

Abraham Wheelock, Arabist and Saxonist

by

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First published in

Biography 8 (1985), 163-185

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Abraham Wheelock was a seventeenth-century English scholar who had a disposition for taking the odd road in academe, and the enviable knack of doing it successfully. After the usual course of undergraduate studies at Cambridge, he left the well-beaten path of classics and divinity, and set out in two quite unusual and different directions: first, he took up oriental languages and then, of all things, Anglo-Saxon. For Arabists and Saxonists, therefore, a look at his academic life will be of special interest. For others it will also provide a glimpse into the workings of the English academic world in the second quarter of the seventeenth century: they will see the comparative poverty and lack of ease with which even professors of endowed chairs often worked; the amount of teaching that was expected of them; the connection that still existed between scholarship and polemic of the religious or even missionary kind; the political astuteness that was necessary in using every private connection possible to ensure personal advancement in the academic world.

What they will *not* see, though it should be kept in mind, is the national convulsion that seized England during the 1640's while Wheelock was engaged in studies that may seem now, as they must have seemed to many people then, quite removed from the important events that swirled violently around him: the Civil War between King and Parliament (Cavaliers and Roundheads); the defeat, the trial and the execution of the King, divine right or no divine right; the establishment of republican government, and its dissolution in the dictatorship of Cromwell; invasion from Scotland, revolt in Ireland, war with

the Dutch. But it is clear now that the study of ancient English institutions had had considerable impact on the political and religious thought of England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: it had played a part in consolidating the Reformation and starting the very Revolution that was now taking place. The Anglo-Saxon Laws, for example, published and translated in the sixteenth century, had been used by people with no interest in philology in order to aid them in the continuing constitutional argument as to whose the laws of the land really were: the king's or the people's. Failure to resolve that argument peaceably had led directly to the current conflict.'

So Wheelock's studies in Anglo-Saxon culture were not as rarified as they might seem. Indeed this had been perceived earlier in the century by King James I, who had frowned on the Society of Antiquaries and on research into the ancient history of England, especially via the manuscripts in Sir Robert Cotton's library. He had suspected, rightly, that much digging around in the ancient laws or history of the land might easily lead to awkward questions about the Divine Right of Kings, a doctrine especially dear to his heart, and to similar questions about the divine right of the established Church, and thereafter to questions about every other aspect of the establishment. One of Wheelock's patrons, Sir Henry Spelman, had been a member of that early Society of Antiquaries. A staunch royalist and churchman, he had acquiesced in the dissolution of the Society, but he had not ceased his studies into Anglo-Saxon culture, as we shall see.

There is little trace in Wheelock's Anglo-Saxon work of the violent national argument in the midst of which he worked, and it is doubtful that he pursued his studies with any legal or constitutional end in view. *Religious* bias or polemic was his slant, as we shall demonstrate. This was both safe and approved, for nobody was likely to object to historical or philological research in the cause of converting Moslems or controverting Catholics.

If, nevertheless, Wheelock's choice of Anglo-Saxon and Arabic for academic study seemed at all eccentric in seventeenth-century Cambridge, there was method in this mild madness: Wheelock was able to get in on the ground floor of each. For he had the shrewdness and skill to persuade two wealthy men of different tastes and background to

found the first two academic posts at Cambridge for his two odd fields of study. Better than that, he got them to designate *him* as the occupant of these positions, and he managed to hold both jobs simultaneously for about fourteen years. This kind of achievement alone should ensure him a position in someone's book of academic records.

[p. 165] But Wheelock's achievement is not merely a kind of curiosity, and was more lasting than his modest scholarly output might seem to assure him; for while he was intelligent, hard-working and persistent, he was neither original nor prolific. For English *oriental* studies, his importance lies not so much in the scholarship which he produced, for that was minimal, nor in the students whom he taught, for they were few, but in the fact that the study of Arabic and other oriental languages was institutionalized at his university as a result of his efforts. That is, he provided the impetus for the establishment of an endowed chair, so that the permanent study of these languages was guaranteed to survive either his personal deficiencies or his personal achievements. The Thomas Adams chair was established as a result of his initiative and astuteness, and it remains to this day.²

That the study of Old English was not institutionalized at the same time was no fault of Wheelock's or of his patron in that study, Sir Henry Spelman, but the omission accounts largely for the decline of that subject at Cambridge for well over a century after Wheelock's death in 1653. This in spite of the fact that his scholarship in this area had been considerably more productive. (See below p. 174 ff.). But when he died, the academic study of Old English at Cambridge died with him, and hence any hope of much advance in the discipline for a long time to come at the university—until the establishment of a chair in the nineteenth century, in fact.

Wheelock was born in Shropshire in 1593. He graduated B.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1614, and was elected a Fellow of Clare in 1619.³ How he became interested in such an "exotic" study as oriental languages is hard to say. Part of the explanation may well have been unromantic enough, and not unlike that of Professor A. J. Arberry, his distinguished successor in the chair of Arabic, who acknowledged that he went into oriental languages in the earlier years of our own century because there were no

available university positions in his chosen field of classics.⁴ In the teens and twenties of the seventeenth century Cambridge must have had an even greater supply of competent classicists; and divinity had to be even more crowded. A man might make his mark, however, if he chose less well-cultivated fields, and Wheelock certainly did this—in the plural.

But why Arabic? In the latter half of the sixteenth century Europe had seen a significant revival of interest in the Muslim East, an interest that was both secular and religious. France, Holland and England had established relations with Turkey and Persia, primarily with a view to trade with the “rich and fabled East?” At the same time the [p.166] popes had renewed the faded hopes of the Middle Ages of converting the Moslem hordes. Gregory XIII, who died in 1595, took the practical step of establishing colleges and printing houses to produce men and literature to deal with the Moslems in their native tongues. In 1587 the French King had founded a chair of Arabic at the College de France, where not only French Catholics, but Protestants from Holland and Germany, studied Arabic. We do not know what induced William Bedwell (1562—1632), a graduate of Wheelock’s old college, to take up the study and thereby become the “father of English oriental Studies”, but he gives us some indication in the preface to an Arabic edition of the epistles of St. John published in Holland in 1612. Arabic, he declared, was “the only language of religion and the chief language of diplomacy and business from the Fortunate Isles to the China Seas”. Bedwell did not dwell on the material value of learning Arabic, but he did stress something that was rather more dear to the hearts of contemporary academics — its value as an aid in the study of the Hebrew scriptures. Bedwell’s pupil, Edward Pococke, started his publishing career with Aramaic editions of New Testament books, and continued all his scholarly life to have an interest in the religious, missionary possibilities of Arabic (see p. 169 below). The letter in which the University of Cambridge thanked Thomas Adams for endowing the teaching post for Wheelock sums up neatly the reasons generally given in the seventeenth century for the importance of studying oriental languages: “The worke itself wee conceive to tend not onely to the advancement of good literature by bringing to light much knowledge which as yet is lockt upp in that learned tongue; but also to the good service of the King and State in our commerce with those Easterne nations, and in God’s good time to the enlarging of the borders of the Church,

and propagation of Christian religion to them who now sitt in darkness. God prosper the worke according to your pious intentions.”⁵

Nowhere in the surviving correspondence does Wheelock say what impelled or seduced him to study oriental languages, nor do we have his inaugural lecture in which, like most Arabists in his century, he apparently set out for his auditors the value and ease of acquiring Arabic. But we can be reasonably sure that he offered much the same set of reasons as we have just indicated and which were set out more elaborately by those professors whose inaugural lectures and prefaces *are* extant.⁶ Whatever the reasons or attractions, Wheelock had taken up the study of Arabic by the mid twenties. By 1631 he had progressed far enough to have the confidence to propose a professorship of Arabic at [p. 167]

Cambridge with himself as the occupant of the chair. He approached Thomas Adams, a prominent member of the Drapers Company in London, with the suggestion that the Company might care to provide the funds for such a foundation. Adams was surprisingly receptive to the idea, and offered to put up the money himself. Even more remarkable was the speed with which he was prepared to fulfill his promise. He enquired about Wheelock’s capacity for the post, and got an enthusiastic endorsement from Richard Holdsworth, Professor of Divinity at Gresham College, and also the more ambiguous endorsement of Bedwell, who said that Wheelock was as fit for the post “as any in the kingdom.” Adams promptly offered to begin the first quarterly instalment of the £40 annual salary as soon as he got a letter certifying the Vice-chancellor’s approval of the project and the professor.⁷

Clearly Wheelock’s suggestion had been directed with a remarkably accurate aim, and it illustrates his astuteness in using whatever personal connections he had to promote his advancement in academe. For Wheelock had not chosen Adams by accident. Not only was Adams rich and generous but he was from Shropshire, and from Wheelock’s part of it at that. Adams had been born in Wem, a small town about 10 miles from Wheelock’s birthplace, Whitchurch in the same county. They were probably not boyhood friends (for seven years and ten miles can be big differentials), but they must have had some acquaintances in common, for at one point in their correspondence Adams invites Wheelock to go back to Shropshire with him to see some of their common friends in Wem. On another

occasion Adams invites Wheelock to preach at the annual Shropshiremen's feast in London. Clearly Shropshiremen stuck together, and Wheelock made the most of it. Even before he had approached Adams about the Arabic chair, Wheelock had had some success looking for a patron in Bishop Ussher. Again, it was probably not just Ussher's reputation for scholarship that attracted Wheelock, but the fact that the way to the bishop lay through his secretary, Nicholas Bernard, a few years younger than Wheelock, and a native of his home parish, Whitchurch. Finally, on the matter of Shropshire lads: Thomas Hyde, one of the few pupils of Wheelock's that we know of by name, who went on to a distinguished career as an orientalist and a very comfortable one as a churchman at Oxford, was also from Shropshire.⁸

Wheelock had barely got the assurance of the Arabic post when he was pressing Adams and Holdsworth to do what they could to secure for the Cambridge University Library the superb collection of Erpenius MSS. The famous Dutch orientalist, Thomas van Erpe (Erpenius) [p.168]

had died in 1624; in 1626 the Duke of Buckingham had purchased van Erpe's MSS in an unlikely coup. The following year the Duke had been made Chancellor of Cambridge University, a largely honorary post then as now. It was understood by the university people at least that Buckingham intended to bestow the MSS on the University, and perhaps build them a new library as well. By the time of his assassination in 1628, nothing had been done to fulfill these hopes, and the MSS remained in the possession of the Duchess. Now that Wheelock was Professor of Arabic, however, he was doubly anxious to secure the MSS for the library. He himself was not in any position to exert direct influence, but he knew people who were—Adams and Holdsworth—and he knew how to keep nagging them politely.⁹ As a result of this pressure by his influential friends, the MSS were finally sent to Cambridge in 1632. Wheelock had an easier task in persuading Bedwell to bequeath his great MS lexicon of Arabic and his font of Arabic type to his old University, and these came to Cambridge on Bedwell's death in 1632.¹⁰ Now the new professor was well set with material for research, for conducting his "Arabick lecture", and for the publication of any scholarship he might produce. In the same year instruction began.

It was an eventful year for Wheelock, nor least because in the spring he married Clemence Goad, the widow of a late university proctor, and a woman with at least one

child, a course of action that was against Adams's advice which Wheelock had, foolishly, asked for. But Adams was as sensible as well as a generous man, and did not take it ill that his advice on this inadvisable topic had been disregarded. (Within a year he was giving Wheelock different and more sardonic counsel on dealing with Xantippe). We have, unfortunately, only Adams's letters to Wheelock so we have no further opportunity for any glimpses into Wheelock's family life that other such confidences would give us, but to judge by the half of the correspondence that we do have, Wheelock was quite reticent about his very personal affairs, and in his surviving letters to other correspondents such references are almost totally absent.

The Adams side of the correspondence shows that the merchant had a genuine affection for his professor. He seems, too, to have had a touching pride in his own foundation, apparently showing around a copy of Wheelock's inaugural lecture to friends, and referring with some regularity and pleasure to the professor's "grinding in his Arabick mill," a curious phrase that seemed to please the merchant.

The produce of Wheelock's Arabick mill was, however, meagre.

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The only oriental work he ever published was an edition of the Gospels in Persian. This was still at press at the time of his death (1653), a full twenty years after his professorship began, and the book (with notes in a still unfinished condition) had to be seen through the press by others. A. J. Arberry, a recent Adams Professor of Arabic, suggests that the reason for his predecessor's small publication record was that "being a poor scholar, he would have been unable to bear the cost of printing any texts he might have prepared, and that was almost the only way of getting Arabic published in those days"¹¹ But this is hardly an adequate or accurate explanation. There is no doubt that the generosity of Adams would have extended to the publication costs of anything that his professor produced. Indeed the long title-page of the Persian Gospels specifically mentions that it was Adams who defrayed the expenses of the edition.¹² Not only did he pay for the publication of the Gospels, but "at the desire of the Reverend Mr. Wheelock, now with God, he was at the charge of ... transmitting them into those parts ... promoting the Christian religion, and (to use his own language) throwing a stone at the forehead of Mahomet that grand imposter?"¹³ Wheelock himself makes reference to the lack of type and typographers,¹⁴

though, as we have seen, Bedwell had left his font of Arabic type to the University. Finding printers to set the type in Cambridge may, however, have presented difficulties. The only work of Wheelock's, according to Arberry, that would have involved Arabic was his refutation of the Koran, but the negative comments of a missionary whom he consulted and the absence of printing facilities, discouraged publication.¹⁵

This brings us back to the possibility that Wheelock had taken up the study of Arabic with some missionary intent. It is reasonably clear from what we have just said that he did not regard his oriental studies or writings as disinterested scholarship, but to some degree at least as a missionary endeavor or as a polemical weapon. He was not alone, it seems, in this slant to his oriental studies. His greater counterpart at Oxford, Edward Pococke, did an Arabic translation of the Anglican catechism, liturgy and other such works, all of which were sent to the East with a similar missionary intent.¹⁶ Less surprisingly, perhaps, Catholic orientalist had preceded Pococke in the same kind of endeavor. Pococke, however, also published a body of other work which had no such intention, but was meant to open up the world of Arabic culture and history to the West. Wheelock, by contrast, seems not to have been able to disconnect his studies in oriental languages or (as we shall see) in Old English, from his calling as a Protestant cleric.¹⁷

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His teaching duties as Professor of Arabic were not arduous for, not very surprisingly, he never had many students, by his own admission.¹⁸ As Sclater, his funeral encomiast, put it so neatly about his oriental and his Anglo-Saxon studies: "he discharged [both] with so compleat abilities as found acceptance of all, admiration of many, hopes of imitation but in a few."¹⁹ One of the nameless few who made some attempt to follow in Wheelock's tracks worked so injudiciously hard that he came to an early and unfortunate end. This man got a considerable command of both Persian and Arabic in the space of two months. "But much happier had it been for himself and the world if this extraordinary person had gone on more leisurely in his Oriental studies. For his excessive application to them ended in distraction and death, ann. 1654, just as he was designed to go on with the impression of Mr. Wheelock's Persic Gospels"²⁰ There were, evidently, few others. There was even a gap of 13 years after Wheelock's death when no professor was appointed. When Edmund Castell was finally designated as Wheelock's successor, he had so few students that he hung out a

jocular notice: “Tomorrow the Professor of Arabic will go into the desert.”

In spite of the fact that Wheelock had so few students, published so little, and diverted much of his attention after a few years to Anglo-Saxon, Adams went on paying his stipend until the professor’s death. There seems to be a small tinge of disappointment in Adams’s tone in a letter of 1640 making arrangements to pay the quarterly installment of £10: “I hear you are conversant with the Saxon,” he writes, “but I hear no word of the Arabick lecture which (I confess) I expected should have gone forward as in the beginning you did and expected to continue.”²¹ It would be interesting to know just how Wheelock explained to Adams his sudden interest in a subject as far removed from Arabic as Anglo-Saxon. We get some idea from a dedication to Adams in Wheelock’s edition of the Old English version of Bede’s *History* (1643). There in obscure and contorted Latin, he seems to be saying that Adams should consider his money well spent in supporting *both* Anglo-Saxon and Arabic. He admits to having spent much of his energies in the preceding seven years on his Anglo-Saxon work because he has had trouble finding type and compositors for his Arabic work. Moreover, he says, Pococke and his associates at Oxford are doing a fine job in the oriental field. It is hard for the modern reader at least to find this “explanation” very satisfying. To be sure, Wheelock did not cease teaching Arabic after he took up Old English, for he mentioned to Spelman in June, 1640 that he had given 11 or 12 Arabic

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lectures that term;²² nevertheless, it says something about the toletant spirit of the founder of the Arabic chair that he accepted gracefully the diversion of much of his professor’s energies from the job for which he was still being handsomely paid.

And this was not the only other job that Wheelock had, for in 1629, after he had taken up the study of Arabic but before he had become Professor, he had been appointed University Librarian. Here too, Wheelock lobbied busily for the job, in this case even before his predecessor had died, a fact that struck even one of his supporters as slightly distasteful. This post was not especially demanding because the library was quite small. The more zealous of the Protestant reformers in the reign of Edward VI had destroyed what they did not like in the library — a good deal of material, as it turned out. To make up for the destruction, the regal sum of £1—6s—8d had been spent on the library in the first fifteen years of Elizabeth’s reign. As a result, by the year 1574 it contained a mere 180 volumes.²³

Of course, each college had its own library, a fact that accounts in part for the neglect of the University library, or the Public Library, as it was often called in the seventeenth century. Sometimes, too, donors preferred to give their collections to their favorite college rather than to the University. In 1574, for example, Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, gave part of his great manuscript collection—including some Old English MSS—to the University library, but when he died the following year, his will showed that he had given a far larger number to his old college of Corpus Christi to which they were bequeathed with quite stringent provisions. One of these was that the manuscripts could not leave the library, a restriction that was to cause Wheelock some inconvenience. (See below p. 177).

Wheelock's position at the University library was not, however, a complete sinecure. His distinguished nineteenth century successor in that post, Bradshaw, commends the "thoroughly good management of the library during Wheelock's ... tenure of office?" And we have already mentioned his zeal in pressing influential people to help secure the Erpenius MSS for his library. It was also during his tenure of office that the library got the collection of Hebrew MSS that John Selden persuaded the Parliament to purchase. So he left the library considerably larger than when he took the position of librarian.²⁴

As we have mentioned, one of the collections of MSS now in Wheelock's charge was the group of Old English documents bequeathed to the University by Archbishop Parker in 1574. Parker had collected, studied, and promoted the study of OE manuscripts not as a
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pure philological endeavor, but as part of a campaign to search out from earlier periods of English history any available corroboration of the position taken by the Reformed Church of England. So the study of OE had had, from its beginnings in the sixteenth century, a primary polemical purpose, and Parker's contemporaries and successors in that study had followed his lead. An older contemporary of Wheelock's, who was also following somewhat in the Parkerian tradition, but with a rather more disinterested bent, was Sir Henry Spelman, whom Wheelock met in 1637 while Spelman was using the OE MSS at Cambridge to prepare his edition of the Councils of the early English Church. This meeting was the immediate cause of Wheelock's new and active interest in the OE MSS in his

keeping. Spelman, who was already rather old, and who lived in London needed somebody with more ready access to the indispensable Cambridge MSS, who would send him transcripts and if possible check his references and translations.²⁵ Wheelock seemed the ideal choice. He was the University librarian and a good linguist, and he seemed to have time on his hands, since his teaching chores in oriental languages were not arduous. Moreover, he was always in need of money, especially now that he was the father of a family. Hence he was more than willing to oblige Spelman, and promptly took up the study of Old English.

From the beginning they talked of establishing a paid academic post for a lecturer who would both teach OE and undertake to publish his research into the manuscript collections. The university authorities gave at least tentative consent, and by the end of the year 1638 Wheelock was being paid a salary of £10 per year by Sir Henry, and was in possession of a largely absentee church living at Middleton in Norfolk to which Spelman had presented him. His gratitude to his patron was expressed in a pathetically servile style that smacks strongly of the tone employed by the more unctuous kind of beggar.

Which brings us to the matter of Wheelock's financial condition. The author of the *DNB* article on Wheelock says that his subject "appears for many years of his life to have suffered from extreme poverty." Todd, in his *Memoirs of Walton* puts it less strongly: "We find that he was not in easy circumstances?"²⁶ Todd was here referring to a statement by Wheelock in a letter written in the last year of his life, but many of his letters have the same burden—his need for money. It is hard to decide how much Wheelock's references to his poverty are objective fact, how much his mastery of the art of complaining of want. A rather cringeing letter to Bishop Ussher as early as 1624 refers to the "great cause" that made him intrude to ask for Ussher's favor,

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"for in regard to my afflictions within and without I am almost gone. Your Lordship may task me with impudency, but my estate requireth this impudency."²⁷ Well, perhaps it did, though at the time Wheelock was a Fellow of his college and a bachelor, and he was also minister of St. Sepulchre's church. It is unlikely that Fellows without private

means lived regally, but it is unlikely that they lived in extreme poverty either.

His persistent lobbying on his own behalf for the Librarianship, his selection of a rich fellow-Shropshireman for his suggestion about the Arabic chair, and of a less rich but also influential Shropshireman, Nicholas Bernard, to ensure access to Bishop Ussher (see p. 167 & n.8) — all of this indicates unmistakably that Wheelock had a shrewd eye for his own interests, and his continual poor-mouthing may simply have been part of his tactics, though one gets the unfortunate feeling that it came naturally to him. Even so, he seems to have been considerably less successful than either Nicholas Bernard or his pupil, Edward Hyde, who obtained some very comfortable ecclesiastical livings, became professor of Arabic and of Hebrew at Oxford, and a distinguished Persian scholar, and like his old master, university librarian at his new university.²⁸

Certainly, the *DNB* author is quite accurate when he says that Wheelock “suffered all his life from pecuniary *anxiety*,” though at the point where he expressed his effusive thanks to Spelman for the Middleton living (1638), he was receiving £40 a year from Adams, £10 from the Library, £10 in salary from Spelman, and presumably also something from St. Sepulchre’s. In addition there was income from the Middleton parish, which should have yielded him £50 or £60 a year. But there were some necessary expenses that went with the acceptance of the living, and Wheelock had to pay a curate to take care of his duties when he himself could not be there— probably most of the time—because of the considerable distance. The curate was willing to accept £20 a year and a few perquisites, a wage that undoubtedly represented *genuine* poverty. So Wheelock probably got about £20 a year from the parish. He had, therefore, a total income of about £80 per annum. Such a figure in the first half of the seventeenth century can hardly be characterized as representing extreme poverty. **29**

On the other hand, by this time Wheelock had left his Fellowship and had married, and children had followed.³⁰ Moreover, when he became Librarian in 1629 he had had to post a bond of £200. If he had actually been obliged to come up with cash, he had almost certainly had to borrow this large sum (20 times his annual library salary) and

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repay it with interest. So with family and debts, his income cannot have been princely. The evidence from the time around his death is a little contradictory. Just before he died, he was pleading with the Vice-Chancellor to have his library salary paid in Cambridge while he was in London seeing to the printing of his Persian Gospels. His funeral encomiast said that the Master of Magdalene College and others helped his family out after his death; and yet in his will he left £40 to his grandson [step-grandson]. We should probably settle for Todd's judgement, one safe to make about most academics in most periods: "he was not in easy circumstances."³¹

To return to Wheelock's work in Anglo-Saxon. When he decided to switch much of his energy from Arabic to Old English, he was a complete novice in the latter language. And, oddly enough, there were more aids for learning Arabic than there were for Old English. There were grammars of Arabic, and even collections of readings for those learning the language, which had been published by Erpenius. By contrast, there was no published grammar, nor anthology, nor dictionary of Old English. So Wheelock set out to read the Venerable Bede's famous eighth-century *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in Old English without these usual helps. The original had, of course, been written in Latin, but had been translated into English in the ninth century, by King Alfred himself, according to tradition. Now in the seventeenth century, when the language of King Alfred had developed to the point where very few could read the king's English south of the Humber, and none at all north of it, the Latin text was the "trot" for anyone who wanted access to the OE, and this was the way Wheelock proceeded. By September of the same year he had started King Alfred's translation of St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, a volume that the king himself tells us he had translated to help educate his lower clergy whose learning and discipline had slipped badly during the Viking invasions. Wheelock had finished reading the volume in the same "trots" fashion by July 1639, a pretty good speed for a beginner who had other academic tasks to do.³² As he went through the OE MSS at Cambridge, he made an attempt to build his own dictionary, but he left only fragments, the remains of a hope that the work

“when I have finished it, or have brought it to some perfection may be *instar thesauri* [like a dictionary] or rather *clavis Saxonici* [a key to the Saxon] for the use of those [MS] bookes especiallie here at Cambridge.”³³

The pity was that this undesirable situation need not have obtained at all. In the previous century a good beginning dictionary of OE had been compiled by John Joscelyn, Archbishop Parker’s secretary,

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and one of the very first students of OE. This was extant in MS. and would have been a real aid to any beginner, but Wheelock did not have a copy, and could not get one, though he knew about it. So the only “professor” of the language in the country had to proceed as best he could, teaching himself without even the aid of a dictionary. He did not even possess all the few books containing OE that had been printed by earlier pioneers of Anglo-Saxon studies from the time of Archbishop Parker. (See previous note and note 41).

As a result, in the early stages of his association with Spelman, Wheelock laboriously copied out for his mentor’s use material which, Spelman informed him, had already been published in the sixteenth century. Indeed, up to the time of his death in 1641 Spelman was the professor’s tutor in both language and historical method.³⁴ Wheelock had to struggle to write his inaugural lecture, a draft of which he showed to Spelman and Ussher. Sir Henry glanced over it with his one remaining half-good eye, and commented drily that he thought it would not please either the Archbishop or the intended audience because of “some obscurity, intricacie and the length?” Anyone who has struggled with the prefaces to Wheelock’s *Bede* will appreciate what Spelman meant by obscurity and intricacy.

Meanwhile, Spelman, who was getting quite old, was anxious to settle the lectureship finally and to associate his son with the foundation. He made draft “Propositions Concerning the Britain & Saxon Lecture”, mostly about the settlement of the vicarage of Middleton upon the University for the use of the Saxon lecturer, who was to give two public lectures to the University (per annum, presumably). The Vice-Chancellor, in turn, made a draft “Order Concerning the Saxon Lecture”, specifying the duties required of the lecturer.³⁶ But by the time that Spelman died in 1641 the foundation had not been finally settled. Wheelock, nevertheless, enjoyed the funds set aside for the lectureship while he

lived, but he had no successor at the university, and so Spelman's intention—to have Anglo-Saxon language and culture taught there on a regular basis—was defeated by the failure to institutionalize the study with a final and formal endowment, and was to remain unfulfilled for another two hundred years.

While he held the post, Wheelock managed the quite remarkable feat of editing the *editio princeps* (1643) of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* in OE, a mere five years after he had begun to read it for the first time with the aid of the Latin. In his edition Wheelock printed the wellknown Latin in column side by side with the almost unknown Alfredian English. But because the Latin had always been available to

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scholars, even more important than the edition of Bede was the publication (in the same single volume) of an edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* with Wheelock's own Latin translation, another remarkable achievement.

Later medieval English chroniclers and historians had made use of the Chronicle while they could still read OE, but this was a skill that had largely disappeared long before the mid-sixteenth century, when Parker and his group had reacquired it. As early as the first half of the twelfth century, for example, the historian Henry of Huntington confessed to difficulties in translating one of the poems embedded in the Chronicle, not the most difficult piece of OE verse.³⁷ So this first printing of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with Wheelock's translation made an indispensable source of English history available for the first time to all scholars, including the vast majority who could read no OE. The study and writing of the history of ancient England would never be the same again.

Inevitably, such an edition had faults, some of them considerable, but its value outweighed its demerits. On this point I cannot do better than quote the comments of Charles Plummer, one of the most distinguished editors and commentators on the Chronicle:

Wheelock's was certainly a considerable performance for the time at which it was done; nor can the shortcomings, inseparable from a first attempt made at a time when the revived study of Anglo-Saxon was in its infancy and the appliances were few, detract from the glory which belongs to Wheelock, that (in Gibson's words) "primus omnium

praeclarum istud huius nationis monumentum a blattis ac tineis vindicavit?’ [He was the first to rescue from moths and worms this great national monument]... It remains to add a few words on the Latin translation with which he accompanied his text. That it should contain many errors, some of them rather comic, was to be expected; but on the whole it is a courageous and creditable performance.³⁸

The Latin version of Bede had, of course, long been available in Continental editions, but even here Wheelock improved matters, for this was the first Latin edition ever published in England, and in the judgement of a noted historian, “his version of the Latin text was superior to its predecessors”.³⁹ The Anglo-Saxon text had never before been printed anywhere. His editing was, as we have tried to show elsewhere, quite tendentious in the Parker tradition, assiduously using the annotations, not only to explicate points of difficulty in the text, but to press a point of view, namely that of the Reformed Church.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, in spite of translation errors in the Chronicle and biased editing

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in the Bede, when he reissued the book the following year with a reprint of Lambarde’s sixteenth-century edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, he had provided for scholars at one stroke, the three fundamental texts for the study of Anglo-Saxon England. Faulty though they all were, nevertheless these three indispensable texts were now *printed* in one volume and in a language every scholar knew—Latin. It was no small achievement for a man who was a tyro a mere seven years before, and who had to conduct his study of Old English, as we have shown, without the aids usually available to beginning students of languages even as exotic as Arabic. He was, moreover, not a bachelor Fellow, but a family man with several children. Besides, he had two other jobs, and while they did not demand all of his time, they must have prevented total concentration on his Anglo-Saxon work. Was it any wonder that he wrote at one point to Sir Simonds D’Ewes:

I am now so full of studies, & of different kindes, Hebrew, Syr[iac], Arab[ic] & Sax[on] that I feare I shall loose my selfe, if I depart hence:

here for Saxon studies I am for the praesent fixed by Sr H. Sp. who hath *eo nomine* given

me maintenance to reade these Sax. & Brit. Antiquities: I should make an oration to begin the Lecture, but I want all the printed bookes in a manner[?] & have only manuscripts to direct me, wch though the safest guides, yet not soe familiar as printed bookes and fitted for the purpose. As for Bede in Sax. & the comparinge of it with other MSS I should with all thankfullness embrace your extraordinary favour & —— your help; but it is a worke with me of halfe a yeares time to use their Sax. copie, for send it out they may not. It's impossible for me to remove these obstacles.⁴¹

As was remarked earlier, Wheelock's studies in oriental languages were strongly tinged with his inclination to see them as an opportunity for Protestant Christian polemic, and we have hinted that the same inclination appeared in his Anglo-Studies. It would, indeed, be true to say that it gave these studies their *raison d'être*:

The maine busines which possesseth my thoughtes, [he wrote to Spelman early in their association] is the discovery (out of Bede & others especiallie in manuscripts) of the Apostolical doctrine by comparinge our praesent church with the auncient church here in England: which work will most properlie suit with your Reader [i.e. your lecturer, Wheelock himself] because he is to be a searcher of truthes out of the fountaines themselves.⁴²

This would certainly seem to have been part of the understanding about the foundation, for in the same letter Wheelock refers to the post as “the lecture for Brit[ish] ecclesiastical and pol[itical] Antiquities”,

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and so it “suited,” that is “was appropriate” for the lecturer so to proceed; but it suited Wheelock in the other sense of the word also: it was clearly to his taste, for he took very naturally to this approach to history. The work was not for Wheelock a disinterested scholarly undertaking, but was more in the nature of an act of patriotic and religious piety: it was to demonstrate the doctrinal identity of the Reformed Church and the Anglo-Saxon Church of the great and venerable Bede and his equally great translator and “paraphrast,”

King Alfred.

We know from himself that Wheelock had few students in Arabic; he never mentions any students at all in OE, though it is fairly clear that he had some. As early as 1641 Wheelock and a certain William Retchford contributed rhymed, yes rhymed, verses in Old English to *Irenodia*, a volume of flattering verse put together by the university to welcome King Charles I. Francis Utley, who reprinted the OE verses,⁴³ speculated reasonably enough that Retchford was Wheelock's student; and there is other evidence that one or more Retchfords later did a good deal of transcription and translation of OE MSS for a London publisher who intended to put out a volume of the historians of England. But the students were probably not numerous. This is hardly surprising, of course. Not only was the subject a totally new academic endeavor, but as we have repeatedly said, there were no dictionaries or grammars available to prospective students, and for several years at least the professor was a beginning student himself.

Wheelock left no body of trained students to carry on his work, contrary to what Spelman had hoped, and the next generation of Saxonists, who were mostly at Oxford, were largely self-taught, like Wheelock himself.⁴⁴ Moreover, at his death, the Cambridge lectureship, which had never been finally settled, disappeared, though the funds from it helped to support William Somner while he was compiling the dictionary which Wheelock never managed. The salary for the lecturer went to Somner, while the vicarage of Middleton went to a cleric whose duties were purely to his parish. Somner was the last beneficiary of Spelman's half-settled endowment.⁴⁵ His dictionary was even published at Oxford (1659), and from that point on Anglo-Saxon studies shifted to the sister university. But that is another story.

NOTES

1. See, e.g., two standard works on the connection of these studies with constitutional

history: Samuel Kliger, *The Goths in England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), and J.G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge, England, 1957).

2. Actually the endowment for the Arabic chair was not made permanent until 1666. Why it was not finally settled in Wheelock's lifetime is not clear, though it may have had something to do with Wheelock's difficulties in getting students and his consequent diversion to Old English. Fortunately Adams was long-lived, or the Arabic foundation might have suffered the same fate as the Anglo-Saxon lectureship.
3. Lewis Hicke in *Mr Ralph Wheelock, Puritan* (Hartford, 1899) and the entry for Wheelock in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (pt. I, vol. 4) both suggest that Abraham may have been the kinsman, perhaps the brother of Ralph Wheelock who settled in Dedham, Mass. in 1637. Certainly they were both from Shropshire and were both connected with Clare Hall in Cambridge, where Abraham became Fellow in 1619, and Ralph graduated B.A. in 1626. From Ralph was descended Eleazer Wheelock, who founded Dartmouth College and whose concern for converting and educating the heathen Indians would have pleased his English namesake and probable relative. Missionary spirit may have run in the blood.

Abraham always spells his surname "Wheelock" when he is writing in English. So do all his correspondents, with some little variation, when they write in English. The form "Wheloc", which I have used elsewhere and which I derived from earlier scholars, is clearly a back-formation from the Latin form of his name, "Whelocus".

4. *The Cambridge School of Arabic* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1948), p. 2.
5. Arberry, *Oriental Essays* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), p. 12.
6. See P. M. Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East* (London: Frank Cass, 1973), pp. 16—17 and 28—29. See also Arberry, *Cambridge School of Arabic*, p. 5—11, and Adams's letter in which he refers to the inaugural which he has read. (Har. 7041, f.51v—52, dated May 18, 1632.)
7. Wheelock's suggestion to Adams seems to have been made late in 1630 or early in 1631. Adams made up his mind by March 1631, and was prepared to back up his promise at once. (See Harley 7041, f. 55.) Adams's letters to Wheelock are to be found in Cambridge University Library (CUL) MSS Dd. III. 12. Copies of these are to be found among the Baker MSS in the British Library, there marked Harley 7041. Wheelock's letters to Adams are not extant. Large extracts from the letters can be found in P.M. Holt's *Studies in the History of the Near East*, pp. 37 ff.
8. Holt (p. 25) also notices the county connection between Wheelock and Adams, and

notes that both Edward Pococke, the first professor of Arabic at Oxford and his patron, Archbishop Laud were from Berkshire.

Bernard ran into some trouble in Ireland as secretary to Ussher, now Archbishop of Armagh, during the Commonwealth and Cromwellian period, but he eventually became chaplain to Cromwell himself, and ended up in the Restoration period as vicar not quite of Bray, but of his own (and Wheelock's) parish of Whitchurch in Shropshire, apparently one of the richest livings in the country. For more on Hyde see below p. 173 and n.28.

9. For Holdsworth's letters to Wheelock on the subject see Bod. MS Raw.D. 1104, 16 ff and British Library MS Add. 6193, fols 80—82. For fuller accounts of the Erpenius MSS and their acquisition see E. G. Browne, "A Description of an Old Persian [p. 180] Commentary on the Kur'an," *Jour. of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1894), pp. 417—422; and, more recently, J. C. T. Oates, "The MSS of Thomas Erpenius", *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand. Occasional Papers* 1(1979), 1—17. In the latter also there are large quotations from the letters of Adams and Holdsworth.
10. The correspondence about Bedwell's lexicon and types is in Harley 7041, fols. 52—53^{rv} and 59^{rv}
11. *Cambridge School of Arabic*, p. 10. On the same page, however, Arberry acknowledges Adams's support of Wheelock's missionary endeavor.
12. Quatuor Evangeliorum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi versio Persica, Syriacam & Arabicam suavissime redolens. . . per Abrahamum Whelocum... sub auspiciis & impensis Mecoenatis praecellentissimi, Integerrimi virtute, Historiarum optimarum notitia undique Politissimi, D. Thomae Adams.. - MDCLVII.
13. J. Welsford, *Memorials* (London, 1741), p. 89.
14. In the epistle dedicatory to Adams in Wheelock's *Bede* (Cambridge, 1643 & 1644).
15. *Cambridge School of Arabic*, p. 10. Bedwell's type no longer exists, and was apparently never used.
16. For Pococke see Leonard Twells, *Lives of Pocock, Pearce, Newton and Skelton* (London, 1816); P. M. Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East* (F. Cass: London, 1973).
17. A curious MS "Brief Life" of Wheelock (CUL MS Mm. I 44) has an interesting view of this and some other aspects of his scholarly life. The syntax and punctuation are those of the author:

Mr. Abraham Whelock born in Whitechurch parish, bred in Shropshire, Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge where he was keeper of the public library and professor of the Arabic tongue erected by Sr. Th. Adams, born at Wem in the same county, and also professor to explain the Saxon tongue who died 1654, put a stop not only to this noble design but also to the polyglot dictionary and Persian New Testament lying upon his performance, but to learning itself, his industry translated the New Testament into Persian to convert that nation, a design some in this age may deride, the effect whereof another age may admire (He that seeth the acorn set liveth not to see the grown timber oak) and set out an accurate edition of Bede in the Saxon tongue with a translation and learned notes upon it, that excelled in Greek: so vast a knowledge had this thoughtful soul for words and languages: standing in competition upon Andrews death, for the Greek lecture having given the earnest of every expectation, for the propagating of religion and learning, and being able to be the interpreter general not only for the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, or of the wise men to Herod, but to mankind, and to serve instead of the universal character, being by the way the likeliest man to make one.

This humble and affable man, this juvenutis Cantabrigiensis doctor ac pater, as once called, died at London in the 60th year of his age, and lieth buried near St. Botolph's church near Aldgate.

A note at the end of this piece [in Baker's hand?1 says: "This I had from Mr. Wheelock's daughter, by whom it was drawn I do not know." Whoever it was had no exact knowledge of Wheelock's studies. He did not translate the New

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Testament into Persian; he merely published an edition of a MS translation. There is also an implication in this note that Wheelock provided the translation of the OE Bede, which is of course not true: the original Latin was Bede's, the OE was "Alfredian". Moreover, it was a polyglot bible, not a dictionary that Wheelock was associated with at the time of his death.

18. See, e.g., his letter to Sir Henry Spelman in BL MS Add. 25,384, f.29rv dated June 1638; also a letter to an Oxford friend repr. in T. Birch, *Miscellaneous Works of Mr. John Greaves* (London, 1737), I, lxxviii—lxx.
19. W. Sclater, *The Crown of Righteousness* (1654) cited in H. J. Todd, *Memoirs of the*

Life of Brian Walton (London, 1821), p. 238.

20. Twells, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
21. BL MS Harley 7041, f.58r
22. See BL MS 34601, fol.16.
23. See F. Wormald and C. E. Wright, *The English Library before 1700* (London, 1958), p. 213 ff.; and C. E. Sayle, *Annals of Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge, 1916).
24. H. Bradshaw, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, 1889), p. 197. For other details see Wormald and Wright, pp. 220 ff. We understand that J. C. T. Oates is revising a lecture on Wheelock which is to be a chapter in Oates's projected history of the Cambridge University Library. See *Notes & Queries*, Oct. 1983, p. 445.
25. For Spelman's letters to Wheelock see in CUL MSS Dd.III, 12, and most of them are copied in Baker's much more legible hand into BL MS 7041, fols 40 ff, which is what we have generally used. Wheelock's letters to Spelman are in BL MSS Add.25,384; 34,600; 34,601.
26. *Memoirs*, p. 232.
27. Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Letters LXIX, f. 44. Wheelock may have been thanking Ussher for putting in a good word for him with the citizens of Lynn where he had about that time applied for the position of Master of the Free School. The vice-chancellor and other important people in the University certainly signed a testimonial for him. Clearly Wheelock did not get or did not accept the job. (See MS Harley 7041,f.61v). Movement from University to School level was not as unusual as it may seem to us. In the late nineteenth century the distinguished Cambridge medievalist and bibliographer, M. R. James, left the University to be provost of Eton, not a typical job, to be sure. But Wheelock's successor Arberry, whom we have mentioned several times, was on the point of accepting a post at an English public school when he obtained the oriental post that changed his career.
28. In this connection there is a rather engaging story told about Hyde in his old age which has a little added piquancy because of his association with Wheelock the Saxonist. The Dutch Scholar Francis Junius (1589—1677), an eminent Saxonist, had left his own font of lovely Anglo-Saxon type to the University of Oxford where he had spent his declining years. It had been lost or mislaid, until it was found by two younger scholars, who were interested in using it. The story is told by Thomas Tanner, later Bishop Tanner:

Mr. Thwaites and John Hall took the courage last week to go to Dr. Hyde (Bodley's

librarian) about Junius's matrices and punchions which he gave to

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the university. These nobody knew where they were till Mr. Wanley discovered them in a hole in Dr. Hyde's study. But upon Mr. Hall's asking, Dr. Hyde knew nothing of them, but at last told them he thought he had some old punchions about his study, but he did not know how they came there, and presently produces a small box full, and taking out one he pores upon it and at last wisely tells them that these could not be what they looked after, for they were Aethiopic: but Mr. Thwaites desiring a sight of them, found that which he looked on to be Gothic, and in the box were almost all Junius's Saxon, Gothic, and Runic puncions which they took away with them, and a whole oyster barrel full of old Greek letter, which was discovered in another hole.

Humfrey Wanley (1672—1726), a sub-librarian at the Bodlcian at that time, was to become the first librarian of the Harleian and the author of the first great catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Edward Thwaites (1668—1711) used the types for his edition of the OE Heptateuch (1697), and, like Wheelock, taught OE at his university. See Michael Murphy, "Humfrey Wanley on How to Run a Scholarly Library," *The Library Quarterly* 52(1982), 145—155; and "Edward Thwaites, Pioneer Teacher of Old English," *Durham University Journal* 73 (1981), 153—159. [Both of these papers are available on this website.]

29. A figure of £80 to £100 was considered "sufficient maintenance" for a man of the lower clergy in 1660. An investigation by the Bishop of Peterborough in his own diocese in 1704 found that figure still satisfactory. At the same time, however, the Saxonist William Elstob found his salary of £104 per annum in London less than sufficient; he was a bachelor with a spinster sister. See Sarah Collins, "Elizabeth Elstob, a Biography;" unpublished dissertation, U. of Indiana, 1970, p. 73.
30. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* suggests that Wheelock had sons (a) Abraham, who matriculated at King's in 1650 (b) Gregory, who graduated from Clare in 1653—4 and died in 1709 (c) Ralph, who matriculated at King's in 1645. But Wheelock's will mentions only a son, Abraham, four daughters, and a grandson whose name was Christopher Goad and who would appear, then, to have been a step-grandson. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* is almost certainly wrong in suggesting that Ralph was our subject's son, since Wheelock was married in 1632 and a child of that marriage could hardly have mariculated in 1645. It is just possible that both Gregory and Ralph were the

sons of the Ralph Wheelock who settled in America in 1637 (see note 3 above), and who were left behind in their kinsman's care to get the kind of education which would have been impossible in America.

31. His will is in CUL MS Mm.I.37. See also the encomium at the end of Sclater's sermon. Wheelock's letter to the Vice-Chancellor is in Todd, pp.232—233.
32. His note in the CUL MS of the OE *Pastoral Care* reads: "Per otium, coepi legere librum hunc tertio die Septembris 1638. Perfeci Julii 17, 1639?" (MS Ii.2.4). ("In my leisure time I began reading this book on the third day of September, 1638. I finished it on July 17, 1639")
33. See BL MSS Add. 34,600 f.174 dated July 1639. See also p. 177 here, and M.S. Hetherington, *The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography* (published by the author, 1980), pp. 81 ff.

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34. See, e.g., BL MS Add 34,600 f.176; Harley 7041, f.45v; Bodleian MS Tanner 70 f. 174.
35. Reproduced in Eleanor Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England* (New Haven, 1917; repr. Archon Books, 1970), p. 117—118.
36. "Sir Henry Spelman's Propositions concerning the Britain & Saxon lecture to be conferred upon Abraham Wheelock &c. Anno 1640." BL MS Harley 7046, f176.

This is a draft of the conveyance handing over the vicarage of Middleton to the University of Cambridge to support Abraham Wheelock up to age 60, and to all his successors in the lectureship who should become vicars of the church.

Item 5 stipulates: "That the said vicar shall ... preach and instruct his parishioners usually every Sunday, and being conversant in the history of our British churches and Saxon language shall read two or more public lectures thereof in the University of Cambridge as they, the said Vice Chancellor and Master of Trinity College ... shall think fit and direct"

Item 6. Whenever the vicarage falls vacant, Sir Henry or his heirs and assigned patrons shall appoint a man "learned and conversant as before expressed" and who has been accepted by the Vice Chancellor and the Master of Trinity.

In the Vice Chancellor's "Order Concerning the Saxon Lecture" there are five items, of which the most interesting are items 4 and 5:

4. That the said lecturer shall [give] free access to all students repairing to his chamber, for the learning of the elements & grammar of the Saxon language, & shall faithfully instruct them in the same, & this to be done twice every weeke, for the

space of 3: houres in the afternoon, as well out of terme as in terme. Such times excepted as with the leave of the vicechan: & of the Feoffees he shall be forth of Town for his recreation or any other his necessary occasions.

5. The time of every lecture to be one whole hour & no more.

Presumably the lecture mentioned in 5 is the public lecture which the draft requires 7 times a year, where Spelman's draft mentions two lectures. (CUL MS 7596, copied in BL MS 7041, f.47rv.

37. Henry of Huntington, *Historia Anglorum*. There is, however, some evidence that OE was read and understood by some throughout the later Middle Ages. See Angus Cameron, "Old English in Middle English Manuscripts;" in *Chaucerian and Middle English Studies in Honor of Rossell Hope Robbins* ed. Beryl Rowland (Kent State Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 218—229.
38. C. Plummer, *Two Anglo-Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1899), II, cxxviii. Edmund Gibson's was the next edition of the Chronicle (1692).

Some of Wheelock's errors: "hie to londe comon" (they came to land) is rendered "Londinium venerant" (they came to London); "Heahstan biscop" (Bishop Heahstan): "summus episcopus" (the highest bishop); "þa se fyrdstern for ham" (when the English army went home): "tum exercitus Ite domum vociferatur" (then the army cried out "Go home"). Plummer rightly characterized Wheelock's translation of the Battle of Brunanburh as "quite hopeless". Milton could not make head or tail of it when he read it in preparation for his History of England. Here are some examples of the text and Wheelock's Latin rendering: "ealdor langne tyr" (life-long glory): "senior longa tiara" (which means something like "elder long tiara"); "ealgodon" (they defended):

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'universa bona (all good things); "Haeleða nanum" (to none of the warriors): "salus quoque nullis" (and health to none); "Froda" (old) is capitalized, and the marginal note says 'Dux Normannicus" (a Viking leader). There are many others. Wheelock was aware of his deficiencies with OE verse, and put a marginal note at the beginning of the whole entry: "Idioma hic et ad annum 942 & 975 perantiquum et horridum, lectoris candorem & diligentiam desiderat" (The old and barbarous language here and at years 942 and 975 requires the perspicacity and understanding of the reader).

In fairness to Wheelock, it should be pointed out that his successors until the nineteenth century had difficulties translating the poem, as well as with other parts of the

- Chronicle. See especially Plummer II, cxxix.
39. David Douglas, *English Scholars* (London, 1951), p. 62.
 40. See Michael Murphy, "Abraham Wheloc's Edition of Bede's *Historia* in Old English," *Studia Neophilologica* 39(1967), 46—59 and below p. 177. [This paper is available on this present website].
 41. MS Harley 374, 131 rv, dated February 1639. The most prominent of the "printed books" mentioned by Wheelock were: Parker and Joscelyn, *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* (1566—67); Lambarde, *Archaionomia* (1568); Foxe, *Gospels of the Fower Evangelistes* (1571); L'Isle, *A Saxon Treatise* (1623).
 42. BL MS Add 25,384 f.29rv.
 43. "Two Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Poems" *MLQ* 3, (1942), 243—26 1. On the basis of a statement in Douglas, Utley asserts that Wheelock "had more Anglo-Saxon disciples at his own university than is usually recognized" (p. 245). He appears to mean Robert Sheringham and Aylett Sammes who both published books in the 1670's that contained some OE, but many, if not all of the OE quotations and Latin translations in Sheringham's work, (*Anglorum Gentis Origine* 1670) could be found in Wheelock's book. The scraps that crop up in Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua* (1676) are all from Sheringham's, only with English translations. So there is really no worthwhile evidence that either of them was a "disciple" of Wheelock's or even knew much OE. The edition of the Laws of Ine with an English translation at the end of Sammes's book, though introduced with the words "I have translated them as carefully as I can," is hardly the work of a man who in the body of his text used only as much OE as he could lift from another man's book. The suggestion that the Laws and translation were really the work of William Somner is much more likely to be right. See Douglas, p. 59, n. 1.

There are, however, apart from the *Irenodia* publication, a couple of other tantalizing pieces of information about one or more Retchfords or Richfords. M. Bateson, (*EHR*, 1895, p. 715) has a footnote dealing with accounts paid by Cornelius Bee, the London bookseller, to several Richfords:

Item 2: "I say rec. by mee John Retchford £6—10—0".

Item 3: "I say received Aug. 25 by me William Retchford 1664 £3—19—6.

Item 4: "Delivered unto Mr. Richard Richford for paines in translating the Saxon into Lattin?"

Item 5: "Paid unto a scoller in Cambridg for helping Mr. John Richford?"

There would appear, therefore, to be three Retchfords / Richfords who dealt in transcriptions and translations from OE. In the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* or the Cambridge

University *Book of Matriculations 1544—1659* we can find references only to a John and a William in the period of Wheelock's residence.

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Humfrey Wanley's description of Harley MS 438, a copy of the Cambridge MS (now numbered CCCC 190), says that items 33—38, 41—43, 48—51 are ascribed to Richard Richford. In item 56, however, he says: 'N.B. by a note at the end of the work, the translator's hand seems to be that of Henry Some than of Richard Richford.' We know nothing of a Henry Some except that a man of the name Henry Some or Soames entered Kings in 1646, took his B.A. in 1650-51, M.A. in 1654, became a fellow of the college, and died in 1658.

44. See M. Murphy, "Methods in the Study of OE in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Medieval Studies* 30 (1968), 345-350. [Available on this website].
45. For details of the disposal of the salary and the parish see James Ingram, *Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Oxford, 1807), Appendix 2. See also BL MS Add. 5845, fols 159v—160.