" and nothing came to pass (Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 39).
- 97 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fos 294r-302r.
- 98 Frank, 'John Aubrey', pp. 197-198, 211, n. 22; Webster, *Great Instauration*, pp. 390-91. Samuel Hartlib noted that "[aurum] fulminans or the essence of Gold made vp in balsamum suphuris [is] an other most soveraigne Medecin for Piles" (*Hartlib Papers*, 29/5/102A [*Ephemerides*, 1656]).
- 99 *Willis's Oxford casebook (1650-52)*, ed. Kenneth Dewhurst (Oxford, Sandford, 1981), pp. 28-29.
- 100 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fos 150r, 152r.

- 101 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 300.
- 102 i.e., drained an abscess. Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 277 (Aubrey's queries), MS. Aubrey 21, fo 112r (the purgation).
- 103 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fos 144r, 147r. Potter, according to Aubrey, had "invented" transfusion about 1639, taking the idea from Ovid (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 2, fo 66r).
- 104 Sanctorius Sanctorius, *De statica medicina et de responsione ad staticomasticem* (Leiden, 1642), now Bodleian Wood 850. It is signed "John Lydall Trin: Coll. Oxon." and "Jo: Aubrey. 1653."
- 105 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 150r. These "animadversions" were, in fact, Bartholin's *De lacteis thoracis in homine brutisque nuperrime observatis* (Copenhagen, 1652), the first text to describe the actions of the thoracic duct.
- 106 *Hartlib Papers*, 28/2/42B-43A (*Ephemerides*, 1652); cf. G. H. Turnbull, 'Samuel Hartlib's acquaintance with John Aubrey', *Notes and Queries*, 195 31 (1950). This is a reference to Francis Potter's one published work, *An interpretation of the number 666* (Oxford, 1642).
- 107 *Hartlib Papers*, 28/2/49B (*Ephemerides*, 1653).
- 108 Powell, *Aubrey*, p. 297 (the books); Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 132-133 (his visit to Bushell).
- 109 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 155r. The manuscript in Hartlib's possession remains unidentified, though it could have been one of those published in the posthumous *Scripta* (1653) or the *Resuscitatio* (1657). I thank Rhodri Lewis of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, for these suggestions.
- 110 *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge*, ed. James Crossley and Richard Copley Christie (Manchester, Printed for the Chetham Society, 1847-1886), vol. 1, pp. 68-69.
- 111 Kate Sarah Bennett, *Materials towards a critical edition of John Aubrey's brief lives*, University of Oxford D.Phil. Thesis (1993), *passim*.
- 112 Warton, *Life of Bathurst*, pp. 118-119 ("Nemo ad scrutanda naturae penetralia aut promptior, aut sagacior: Nemo in mathematicis magis lynceus: Nemo medicinae fundamenta, per anatomiam, botanicem, spagyriam, felicius posuit").
- 113 Powell, *Aubrey*, p. 59.

- 114 ODNB, sub John Hoskins; Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 230r (Tyndale's Wiltshire connections); John Aubrey, *The natural history and antiquities of the county of Surrey* . . . (London, 1718-1719), vol. 1, pp. 9-10 (his secretaryship).
- 115 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 46, vol. 2, p. 32; Powell, *Aubrey*, p. 83.
- 116 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 1, fo 6r ("I am the first that ever made an Essay of this kind for Wiltshire, and (for aught I know) in the Nation; having begun ^{it} in A^o. 1656").
- 117 *Hartlib Papers*, 29/5/102A (*Ephemerides*, 1656).
- 118 Thomas Willis, *Diatribae duae Medico-philosophicae, quarum prior agit de fermentatione sive de motu intestino particularum in quovis corpore. Altera de febribus, sive de motu earundem in sanguine Animalium hic accessit Dissertation Epistolia de urinis* (London, 1659). Aubrey's copy is now Bodleian Ashmole D. 65.
- 119 Wood, *Athenae*, vol. 3, cols. 1051-1052.
- 120 From the endpapers of Bodleian Ashmole D. 65.
- 121 James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (London, 1658). Aubrey's copy is Bodleian Ashmole G. 6 and is signed "Sum Jo: Aubrij. / 1658" on the flyleaf.
- 122 Except for his copies of Hobbes' works, Aubrey's Harrington stands out as unexpectedly political for his library, see Gunter, 'Library', and Powell, 'Aubrey's Books'.
- 123 Cf. the title-page of Harrington, *Oceana*, for Pakeman and, for example, Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 230v, for one of many instances of Aubrey's letters directed to the Rainbow in the later 1650s.
- 124 Aubrey also preserved Harrington's Epicurean lyric, 'The state of nature never was so raw' in his *Lives* (Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 294).
- 125 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 289.
- 126 James Harrington, *The Rota: or, a model of a free-state, or equall commonwealth: once proposed and debated in brief, and to be again more at large proposed to, and debated by a free and open Society of ingenious Gentlemen* (London, 1660). Aubrey's copy is now tract XXII in Bodleian Ashmole 1065. Poole, *Aubrey*, p. 25, notes that other members were Robert Wood, the mathematician, and William Petty, the statistician and natural philosopher. A high proportion of the Rota -- eleven men out of twenty-seven -- went on to become fellows of the Royal Society, though the deeper significance of this congruity remains obscure (see Anna M.

Strumia, 'Vita istituzionale della Royal Society seicentesca in alcuni studi recenti', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 98 [1986], 500-523, esp. 520-522, and commentary at Hunter, *Establishing the New Science*, pp. 8-9).

- 127 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 290.
- 128 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 291.
- 129 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 294. Though Aubrey does not name him as a member of the club, Tyndale was aware of its existence. On 21 August 1661 he wrote that the latest reversals in Scotland would make "y^e Presbiter and y^e Rota laugh" (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 231r).
- 130 Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 75.
- 131 In a backward glance at Harrington's proposals, Aubrey described this as "choosing of Knights for y^e Senate" (Bodleian MS. Aubrey 3, fo 10r).
- 132 Sir William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London, 1656).
- 133 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 3, fo 10r.
- 134 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 230r (Tyndale-Aubrey); *Brief Lives*, i. 47 (the journey to Ireland).
- 135 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 188r.
- 136 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 231r.
- 137 *ODNB*, sub Sir Richard Fanshawe.
- 138 Douglas McKie, 'The Origins and Foundation of the Royal Society of London', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 15 (1960), p. 31.
- 139 McKie, 'Origins', p. 33.
- 140 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 12, fo 199r.
- 141 Bodleian MS. Aubrey 13, fo 235r.
- 142 Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London for improving of natural knowledge . . .* (London, Printed for A. Millar in the Strand, 1756-1757), vol. 1, p. 166; Powell, *Aubrey*, p. 298. Aubrey's copy of the *Consilium* (now part of Bodleian Ashmole E 39) is inscribed "sum Jo: Aubrij. 10^{br}: 1662."
- 143 Birch, *History*, vol. 1, pp. 172, 179.

- 144 The *locus classicus* is Daniel Georg Morhof, *Polyhistor, sive de notitia auctorum et rerum commentarii . . .* (Lübeck, 1689-1692), for which see Anthony Grafton, 'The World of the Polyhistor: Humanism and Encyclopedism', *Central European History*, 18 (1985), pp. 31-47, and Françoise Waquet, ed., *Mapping the World of Learning: the Polyhistor of Daniel Georg Morhof* (Wiesbaden, Harassowitz, 2000).
- 145 That is to say, scholars should be wary of "internalist" history of scholarship combined with an unreflective acceptance of modern disciplinary boundaries. See Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin, eds., *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 10-13, who rightly warn against the opposite extreme: context empty of any understanding of the scholarship itself.