

An Early-Modern New College Dynasty: George, Thomas, and Bruno Ryves

The Ryves (pronounced ‘Reeves’) family of Blandford, Dorset, had its part to play in the history of New College and of the nation at large in the seventeenth century, yet the various Ryves are all but forgotten today, other than perhaps the civil war journalist, Bruno. Nevertheless, they were a dynasty of some importance in public and intellectual life, and George (1569-1613), Thomas (d. 1652), and Bruno (1596-1677) are the subjects of this note. George was Warden of New College from 1599-1613; his brother Thomas was a noted civil lawyer and writer; and their first cousin Bruno was a political journalist who ended his days as the Dean of Windsor.¹

I. George Ryves

George (1561-1613) was the eighth son of the large family of Ryves, of Damory Court, Blandford, Dorset. The family had owned this ancient property since the mid-sixteenth century, and the Ryves were to be remembered in the town through the foundation by George of ‘Ryves’s Almshouses’. Most of the original almshouses were destroyed by the Great Fire of 1731 in Blandford (now known as Blandford Forum), but the Ryves Almshouses in Salisbury Street, erected in 1682 for ten poor persons, escaped the fire and are today a listed building.

George arrived at New College as a nineteen year-old in March 1579/80, and duly progressed through the full academic cursus as a theologian (B.A., 1582; M.A., 1686; B.D., 1594; D.D., 1599). He was elected Warden of his college in 1599, succeeding Martin Culpepper, and also served as Vice-Chancellor in 1601; as was usual for the time, he held while Warden various other ecclesiastical benefices, including a canonry of Winchester. He died comparatively young, in 1619. His will stated his desire to be buried in St Mary’s in the chancel, next to his mother. Ryves appears to have been an able if not a very prominent warden. He received the dedication of Thomas Terry’s staunchly anti-Catholic *Second Part of the Trial of Truth* (Oxford, 1602).² In passing, upon the death of Ryves, his prebend at Winchester was awarded to another interesting Wykehamist, Robert Moor, author while a fellow of the college of a long Latin chronological-historical poem, the *Diarium historicopoeticum*, published in Oxford in 1595.³

Ryves’s chief claim to fame is that he appears to have had some hand in the translation project that became the King James Bible of 1611, also known as the Authorised Version.⁴ Ryves was appointed as an overseer to the Second Westminster Company (which had as its remit the New Testament Epistles), as was Nicholas Love, the headmaster of Winchester. What these two men actually did we do not know; but

¹ For a summary of the several Ryves Wykehamists in this period see G. E. Aylmer, ‘Seventeenth-Century Wykehamists’ in *Winchester College: Sixth Centenary Essays* (Oxford: OUP, 1982), pp. 281-311, at pp. 289-90.

² Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 575-76. In passing, in the early eighteenth century, the antiquary Thomas Hearne came across a manuscript ‘containing all the Fees of the Beadles, Registers &c. of Oxford as they were settled by Dr. Rives, Vicechancellor of Oxford’ (Hearne, *Collections*, vol. 1, p. 51; this MS was presumably written in 1601). The George Ryves who owned MS Top. Oxon. d 47 (he has signed it thus) may be our man too. There are several items concerning Ryves listed in Steer, *Archives of New College*.

³ See the article by Scott Mandelbrote in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴ On Ryves and the King James Bible see Paul Quarrie, *Winchester College & The King James Bible* (Winchester College, 2011), pp. 23-4, 115-16; William Poole, ‘Early Oxford Hebraism and the King James Translators (1586-1617): The View from New College’, *The King James Bible: Scholarly Contexts*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Leiden: Brill, 2014 forthcoming).

a letter of 19 April 1605 from Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, to Sir Thomas Lake, secretary to King James and brother to Arthur Lake (to become Ryves's successor as Warden), stated that Ryves was a translator of 'that part of the New Testament which is to be done out of Greek', and asked permission to exchange ecclesiastical livings so that he might live and work closer to Love.⁵ This document, in the official State Papers, suggests that both men indeed contributed to the King James Bible, although we cannot identify their specific interventions.

Fortunately Ryves's will survives, and it is a lengthy and on occasion entertaining document. It does not shed much light on Ryves's scholarly life, but it does provide some interesting college colour. Ryves left £25 for plate to be engraved with the motto 'Salem habete in vobis et pacem inter vos'. This was evidently to be a drinking vessel, as Ryves then specified that he wanted an exact drinking ritual to be observed in hall four times a year in his memory, on Twelfth Night, Candlemas, the Feast of the Annunciation, and Whitsun. On these nights, the steward of the college was to present the warden with the gilt cup filled with sugared sack (i.e. fortified wine), announcing in a loud voice,

Domine Custos, propino tibi et omnibus huius Collegii Sociis, pacem et foelicitatem!

('Master Warden, I administer to you and to all the fellows of this college peace and happiness!')

The cup was then tasted by the warden, and passed down from the warden and his guests to the subwarden and his guests, and then down to the deans, and so to the masters of art, the bachelors of law, the junior law fellows, and finally the junior arts fellows – such was the hierarchy of the day. Ryves wanted this to be observed in perpetuity, and to that end he bequeathed 40 shillings annually from rental income.

Other bequests to the college are noteworthy too: in the lodgings Ryves left to his successor a large tapestry as well as pictures of Christ bearing the cross, and of the founders of New College (Wykeham) and Magdalen College (Waynflete), 'to remayne still in the wardens gallerye'; while to the college armoury went two halberds 'trymmed with velvett'; and to every full fellow five shillings, to every probationer two shillings, and to every chorister and servant one. To the library Ryves bequeathed all the folio volumes from his library not already possessed by the college.

Ryves's most interesting bequest, however, was funding for an elaborate scheme to encourage scholarship among the fellows. Every Lent, fellows were encouraged to 'frequent the Schooles', the university parlance for public disputation in the faculty lecture rooms located in what is now the main quadrangle of the Bodleian. To every graduate who could prove that he had disputed 'with other proceeders Then [i.e. 'than'] those of his owne house', the bursar of the week was authorised to pay one shilling; to every undergraduate who could prove likewise he would give half a shilling. A fund of £8 per annum was to be established for the purpose. Ryves was evidently trying to encourage college members to get out of the college and into the corporate academic life of the university, something that New College fellows were traditionally reluctant to do. Unlike all other Oxford societies, New College possessed the right to award degrees to its own students without central examination; and this, along with the dead hand of Founder's Kin the greatest

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1603-10*, p. 212.

retarding factor in the intellectual progress of the college, was evidently a worry to the Warden in the early seventeenth century. That Ryves knew he was up against potentially incorrigible apathy is suggested by his stick-and-carrot provisos: the scheme was to run for three years, and if the money set aside for the purpose was not exhausted by *bona fide* claimants, then it was to be handed out on Ash Wednesday by the bursar of the week in alms to the poor at the college gate. If even this did not rouse the fellows from their torpor, then after the third year the scheme was to be abandoned.⁶ As Ryves's drinking ritual may remind more recent members of the now-lapsed 'Mint Julep Night', so his performance-related-pay is a forerunner of today's book prizes for distinction in university examinations. How Ryves's two schemes fared – one looking inward to the college, the other outward to the university – I have not yet established.

As we have heard, Ryves bequeathed potentially quite a large number of folios to his college library. If they reached the library, we have yet to trace them. But Ryves certainly donated books to the college while alive, retrospectively listed in the Benefactors Book instituted by his successor, Warden Lake. The entry reads:

Thomæ Aquinatis summæ Theologiæ Pars. 1a & 2a cum Comment. Th.
 Caietani et Chrysostomi Javelli in eandem: Lugd: 1588
 Eiusdem 2a. 2ae. cum comment eiusdem Cardinalis Caietani
 Eiusdem pars 3a. cum commentar: eiusdem.
 [Lyon, 1588; now BT3.103.5, 6, 7]
 Philippi Loniceri Theatrum Historicum.
 [Frankfurt, 1575; now BT1.92.7]
 Petrus Galatinus de Arcanis Catholicæ veritatis
 [Basel, 1550; now BT3.167.7]
 Lexicon Græcolatinum.
 [Actually 'Hebraeo-Latinum', being the *Concordantiarum
 Hebraicarum capita* (Basel, 1556), followed by Matthæus Aurogallus,
De Hebraeis urbium ... nominibus (Basel, 1543); now BT3.261.10]⁷

These books are entered under 1600, and we may think of these donations as made to mark Ryves's elevation to the wardenship. He probably regarded the three massive volumes of Aquinas with the commentary of Cardinal Cajetan (1469-1534) as his major benefaction: each volume is headed on its title-page with 'Ex dono Domini Doctoris Riues Collegij huius Custodis', and the bindings of all three volumes have then been blind-stamped with the arms of the college as well as various rolls.⁸ On the one hand, this imposing edition of the classic of Roman Catholic systematic theology reminds us that the late Elizabethan Protestant academe was imbued with a Neo-Scholasticism that was far from hostile to some aspects of Catholic theology; but on the other hand, these books show no sign of actually being read.

Ryves's Lonicer is an educational compendium of moralistic excerpts from sacred and profane history, arranged into ten classes to follow the Ten Commandments. It is a work that it is hard to get excited about today, although its emphasis on the close relation between moral philosophy and history is exemplary of the educational philosophy of the time: as the phrase went, history is moral

⁶ The National Archives, PROB 11/122, pp. 1-5.

⁷ New College Library, Benefactors Book, p. 43.

⁸ The printer's waste in all three volumes derives from one of the Oxford editions (1603, 1605, 1611) of Sir John Davies's poetic *Microcosmos*.

philosophy teaching by examples. The title-page of this volume bears, now very heavily deleted, Ryves's own motto: 'Non est mortale quod optat Georgius Ryves' – 'What George Ryves wants is not mortal' (i.e. he hopes for eternal life). (It is a very common motto of the time; around two dozen book owners in the period have been found using it to mark their property.) Ryves's Galatinus and his dictionary are however altogether more interesting works in context, for both are works of Christian Hebraism.⁹ The Galatinus volume is once again marked with Ryves's motto, as well as the signature of an earlier owner, one Leo Jacques. Galatinus (1460-1540) was an Italian friar with oriental interests. His *De arcanis* was an attempt, in the manner of the foremost Christian Hebraist of the time, Johannes Reuchlin, to argue (in the form of a dialogue) that proper application of the Jewish kabbalah could prove the truth of Christianity from Hebrew scripture itself. The second text bound in this volume is a work on the kabbalah by Reuchlin himself, and this text is heavily annotated, although probably not by George himself, though it was certainly donated along with his Galatinus. Finally, the 'lexicon' listed is not in fact a Greek-Latin dictionary, but the much more interesting and significant Hebrew concordance of the fifteenth-century Rabbi Mardochai Nathan, translated by another Reuchlin (Anton), and here followed by a separate work by Matthaeus Aurogallus on Hebrew proper nouns for cities, regions, peoples, rivers, and mountains. (This work is really a bibliographical fragment, being originally printed as an appendix to Sebastian Munster's *Dictionarium trilingue* (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew); it has been split apart from a Basel 1543 copy of that work and bound in here.) Now the title-page of this last volume is marked 'Liber Georgij Riues Ex Dono Charoli Fratris', and the inscription is probably in the hand of Charles, not his brother George: it is therefore a presentation inscription. There is at least one other book from Charles in the college library, being the *Commentaria ... in Quatuor Evangelia* (Cologne, 1537; BT3.111.12) of the thirteenth-century theologian Nicolaus Gorranus, marked (although now deleted) 'Liber Charoli Rivij. Novb. 1604.' The book has then been annotated by Charles, and on the back paste-down he has written his prayer, 'Jesus filij David miserere mej Car Rivij'. We may note that this is another instance of carefully-studied pre-Reformation theology in a post-Reformation (and by this point thoroughly Protestantised) college. This Charles was also a New College fellow, arriving in 1585, aged 21, proceeding B.A. in 1588, M.A. 1592, B.D. 1599, and D.D. 1602; he became rector of the college living at Stanton St. John, and died in 1622. He was therefore one of George's younger brothers. Why he gave books to an older brother we cannot know. Whoever was the real Hebraist of the brothers, the works of Christian Hebraism noted above are another piece of evidence for the early study of Hebrew in the college.

As the Benefactors Book was not commenced until after George's time, the entry for the Warden's gifts in 1600 must have been copied from an earlier register, or generated directly from the books themselves. We saw that there was one major mistake in the listing. There are omissions too, as George also certainly owned and probably presented a commentary on Aristotelian physics by Franciscus Vicomercatus (Venice, 1565; BT3.261.10), bearing Ryves's motto and heavily annotated in at least its first book, then tailing off somewhat. Then there is a Stephanus imprint, edited by Laurentius Valla and Stephanus himself, the *Conciones sive Orationes* (Geneva, 1570; BT1.88.11). This is an anthology of speeches from the

⁹ For a pertinent recent case study see Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue: Isaac Casaubon, The Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011).

Greek and Latin historians, and complements the Lonicer volume discussed above. Finally, and most strikingly, there is a copy of works by the Oxonian logician and teacher John Case, a familiar figure in late Elizabethan Oxford. This quarto contains Case's *Lapis Philosophicus* and *Ancilla Philosophiae* (both Oxford, 1599; BT3.260.5), two commentaries once again on Aristotelian physics. What makes this volume special is that it bears an autograph presentation epistle in the final endpaper of the volume. Now Case certainly had some New College contacts – he wrote liminary verse, for instance, for publications by two major writers of the Elizabethan college, the Hebraist William Thorne, and the translator Richard Haydocke (later infamous as the 'sleeping preacher'). But Case's reason for presenting this book to Ryves was both more ceremonial and more personal. Ryves, Case notes, has just become Warden, and as it is also the first of January 1599 (i.e. 1600) he wishes to present him with a New Year's Gift. The reason why, Case explains at once, is that he received his first education from the college, as a choirboy. The letter is signed 'Membrum Collegij tui' – 'a member of your college'.

II. Sir Thomas Ryves (d. 1652)¹⁰

Something of George Ryves's mentality can be glimpsed through his will and his books, although George was no author himself. This cannot be said of his more prominent, and more loquacious brother Thomas, the lawyer.

Thomas's initial career followed the Wykehamist trajectory. After Winchester he went on to New College in 1598, took his B.C.L. in 1605, and his D.C.L. in 1610. He probably spent some terms in France pursuing law, and back in England he climbed the legal rungs as an advocate Doctors' Commons in 1611, becoming a master in Chancery about 1618. He was appointed a judge of the faculties and prerogative court in Ireland, and eventually advocate general to James I and subsequently Charles I. He was knighted in 1644.

Thomas was a political player in a way his brother George was not. In 1612 he went to Ireland in the company of the lawyer Sir John Davies (known today as the poet of *Orchestra*), and his eventual appointment as judge of faculties in the prerogative court of Ireland in 1617 provoked the ire of the Irish bishops, especially the famous scholar James Ussher, at that point Bishop of Meath. The bishops, who wanted the office for one of their own, eventually got their way, and Charles resigned, returning to England, where he became an increasingly prominent judge in the admiralty courts. His legal career thereafter was stellar, and his last major engagement was as one of the king's intermediaries in the Newport negotiations on the Isle of Wight in late 1648, the final attempt to agree terms between the king and the parliament. But then came Pride's Purge, and the trial and execution of Charles.

Ryves not only practised law but wrote scholarly works on both legal and historical topics. His first, short book, *The Poore Vicars Plea* (1620, intriguingly republished in 1704) argued for the return of taxable lands to the Irish clergy so that they could regain an adequate income from tithes. His next work, in Latin, the *Regiminis Anglicani in Hibernia defensio adversus analecten* (1624), defended crown policy in Ireland against the *Analecta sacra, nova, et mira* (Cologne, 1619) of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, David Roth (1573-1650). Ryves, at least on his own account, had been ordered to write this defence by the state, and he initiated

¹⁰ *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, cols. 304-6; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*; Levack, *The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641* (Oxford: OUP, 1973), pp. 128, 165, 267; *ODNB*. His will, which I have not consulted directly, is within TNA, PROB 11/220/34. Wood received some of his information on this Ryves from John Chalkhill of Winchester College: Bodleian, MS Wood F 40, fol. 367.

correspondence with Ussher and the elderly antiquary William Camden about the proposed content of the rebuttal. Camden, however, was evidently irritated by Ryves, with his boisterous zeal to clear the great antiquary's name from aspersions Camden would have preferred to ignore. Interestingly, Camden in his brief correspondence with Ryves also refused to rule out the possibility that miracles had indeed been performed right up to the time of St Patrick, not an accent one might expect from a confirmed Protestant.¹¹ Ryves wanted Camden to review the work for him, but there is no evidence he did so. Ussher's correspondent Henry Bourghier was lukewarm about the published work, and Ussher, too, had a lowish opinion of Ryves, hardly surprising given the circumstances of their initial encounter.¹²

Ryves's next major work was the *Imperatoris Justiniani defensio adversus Alemannum* ('Defence of the Emperor Justinian against Alemannus'), published at London in 1626 and again in Frankfurt in 1628.¹³ This defence of the greatest legal figure amongst the Roman emperors was prompted by a remarkable recent discovery, not immediately apparent from Ryves's title. By the seventeenth century, questing scholars had rediscovered most of the lost texts of antiquity still surviving to be rediscovered. Better manuscripts were sometimes found, but genuinely new works were very rare. One such text was the *Anekdotia* or *Secret History* of the Byzantine historian Procopius, otherwise known for his history of Justinian's wars, led by the general Belisarius, who also happened to be Procopius's employer. But in about 550 A.D. Procopius for whatever reason could stand it no more, and wrote a secret history that does not so much complement as subvert his more public efforts. This work exposed Belisarius as incompetent and in thrall to his wife, and denounced Justinian as literally a shape-shifting demon, with a sex-crazed harlot as his consort, Theodora, who was, once again, the real power in the marriage. In the early 1620s the sole surviving manuscript of this explosive work was found in the Vatican Library, and an edition was soon published by the keeper of the Vatican library, the Jesuit Nicholas Alemannus, in Lyon in 1623. Alemannus delicately asterisked out the more pornographic elements of Procopius's rant against Theodora – although later in the century the Dutch-born but English-based scholar Isaac Vossius was said to have a copy¹⁴ – but even so, the work was a massive blow against the character of the Christian law-giver Justinian and hence, it seemed to many, against the whole industry of national law systems based on the Justinianic code. Some suspected a Romish plot: asking after Ryves's book, the clergyman William Bedwell wrote to Samuel Ward of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, quoting from a note of enquiry sent from Venice by the English ambassador there, Giovanni Biondi, about the Alemannus edition,

... in which with the depression of the name & memory of the Emperour Justinian, the Court of Rome prepares the way to the condemnation of the

¹¹ This aspect of their correspondence is discussed by Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2009), p. 138.

¹² Thomas Smith, ed., *V. Cl. Gulielmi Camdeni ... epistolae* (London, 1693), epistles CLXXXVII, CLXXXVIII, CXCIV; Richard Parr, ed., *The Life of ... James Ussher ... with a Collection of Three Hundred Letters* (London, 1686), letters LXI, LXXV, XCII.

¹³ The British Library's copy of the Frankfurt edition was owned by 'Ioh[an] Mauritius' (British Library, 878 e. 1).

¹⁴ He passed it to his secretary, the scholar and writer on ancient prostitution Hadriaan Beverland (Bodleian, MS D'Orville 480, p. 8, Hadriaan Beverland to Nicolaus Heinsius, 4 Nones [i.e. 10th] August 1681). The report is indeed close enough to the censored section.

Lawes made by the sayd Emperour which are read in the Code. Which clearly besides other thinges do shew the falsehood of their pretence of beeing exempted from the judgment of Secular Princes. From which they meane to proceed further to bring in an absolute Monarchy or Despotically dominion over all Princes &c. These are the wordes of the Note.¹⁵

Bedwell therefore wished to hear of the Ryves response. Indeed Ryves, as a civil lawyer, took up the defence of Justinian against Alemannus, but without denying that the Procopian discovery was genuine. This is an almost forgotten chapter of intellectual history, and deserves further enquiry.

Ryves's most famous and lasting work was the *Historia navalis antiqua* (1629, 1633), a study of ships and maritime affairs from the Ark of Noah onwards, supplemented by the *Historia navalis media* (1640), which brought the history of maritime affairs down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It was certainly read in New College: there was a copy in the personal library of the young *artista* John Hutton, who died in college in late 1652; and the college library at some early point acquired a copy too.¹⁶ The diarists John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys talked about the book in the Restoration; Evelyn wrote to Pepys in 1686 on this 'excellent and learned piece', but commented that the last ('infima') part was very hard to obtain.¹⁷ If there was such a last part in circulation, it was never published.

III. Bruno Ryves (1596-1677)¹⁸

Charles's wife's sister married Charles's cousin Bruno. Bruno (or Bruen, as he often preferred to be called) Ryves was something of a mixture of George and Charles, for he was both a prominent churchman and a prominent political journalist. He was younger than his cousins, becoming a clerk at New College from 1610, taking his B.A. in 1616 and then moving to Magdalen again as a clerk, where he took his M.A. (1619), and eventually his B.D. (1632) and his D.D. (1639). His strong political royalism was evident when in 1639 he debated and rejected for his act thesis the proposition that 'an impious person forfeits dominion', an obvious swipe at Calvinist justifications for rebelling against an impious ruler.¹⁹ Ryves did very well out of the Laudian ascendancy, but with the fall of Laud his fortunes fell too. He joined the royalist army in the civil war (as Thomas was said to have done too), was expelled from his ecclesiastical livings, and survived for some time with his family on the charity of the Earl of Arundel. Bruno's career can subsequently be divided into two phases. The first was his labour for the royalist war-effort, and the second was his recommenced ecclesiastical rise after the Restoration.

Bruno initially had a reputation for eloquence – Wood called him 'a most noted and florid preacher' and he was known for his funeral sermons²⁰ – and in the civil wars he turned his skills to the relatively new trade of journalism. Regular

¹⁵ Bodleian, MS Tanner 72, fol. 190r, letter of 16 April 1627, some adjustments. We have encountered Biondi in a previous New College Note: see the note on manuscript waste in issue no. 3.

¹⁶ William Poole, 'Book Economy in New College, Oxford, in the Later Seventeenth Century', *History of Universities* 25 (2010), pp. 56-137; BT1.63.19(1); BT3.176.22.

¹⁷ British Library, MS Add. 78299, fol. 43r.

¹⁸ Chief sources are Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, 3.1110-11; *Walker Revised*, pp. 56-7; *ODNB*.

¹⁹ *History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV: The Seventeenth Century*, p. 590.

²⁰ *Ath. Ox.*, vol. 4, cols. 453-54. See also Bodleian, MS Eng. th. f. 14, fols. 58v-88r, for Ryves's 1638 funeral sermon on Hugh Dashfield (if he preached the whole text it must have been painfully long); a funeral sermon for Ferdinando Leigh, son of Lord Leigh of Stonelergh, was apparently published in 1656 (*ODNB*).

newspapers were often called ‘Mercuries’ at the time, after the messenger of the gods, and Bruno in Royalist Oxford sole-authored the *Mercurius rusticus*, the first issue of which was published 20 May 1643. It continued to appear for twenty-one issues, the last on 16 March 1644, so this was not a particularly long-lived mercury. But it was a crucially important propaganda tool, and one indication of how valuable an account both Ryves and his readers felt it to be is that after it had ceased to be a current journal, it was then reprinted in collected form, in 1646, again in 1648, and even twice more, long into the future, in 1685 and 1723. This collected edition formed a companion to Ryves’s chronology of the first civil war, the *Mercurius Belgicus* (1646), which Ryves then expanded as the *Micro-chronicon* (1647), a work that was appreciatively read by the antiquary Anthony Wood.²¹ In this way Ryves became one of the major chroniclers of the civil war, although of course from a vociferously royalist position.

Bruno inevitably suffered for his politics under the commonwealth administration. He did however lend some assistance to Brian Walton concerning the paper supply for his Polyglot Bible of 1657, and he also managed to bring to the press one scholarly project of his own. In a letter to Gilbert Sheldon in early 1658, Ryves wrote that ‘I haue here sent you a Tract of Grosteste, newly printed: how it comes to be made publique the Preface will informe you; being depriued of Liberty to exercise my Calling, I haue entertained my selfe by this diuersion’,²² the ‘diversion’ being an edition from manuscript of the thirteenth-century Bishop of Lincoln and theologian Robert Grosseteste’s *De cessatione legalium*, an interest in medieval theology that reminds us of some of Bruno’s cousin George’s books.

With the Restoration, Ryves’s fortunes improved rapidly. In 1660 he was established as Dean of Chichester, a position to which he had actually been appointed in 1646, and by late 1660 he was appointed dean of Windsor. He became scribe or register to the Order of the Garter the following year, and thereafter he was much involved with the records of that order. He has accordingly left many traces in the papers of the herald and historian of the Garter, Elias Ashmole: drafts, transcripts, letters, and material concerning his work on compiling the *Liber Carolinus* (1670), a collection of the records of the order.²³ The portrait of him in St George’s Chapel, Windsor, shows him in sober priestly garb, but with long, even luscious hair hanging down almost to the base of his falling bands. We know from his letters to Ashmole that in age he was now and then ‘miserably afflicted with the Gout, not able to sett either foot to the ground’. He died in 1677 and was buried in St George’s Chapel, Windsor. Bruno shared the family traits: royalism, ceremonialism, class-consciousness, an interest in making money, perhaps even a certain vanity. In age this did not render Bruno an especially attractive personality, as the principles that had kept him energetic in the interregnum stagnated.

William Poole
Fellow Librarian

²¹ Kiessling, *Library of Anthony Wood*, no. 5679.

²² Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*; Bodleian, MS Tanner 52, fol. 230, letter of 2 February 1657/[8], also with an apology for the typographical errors in the impression. The copy at Bodleian, 8o Z 192 Th. has the inked attribution in a later hand.

²³ Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1131, fol. 231r (Ryves to Ashmole, 14 December 1668). This MS contains several letters from Bruno to Ashmole.