

HEBREW COMPOSITIONS FROM
THE PEN OF THOMAS NEALE,
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW
(1559–69), ADDRESSED TO QUEEN
ELIZABETH I ON THE OCCASION
OF HER MAJESTY’S VISIT TO
OXFORD IN 1566

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BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS. 13, PART I

Bodleian Library, MS. 13, Part I (<https://tinyurl.com/yy6bazm4>) is the well-known booklet prepared by Thomas Neale (or Neal) (1519–c.1590) on the occasion of the celebrated visit by Queen Elizabeth I to Oxford in September 1566.¹ The main portion of the booklet (fols 4^r–19^r) is an imagined dialogue between the queen and her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, then chancellor of the University (1564–85). The text is in Latin, with two headings, one self-standing on fol. 3^v, one at the top of fol. 4^r. The booklet is especially well known for the ink drawings of the various Oxford colleges – the first such depictions attested – produced

It is our pleasant duty to thank the following individuals for their kind assistance: Catherine Angerson (British Library); Angie Goodgame (Weston Library Reader Services); Mathias Hanses (Penn State University); Sue and John Hemingway (Cassington, Oxfordshire); Julian Reid (Corpus Christi College Library); Sam Sales (Weston Library Reader Services); Dunja Sharif (Weston Library); William Shire (Magdalen College Library); Richard H. Turner (Wingerworth, Derbyshire) and Joanna Weinberg (University of Oxford). Each has assisted us in his or her own way (supplying images, providing information, etc.), and the article is a better product on account of their interest in our project. Finally, we are grateful to the two anonymous readers for the *Bodleian Library Record*, and especially its editor, Bryan Ward-Perkins: their comments and assistance have enhanced our article in manifold ways.

¹ The manuscript is a small quarto volume. The designation ‘Part I’ refers to the fact that, at some point during the seventeenth century, it was bound together with two other unrelated compositions: Part II, a speech by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, before Henry VII at Cambridge in 1506 (fols 22^r–31^v); and Part III, an Italian version of Psalms 1–25 (apparently not digitalized yet, so folio numbers uncertain).

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

by John Bereblock (or Bearblock), fellow of Exeter College.² The idea, of course, was to provide Queen Elizabeth with a sense of the University during her visit. At the time of the queen's visit, Thomas Neale was Regius Professor of Hebrew (1559–69),³ the third holder of the position since its establishment by Henry VIII in 1546.⁴ In this official capacity, Neale was moved to introduce the volume via a 'Hebrew key' and to append two Hebrew compositions to the booklet.

The manuscript commences with the image of a tree bearing the title 'Hebraismi typus' (fig. 1), followed by an introductory Latin poem of ten lines (fol. ii^v),⁵ and a two-page prose introduction (fols iv^r–iv^v), bearing the author's signature and title (see fig. 2).

The introductory poem in Latin explains the image of the tree. Neale writes, *Arbor Hebraismi typus est, quæ frondibus auctam se gaudet nummis, Elisabetha, tuis*, 'The tree is an image of Hebraism, which rejoices that its branches have been increased, Elizabeth, by your funds' (fol. ii^v, lines 3–4). He goes on to say that the tree was first planted by God in Paradise, after which *verbaque mortales iussit Hebraea loqui*, 'He ordered mortals to speak Hebrew words' (fol. ii^v, line 6). This metaphorical tree was then brought to Oxford by Elizabeth's father, a reference to the aforementioned efforts of Henry VIII. The poem praises Elizabeth for continuing to 'water the roots' of the tree, that is, for her enduring financial support of the study of the Hebrew tongue.

2 Geoffrey Tyack, 'Bereblock, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (henceforth: *ODNB*) (available online at <https://www.oxforddnb.com/>).

3 Here and throughout, including in the title of our article, we use the term 'Regius Professor' loosely, since in Neale's day the title was *praelector* (as he so identifies himself – see below re fol. 19^r, line 9). But since the more prestigious term has gained universal currency, even when used anachronistically for the sixteenth century, we have chosen to apply it here. On the various issues involved, see F. Donald Logan, 'The Origins of the So-called Regius Professorships: An Aspect of the Renaissance in Oxford and Cambridge', *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), pp. 271–8.

4 For biographical sketches and/or mention of Neale's role in the queen's visit, see the following sources: Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1796), vol. 2, p. 158; Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1811), p. 384; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1813), vol. 1, cols 576–8; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714* (London, 1891), p. 1054; G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester, 1983), pp. 200–201; and most readily G. Lloyd Jones, 'Neal [Neale], Thomas', in *ODNB*. Note that we cite Wood's two classic works from later printings, though naturally they are products of the seventeenth century (1674 for *History and Antiquities*; 1691–2 for *Athenae Oxonienses*).

5 Note that the first four folios of the manuscript are numbered i–iv, after which they are numbered 1–21.

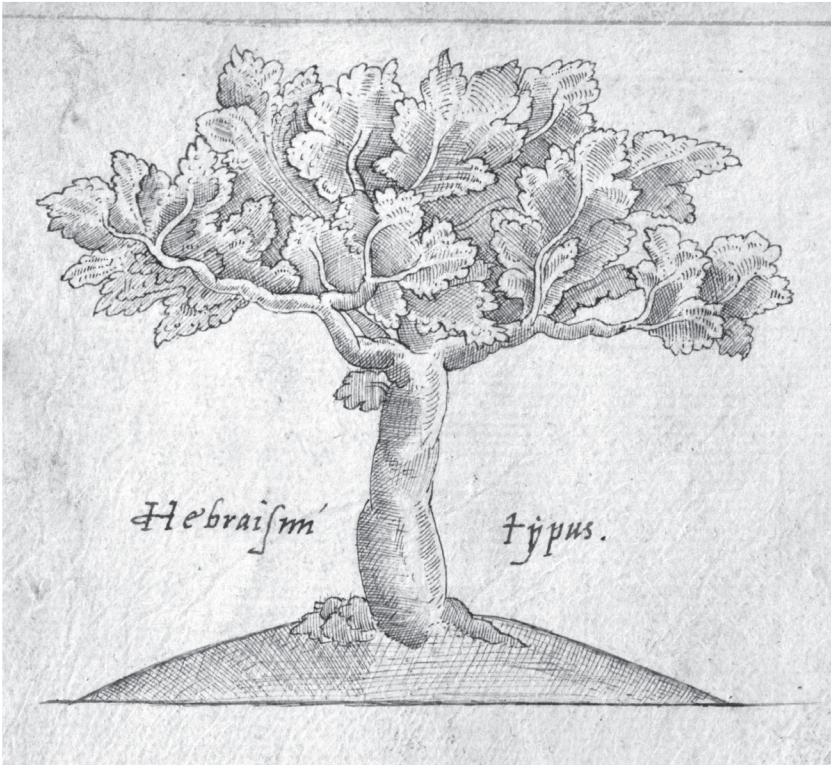


Fig. 1. The opening of the booklet Bodleian Library, MS. 13, Part I, with the 'Hebraismi typus' tree (fol. ii^v, top).

*Serenis^a. Ma^{tas}. tue obsequentissimus
Alumnus, Thomas Nealus. hebraice
linguæ Professor. Oxon. .*

Fig. 2. Thomas Neale's signature and title (fol. iv^v, bottom): 'A most devoted pupil of your most serene Majesty, Thomas Neale, Oxford Professor of the Hebrew language'.

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

Neale did not stop there, though, for if '[God] bid mortals to speak Hebrew words', then the document would not be complete without such words. Towards the end of the dialogue which forms the main body of the work (fol. 19^r, line 9), the chancellor announces that the *sacræ linguae prælector Hebræus* 'the Hebrew praelector of the sacred language', i.e. Neale, wants to give thanks to the queen in his own name. And thus the manuscript concludes with two Hebrew compositions, one in prose on fol. 20^r (plate 4), and one in poetry on fol. 21^r (plate 5), preceded by a one-sentence Latin heading on fol. 19^v. The Hebrew offering is cited as an example of some of the fruit borne by the same metaphorical tree which Elizabeth has helped cultivate.

PUBLICATION HISTORY

This article, as adumbrated in the title, is devoted specifically to Neale's Hebrew texts, but first we provide some history about the publication of his booklet over the centuries.⁶ The portion of the dialogue which contains the descriptions of the colleges was already printed in the sixteenth century, by Miles Windsor within his *Academiæ quæ aliquando fuerunt et hodie in Europa, Catalogus & enumeratio brevis* (London, 1590), at pp. 42–8, though he arranged the individual descriptions in a different order from the manuscript (for reasons apparently unknown).

The entirety of Neale's Latin material (that is, without the Hebrew), accompanied by the drawings, was first published by Thomas Hearne, second Keeper of the Bodleian Library (served 1712–16), as an appendix to his edition of the posthumous work of Henry Dodwell, who had died in 1711, *De Parma Equestri Woodwardiana* (Oxford, 1713), at pp. 120–50 (fig. 3). It was then published again by John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1788), at pp. 60–73 of the section for the year 1566 (though without the drawings). Thirty-five years later, Nichols produced a second edition of the work, where once again the Latin text is given (London, 1823), vol. 1, pp. 217–29 (though without the opening poem (for reasons unclear) and once again without the drawings).⁷

6 The following is based on the brief survey provided by Charles Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford: Reprints of Rare Tracts* (Oxford, 1887), p. xvii. For more about this volume, see further below.

7 The entirety of Nichols's classic work has appeared in a magisterial new edition, with annotations, etc., and with English translations of the Latin texts: Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke and Jayne Elisabeth Archer (eds), *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, 5 vols (Oxford, 2014). Neale's Latin text and an English rendering



Fig. 3. Thomas Hearne's edition of the Latin text, reproducing the beginning of Bodleian, MS. 13, Part I, fols ii^v and iv^r.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the entire Latin text was presented afresh by Charles Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford: Reprints of Rare Tracts* (Oxford, 1887), pp. 151–68. As indicated on the title page to the relevant section, Plummer based his text on Hearne's work, though he did not include the drawings, and, more importantly, his work benefited from consultation of the facsimile edition of Bodleian, MS. 13, Part I, published five years earlier by Julius Guggenheim under the Latin title *Collegiorum scholarumque publicarum academiae Oxoniensis topographica delineatio, auctore Thoma Nelo, cum figuris Johannis Berebloci* (Oxford, 1882).⁸ As far as we can determine, the little-known Guggenheim (1821–1889) worked mainly as a photographer,⁹ and it was these talents which he

thereof (by Sarah Knight) is at vol. 1, pp. 490–516; this translation, the first ever printed, was first published in 2006 (see below, n. 13).

8 A facsimile reprint is available for purchase via Kessinger Publishing (Whitefish, MT, USA).

9 The dates of his life and his work as a photographer are determined from the following web pages: www.oxfordhistory.org.uk/high/tour/north/o55_o56.html and www.19thcenturyphotos.com/Unidentified-student-126260.htm.

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

used to produce the facsimile edition, by means of a ‘photozincographic process’, described on his Latin title page as the *ars photozincographica*.¹⁰ Guggenheim also provided a useful introduction to the manuscript, with brief sketches of the author, the illustrator, the queen’s visit and more. An added touch is the Preface by Falconer Madan, then serving as sub-librarian at the Bodleian, with much of the same information.¹¹ As befits a facsimile, the edition includes all the folios, including the two Hebrew compositions which appear at the end, on fols 20^r and 21^r.

Finally, we note the recent edition included in *Queen Elizabeth’s Book of Oxford*, edited by Louise Durning (2006).¹² This volume incorporates a facsimile of the entire manuscript (Hebrew folios included), in colour, and then provides, for the first time, English translations of both the Latin and Hebrew texts (by Sarah Knight and Helen Spurling, respectively).¹³

THOMAS NEALE’S HEBREW COMPOSITIONS

As this survey has demonstrated, the Latin texts composed by Thomas Neale, and recorded by him in Bodleian, MS. 13, Part I, have been published numerous times over the course of several centuries. And yet, the texts of the same author’s two Hebrew compositions have never appeared in print (except in the facsimile edition produced by Guggenheim in 1882 and in the facsimile included in the recent volume edited by Durning). When one recalls that Neale served as Regius Professor of Hebrew, this oversight is glaring. Any number of explanations is forthcoming: either antiquarians were less interested in the material, and/or the difficulty of printing Hebrew font proved to be too difficult, and/or scholars simply assumed that too few people would be able to read the Hebrew material.

Hearne closes his edition of the Latin text (at p. 150) with a definitive *FINIS* (fig. 4), with no reference to the subsequent Hebrew compositions, nor even to their Latin introduction. More faithfully, Plummer included the Latin introduction to the Hebrew compositions (which appears on fol. 19^v) and added ‘[*Hebrew Speech and Verses omitted.*]’ (fig. 5).

In sum, Neale’s Hebrew compositions have been published twice in facsimile: by Guggenheim (in 1882) and in the volume edited by Durning

10 Falconer Madan, ‘Preface’, in J. Guggenheim, *Collegiorum scholarumque publicarum academiae Oxoniensis topographica delineatio, auctore Thoma Nelo, cum figuris Johannis Berebloci* (Oxford, 1882), p. vii. See also Guggenheim’s own comment on p. xi.

11 Madan would later (1912–19) serve as Bodley’s Librarian.

12 Louise Durning (ed.), *Queen Elizabeth’s Book of Oxford* (Oxford, 2006).

13 Knight’s translation of the Latin into English was then incorporated into the new edition of John Nichols’s classic work, for which see above, n. 7.

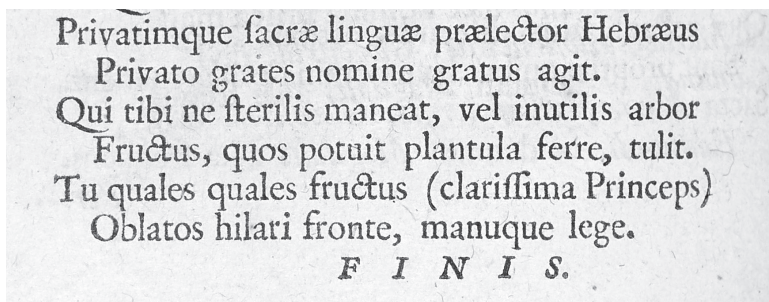


Fig. 4. The close of Thomas Hearne's 1713 edition of Neale's Latin text.

**Gratulatio Hebraica in adventum ejusdem Principis
illustrissimae Dominae Elisabethae ab
eodem Hebraice Conscripta.**

[Hebrew Speech and Verses omitted.]

Fig. 5. The close of Charles Plummer's 1887 edition of Neale's Latin text.

(in 2006). But, prior to the present article, no one has produced a transcription of these two notable Hebrew writings from Elizabethan England, nor has anyone engaged in a philological study of the compositions.

Ours is not the first translation in print, since, as observed above, an English rendering of Neale's Hebrew compositions was published by Spurling in 2006 (and reprinted in 2014). Our translation, however, was made entirely independently, before we became aware of Spurling's work; moreover, as the reader will observe, our version adheres to the Hebrew in a more literal fashion. More importantly, our text is enhanced by detailed annotations, which we hope will serve to bring the modern reader closer to Neale's intellectual world.

One additional observation before we move to our presentation of the text: the fact that Thomas Neale composed two Hebrew texts for Queen Elizabeth implies that Her Majesty had at least some knowledge of Hebrew. A modicum of additional evidence suggests that such is the case – including the fact that earlier in her life she was tutored by Antoine Chevallier, the French Huguenot scholar who had learned Hebrew on the continent, had sought refuge in England and one day would rise to the position of Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge (1569–72).¹⁴

¹⁴ See further Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 240–41. And to bring this full circle, pertinent to the home of the present journal, note that the

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

PRESENTATION OF NEALE'S HEBREW COMPOSITIONS (PLATES 4 AND 5)

We present here a transcription of the text, an English translation, and annotations (indicated by superscript letters, with especial attention to when biblical and/or rabbinic phrases are evoked). In the annotations, we cite biblical passages according to the numeration of the Jewish tradition; when the Christian tradition differs, we indicate the difference via the siglum KJV, even though the King James Version (1611) appeared forty-five years after Neale's compositions. For readers less familiar with Rabbinic Hebrew and its sources, see below, the section entitled 'Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew'.

Following the transcription, translation and annotations, we address various aspects of the compositions, including the handwriting style, Neale's use of metre in the poem, the different names of God, and Neale's knowledge of Hebrew.

TRANSCRIPTION OF FOL. 20^R (THE PROSE TEXT: PLATE 4)

1. אם דוד המלך לי שואל היה אומר לשאול המת במלחמה
2. על ידי פלשתים כי הוא היה המלבישם שני עם עדנים ~
3. והמעלה עדי זהב על לבושם כל שכן אנחנו חובים לאמור
4. בגללך (אליזבית המלכה נכבדה מאד מאד) כי לרגלך ברך
5. יי אותנו בכל טוב : בעבור כי במלכותך שם גבולינו ~
6. את השלום והסיר כל אכזריות : למען עמך יחיה לבטח :
7. ומדרשי הבינות בשלום השימו את לבותם ללמוד את אשר
8. חפצו לאחזו : על כן נודה לך לעולם כלנו בכלל ואני ~
9. בפרט מכלם אחרים בכל מאדנו : כי את הפלאת חסדיך לנו
10. ויגברו עלינו רחמיך הרבים : לתת לנו את המורים ומלמ-
11. דים אותנו במעגלי כל הבינה וכל חכמה : אנא הוסיפי
12. נא להיטיב לנו יום יום ולתת מנוחה ושקט למדרשינו
13. כדי שיהיה לנו הסבה תמד להתפלל אל יהוה תחת שלמך
14. בכל טוב
- 15.
16. השם ישמרך ויתן לך ארך ימים
17. ושבע שמחות את פניו ונעימות
18. בימינו לנצח : אמן

self-same Chevallier also tutored Thomas Bodley in Hebrew, from age twelve, while the young master was resident with his family in Geneva. See Bodley's own words in *Reliquiae Bodleianae: or some genuine remains of Sir Thomas Bodley* (London, 1703), p. 2.

Bodleian Library Record

TRANSLATION OF FOL. 20^R (THE PROSE TEXT)

1. Were King David to ask me, I would say about Saul,^a who died in battle
2. at the hands of the Philistines, that he was the one who clothed them in crimson and finery,
3. and who placed ornaments of gold on their garments.^b All the more so^c we are obliged^d to say
4. about you, O greatly honoured Queen Elizabeth, for on your account^e
5. the LORD has blessed us with all goodness. Because in your kingdom He has set our borders
6. in peace, and He has removed all cruelty,^f so that your people may live securely.
7. And those who seek knowledge have set their hearts to study in peace that which
8. they desire to comprehend. Therefore, we thank you forever,^g all of us together and I
9. individually,^h more than all others, with all our might. And you astonish us with your lovingkindness,ⁱ
10. and your great mercy abounds over us, by giving to us those who teach and inst-
11. ruct^j us^k in the courses of all knowledge and all wisdom. Please continue
12. to promote goodness for us each day, and to grant us repose and quietude for our studies,
13. so that we will always^l have cause^m to pray to the LORD under your peace
14. with all goodness.
- 15.
16. May *ha-Shem*ⁿ keep you^o and grant you length of days,^p
17. and an abundance of joys in His presence, and delights
18. at His right hand for eternity.^q Amen.

ANNOTATIONS TO FOL. 20^R (THE PROSE TEXT)

^a The text includes a sound play and visual play common throughout the book of Samuel, to wit, שאל *šo'el* 'ask' and שׂאול *ša'ul* 'Saul' (meaning 'the one asked [of God]').

^b This description of Saul is based on 2 Samuel 1:24, a key line within David's lament over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan.

^c The Hebrew phrase כל שכן *kol šek-ken* 'all the more so', unknown in the Bible, is a hallmark of Rabbinic Hebrew, occurring in Mishna Kelim 7:4, three

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

times in the Tosefta, and five additional times in related rabbinic compositions of the same time period.

^d The Hebrew noun חוב *hob* ‘debt’ occurs once in the Bible, at Ezekiel 18:7 (see also the related verb in Daniel 1:10). The root becomes much more common in Rabbinic Hebrew, yielding forms such as חובה *hoba* ‘obligation’ and חייב *hayyab* ‘obligated’. Neale seems to have confused the noun חוב *hob* ‘debt’ and the form חייב *hayyab* ‘obligated’, and thus employed the novel form חובים *hobim* ‘obliged, indebted’.

^e Heb. לרגלך *la-raglek*, literally, ‘at your foot’.

^f Heb. אכזריות *akzariyyut* ‘cruelty’, occurring in the Bible only in Proverbs 27:4 (though the related adjective אכזר *akzar* ‘cruel’ occurs four times).

^g The three-word Hebrew phrase derives from Psalm 79:13, though naturally the masculine singular form לך *laka*, used to address God in the psalm, has been adjusted here to the feminine singular form לך *lak*, as the author is addressing the queen.

^h Heb. כלנו בכלל ואני בפרט *kullanu bi-klal wa-’ani bi-p̄rat* ‘all of us together and I individually’ evokes the phraseology in Tosefta Soṭah 8:10 and the discussions based thereon in both the Talmud of the Land of Israel (7.5 [21c]) and the Babylonian Talmud (37a). Neale’s singling himself out is presumably a reference to his role as Oxford’s leading scholar of Hebrew.

ⁱ The phrase הפלאת חסדך *hip̄le t̄ hasadayik* ‘you astonish us with your lovingkindness’ is based on Psalm 17:7.

^j This is the sole instance where Neale introduced ‘hyphenation’. We realize, of course, that the proper syllabification of the English word is ‘in·struct’, but since Neale divided the Hebrew word מלמדים *məlammadim* in the middle (three letters at the end of line 10, three letters at the start of line 11), we have mirrored the effect with ‘inst·ruct’ in our translation.

^k The Hebrew evokes Proverbs 5:13.

^l The spelling תמיד (perhaps to be read as *temed*) is almost certainly a simple error for תמיד *tamid* ‘always’. Curiously, the same form appears in the Hebrew poem by Edward Burden, line 12 (see below, at n. 17).

^m Heb. סיבה *sibba* ‘cause’, which appears in the Bible only in 1 Kings 12:15.

ⁿ Heb. השם *haš-šem*, lit. ‘the Name’, a common epithet for God in Jewish tradition.

^o See the well-known expression as part of the priestly blessing in Numbers 6:24.

^p The Hebrew evokes Psalm 21:5.

^q Lines 17 and 18 are based on Psalm 16:11.

Bodleian Library Record

TRANSCRIPTION OF FOL. 21^R (THE POEM: PLATE 5)

1. נשירה הרעי כלנו יחדיו ונאמר:
- 2.
3. גילי מאד אכזונייא קרית ספר :
4. הריעי הרבה העיר מקור כל שכל :
5. הנה אליזבית המלכה באה לך :
6. והשרה אדירה משתכנת בך :
- 7.
8. ברוך יי אליון ברום :
9. מביאך הנה בשלום :
10. ומקרה אותך עד הלום :
11. ישמור חיך בכל מקום :
- 12.
13. יתן יי לך כלבבך :
14. וימלא נא כל עצתך :
15. ישמור את בואך וצתך :
16. מכל פגע רע לנפשך :
- 17.
18. יצליח כל משלח ידך :
19. אשר תתן את לבבך :
20. לא יאנה רע עליך :
21. לא יקרוב באהליך :
- 22.
23. תחיה נא אליזבית המלכה :
24. ותרבה מאד מאד ההודה :
25. ירבה יהיה את הכבודה :
26. ויחייה יי בשלום אותה :
- 27.
28. אמן ואמן : תומס גילוש

TRANSLATION OF FOL. 21^R (THE POEM)

1. Let us sing acclaim, all of us together, and let us say:
- 2.
3. Rejoice greatly, Oxonia, City of the Book,^r
4. Give much acclaim, O City, source of all intellect.^s
5. Behold, Elizabeth the Queen has come to you,
6. and the Great Sovereign lodges^t within you.
- 7.
8. Blessed is the LORD Exalted^u on high,
9. who brings you here in peace,

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

10. who safely conveys you hither.
11. May he guard your life in every place.
- 12.
13. May the LORD grant your heart's desire,
14. and may he fulfil your every plan,^v
15. and may he guard your coming and your going^w
16. from any misfortune^x to your person.
- 17.
18. May everything to which you set your hand^y succeed,
19. that which you give^z your heart.
20. May no harm befall you^{aa}
21. (or) come near^{bb} your dwellings.^{cc}
- 22.
23. Long live Queen Elizabeth,
24. And may Her Majesty^{dd} be greatly exalted.
25. May the LORD^{ee} increase Her Honour,^{ff}
26. and may the LORD cause her to live in peace.^{gg}
- 27.
28. Amen and Amen^{hh} Thomas Nelosⁱⁱ

ANNOTATIONS OF FOL. 21^R (THE POEM)

^r The name קרית ספר *qiryat seṭer*, literally 'city of the book', appears in the Bible (Joshua 15:15, 16; Judges 1:11) as the former name of the town of Debir.

^s Neale created the phrase מקור כל שכל *maqor kol šeqel* 'source of all intellect' based on the collocation of the two key nouns in Proverbs 16:22.

^t The Hebrew form משתכנת *mištakkenet* contains the common root ש-כ-נ *š-k-n* 'dwell, lodge', though Neale employed the rare Hitpa'el form here. This usage is wanting in Biblical Hebrew; it is attested only once in Rabbinic Hebrew (Sifra 'Aḥare Mot 8.3); and then it also occurs rarely in Medieval Hebrew (see, e.g. Rashi on Jeremiah 23:19).

^u The Hebrew text erroneously has the spelling אלין *'elyon* (with initial 'aleph) for עליון *'elyon* (with initial 'ayin), an epithet of God used in Genesis 14:22, Psalm 92:2, etc.

^v Lines 13 and 14 are based on Psalm 20:5 (KJV 20:4).

^w The phrase evokes Psalm 121:8 (see also Deuteronomy 28:6). Note that Neale misspelt וצאתך *wa-se'etēk* 'your going' as וצתך; this is an understandable error, since the etymological letter א is silent in this word.

^x Heb. פגע רע *peḡa' ra'* 'misfortune', which appears in the Bible only in 1 Kings 5:18.

^y Heb. מִשְׁלַח יָד *mišlah yad*, lit. ‘the sending-forth of the hand’, the functional equivalent of ‘enterprise, undertaking’. The phrase occurs six times in the book of Deuteronomy (12:7, 18; 15:10; 23:21; 28:8, 20).

^z For ‘you give’, the Hebrew text erroneously has the masculine form תִּתֵּן *titten* (appropriate when addressing a man) rather than the required feminine form תִּתְּנִי *tittənī*.

^{aa} The Hebrew text evokes Psalm 91:10 (ditto for the following line).

^{bb} For ‘come near’, the Hebrew text erroneously has the form יִקְרֹב *yiqroḇ* instead of the correct form יִקְרַב *yiqraḇ*. This is but a fine point of Hebrew grammar (true of both Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew), but we mention the issue nonetheless: Neale’s Hebrew is admirable, though not perfect (see further below).

^{cc} The wording is based on Psalm 91:10 (ditto for the previous line). Note that the final word of line 21, אֹהֶלֶיךָ *’ohalayik*, means literally ‘your tents’, but ‘your dwellings’ seems a more appropriate translation in this context.

^{dd} From the Hebrew noun הֹדָה *hod* ‘majesty, splendour’, the author has created the novel feminine form הֹדָה *hoda* for the sake of the rhyme scheme in this stanza – with each word ending in the accented syllable *-Ca* (with *C* = consonant). The feminine form of the noun also may have been deemed as a more appropriate title or epithet for the queen. We translate ‘Her Majesty’, as in common English usage, even though no explicit possessive pronoun occurs (see also below, annotation ff). True, in theory, the final letter ה- (*-h*) could mark the 3rd feminine singular possessive pronoun *-ah* ‘her’, but since the noun bears the definite article הַ- *ha-* at the start, Hebrew grammatical usage would not tolerate the pronoun suffix at the end.

^{ee} The name of the LORD, יהוה *YHWH* is erroneously written as יהיה *YHYH*. One might suggest an intentional avoidance of the Divine Name, but the correct form יהוה *YHWH* appears on fol. 20^r, line 13.

^{ff} Heb. כְּבוֹדָה *kəḇudda*, the feminine form of the more common noun כְּבוֹד *kəḇod* ‘glory, honour’, appears in Psalm 45:14 (KJV 45:13) in a royal context. Once again, the feminine form is required for the rhyme scheme of this stanza (see above, annotation dd). We translate ‘Her Honour’, as in common English usage, though once again no explicit possessive pronoun occurs (once more, see above, annotation dd).

^{gg} The word order in this line is slightly forced: one would expect יְיָ אוֹתָהּ *YHWH ōtāh* or perhaps אוֹתָהּ יְיָ *ōtāh YHWH*, with *bə-šalom* (or *baš-šalom*) ‘in peace’ at the end (per standard Hebrew usage; see, e.g. Psalm 29:11). Once again, however, the rhyme scheme in this stanza has dictated that the final word end in *-Ca*, hence Neale arranged the words as יְיָ אוֹתָהּ בְּשָׁלוֹם *YHWH ōtāh bə-šalom*.

^{hh} Heb. אָמֵן וְאָמֵן *’amen wə-’amen* ‘amen and amen’ (as indicated, with the conjunction), in accordance with common Hebrew usage. See the doxologies to

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

the first three sections of the book of Psalms, namely, 41:14 (KJV 41:13); 72:19; 89:53 (KJV 89:52); and then in medieval Hebrew prayers, where the last of these passages is frequently cited. Though we also note the use of the simpler אמן אמן 'amen 'amen, 'amen amen' (without the conjunction), in Numbers 5:22, Nehemiah 8:6. In short, Neale used the more familiar phrasing from Psalms.

ⁱⁱ The author included four Hebrew vowel points – /o/, /a/, /e/, /o/ – to guide the reader with the proper pronunciation of his name. At the bottom of fol. iv^v, Neale wrote his name in Latin as 'Nelus' (see fig. 2 above), but the Hebrew vowel here is unmistakably /o/, not /u/.

HANDWRITING

The first thing one notices about Neale's Hebrew texts is his highly unusual and eclectic Hebrew handwriting.¹⁵ The letters are well spaced and carefully written, as is normally the case with Hebrew manuscripts written in the formal square script and with some manuscripts written in the semi-cursive style – but the shapes of the letters do not correspond to any one particular style. A more detailed study remains a desideratum, and thus we limit ourselves here to a few observations.

In the two words shown in plate 6.1, taken from Neale's Hebrew prose text (line 4), most of the letters can be described as being a rather careful semi-cursive. The א 'aleph is atypical, but still semi-cursive. The letters ת *taw* and ה *he*, however, resemble forms found only in cursive manuscripts, though they are still somewhat atypical. The form of ז *zayin*, which looks strikingly like an English *z*, is at some distance from any typical variety of Hebrew script. In plate 6.2, the letter ג *gimel* is written in a rather typical cursive form. The letters ר *resh* and נ *nun* are in a cursive style, though the rightward curve at the bottom of ר *resh* (which is more subtle in the examples in plate 6.3) and the height of נ *nun* make them both somewhat atypical. In plate 6.3, we see that Neale's semi-cursive ק *qof* is shorter than normally found in Hebrew scripts, plus we see an example of his very atypical ס *samekh*. Plate 6.4 contains an example of Neale's unusual version of a word-final נ *nun*, which does not typically have such a loop on top in Hebrew scripts.

¹⁵ Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, p. 200 (see also Lloyd Jones, 'Neal [Neale], Thomas', *ODNB*), used the expression 'orthographical oddities', which presumably refers to spelling issues (for examples, see above, annotations l and u), though perhaps he intended the handwriting as well.

As observed already by Joanna Weinberg,¹⁶ Neale's letter shapes correspond very closely to those of his Oxford contemporary Edward Burden (c.1540–1588), who also wrote a Hebrew poem in honour of the queen's visit to Oxford (see plate 6.5).¹⁷ Among the many obvious similarities to Neale's handwriting, we note the characteristic shapes of the letters א *'aleph* and ן *final nun* in line 21 (אמן ואמן), and the shapes of ת *taw* and ה *he* in line 22 (תחי המלכה). There are also a few embedded Hebrew words in semi-cursive script that look very similar to Neale's, in a Latin work from 1536 by Robert Wakefield, who taught Hebrew at Oxford in the 1530s, most notably the word *qohēleṭ* (that is, the Hebrew name of the book of Ecclesiastes) on the first page (plate 6.6).¹⁸ In light of the evidence presented here, one may wish to propose the existence of a distinctive Hebrew script employed in sixteenth-century Oxford, though this issue and the relationship of the script to other Hebrew writings in England and on the continent requires further research.

Neale employed several non-letter symbols in his Hebrew. He used the symbol that resembles an English colon – which in biblical Hebrew texts marks the end of a verse – as a punctuation mark akin to a period in his prose text, while he used it in his poem to mark the end of each line. He used what is best described as parentheses to set off the phrase אליזבת המלכה נכבדה מאד מאד *'elizabeth ham-malka nikḥḇada mā'od mā'od* 'O greatly honoured Queen Elizabeth' in line 5 of the prose text; the open parenthesis can be seen at the right edge of plate 6.2. Three times in the prose text (lines 3, 5 and 8) he used a line-filler (see plate 6.7), which we

¹⁶ Joanna Weinberg, 'Corpus Christi College's "Trilingual Library": A Historical Assessment', *History of Universities*, 37/1–2 (2019), pp. 128–42. Weinberg also states (p. 136) that a Hebrew inscription by Richard Collier on the title page of a printed Hebrew Bible (Magdalen College, Old Library, m.19.12) is in a hand similar to Neale's, though a close inspection reveals that the style of the script is rather different. We express our gratitude to William Shire (Magdalen College Library) for his kind assistance and for providing us with the relevant image (not reproduced here).

¹⁷ Burden's poem is found in Corpus Christi College, MS. 280, fol. 175^v. We plan to publish this poem in a separate article. We here express our gratitude to Julian Reid (Corpus Christi College Library) for his kind assistance and for providing us with the image.

¹⁸ Robert Wakefield, *Paraphrasis in libru[m] Koheleth (quem vulgo Ecclesiaten vocat[um])* [London, ?1536]. Note, however, that in an earlier work by Wakefield (*Oratio de laudibus & vtilitate triu[m] linguar[um] Arabicæ Chaldaicæ & Hebraicæ* [London, ?1528]), the numerous embedded Hebrew words are in a different script. On the importance of Wakefield in the history of the study of Hebrew in England, see Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 181–9. We express our thanks to Dunja Sharif (Weston Library) for photographing the relevant page of the Bodleian Library copy of Wakefield's *Paraphrasis* on our behalf.

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

have rendered with the symbol ~ in our transcription. Various types of such line-fillers are found in Hebrew manuscripts.¹⁹

Finally, at the end of line 10 in the prose text, Neale used an angled double-line, written outside the vertical left-hand margin line, as a hyphen (see plate 6.8), since the word *וּמְלַמְדִּים* *u-mlamməḏim* ‘and those who instruct’ is carried over onto the following line. Such hyphenation is exceedingly rare in Hebrew manuscripts.²⁰

RHYME AND METRE IN NEALE’S HEBREW POEM

Biblical Hebrew poetry has neither rhyme nor metre, though quantitative metre and rhyme are found in some medieval Hebrew poetic traditions. Neale’s Hebrew poem consists of five stanzas, each of which contains four rhyming lines. The first and fourth stanzas have the rhyme scheme A-A-B-B, while in the remaining stanzas all four lines rhyme, hence A-A-A-A. Within each stanza, lines have the same numbers of syllables. The breakdown is as follows:

Stanza	Syllables per line	Rhyme scheme
1	12	A-A-B-B
2	8	A-A-A-A
3	8	A-A-A-A
4	8	A-A-B-B
5	10	A-A-A-A

Three details pertaining to the rhyme schemes are worth mentioning. First, in lines 3 and 4 (functionally the opening lines of the poem), Neale rhymed the words *סֵפֶר* *seḥer* and *שֶׁלֶל* *šēḡel*, both of which are stressed on their initial syllables. These are the only two lines for which the rhyme is not on the final syllable. Moreover, the final consonants are not precise matches, so the rhyme is imperfect, but since /r/ (in the former word) and /l/ (in the latter word) are both sonorants, the effect is essentially the same.

19 For details, see Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Medieval Hebrew Codices Based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts until 1540 Using a Quantitative Approach* (Jerusalem, 2021), ch. 7, pp. 449–75, esp. pp. 453–4, available at: <https://www.fdr.uni-hamburg.de/record/9349>.

20 Ibid., pp. 444–6.

Second, the final word of line 8 is presumably to be read רוֹם *rom*, a form that occurs just once in the Bible (Habakkuk 3:10), since the remaining three lines in this stanza end uncontroversially with the sequence *-om*. In the Bible, this word occurs more commonly in the form רוֹם *rum* (six times).

Third, as indicated above (see annotations dd, ff, gg) the final stanza of the poem, lines 23–6, required some linguistic nimbleness in order to produce the requisite rhyme scheme, though Neale accomplished the task with aplomb.

THE DIVINE NAME

Neale referred to the Lord in three different ways in his Hebrew texts. On fol. 20^r, line 13, and fol. 21^r, line 25, he used the proper name יהוה YHWH,²¹ which appears more than six thousand times in the Bible. However, it is uncertain how Neale would have pronounced this name. The original pronunciation of יהוה YHWH, reconstructed by most scholars as *Yahweh*, was considered taboo already in the late Second Temple period; as a result, its original pronunciation has been lost.²² When reading, Jews traditionally substitute the word *Adonay* ‘my Lord’. This pronunciation is indicated by the vocalized form יְהוָה found in the Masoretic Text, which dates to the late first millennium of the Common Era.²³

Christian Hebraists in the sixteenth century were aware of this Jewish tradition, but many rejected it as superstition; hence they read the word as pointed in the Hebrew Bible, resulting in the form *Iehouah*/*Iehovah* (later *Jehovah*).²⁴ Each line in the final stanza of Neale’s poem (lines 23–6) contains ten syllables, and from this metre scheme we may deduce that his pronunciation of יהוה contained three syllables. Unfortunately, this conclusion supports a reading of either *Adonay* or *Jehovah*, so that Neale’s actual articulation of this word eludes us.

21 In the latter reference, we assume that the form יהיה YHYH is a mistake for יהוה YHWH. See above, annotation ee.

22 For details, see Matthew J. Suriano, ‘Tetragrammaton’, in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, eds Geoffrey Khan et al., 4 vols (Leiden, 2013), vol. 3, pp. 751–5.

23 That is to say, the Masoretes placed the vowel points which belong to the word *Adonay* onto the consonants YHWH of the inherited consonantal text, reflecting the oral tradition of reading this name as *Adonay*. In truth, this is a bit of an oversimplification, since the first vowel point of the Hebrew word אֲדֹנָי *adonay* is only partially represented by the first vowel point of יְהוָה, while the second vowel /o/ is not indicated at all.

24 See especially at Exodus 6:3: ‘Iehouah’ in Tyndale’s translation (1530) and in the Geneva Bible (1560); ‘IEHOVAH’ in the King James Version (1611). For the later ‘Jehovah’, see for example, John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, vii. 602.

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

On fol. 20^r, line 15, Neale used the common Jewish euphemism השם *haš-šem*, or more popularly *ha-Shem*, literally ‘the Name’, to refer to the Lord. This usage highlights Neale’s awareness of medieval Jewish tradition, which in time came to see the substitute form *Adonay* as sacred in its own right, and thus came to use השם ‘the Name’ as a substitute for the substitute.

Finally, on four occasions (fol. 20^r, line 5; fol. 21^r, lines 8, 13, 26) Neale employed the abbreviation יחיה *YHWH*, which appears very often in non-biblical Hebrew texts as a graphic substitute for יהוה *YHWH*. It is again uncertain how he would have pronounced this. It seems reasonable to suggest that Neale read יחיה differently from יהוה *YHWH*, since he bothered to distinguish these two forms in the final two lines of his poem (lines 25–6). Moreover, the syllable counts (eight syllables in the second and third stanzas, ten syllables in the fifth stanza) require that יחיה be read as two syllables, so perhaps it was intended to be read as *ha-Shem*.

BIBLICAL HEBREW AND RABBINIC HEBREW

Ancient Hebrew consists of two main varieties: the language of the Bible, or Biblical Hebrew (BH), attested during the thousand-year period of ancient Israelite literary productivity, that is, c.1150 BCE–c.150 BCE;²⁵ and the language of the rabbis, or Rabbinic Hebrew (RH), attested during the period c.200 CE–c.300 CE.²⁶ After c.300 CE, Hebrew ceased to exist as a spoken language, but it remained widely used as a written language in Jewish communities both in Israel and in the Diaspora. Both varieties, BH and RH, played a role in the composition of later Hebrew literature.

Since the Bible rather than rabbinic writings held greater importance for Christian scholars throughout the medieval and early modern periods, it was only natural that BH should for them be the main subject of study. But many of the leading Christian Hebraists also had an excellent grasp of RH. Thomas Neale is one such scholar, as may be seen by the presence of several clearly RH locutions in his Hebrew compositions. First, though, some background information in order to set the stage.

25 That said, about 95% of the Bible was written during the 650-year period of c.1000 BCE–c.350 BCE. A few archaic poems antedate this period, and only the book of Daniel (even though the setting is the court of Nebuchadnezzar) postdates this period.

26 This century saw the production of such classical rabbinic texts as the Mishna, the Tosefta, the Sifra and other collections. The two Talmudim date from several centuries later, and while they contain Hebrew material alongside the mainly Aramaic text, by this point Hebrew was no longer a spoken language.

To recall the obvious, there were virtually no Jews in England during the Tudor period.²⁷ The readers of Hebrew in both Oxford and Cambridge learned the language either on the continent²⁸ and/or through book knowledge. The latter required mastering such grammatical works as Johannes Reuchlin, *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* (1506), and Sebastian Münster, *Liber viarum linguae sacrae* (1520), along with the latter's *Dictionarium trilingue* (Latin–Greek–Hebrew) of 1530, all of which were available in Oxford and Cambridge libraries during the period.²⁹ These grammatical treatises were based mainly on the Hebrew grammars written during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Qimhi brothers active in Provence: Moses (d. c.1190) and David (c.1160–c.1235). Naturally, all of these works focus mainly on BH, though they also engage with RH.³⁰ In fact, Neale's most lasting scholarly contribution was his translation into Latin of David Qimhi's commentary on the Minor Prophets.³¹

27 For the occasional exception, most prominently Roderigo Lopez (c.1517–1594), physician to Queen Elizabeth, see David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England 1485–1850* (Oxford, 1994), ch. 2, pp. 49–106.

28 Admittedly, this is truer of the holders of the chair in Cambridge, for example: Immanuel Tremellius (born Jewish, converted to Christianity, held the position 1550–53); and Antoine Rodolphe Chevallier (French Protestant who moved to England, held the position 1569–72).

29 For example, Richard Fox, the founder of Oxford's Corpus Christi College, donated his own personal copy of Reuchlin, *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* to his foundation's library, while another copy from the period resides in the library of Brasenose College. See further, Weinberg, 'Corpus Christi College's "Trilingual Library"', p. 132, along with nn. 18–20. For a comprehensive list of books available at the time, see Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, Appendix III, pp. 278–90, with lists of Hebrew books owned by dons and booksellers in sixteenth-century Oxford and Cambridge.

30 To be sure, the distinction between BH and RH is more of a modern conception, though, given the differences between the two registers (in grammar, lexicon, etc.), it is hard to imagine that the scholars under discussion here did not recognize the distinctive nature of the two main corpora.

31 The work was produced in two stages: a) *Comentarii Dav. Kimchi in Haggaeum*, Paris, 1557, dedicated to Cardinal Pole (during the reign of the Catholic Mary), covering Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi; and b) British Library, MS. Royal 2 D XXI, covering the minor prophets Hosea through Zephaniah (details at http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?dscent=1&doc=IAMS040-002105862). This too was presented to Queen Elizabeth during her visit to Oxford in 1566, but was never published. See further William Poole, 'Early Oxford Hebraism and the King James Translators (1586–1617): The View from New College', in *Labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord: Scholarship and the Making of the King James Version of the Bible*, ed. Mordechai Feingold, (Leiden, 2018), pp. 59–81, esp. pp. 61–2. Note the comment of Lloyd Jones, 'Neal [Neale], Thomas', *ODNB*: 'It was owing to Neale, and others of like mind, that the insights of medieval rabbis were utilized by those who produced the most influential English translation of the Bible ever made, the Authorized Version of 1611.'

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

From such grammatical treatises, along with reading the rabbinic texts themselves, one can imagine Neale learning not only BH, but also RH. Not surprisingly, most of his phraseology derives from the Bible, for which see our annotations above, though both the prose text and the poem are peppered with occasional usages known from rabbinic texts.³² Examples include: כל שכן ‘all the more so’ (fol. 20^r, line 3);³³ חובים ‘obliged’ (fol. 20^r, line 3);³⁴ the phrase כלנו בכלל ואני בפרט ‘all of us together and I individually’ (fol. 20^r, lines 8–9);³⁵ and משתכנת ‘lodges’ (fol. 21^r, line 6).³⁶ These usages reflect a familiarity with both BH and RH, including echoes of the latter in the medieval period.

We hasten to add, however, that Neale was not a master Hebraist after the manner of Reuchlin and Münster. As observed above, there are occasional slips, especially in the poem (see annotations u, w, z, bb).

THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

As indicated at the front of the little booklet, Bodleian, MS. 13, Part I was donated to the Bodleian Library on 28 July 1630 by one John More (fig. 6).³⁷ While one cannot know for sure, we can assume that the manuscript is the very copy that Thomas Neale and John Bereblock presented to Queen Elizabeth during her visit to Oxford in 1566.³⁸ Whether the volume remained in Oxford after the queen’s departure, or whether she

³² As noted also by Lloyd Jones, ‘Neal [Neale], Thomas’, *ODNB*.

³³ See further above, annotation c.

³⁴ Though the expected form is חייבים *hayyabim* ‘obliged’ (masculine plural); see above, annotation d.

³⁵ See further above, annotation h.

³⁶ See further above, annotation t.

³⁷ We have not been able to identify this John More with any certainty. Options include: a) the clergyman John Moore (1594?–1657), for whom see Stephen Wright, ‘Moore, John’, *ODNB*; b) the physician John More (d. 1641), mentioned in passing by Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1815), vol. 2, cols 193–4; and c) the civil servant named John More (d. 1638) who served both as Clerk to the Signet and as assistant to Secretary of State Ralph Winwood. The various individuals, especially the physician, are discussed at greater length by Richard H. Turner, ‘Who Was Dr John More?’, available at <https://hadland.wordpress.com/category/english-recusant-history/> (20 July 2018). We thank Mr Turner for his email exchange (October 2020) in which he expressed the opinion that the most likely identity of ‘our’ John More is the third one mentioned above, for whom see Turner, Appendix 2, available at the same website – though Mr Turner hastens to add that the matter is far from settled.

³⁸ See the discussion in Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford*, p. xvii, esp. n. 1.

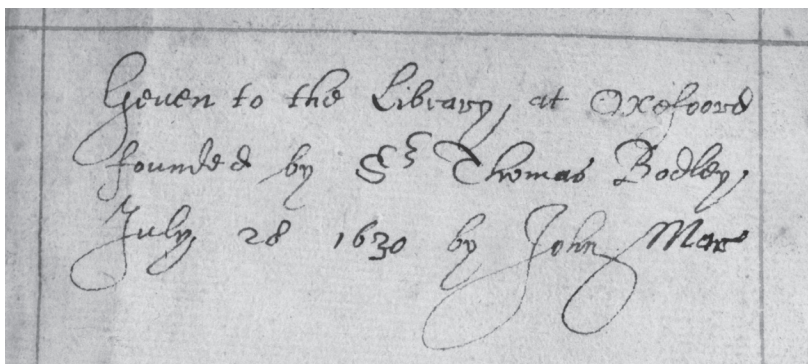


Fig. 6. John More's inscription of his gift to the Bodleian (Bodleian, MS. 13, Part I, fol. i^r).

took it with her back to London, one cannot say with any certainty.³⁹ Regardless of which scenario is correct, at some point after Elizabeth's death in 1603, the manuscript passed into the hands of the aforementioned John More, who to our good fortune donated the volume to the relatively recently founded Bodleian Library.

There it has remained throughout the centuries, with great attention paid to Neale's Latin texts and to Bereblock's drawings (see the publication history surveyed above). The Hebrew texts are mentioned occasionally (again, see above), but they have not received the attention that they too deserve – especially since they serve as a vivid reminder of the ability of Oxford's third Regius Professor of Hebrew not only to read and analyse ancient Hebrew texts (the Bible, Rabbinics, etc.), but also to compose his own creative writings.

³⁹ For a detailed day-by-day description of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford, see Richard Stephens, 'A brief rehearsall of all such things as were done in the University of Oxford during the Queen's Majesty's abode there,' recorded in British Library, Harley MS. 7033, fols 150^r–153^v, which appears transcribed in both John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1788), pp. 95–100 of the year 1566; and Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford*, pp. 197–205. (Nichols did not include this text in the second edition of his work in 1823, though see vol. 1, pp. 206–17 for parallel information.) The manuscript is not available in digital format at the British Library website, and thus we express our gratitude to Catherine Angerson, archivist and manuscript curator in the Modern Archive and Manuscripts section (British Library), for providing us with photos to inspect.

Another document testifying to the queen's visit is Bodleian Library, MS. Twyne 17, fols 160–69, which some scholars would attribute to Neale as well (see, e.g. Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), p. 98 and n. 2). We are grateful to Sam Sales and Angie Goodgame (both of Weston Library Reader Services) for providing us with images for our inspection.

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

APPENDIX: THOMAS NEALE IN RETIREMENT

Notwithstanding the prestige of his position as Regius Professor of Hebrew, just three years after the queen's visit to Oxford in 1566, Neale resigned from his post in 1569 and essentially entered retirement. The reason appears to have been his continued commitment to Catholicism (more so than his age), especially in light of the ever-growing influence of Protestantism during the reign of Elizabeth I.

We can do no better than to quote the words of the great antiquarian Anthony Wood, writing at a distance of about 120 years (in 1691):

but his religion being more Catholic than Protestant, he left Oxon, as he had done his lecture before; and being of a timorous nature, and always dreading his being called into question for his seldom frequenting the church, and receiving the sacrament, he retired to an obscure village, called Cassington, distant from Oxon, north-west, about 4 miles, where purchasing an house, at the end thereof next to Einsham, spent the remainder of his days in study and devotion.⁴⁰

Neale lived for at least another two decades in Cassington, for in 1590 the great scholar – perhaps somewhat unusually – wrote his own epitaph. The text, accompanied by an image of Neale in his shroud, is engraved on a brass plaque still affixed to the east wall of St Peter's parish church in Cassington (see fig. 7),⁴¹ next to which appears the following English translation:⁴²

Epitaph of Thomas Neal, sometime public
professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.
Here lies without a tongue one who was
once master of several tongues and
was the public tongue of Hebrew.
What help to him now are the Greek or
Hebrew or Latin tongues?
The only tongue that helps him is the
one he used for helping others.
You then who Thomas Neal's tongue
used to help, pray turn your tongues to
prayer, to help him now he lacks a tongue.
Subscription of the author himself.
I set up these verses myself for my benefit

⁴⁰ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1, col. 577. These words, in turn, are cited by Thomas Phillips, *Oxfordshire Monumental Inscriptions* (Evensham, 1825), pp. 51–2.

⁴¹ See Phillips, *Oxfordshire Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 51.

⁴² At the end of the translation one reads 'D.F.-C.R. Scripsit. 1982', but we have not been able to identify the individual indicated by these initials. We reproduce the translation verbatim, with one single change: 'Subscription' replaces 'Signature'.

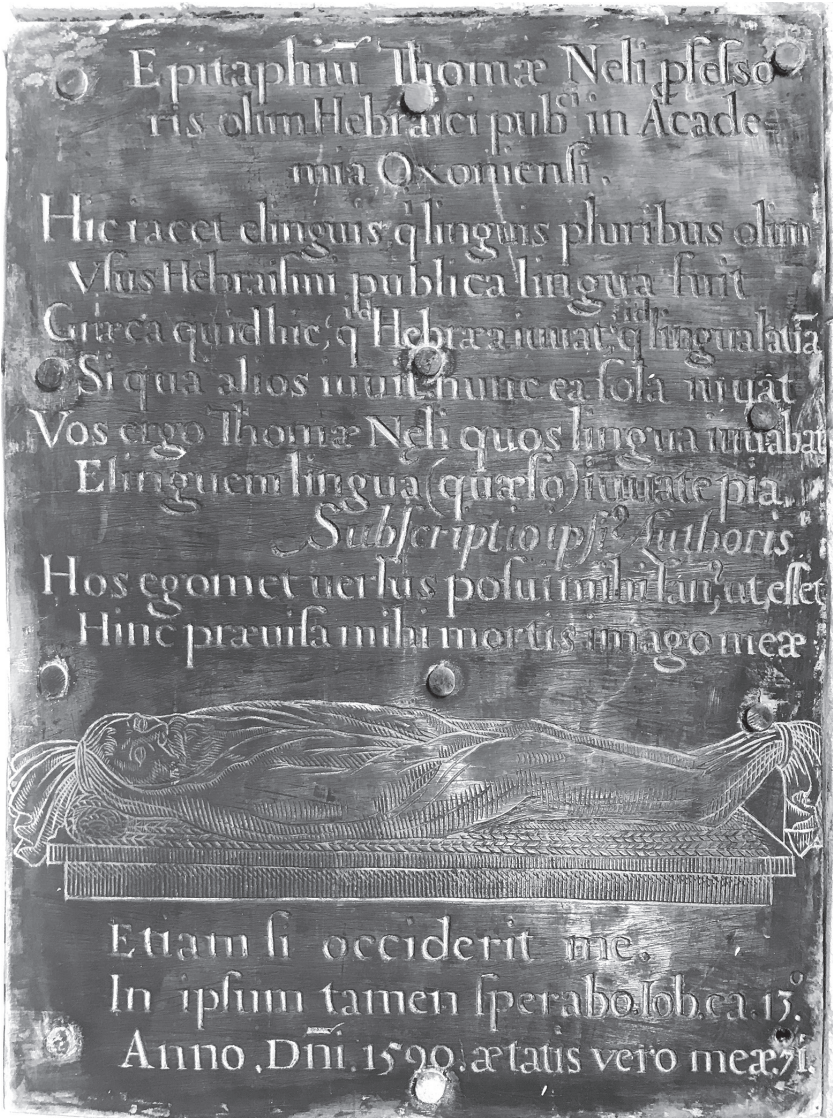


Fig. 7. Epitaph of Thomas Neale, on the east wall of St Peter's parish church, Cassington, Oxfordshire (photo: Sue and John Hemingway).

Hebrew Compositions From the Pen of Thomas Neale

whilst yet in health in order to keep the
image of my death before my eyes.

“Though He slay me,

Yet will I trust in Him.” Job ch. 13

A.D. 1590 in the 71st year of my age.

Recusant or not, the presence of the plaque in the church suggests that Neale at least occasionally attended the Anglican services there.⁴³ But this is the last we hear of him. As G. Lloyd Jones observed, ‘It is presumed that he died soon afterwards, but neither the date of his death nor the place of his burial is known.’⁴⁴

43 See Poole, ‘Early Oxford Hebraism and the King James Translators’, p. 62.

44 Lloyd Jones, ‘Neal [Neale], Thomas’, *ODNB*.

אס דוד מחלך לישאל הים קומו לשאלו חזק בחלחום
 על ידי פלשתיים כי הן הים מחלבישם שטי עם ערשם
 ומחעלם עדי גב על לבושם כל שכס קטחטו חובים לקחו
 בגללך (אליזביז מחלכם מכבד חקד חקד) כי לוגלך בוך
 וי קוצטו בכל גוב : בעבו כי בחלכוכך שם גבולטו
 קצ גשלוס וקט כל קכזיוז : לחעץ עחך יחם לבעה :
 וחדשני בביטו בבלוס השיחו קצ לבוזס לחחור קצ קש
 חפצו לקחזו : עלכס טודם לך לעולם כלטו בכלל וקטו
 בפעם חכלס קחזים בכל חקדטו : כי קצ בפלכץ חקדך לטו
 ויגבו עליטו וחחך גובים : לבז לטו קצ בחזים וחלח
 דים קוצטו בחעגלי כל גביטם וכל חכמם : קטל בוקיפ
 טל לביטיב לטו יוס יוס ולבז חטחום ושקט לחדשניטו
 כדי שיחזו לטו קבם צחור לבצכלל קל יהום צחז שחלך
 בכל גוב

גשם כשחחך ויבץ לך קטו יחם
 ושבע שחחחז קצ קטו ושעניחוז
 ביחילטו לטח : קחם :

Plate 4. Thomas Neale's prose Hebrew speech (Bodleian Library, MS. 13, Part I, fol. 20^r).

91

: ברוך ה' סליון ברום
 : חבילן שלם בשלום
 : וחוקו קוצן עד לבום
 : ישמחו חייך בכל מחסום

יצא לך כלבבך :
 ויחלק לך כל ענין :
 וישמו לך בן בן וינין :
 וכל ענין ועל ענין :

יצליח כל וישלח ידך :
 אשבו 33 קצ לבבך :
 לך יאמר ויעצילך :
 לך יתרום בקרב לך :

צחם אן קליגב צ חלכמ :
 וצובם חן חן חן חן חן :
 נבם ילום ק צ חכודם :
 ויחיים ו בלום קוצם :
 קחם וקחם :

with \sqrt{gn}

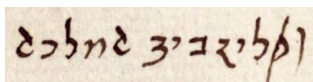


Plate 6.1. אליזבת המלכה 'Queen Elizabeth' (Bodleian Library, MS. 13, Part I, fol. 20^r, line 4). The first grapheme is an open parenthesis symbol.

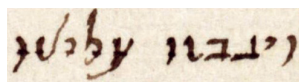


Plate 6.2. ויגברו עלינו 'abounds over us' (fol. 20^r, line 10).

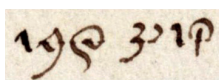


Plate 6.3. קרית ספר 'city of the book' (fol. 21^r, line 3).

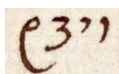


Plate 6.4. ויתן 'and may he grant' (fol. 20^r, line 16).

Plate 6.5. Edward Burden's Hebrew handwriting in Corpus Christi College, MS. 280, fol. 175^v, lines 17–22 (by kind permission of Corpus Christi College).

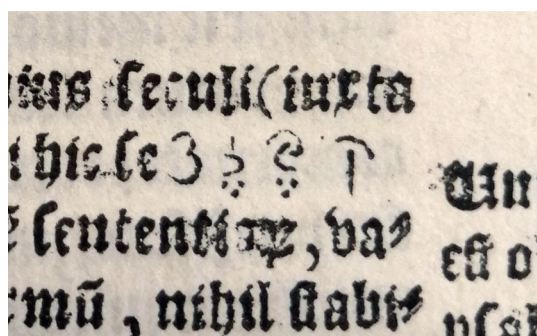
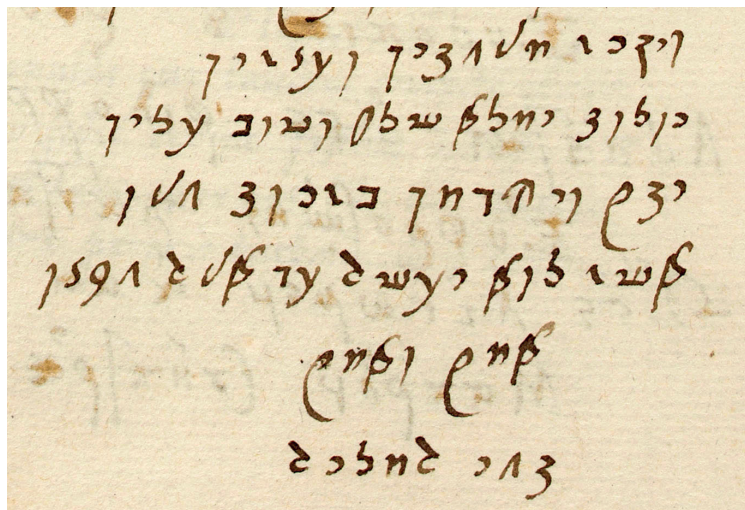


Plate 6.6. The Hebrew word קהלֶ֫לֶת *qohelēṭ*, inserted into the first page of Wakefield's *Paraphrasis* (see p. 76, n. 18).

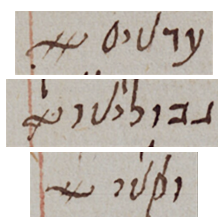


Plate 6.7. Line fillers used by Neale at fol. 20^r, ends of lines 2, 5 and 8, as indicated in the transcription on p. 69 by the symbol ~.

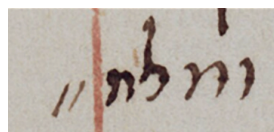
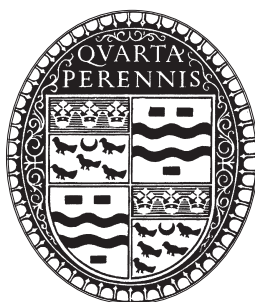


Plate 6.8. ומלמ־ 'and those who inst-(ruct)', with hyphenation indicated at fol. 20^r, end of line 10.

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY RECORD



EDITOR
BRYAN WARD-PERKINS

Volume 32 Numbers 1–2
April/October 2019

published Summer 2022

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY RECORD

VOLUME 32 NUMBERS 1–2

APRIL/OCTOBER 2019

CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
NOTES and NEWS	
Gwen (Gwendoline) Hampshire (1923–2019)	1
FRIENDS OF THE BODLEIAN	2
EXHIBITIONS	
Bodleian Exhibitions, October 2018–October 2019	10
ARTICLES	
<i>Manuscript ‘Georgian b. 1’, of the Mid-eleventh Century: At the Heart of Holy Land Christianity.</i> By Tamara Pataridze	11
<i>The ‘Godsalve’ Miniature.</i> By Dana Josephson	46
<i>Hebrew Compositions from the Pen of Thomas Neale, Regius Professor of Hebrew (1559–69), Addressed to Queen Elizabeth I on the Occasion of Her Majesty’s Visit to Oxford in 1566.</i> By Aaron D. Rubin and Gary A. Rendsburg	62
<i>Further Additions to The Library of John Locke.</i> By Felix Waldmann	86
<i>Edmund Gibson, Arthur Charlett and The Catalogue of 1697 (Part 1).</i> By Deborah Stephan	124
<i>Edmond Malone and the Trials of Forgery: William Henry Ireland and the Shakspeare Papers.</i> By Nick Groom	155
<i>Religion, Class and Race in the Early Co-operative Movement: The Manuscripts of Lady Byron at the Bodleian Library.</i> By David Chan Smith	174
NOTABLE ACCESSIONS	
Aelius Donatus, <i>De Octo Orationis Partibus</i>	191
Joseph Cundall Books and a Christmas Card	191
The Clarendon Archive	193
William Gilpin Correspondance	195

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS	
<i>Interdisciplinary Research and Advanced Imaging of Seventeenth-century Botanical Copperplates.</i> By Stephen Harris and Alexandra Franklin	196
<i>Oxford and the Munich Agreement: Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. c. 694.</i> By Lesley Smith	200
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	207
INDEX	209
HIGHLIGHTS FROM BODLEIAN LIBRARY PUBLISHING	212