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THE STORY OF LIBRARIES AND BOOK-COLLECTING

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LONDON
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS LIMITED
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO

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PREFACE

READERS, especially if they be librarians, will look for an apology from a writer who dares to follow in the footsteps of Edward Edwards. But there is some justification. *Memoirs of Libraries* is out of print, and expensive to buy second-hand ; while in some parts it is not up to date. A summary history, published at a popular price, seemed necessary for the elementary student and the general reader, and I have attempted to provide it.

In comparison with other books on the same subject this essay will appear to cover the ground somewhat disproportionately. But the first period has been treated with some fulness, because, owing to the small number of libraries then existing, and their grouping into centres whence their influence could be clearly traced, it seemed possible to show more clearly the connexion between libraries and the progress of scholarship than in the modern period, when libraries were common, and books more varied in character and much more numerous. On the other hand, as it seemed essential and more interesting to show how books were preserved in the Middle Ages, to describe the part they played at the Renaissance, and the

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part they now play in popular education, no attempt has been made to deal with all the great libraries of the world, founded for like purposes, and with similar stories of growth.

A list of the principal books consulted is given at the end. Lack of space forbade the quotation of chapter and verse for every statement, but care has been taken to secure accuracy, not only of fact, but in emphasis. To make up for the writer's deficiencies, and to afford some relief to the tediousness of a summary narrative, references appear here and there to interesting and easily accessible articles and books which may be read with profit and pleasure.

Although a good deal has been omitted necessarily in so small a book, quite enough ground has been covered to enable library assistants to prepare for Section V (*a*) of the Library Association professional examination.

I have to thank Mr. James Hutt, M.A., for casting an eye over the manuscript and proof; Mr. T. E. Maw for revising the parts relating to German libraries; and Mr. A. W. Pollard, M.A., and Dr. Jenkinson, for correcting the accounts of the British Museum and Cambridge University libraries respectively. The responsibility for all mistakes is mine.

ERNEST A. SAVAGE.

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CHAPTER I

LIBRARIES OF ANCIENT TIMES

In primitive communities the priest or holy man would naturally be the first to lay claim to knowledge other than that necessary to sustain life. He would teach, and would find it necessary to transmit his teaching, either to the memory of his elected successor, or by recording it after the invention of written signs. Only a priest, probably, would be competent to record the deeds of chieftains and kings; and much evidence might be adduced showing that in very early times priests did compile such annals. Hence we might expect the earliest libraries to comprise only records of ecclesiastical mysteries or religious doctrines, and of historic events, preserved in or near sanctuaries. The evidence bears out this expectation very consistently. Moses, we are told, was directed to preserve the divine law in the ark. In ancient Egypt libraries were attached to temples. Diodorus of Sicily tells us how Egyptian priests 'had in their sacred books, transmitted from the olden time . . . written descriptions of all their kings'.[1] Among the Babylonians and the Romans records

[1] D. of Sicily founded his history on materials in the public libraries of Rome, *c.* 10 B.C.

were preserved in temples; the Greeks, we are told, 'preserved the most ancient traditions' in or near sanctuaries. At the present time Tibet's principal library is stored in the Lamaist temple. Among the Aztecs the highest ranks of the priesthood kept the State and other archives; and their manuscripts were evidently associated with their religion, because the Spanish conquerors collected all they could lay hands upon and burned them as magic scrolls, 'symbols of a pestilent superstition'.

It will be seen how this theory of the origin of libraries is borne out in the accounts we can give of the ancient collections.

At one time we looked upon the two Ramasesean libraries mentioned by Diodorus as the earliest examples of such institutions, if, indeed, they were not fabulous. Now we have indisputable evidence of libraries at a much earlier date. While excavating among the mounds of the Babylonian city of Nippur, Professor Hilprecht, an American scholar, exposed a series of rooms in which were stored neatly upon shelves of unbaked clay, about 25,000 clay tablets forming part of the Temple library during the latter half of the third millennium B.C. The library was either wholly or partly an adjunct to the temple school. Judging by its careful arrangement under subjects, on separate shelves, and in distinct rooms, and by the variety and richness of its contents, the students must have enjoyed the use of a good library of reference. This discovery is one of the last of a series, the

earliest being made by Mr. Layard (1850), who unearthed the several chambers of Assurbanipal's palace library. These chambers of records were found to contain lists of the gods, decrees of Assyrian kings, accounts of wars, works on astronomy, astrology, ecclesiastical matters and history, as well as dictionaries and school-reading books—a library, in fact, as rich and varied as at Nippur. In his account of the library, Menant gives good reasons for thinking the library public ; and proves the existence of a general catalogue, of systematic arrangement on the shelves, and of a library-keeper. The British Museum possesses, among many tablets from this library, one on which are catalogued the books most in demand. How oddly it must strike modern librarians to learn that some of the features of library management on which they pride themselves to-day—their general catalogues, their lists of best or popular books, their methodical arrangement of books, even their classification by subject—were practised on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates several thousand years before the Christian era. And how significant it is of the degree of civilization attained by these ancient peoples that each of the few cities recently excavated has had its library, in the heart of the community, close by the temple.

In Crete was found a chamber of records on the ruins of a prehistoric palace of Knossos, ' proving the existence of written documents in the Hellenic lands some seven centuries beyond the first known

monuments of Greek writing'. A document found there describes the visit of an Egyptian emissary to Byblos (*c.* 1080 B.C.). Having neglected to bring presents he was not received by the Phoenician prince; and the records were turned up to prove to him that on previous occasions Egyptian messengers had brought gifts. In the end presents were forthcoming, including five hundred sheets of papyrus. The quantity of papyrus being so small, it could only have been used for writing upon, possibly in the record office or royal library.

We know little of the libraries of Greece. Gellius tells us that Peisistratus was the first to supply books to the Athenians, who apparently appreciated his library and increased its size. This library, so the story runs, was carried to Persia by Xerxes when he captured Athens; but brought back two centuries later. Some writers have held that both the libraries of Peisistratus and of Polycrates of Samos were fabulous; because at a much later date Euripides was satirized for having a collection of books, as if the possession of them were a novelty. We also hear of books found in vessels wrecked on the coast of the Euxine, and of a library at Heraclea Pontica about the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

The story of Aristotle's library is more circumstantial. He was a collector of books in his youth, and while residing at Athens as a pupil of Plato his house had been known as the 'house of the reader'. His library passed into the charge of Theophrastus, who made some additions to it;

then it came into the possession of Neleus, and was removed to Scepsis in the Troad. After Neleus' death his descendants, not being men of literary tastes, kept the books under lock and key until Scepsis was captured by the King of Pergamon, when they concealed them in a cellar, fearing the conqueror might seize them for his own library. Apellicon of Teios afterwards discovered them, damaged by wet and dirt, and took them to Athens. He repaired them and copied the more defective manuscripts, but he was unskilful in conjecturing alterations and missing parts. Happily about 82 B.C. Sulla conveyed this famous collection to Rome. There it was classified and catalogued, and well used by the learned Greeks of the city, one of whom, Andronicus of Rhodes by name, produced the recension of Aristotle which has been handed down to us. The adventures of this collection are no doubt typical of the adventures of other libraries, which were less fortunate in their fate.

The mention of the collections of Euclid of Megara, and of Nicocrates; of the annual presentation by the Athenian youths of one hundred volumes to the library of the Ptolemaion; of the libraries of the 'Stoa' of Hadrian and in the island of Cnidos and at Patrae, makes us regret that we know so little of them and of the many other libraries which must have existed in Greece. They contained, as Cicero assures us, an infinite multitude of books. We are told that in the days of Lucian collecting was very fashionable. When

the Goths captured Athens about sixty years after Lucian's death, they are said to have brought together all the books of the city, and, dreading the magic of the foreign 'runes,' were about to burn them, when an aged chief cried: 'Let the Greeks have their books, for so long as they spend their days with these idle toys we need never fear that they will give us trouble in war' (Bradley: *Goths*, p. 33). Although told on no very trustworthy authority, the story is not improbable. It reminds us of the disregard of the warlike Romans for the Carthaginian books. Certainly it is curious that a profusion of libraries and a fashion in book-collecting should coincide not only with the decline of the Greek nation, but with the decline of Greek literature. Such was also the case in Rome. The truth is book-collecting in Greece and Rome naturally arose partly out of the luxury which was sapping the strength of these nations, and partly out of the necessity of books to carry on the work of criticism and commentation after periods of creative literature.

The centre of critical work during the silver age of Greek literature was the great literary workshop at Alexandria. The credit of founding the larger library—which, with the museum, was the most permanent of his achievements—is due undoubtedly to Ptolemy I, acting upon the suggestion of Demetrius of Phaleron, who brought the idea from Athens. Ptolemy II continued and finished the work. Although excavations have not discovered any remains

of these buildings, it is nearly certain that this library stood near the Museum and the royal palace in the fashionable Brucheion quarter. The Serapeion, or 'daughter' library, which was also finished by Ptolemy II, stood on the other side of the town,[1] close to the Temple of Serapis —that magnificent structure, so adorned with colonnades, statuary, and other architectural enrichments that, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, nothing in the world could equal it, except the Roman Capitol. Why the Serapeion was founded at all, whether for the storage of duplicates or for the overflow from the Brucheion, is not clear. It may have been intended for the people in its quarter, but what we know of the Ptolemies makes this difficult to believe.

These libraries were displays of royal luxury, collected by the Ptolemies as plutocrats collect priceless rarities nowadays. Seneca, writing in 49 A.D., says as much, vigorously according to his wont. Was it a noble work of royal taste and royal thoughtfulness? Nothing of the kind, cries Seneca; it was not taste, but extravagance, and not even learned extravagance. Such a library is suggested by the ingenious devices to which the Ptolemies seem to have resorted to secure new treasures. When a vessel with books aboard entered the harbour, the captain was forced to surrender them, and to be content with copies instead. Once when Athens was famine-

[1] The site has been discovered by Dr. Botti, of Alexandria.

stricken, Ptolemy Euergetes, by allowing Egyptian corn to be bought, obtained from the Athenians the official copy of the works of Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Euripides.[1] Fifteen talents were deposited as a guarantee of its safe return, but P. Euergetes preferred to forfeit this sum, and to provide a sumptuous copy in exchange. Apparently the Ptolemies, like many modern collectors, liked first editions better than literature itself; and it is not a little interesting to find this and other instances of the commercial instinct peeping out so early in the annals of collecting.

But at the same time it is perplexing to find a man of Seneca's standing commenting upon these libraries so savagely. Although, as in the case of Lucullus' library and the collection at Pergamon, ostentation was the leading motive of the founders, yet the very excellence of the collections did more for classical scholarship than we can realise nowadays. Alexandria was the rallying point of the learned men of the time. Ptolemy I secured Philetas of Cos, the poet and scholar, and Straton, the philosopher, for the education of his son. After the libraries were begun, we hear of Demetrius of Phaleron, Lycophron of Chalcis, Callimachus of Cyrene residing in Alexandria; while the early librarians were men of great learning. Zenodotus, the first librarian, by rejecting unauthorised additions and eliminating repetitions, produced the earliest scientific edition of Homer. The Homer we have now is

[1] The story is well told in Hugo's *William Shakespeare.*

the edition prepared by him and his successors, especially Aristarchus; and Mr. Mahaffy believes it to be one-sixth shorter than pre-Alexandrine texts. His successors, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus of Samothrace were scholars of equal or greater eminence.[1] Aristarchus was the 'founder of scientific scholarship', and his name, to Cicero and Horace, was a synonym for a great critic, and it has remained so ever since.

What work did these scholars of Alexandria do? We are told that Lycophron arranged the comic poets, Zenodotus classified the epic and lyric, and Alexander Aetolus took charge of the tragic. They and their colleagues and successors criticised, edited, emended texts; wrote much on grammar; and very likely superintended copyists. They did the best work possible then—the work of protecting and diffusing the great literature of Greece; and they could do it well, because their workshops were the richest and greatest of the age. How many volumes the Alexandrian libraries contained we do not know; but they were the wonder of the world for several centuries.[2]

Such libraries as the Alexandrian would pros-

[1] This is the order approved by Sandys, who writes with the latest information before him; Edwards adopts a different order and includes Callimachus among the earliest librarians. If there were different librarians for the two libraries, the confusion of names is explained.

[2] Authorities put the number of volumes at any figure from 200,000 to 700,000 volumes.

per only while the gods smiled upon them. All the Ptolemies were hardly likely to be as jealous of the libraries' welfare as the first and second Ptolemies. Maybe manuscripts were not acquired so quickly after the death of the second Ptolemy; and later on progress may have been slower still. The first recorded loss suffered by the libraries was in 47 B.C., when Julius Caesar burnt the naval arsenal, and about forty thousand books stored in buildings adjacent to it. That the larger library was wholly destroyed then, as some authorities declare, is unlikely, as we have evidence suggesting its existence at a later date. But the great library was certainly destroyed when the Brucheion quarter of Alexandria was razed to the ground during the Emperor Aurelian's invasion (272 A.D.). Thenceforward the Serapeion either flourished alone, or was the more important collection; but it only endured for a century after its fellow. Theophilus, the bold and fanatical patriarch of Alexandria, and his Christian followers, acting upon a rescript of Theodosius, pillaged the library, threw down the statue of Serapis, and partly destroyed the temple of the four hundred columns (391). A few years later Orosius visited Alexandria, but although he mentions seeing some presses full of books in temples, he does not refer to the Serapeion. In spite of contrary statements, the Alexandrian libraries were not destroyed by Amru and Caliph Omar's army (642), because they did not then exist.[1]

[1] Gibbon, in the *Decline and Fall*, v. 6, c. 51, p. 450,

Recent discoveries have proved the existence of other important libraries in Egypt beside the Alexandrian. Great quantities of papyri have been unearthed from the mounds above the sites of ancient towns and villages, or have been taken out of cemeteries. Among the 'finds' are some priceless fragments.[1]

The German Government, by paying the expenses of the explorations carried out on the site of Pergamon between 1878 and 1886, have obtained nearly as much knowledge of the Pergamene library as we possess about its rivals in Alexandria. This, the noblest city in Asia Minor, in Pliny's

repudiated the suggestion that Amru destroyed the libraries. In his *Memoirs*, Edwards disagreed with Gibbon; but corrected himself in his revised portion of the same work. Amru's guilt has been assumed twice during the past twenty years by writers in the *Edinburgh Review*. See *N. and Q.*, 7th ser., v. 8: 322, 435; 8th ser., v. 10: 313.

[1] The most important discoveries were: Portions of Plato's *Phaedo*, Euripides' *Antiope*, and smaller fragments of Homer and other authors—all of the early part of the third century; Aristotle's lost *Athenian Constitution*; Herodas' idylls, scarcely known to have existed; the *Sayings of Jesus*; about 280 lines of Pindar's *Paeans*; an epitome of Livy; nearly 1,500 lines of several comedies of Menander; six orations of Hyperides, more or less complete; about 1,200 lines of Bacchylides' odes; fragments of Sappho and Corinna; early copies of parts of Homer, Demosthenes, and Isocrates; a lost poem of Timotheus of Miletus, etc. Discoveries of this nature suggest libraries of some extent and value; and now that skilful scholars are hard at work searching the Egyptian mounds, we may expect to hear of further discoveries as important as these mentioned here. Read F. G. Kenyon's *Greek Papyri and Recent Discoveries*, in *Quarterly Review*, v. 208, 333.

view, was built upon a lofty hill, about a thousand feet above sea-level. The summit is a rocky plateau, divided into three gigantic terraces. Probably the royal palace stood upon the highest. On the next terrace was the temple of Athena, to which the library was adjacent. The German archaeologists have discovered four large rooms, which are most likely a part of the library. In the wall of one room were found two rows of holes in the stonework one above the other, 'which had evidently been made for the reception of brackets, or battens, or other supports for shelves, or some piece of furniture. . . . Further, stones were found bearing the names of Herodotus, Alcaeus, Timotheus of Miletus, and Homer, evidently the designations of portrait busts or portrait medallions; and also, two titles of comedies. Lastly, the very position of these rooms in connexion with the colonnade indicates their use. . . . Libraries in the ancient world were usually connected with colonnades' (Clark: p. 11; see full description and plan in his book).

Collecting for this library may have begun under the first Attalus, but the credit of actually building the fabric belongs to the next ruler, Eumenes II. Although founded for the delight of the world—*in communem delectationem,* as Vitruvius says—and therefore public, Eumenes' motive was the same as the first Ptolemy's, when he built the Brucheion, as the keen rivalry between the two institutions proves. One of Eumenes'

first efforts for his bantling's success was to try to rob Ptolemy of the services of his librarian, Aristophanes of Byzantium. Ptolemy—the fifth of his name—was more than a match for him. He clapped the unhappy librarian into prison, and seems to have kept him there till he was in the mind to stay in Alexandria. Although, in these latter days, we may regret the lack of competition for good librarians, yet we cannot wish ourselves back in the times when a man must refuse an advantageous offer, or go to gaol. Another incident throws still more light on this rivalry. Pliny tells us that one of the Ptolemies, to cripple Pergamon's library activities, made a corner in Egyptian papyrus; whereupon Eumenes set his wits to work, and invented *charta pergamena*, or parchment—skins made smooth for writing on both sides, and a distinct improvement on the single-surface skins used till that time.

Two natural results came of the rivalry and impatience of the collectors. The Pergamene kings would seize a private collection with as little compunction as did Catherine de' Medici in claiming Marshal Strozzi's library, and scholars went in fear of having their most cherished possessions wrested from them. We have already seen how carefully the descendants of Neleus concealed Aristotle's library from the king of Pergamon. As the demand for books exceeded the supply, another result of the competition was to encourage rapid production at the cost of accuracy in copying, and, worse still, to bring into the market many

spurious works, prepared with a false appearance of antiquity.[1]

The fate of the Pergamene library is uncertain. Pergamon itself was bequeathed to Rome by its last king. According to Plutarch, Antony was charged by one named Calvisius with several acts of infatuation for Cleopatra, from publicly rubbing her feet to giving her the library from Pergamon, then consisting of 200,000 single books. The story is not inherently improbable, for the possession of the famous rival library would be gratifying to Cleopatra's ambition. But Plutarch cautiously adds, ' in most of these matters Calvisius was supposed to be lying '. If the library did find its way to Alexandria, it was destroyed by the Emperor Aurelian's army (272 A.D.).

The work done by scholars at Pergamon was the same as at Alexandria, although it was not so great in value or so considerable in amount. To a certain extent, Rome seems to have come under the influence of Pergamon. Latin literature had its beginnings in about the middle of the third century B.C. Before that time the Romans were uncivilised and engrossed in war, without leisure for the enjoyment of the liberal arts ; and even for a long time afterwards the study of literature does not seem to have been either practised or

[1] Fraud of this kind flourishes at such times. At the end of the nineteenth century, when great interest had been aroused in Central Asian manuscripts, and rich collectors were eagerly seeking them, a regular manufactory of ' ancient ' books existed in Khotan.

appreciated very much. Suetonius says its beginnings were unimportant, as its earliest teachers, who were poets and half-Greeks, confined their efforts principally to copying Greek authors. The act of the Romans in bestowing upon the African chieftains all but one of the books that fell into their hands at the sack of Carthage is cited as an instance of this lack of interest in literature; as their retention of the one book, Mago's treatise on agriculture, is regarded as an example of their preference for the practical affairs of life. The real study of literature was introduced probably by Crates of Mallos, when he visited Rome in 169 B.C. He was the head of the Pergamene school, an eminent scholar, and a formidable opponent of his contemporary, Aristarchus of Alexandria. Owing to an accident he was detained in Rome, and he passed his time in giving lectures, which would seem to have aroused among the Romans a taste for literary study, which, at all events, made rapid progress thenceforward.

On Roman libraries the influence of Pergamon was direct; maybe owing to the same visit. As one having much to do with the Pergamene library, Crates could hardly fail to describe its halls and colonnades, and the adjacent temple. It is conjectured that Quintus Metellus met Crates in Rome, and took from him the idea of building the colonnades of the Porticus Metelli, and one of the temples enclosed by them; although he did not so far imitate the Pergamene model as to

establish a library. Much later Augustus renamed this structure the Porticus Octaviae, altered it, and added one of the temples, a *curia* or hall, a *schola* or conversation hall, and two libraries, one Greek and the other Latin; so making it strikingly like the Temple of Athena and the library at Pergamon.

These Octavian collections were not the earliest open to the Romans. A public library was one of Julius Caesar's many projects; and Terentius Varro, the 'most learned of the Romans, had collected and arranged the books for it. Caesar, however, did not live to complete his design. The honour of being 'the first to make men's talents public property' was Asinius Pollio. When he returned from his victorious Illyrian campaign, he founded a library on the Aventine Hill out of his spoils (39 B.C.). As it was open soon after Caesar's death, and as Varro's bust stood in it, the inference that it was the completion of Caesar's own work is not unjustified.[1]

[1] Varro's love of books and libraries may have persuaded him to write the book on libraries, of which only a small fragment has been handed down to us. His library was burned by the notorious Antony in one of his debauches. Cicero makes a fine comparison between Varro and Antony in his second Philippic, c. 41. Speaking of the villa in which the library was preserved, he cried: 'Varro used it as a place of retirement for his studies, not as a theatre for his lusts. What noble discussions used to take place in that villa! what ideas were originated there! what writings were composed there! The laws of the Roman people, the memorials of our ancestors, the consideration of all wisdom and all learning, were the topics that used to be dwelt on then; but while you

But the library of Asinius Pollio was inferior to that in the Porticus Octaviae, and to the second temple library erected by Augustus on the Palatine Hill in memory of the victory of Actium (28 B.C.). Like the Pergamene and Octavian buildings, the Palatine Temple was surrounded by colonnades giving access to a library, which consisted of two apartments, one for Greek and the other for Latin books, with a large curia between. Each Augustan library had a procurator or chief librarian, with subordinate officers for each division of Greek and Latin books.[1] Both libraries may have contained new books as well as old, but certainly the Palatine did so, because Ovid laments the exclusion from it of one of his books. Fire destroyed the Octavian and the Palatine buildings, the former in the three days' fire which raged in 80 A.D., and the latter sometime in the reign of Commodus (*c.* 190 A.D.).

Domitian seems to have restored not only the Palatine library, but several other libraries which were destroyed by the fire in Nero's time ; and he also built a new library on the Capitoline Hill.

All the earlier libraries were surpassed, both in extent and value, by the library of Ulpius Trajanus (*c.* 100 A.D.). In principle, the arrange-

were the intruder there . . . every place was resounding with the voices of drunken men ; the pavements were floating with wine '.

[1] C. Melissus was the first librarian of the Porticus Octaviae ; Pompeius Macer and G. Julius Hyginus, the pupil of Alexander Polyhistor, and one of the foremost scholars of the age, were the first and second librarians of the Palatine Library.

ment was the same as at Pergamon : there were two apartments, one for Latin and the other for Greek books, with a small court between, and colonnades surrounding. Apparently, it was the public record office of Rome ; Trajanus, at all events, deposited in it the 'libri lintei', or linen books, and 'libri elephanti', or ivory books, upon which the senatus consulta and other state transactions were recorded. About 305 A.D. this collection was removed to the Baths of Diocletian, but it remained in use till the latter part of the fifth century.

About 360–370 A.D. there were twenty-eight public libraries in Rome. Comum (Como) possessed one, Tibur (Tivoli) another, and Milan a third. We are given some interesting information about their use by the people. One or two of the more important libraries were places of resort for lovers of learning and literature ; there, in the *schola*, or conversation hall, they would converse and discuss questions arising out of their reading. That even so early libraries had their critics and were not held in general approval is suggested in some lines of Horace. Speaking of his friend Celsus he says :

'He needs, I ween,
To be well-warned, as he before has been,
Bards should draw inspiration from themselves,
And not from Palatine Apollo's shelves,
Lest when some day the birds their feathers claim,
Stripped of his spoils, the jackdaw comes to shame'.[1]

[1] Sir T. Martin's trans. of Epistle I. iii.

Aulus Gellius draws another picture for us. One very hot day he and some friends were outside the Temple of Hercules at Tibur, drinking melted snow. A discussion arose as to the wisdom of the practice. One of the party declares that not only did many physicians disapprove of snow-water, but that Aristotle had expressed a like opinion. To prove his case he goes to the temple library for Aristotle's treatise. In imagination we can see him in this room. It is small, evidently designed for the storing of books and not for use as a reading-room. Presses run round the walls, and probably there is an additional press in the middle of the room. He must refer to the catalogue, then go to the numbered press, and run his eye over the tickets hanging from the ends of the rolls stored in it—doing, in fact, precisely what a reader in an open-shelf library does to-day. Finding his Aristotle, he rejoins his friends—because he seems to have been allowed to take books out of the library room—unties the straps, removes the coloured envelope, unrolls the manuscript, and triumphantly displays to the disputants the convincing passage. The same writer also mentions a discussion in the Tiberian library, and says that a grammatical difficulty was settled by consulting a book in the Temple of Peace, in the forum of Vespasian. But as we are told of several diligent searches for books, it would appear that libraries were not always well organised and well ordered.

Many private persons owned libraries in ancient

Rome. Of all the prizes he won from Perseus, the fallen King of Macedonia, Aemilius Paulus, preferred the collection of books which he afterwards left to his sons. Possibly this was the first library, public or private, in Rome (167 B.C.). The library of Tyrannion the elder seems to have been large and valuable.

Licinius Lucullus founded a library, remarkable for its size and the beauty of the books, out of the spoils of his eastern campaigns (67 B.C.). 'What he did as to his collection of books,' says Plutarch, 'is worth notice and mention. He got together a great number of books which were well transcribed, and the mode in which they were used was more honourable to him than the acquisition of them; for the libraries were open to all, and the walking places which surrounded them, and the reading-rooms were accessible to the Greeks without any restriction, and they went there as to an abode of the Muses, and spent the day there in company with one another, gladly betaking themselves to the libraries from their other occupations' (Lucullus, 42). As people were admitted to Lucullus' library, it has been sometimes described as the first Roman public library; but it would seem to have been public only in the sense that, being a patron of literature, and a man of literary tastes—being, moreover, a plebeian much given to display—its owner welcomed the Greek philosophers and literati, and allowed them the run of his library in return for the pleasure and amusement which discussions with them afforded him.

From the time of Lucullus onward private libraries seem to have been a fashionable luxury. Cicero had a private collection, which is often mentioned in his letters; so had his brother Quintus, and his friend Atticus; but their books were for use and pleasure, and not a part of the domestic decoration.

Seneca thought no more highly of the rich collectors of Rome than he did of the Ptolemies. 'Outlay upon studies, best of all outlays', he says, is reasonable so long only as it is kept within certain limits. What is the use of books . . . innumerable, if scarce in a lifetime the master reads the titles? A student is burdened by a crowd of authors, not instructed. . . Procure them as many books as will suffice for use; but not a single one for show. You will reply: 'Outlay on such objects is preferable to extravagance on plate or paintings'. Excess in all directions is bad. Why should you excuse a man who wishes to possess book-presses inlaid with *arbor vitae* wood or ivory; . . . who yawns among his thousands of books; and who derives his chief delight from their edges and their tickets? . . Nowadays a library takes rank with a bath-room as a necessary ornament of a house. I could forgive such ideas, if they were due to extravagant desire for learning. As it is, these productions of men whose genius we revere, paid for at a high price, with their portraits ranged in line above them, are got together to adorn and beautify a wall'.[1] Well

[1] De Tranquillitate animi, 9; trans. by Dr. J. W. Clark.

said, in truth! But readers inclined to clap should not forget that rich collectors, in all ages, have done great service to literature and scholarship by preserving jealously, in the best condition, works which otherwise might have been lost.

CHAPTER II

MEDIAEVAL LIBRARIES AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

THE northern hordes began their last invasions of the Western Empire in the beginning of the fifth century. Gaul fell to the Vandals and Burgundians. The West Goths sacked Rome and harried Gaul, making the Vandals flee before them into Spain. The dispossessed conquerors of Gaul passed on to Africa, laid waste the province there, descended on Italy again from the south under Genseric, and took Rome. Attila and his Turanian hordes invaded first Gaul, then Italy, although they did not go to Rome. Italy was merely a field of contest between East Goth and Vandal, whence both were at last driven forth by Justinian, the eastern emperor. At his death the Lombards came. For nearly four centuries Europe was in a state of helpless anarchy. In the early part of the time, from 400–550 A.D., nearly every library in Rome and Italy, private and public, was destroyed or dispersed.

A sharp line is usually drawn between the libraries of the ancients and those of modern times at this point; but, natural as the division is, we must not neglect to show how collections of books

were preserved in the interval—how, in these collections, the Latin classics were preserved in Western and the Greek in Eastern Europe. It will be well to understand by what channels they came down to us.

When Constantine the Great shifted the centre of the Empire from Rome to Byzantium, and founded the city of Constantinople (330), many scholars and book-lovers followed him. Numbers of Greek scholars, we are told, gathered round him in his new capital. One of his earliest acts was to order a search for books, especially for Christian books, until then more often sought out for the fire than for preservation; and when he died (337) he had accumulated nearly 7,000 books. His son Constantius, the second Theodosius, and perhaps some of their successors, continued to collect books until the library became big; precisely how big we know not. Whether Julian the Apostate did anything for this library is doubtful; but he founded another, a secular library, and added to it his own books.

But the libraries of Constantinople were not the only centres for the preservation of books. When the Alexandrian and Athenian schools were thrown down, literary study was transferred not only to the Academy at Constantinople, but to the monasteries, of which there were a good number in the East, where the labours of transcription were carried on assiduously. One might easily exaggerate the dissemination of books at this time; but in all probability it was sufficiently

extensive to compensate for the heavy losses by fire which the Constantinopolitan libraries suffered on several occasions, and for the destruction of books at the capture of the city by the Crusades (1203); and to ensure the preservation of nearly all the most precious of the literature of Greece.

The monasteries of Mount Athos [1] are typical of these Eastern retreats. The whole of the peninsula of Mount Athos has been ecclesiastical ground since Constantine's time. Throughout the Middle Ages it was one of the most important centres of Greek learning. Twenty monasteries still stand; 'here, as nowhere else in Europe or Asia, can one behold the architecture, the dress, the habits of the Middle Ages'.

In 1801 the Rev. J. D. Carlyle visited all the important Eastern monasteries, including those on Athos. His inspection was thorough, and he believed he saw all the existing manuscripts, numbering about 13,000. More than thirty years later the Hon. Robert Curzon, a biblical knight-errant, set out on 'the perilous adventure of Mount Athos to rescue from the thraldom of ignorant monks' the fair vellum volumes, with their illuminations and fine dresses and jewelled clasps, which had been 'imprisoned for so many centuries in their monastic dungeons'.[2] In the twenty monasteries he reckons he saw altogether

[1] The easternmost of three peninsulas at the north of the Aegean sea.

[2] Read every word of Curzon's *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant*; it is well worth the time.

over 20,000 printed books, about 5,500 manuscripts on paper, and nearly 2,000 manuscripts on vellum. Although no more fortunate than Mr. Carlyle in saving unique and precious texts, he secured some fine manuscripts, and was forced to leave behind others, most of them dating from the ninth to the twelfth century. Judging by their size at the time of Mr. Curzon's visit, and the valuable character of the books in them, these libraries, in their prime, can have been rarely exceeded by the collections in Western monasteries, either in extent or literary value. From them and from the libraries of other Eastern convents, the book-collectors of the Italian Renaissance rescued their chiefest literary treasures. For at least a quarter of a century before the Byzantine Empire fell (1453), they were seeking eagerly to purchase Greek manuscripts. Some of them, as Aurispa, Guarino, and Filelfo, went to Byzantium and returned laden with books; Cosimo de' Medici, one of the most noted collectors of the time, was head of a banking firm with agencies in every part of the East, and he instructed his agents to purchase all the manuscripts they could get, regardless of expense; while the Levant merchants plying between Greek and Italian ports were not slow to take advantage of the greater profits for carrying Greek codices than for ordinary freights. For some time, too, a good number of Italian scholars had been studying in Constantinople; and on the eve of the catastrophe, they and many learned Greeks fled to Italy laden with the books

they most prized. So thoroughly was this transfer of manuscripts carried on, that Mr. J. A. Symonds believed it to be 'unlikely that any of the more important and illustrious authors were destroyed in the taking of the city by the Turk' (Symonds, V. 2, 103); while Mr. Curzon, referring particularly to the libraries of Athos, says they were explored so well in the fifteenth century 'that no unknown classic author has been discovered, nor has any manuscript been found of greater antiquity than some already known in the British Museum and other libraries'.[1] Moreover, the Turks were not so destructive as some historians say. They knew the value of books, and endeavoured to make money of what they found; 'whole cartloads,' we are told, were despatched to the East and the West. Mr. Frederic Harrison well sums the facts up when he says: 'It is impossible to see how our knowledge of ancient literature or civilisation could have been recovered if Constantinople

[1] Mr. Carlyle was of the same opinion, Walpole: *Memoirs Relating to Turkey*, p. 221. A doctor of medicine named Williams returned to Paris from Constantinople, 1176, bringing with him many precious Greek MSS. (Gasquet, *Last Abbot*, p. 144). Up to 1209 no version of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* was known to the Western schools, but in this year a Latin translation was made from a Greek MS. brought from Constantinople [probably after the Crusaders captured the city, 1203] (Gasquet, p. 148). Seguier, Chancellor of France, obtained MSS. from Athos; also Assemani, the Orientalist. Humfrey Wanley mentions that a MS. of Livy from Mount Athos was in the French Royal Library. See also what is said about Mendoza in this book, p. 109. Simonides, the forger, obtained many of his genuine MSS. from Athos.

had not nursed through the early Middle Ages the vast accumulations of Greek learning in the schools of Alexandria, Athens, and Asia Minor ; if Photius, Suidas, Eustathius, Tzetzes, and the Scholiasts had not poured out their lexicons, anecdotes, and commentaries ; . . . if indefatigable copyists had not toiled in multiplying the texts of ancient Greece ' (*Byzantine History*, p. 36).

The influence of the Arabs in the same direction must not be overlooked. The growth of the Saracenic power is the most remarkable feature of mediaeval history. In about seventy years the Arabs conquered the Eastern provinces of Rome, Persia, Africa, and Spain, and for a time one caliph ruled an empire greater than the Roman. After settling down to rule their conquests, they were not unmindful of the value of learning. When secular literature was little esteemed in Constantinople and in the West, it was spreading in Syria and Arabia. The effect of Greek thought upon the Arabs had the same kind of power as it had upon Europeans seven centuries later. ' One difference between the two cases is very remarkable '. The mighty effects that arose out of the second revival of the ancient Greek literature in the modern world were produced almost solely by its eloquence and poetry, ' whereas the Greek books sought after by the Arabs were almost wholly scientific ' (Craik, *English Literature*, p. 31). The famous Haroun al Raschid and his son gathered about them learned men, collected libraries, and took tribute in books from

subject peoples, some even from Michael II., the Emperor of the East. Bassora and Cufa, as well as Bagdad, had libraries. Cairo was another centre ; there the library of the Fatimids amounted to 100,000 books when dispersed by the Turks (1068). Despite this heavy loss, another library of 120,000 books was accumulated, again only to be dispersed, this time by Saladin (1171). We hear of libraries in Alexandria again, and at Tripoli. In Spain, Alhakem, a peace-loving man of literary tastes, opened an academy and library in Cordova. His agents busily gathered Greek manuscripts in the East, and three hundred writers, allured to his court by the offer of large rewards, were employed in translating them into Arabic. At one time, we are assured, the Cordovan library contained no fewer than 600,000 books.[1] There would appear to have been in Andalusia seventy public libraries, although we know little about them beyond the fact of their existence. Allowing a good deal for the splendid inaccuracy of oriental reckoning, and for the usual exaggerated statements about all early libraries, the historian is just in thinking of Arabic Spain of the tenth century as ' the fountain head of learning in Europe '. Much of the knowledge of Greek literature in medieval times was due to the Arabs of Spain ; and the earliest acquaintance of the scholars of that time with Aristotle's works, excepting the

[1] The catalogue alone took up 44 volumes ; the library was destroyed by Almanzor, who did not approve of secular literature (978).

Organon, was through Arabic renderings got from Spain.[1] Some of Averroes' paraphrases, commentaries and expositions of Aristotle are still extant. For some time before 1200 Toledo was a centre for making translations from Arabic into Latin. Daniel of Morley, who had been staying at Toledo, returned to England with a valuable lot of books, although at first he hesitated to do so because ' there was no liberal education ' in his native land, and Aristotle and Plato were forgotten ' to make way for Titius and Seius '. He appears to have made Latin translations of Aristotle's works ; other translators were Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scot, Hermann the German, and Alfred the Englishman ; while the works of Hippocrates and Galen were translated from the Arabic at Monte Cassino (*see* p. 38) by Constantine, a North African, who had been educated in Babylon.

It would be a mistake to attach too much importance to the nursing of Greek philosophy and science in the Saracenic dominions ; but it is interesting to know the esteem in which libraries were held by the Arabs, and to learn how Greek books were translated, copied and passed from hand to hand and from place to place in Syria, through northern Africa and Spain to France, Italy and England. More important from our point of view was the indirect influence which Arabian literary propensities, and especially their book-collecting, must have exercised inevitably upon the peoples they came in contact with ; the most distinct trace

[1] Sandys, p, 540.

of which is no doubt to be seen in the renewed activity of scholarship in ninth century Constantinople, when Photius flourished.

We must now turn to the West. Although the Roman libraries were swept away when the Germanic invaders overran Italy, many books, probably in small collections, must have been preserved. At one time the book-trade of Rome was flourishing. Regular publishers were in the business, such as Atticus in Cicero's time and the Sosii in Horace's; and their scribes produced not one or a few copies of a book, but as many as a thousand copies of a popular author. Nor were these copies dear to buy. A volume of Martial was sold for about 4*s* 3*d* of our money; another for less than a shilling; and Juvenal refers to a man owning a small number of books, although he was poor and lived in a garret.[1] Facts like these point to a comparatively wide dissemination of literature, not to be wholly checked by the extensive number of books destroyed by fire, mutilation and decay, and by the rapid decline of the book-trade during the break-up of the Empire. In the sixth and seventh centuries, learning, except in theology, came near dying out altogether; Latin literature was in its darkest age, and, except in Ireland, the knowledge of classical Greek had become almost, if not quite, extinct. But copying still went on, though not extensively. he love of books never quite died out, and they were collected by a few

[1] Gow, *Companion to Sch. Classics*, p. 22.

enthusiasts such as the friends of Apollinaris Sidonius at Narbonne and Nîmes in Gaul. Boëthius possessed a number of books. Libraries were formed in the monasteries of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino, of St. Martin at Tours, at Bobbio in North Italy, and near Squillace in South Italy. Another fact is significant. Virgil the grammarian, at the beginning of the seventh century, notes the *custom* of having two separate libraries, one for Christian, the other for pagan literature, just as in Roman libraries Greek and Latin books were separated. In the eighth century a library existed at York; in the ninth the library of St. Gall was celebrated. Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, Statius, and Cicero were more or less studied throughout the Middle Ages for their value in teaching grammar. While the means of learning remained, hope of a quick revival in the future would survive. But for a time, weakened on all sides, learning retreated to the monasteries, holding in reserve its forces till a moment more favourable to the resumption of its onslaught on ignorance; and the monasteries, although they suffered severely during the reign of disorder, were on the whole the safest repositories of books. As will appear later, at the Renaissance and in later times many of these monkish garners yielded up the most precious of the Latin classics, as the monastic and other libraries of the East gave up the Greek.

Possibly the services of the monks as literary guardians may be overrated. They read and transcribed to shun the evils of idleness rather than

to learn. Curious instances might be cited of the way in which they twisted the meaning of the pagans into something they thought more edifying. And during the slack rule and decay which came to most monasteries at some time, priceless treasures were permitted to go astray and to be spoiled. Where pagan literature was esteemed less than the parchment it was written upon, the monks, in Christian piety and simplicity, washed and scraped off the old writing to make a new surface for their copies of valueless ecclesiastical books. Luckily, if the ink were old, they could not get rid of all traces of the earlier work, and in modern times skilful chemical treatment of these palimpsests (as they are called) has revealed treasures of ancient literature—the Institutes of Gaius, for instance, and the Plautus found at Milan.

CHAPTER III

EARLY MONASTIC LIBRARIES, AND THE MAIN STREAM OF LEARNING IN THE WEST

ALTHOUGH the early Church libraries of Christendom present some interesting features, we need not stay over them except to note that they were numerous. We hear of collections in the Lateran Baptistery, and in St. Peter's, Rome; Eusebius was indebted to a library in Jerusalem; Pamphilus collected an important one at Caesarea; while St. Jerome, by advising a correspondent to consult Church libraries, suggests they were usual, and the Emperor Constantine, by requiring Eusebius to supply copies of portions of the Bible for new Church libraries in Constantinople, seems to look upon books as a part of a church's equipment. At first such collections contained only ecclesiastical and service books; but after a while the charm of secular literature would find it a home in them. St. Jerome provides us with significant evidence on this point when he confesses how little he cared for the homely Latin of the Psalms and how much he enjoyed Plautus and Cicero. For a time he devoutly eschewed these favourite authors, but later he instructed boys in Plautus, Terence, and Virgil in his monastery at Bethlehem.

To allow one or two secular books among the service books was to form a precedent for further exceptions, and so to lay the foundation of a church or monastic library. Almost from the beginning libraries seem to have been associated with monasteries; but we do not know when books were first collected and transcribed in the earliest Christian monasteries, those of the Egyptian desert. The Coptic monasteries of St. Paul and St. Antony claim to occupy the sites of the first hermits who established themselves on the shores of the Red Sea. The hermitages of Nitria, pitched near the Natron Lakes, came soon after; Fronto, with seventy companions, secluding himself here from the soft life of the African cities (150 A.D.). Much later (*c.* 320) the Abba Bischoi founded the monastery called Amba Bischoi. He also wrote an ascetic work, and a manuscript of it—one of the most ancient manuscripts extant, for it is almost, if not quite, contemporaneous with the original—was found by the Hon. Robert Curzon in 1833. Even so early then, in the most primitive kind of monastery, were to be found the beginnings of a library and a scriptorium. Some of the monks had been taught in Alexandrian schools. A great impulse was given to the growth of the settlement when St. Macarius of Alexandria retired to Nitria (*c.* 373). A saintly ascetic of repute, he led many Christians of like austerity to follow his example, and before his death about five thousand devotees had gathered there. Still extant is a Coptic manuscript of the Gospels, written by one of the anchorites

under Macarius, and most likely used by the saint himself. For several centuries the monasteries retained their importance. In St. Mary Deipara Moses of Tecrit either founded a library of 250 volumes—some of them are now in the British Museum—or added them to a collection already existing (932).

Visits of travellers in the past three centuries have added to our knowledge of these early religious libraries. Maybe the library of St. Mary Deipara is meant in a traveller's reference, met with in the letters of Peiresc, to a library of about 8,000 volumes in the Egyptian desert. About the same time (1646) Séguier, the chancellor of France, had heard of the libraries, and had tried to get a list of their manuscripts. Shortly after, Robert Huntingdon visited Nitria, specially to obtain the Syriac version of St. Ignatius' epistles, which was believed to be there, as indeed it proved to be later on. Other searchers followed at different times, but no visit was so fruitful as those of the Hon. Robert Curzon (1833) and of the Rev. Henry Tattam (1838). In Baramous convent Mr. Curzon discovered forty or fifty Coptic manuscripts lying on the floor, some of them sticking to it firmly, as if they had not been moved for years. The convents of Amba Bischoi and St. Macarius were in poor condition, and apparently without books. At Souriani convent the library was more interesting. Most of the manuscripts were on the floor, ' but some were placed in niches in the stone wall. They were all on paper, except

three or four. One of these was a superb manuscript of the Gospels, with commentaries by the early fathers of the Church ; two others were doing duty as coverings to a couple of large open pots or jars, which had contained preserves, long since evaporated. I was allowed to purchase these vellum manuscripts, as they were considered to be useless by the monks, principally, I believe, because there were no more preserves in the jars. On the floor I found a fine Coptic and Arabic dictionary. I was aware of the existence of this volume, with which they refused to part. I placed it in one of the niches in the wall; and some years afterwards it was purchased for me by a friend' (Curzon: p. 58). At the same monastery Mr. Curzon found a small closet filled to the depth of two feet with loose leaves of Syriac manuscripts, now forming one of the chief treasures of the British Museum. But although he made valuable discoveries, he could not bring away so many manuscripts as the Rev. Henry Tattam. Tattam got a transcript of the coveted Coptic and Arabic dictionary before the original came into Curzon's possession, and he also carried off many manuscripts from Amba Bischoi and Macarius, where the former visitor had not known libraries existed. A later visit was even more fruitful, among the treasures acquired being a fine Coptic Evangeliary, and an old Pentateuch in Coptic and Arabic. The Syriac manuscripts procured on this occasion were sold to the British Museum. This addition to the national library, at one time, of forty-nine books of great antiquity,

among them some works long since believed to be lost, and versions of others written several centuries earlier than known copies, has rarely been equalled in the history of any library.

These purchases excited the suspicion and the cupidity of the monks, and on his third visit Tattam was tricked. When the cases containing his manuscripts were opened at the British Museum, very few of the volumes were perfect ; large numbers of them had been torn into separate leaves and then mixed up. Skilful collation by good scholars made the best of the fragments, many of which were completed when, at a later date, Mr. Pacho obtained another collection from the monks.[1]

But although libraries existed in Nitria at a very early date, and although St. Jerome gave instruction in classic authors (*c.* 386), study, as a regular part of monastic life, was not begun formally till after St. Benedict founded the Abbey of Monte Cassino (528). His rule orders the practice of reading aloud at meals and in the evening. ' Idleness being an enemy of the soul ', the time not already taken up with other duties was to be spent in reading, under regulation. ' Every one

[1] From the Nitrian monasteries were obtained the following, among many treasures : Copy of Pentateuch, dated 464 A.D. ; 30 v. of Peshito version of Bible and 40 manuscripts of the Peshito version of the New Testament, many of the sixth, and some, possibly, of the fifth century ; fragments of St. Luke and the *Iliad* found on the same palimpsest ; first books of Samuel and Kings, written in 703 ; treatises of Chrysostom ; lives of the saints, fathers, and bishops.

is to have a book given out to him from the library at the beginning of Lent, which he is to read through, while two senior brethren are to go the rounds during reading hours to see that the monks are actually reading, and neither lounging nor gossiping. . . . On Sundays all are to read throughout the day,' except such as have duties assigned to them.

Monte Cassino still exists. After its destruction by the Lombards (583) the community took refuge in Rome, where it remained for a century and a quarter. A new edifice was ruined by the Saracens (884), but still another building was put up and a third library formed.[1] Some of the best work of its monks was accomplished in the eleventh century under Desiderius, when they transcribed a great deal, not only of Christian literature, but of Terence, Virgil, Horace, Homer, Seneca, Theocritus, Sallust, and Ovid's *Fasti*. We are told that at this time Monte Cassino had a richer library than any in existence—a statement which, whether true or not, indicates the value and extent of the collection. Later on the community degenerated, and in Boccaccio's time the library was in a deplorable state. He found the place which held 'so great a treasure' without a door or key. Grass sprouted on the windows, and the

[1] Authorities are not agreed as to when books were first collected; but the Benedictine rule recommending reading and implying the existence of a library was formulated 529; 'thenceforth his order, wherever established, was a powerful agency in the maintenance of knowledge' (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*, v. 1, 534); F. A. Gasquet confirms this statement (*Old Eng. Bible*, p. 1–2).

books and benches were thick with dust. Some volumes had lost several sheets, which had been made into psalters and sold to boys for a few pence; others had been snipped and pared all round the text, and mutilated in various ways to make charms for sale to women. 'At length, lamenting that the toil and study of so many illustrious men should have passed into the hands of most abandoned wretches, he departed with tears and sighs' (Benvenuto da Imola's account of B.'s visit, tr. J. A. Symonds). In the seventeenth century the French Benedictine Mabillon saw about 500 manuscripts and many printed books at Cassino, the latter 'not of much note'. M. Ernest Renan, when he visited the abbey (1849) discovered manuscripts of value, among them some unpublished pages of Abelard and some works of Caesar Cremonini, the Aristotelian philosopher of Padua. When the Italian monasteries were suppressed by Victor Emmanuel (1866) Monte Cassino was exempted.[1]

The progress of the Benedictine order was rapid, Before 542 Maurus, disciple of Benedict, crossed the Alps into Gaul, and set up the monastery of St. Maur-sur-Loire. Then the Benedictine order spread throughout Europe, nearly everywhere founding libraries and centres of learning, as at Corvey and Cluny on the continent, and at Canter-

[1] From M.C. were obtained Tacitus' *Annals*, 11–16; *Histories*, 1–5; a part of Varro, *De Lingua Latina*. The MS. of Seneca's *Dialogues*, now in Milan, was probably copied there.

bury, York, Wearmouth, Whitby, Glastonbury, Croyland in England.

The aim of Benedict and his successors was to avoid the evils of idleness and to keep the monks employed in quiet, peaceful pursuits. But Benedict's contemporary, Cassiodorus, loved learning for its own sake, and typified in his person what was the outcome of merely studious occupation, namely, the intellectualism which took firmer hold upon monasticism in later times. After an active official life under Theodoric, Cassiodorus retired to spend the rest of his days on his estate among the Bruttii. There he established two monasteries and found congenial occupation in writing books for the instruction of the monks. In his *Institutiones* he encouraged his monks to cultivate learning and to study the classics; and he collected for them manuscripts from Northern Africa and other parts, and had them copied with the greatest care. Dr. T. Hodgkin well says: 'The great merit of Cassiodorus, that which shows his deep insight into the needs of his age and entitles him to the eternal gratitude of Europe, was his determination to utilise the vast leisure of the convent for the preservation of Divine and human learning, and for its transmission to later ages'.

Whilst Cassiodorus and his monks were supplying South Italy with manuscripts, the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, and of St. Maur-sur-Loire were carrying on like work, although rather of a religious than learned character. For a long time, indeed, literature and

learning merely existed, and did not flourish. Considerable opposition to pagan learning prevailed in some monasteries. 'Let us shun the lying fables of the poets', cried Gregory of Tours, 'and forego the wisdom of sages at enmity with God, lest we incur the doom of endless death by sentence of our Lord' (Comparetti: *Virgil in the M.A.*). Nevertheless, such opposition, although due to religious devotion, could not permanently retard progress. A movement had begun in Ireland, and had spread to the continent, where it was to do the same work as the Benedictine order, with which it coalesced ultimately.

Early in the fifth century St. Patrick landed in Ireland with his Christian disciples, his intention being to convert the Irish to his faith. He had been educated in Germanus's school at Auxerre, and under St. Martin of Tours; and it is said he brought with him books in plenty. To his influence, and to the island's direct commercial relations with Gaul, may be ascribed the introduction of learning into ancient Ireland. Undisturbed by the turmoil and disorder of the continent, it flourished there well, for by the middle of the sixth century 'Ireland had been honeycombed from shore to shore with schools, monasteries, colleges, and foundations of all kinds belonging to the Christian community, and books had multiplied to a marvellous extent' (Hyde: *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 193). The fame of the Irish schools spread abroad, and English scholars crossed the channel to receive instruction. Gildas, the

first native historian of Britain, may have visited Ireland, perhaps twice, to enlarge his learning. A letter of St. Cummian is extant proving his access to many books, for 'it quotes, besides the Scriptures and Latin authors, Greek writers like Origen and Cyril, Pachomius, the head and reformer of Egyptian monasticism, and Damascius, the last of the celebrated neo-Platonic philosophers of Athens', besides discussing the calendars of the Macedonians, Hebrews, and Copts.[1] At a time of disastrous plague, writes Bede, many English people were in Ireland, studying and leading an ascetic life; either staying in monasteries, or going about from one master's cell to another, no doubt to receive more varied teaching and to see more books. All comers were welcome: they were fed, taught, and had books lent to them for their studies without any cost (*Eccles. Hist.*, iii. 27).

The life of St. Columba (or Colum-Cille) by Adamnan—a book, as Carlyle says, which does not lie, but contains the truth as its author saw it—throws clear light on Irish learning.[2] Columba (*c.* 521–97) studied under Finnian at Moville and under another teacher of the same name at Clonard, one of Ireland's most famous schools. He was a keen collector of books, and could not spend an hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. One book involved him

[1] Stokes, *Proc. of R. Irish Acad.*, May, '92, p. 195. See also Hyde's *Lit. Hist. of Ireland* for an admirable chapter on the Irish schools.

[2] An interesting book, obtainable for one shilling (Routledge).

in a curious copyright quarrel with Finnian of Moville. He had made a copy of a psalter lent to him by Finnian, who laid claim to it as well as to the original. Diarmid, the king, was asked to arbitrate, so valuable apparently was the book in dispute, and he decided to let the copy go with the book ' as the calf must go with the cow '. Columba and his adherents, being dissatisfied with the award, fought a pitched battle, and got the transcript into their possession again. The *Leabhar Cathach* (or ' book of battle '), now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, is believed to be the actual cause of the dispute. Columba continued on Iona the work begun in Ireland. There the monks of his new foundation spent their time in manual labour, reading, writing and instructing. Aldfrith, afterwards king of Northumbria, got instruction at Iona, an advantage upon which he was congratulated by Aldhelm, himself the pupil of an Irish monk ; so also did St. Egbert. Later, a good deal of transcription of a very beautiful kind was accomplished at Iona, and the copies, some of them still extant, were carried by Irish pilgrims to various parts of Europe.

The Irish monks received their first impulse to learning from the Continent, and we will now see how they more than repaid the gift in the course of their travels. St. Columban, a pioneer of the movement, received his classical training at Bangor, Ulster, a monastery then held in the highest esteem for the learning of its monks. About 580 he travelled to Gaul with twelve companions in

order to press his religion and learning upon the people there in the eager and free manner peculiar to Irish monks. After a short time they founded the monastery of Annegrai, then another in the more central position of Luxeuil; and here he composed a rule resembling Benedict's in ordering the copying of manuscripts.[1] Later on, being banished from Burgundy, he spent some years at various places on the continent, and finally settled on the banks of the Trebbia in Italy, where he established the monastery of Bobbio. He died two years after (615).

History is silent about the first collection of books at Bobbio; but, in spite of the absence of record, probably the library was begun soon after the foundation of the monastery. In any case, the library, no less than the monastery itself, owed its existence to Irish monks. The founders came from a country where books were comparatively

[1] Luxeuil seems to have been the centre of intellectual life in France for about a century after its foundation. When the library there was destroyed (1789) many precious books perished, among them the *Chronicon Luxoviense*, and the MS. treatises of Adso. Some ancient MSS. have turned up from time to time; notably a copy of the ten homilies of St. Augustine (seventh century) recently discovered by M. Leopold Delisle. It is argued that the monks were at work upon the transcription of this work from the time of the foundation of Luxeuil, and that in the eleventh century this copy was sent to Beauvais. Another noted Luxeuil MS. (ninth century or earlier) contains the lives of St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome. Several other MSS. of the ninth century from this monastery are extant. Consult Stokes' *Three Months in the Forests of France*, ch. ii, iii, v; appendices 3, 4.

plentiful, their leader had been instructed at the school of Bangor, then celebrated; and even if they did not bring a few volumes with them—as we might naturally suppose—they must soon have returned to their custom in Ireland and begun collecting again.[1] Then, for a long time, Irish monks and pilgrims visited the communities started by their countrymen on the continent, and brought books with them, as the existence of Irish manuscripts in such monasteries fully proves.[2] So the collecting of books in these communities would gradually become a tradition exercising its influence over the monks for very many years. During the ninth century, when war was wasting the neighbouring country, and when, in consequence, saviours of the treasures of Italy were sorely needed, the monks seem to have been specially assiduous in collecting and copying books, some of which are now the most prized volumes in the Ambrosian library at Milan.[3]

[1] Jonas, the monkish biographer of Columban, writing in the seventh century, quotes Virgil and Livy, and has evidently formed his style on the classics.

[2] 'In course of time its library received gifts of manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries, originally transcribed for men of letters in Rome, and others of later date, presented by wandering countrymen of the founder, such as Dungal' (Sandys, p. 440). Significant of the extent of the Irish migrations to the continent is the fact that nearly all our most venerable relics of Celtic literature are now, not in Ireland or Scotland, but at Milan, St. Gall, Würzburg, Carlsruhe, Brussels, Turin, Vienna, Berne, Leyden, Nancy, Paris (Maclean, *Lit. of the Celts*, p. 41).

[3] At Bobbio were discovered at various times the follow-

Some of Columban's companions did not go with him to Italy, but stayed by the Lake of Constance. Gallus, Mang and Théodore were among those who stayed, and they founded the monastery called to this day St. Gall (614). Here, too, no record of the earliest collection of books is to be found; but, as Gallus, like Columban, had been taught at Bangor, as he came from a land where books 'had multiplied to a marvellous' extent, and as, moreover, the rule of Columban ordered transcription, we find some difficulty in agreeing with authorities who fix the date of the library's foundation at 820. The probability is that Abbot Gozbert refounded the library by collecting the four hundred volumes contained in the catalogue of that date. He was very zealous in the interests of the library, and under him it became famous. Gifts from successive abbots and pupils augmented the collection slowly but steadily. In the tenth century, when an incursion of the Huns forced the monks to move the library for safety to the neighbouring Abbey of Reichenau, some of the books were regarded by their temporary cus-

ing among many valuable MSS. A fragment of the eighth century (or earlier) containing the earliest extant list of the books of the New Testament; palimpsests of Plautus and of several of Cicero's speeches; fragments of Symmachus; *scholia* on Cicero of the fifth century; MSS. of St. Luke (fifth or sixth century); St. Severinus (sixth century); Josephus (sixth or seventh century); St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Maximus (seventh century); also Celtic MSS. The Medicean MS. of Virgil (fifth century), once at Bobbio, is one of those on which the text rests.

todians as too precious to be returned to their rightful owners, and were retained in exchange for less valuable manuscripts !

Some light is thrown on the relations of monasteries and on the literary activities prevailing in them by a letter written early in the next century. Notker Labeo, a teacher at St. Gall, writes to the Bishop of Sion, on the Upper Rhone, telling him that he has lent the Abbot of Reichenau the bishop's copy of Cicero's 'First Philippic' and the commentary on the *Topica.* Possibly Notker was tempted to lend his friend's books because he obtained the use of the *Rhetoric* of Cicero and of Victorinus, which had been deposited as security for the return of the borrowed volumes. Notker adds that if the bishop wants more books he must forward parchment and money for the scribes. In Notker's time, under the rule of the second Abbot Burchard, St. Gall was distinguished for the activity of its scribes and their zeal in the interests of the library. From 830 to 1200 has been called the golden age of its existence; from 1200 to 1300 the iron; and from 1300 to 1463 the leaden.[1] What the library was like in the leaden age we may learn from Poggio Bracciolini, who visited it in 1416. 'The monastery of St. Gallen lies at a distance of some twenty miles from [Constance]. Thither, then, partly for the sake of amusement and partly of finding books, whereof we heard there was a large collection in the convent, we directed our steps. In the middle of a

[1] Weidmann, *Gesch. d. Bibliothek von St. Gallen* (1842).

well-stocked library, too large to catalogue at present, we discovered Quintilian, safe as yet and sound, though covered with dust and filthy with neglect and age. The books, you must know, were not housed according to their worth, but were lying in a most foul and obscure dungeon at the very bottom of a tower, a place into which condemned criminals would hardly have been thrust '. Earlier in the same letter Poggio writes : ' I verily believe that, if we had not come to the rescue, he [Quintilian] must speedily have perished ; for it cannot be imagined that a man magnificent, polished, elegant, urbane, and witty could much longer have endured the squalor of the prison-house in which I found him, the savagery of his jailers, the forlorn filth of the place. He was indeed right sad to look upon, and ragged ' (J. A. Symonds' tr., *Renaissance*, v. 2, p. 98).[1]

We may now turn our attention to some earlier foundations in England, where work of good augury for the future was being accomplished. At a time when Anglo-Saxons were going to Ireland and Iona for learning, Theodore of Tarsus became Archbishop of Canterbury. He took possession of Augustine's monastery, bestowed upon it a number of

[1] St. Gall yielded up the *Institutions* of Quintilian, previously known only through an incomplete copy found by Petrarch ; the *Argonautics* of Valerius Flaccus (bk. i–iii and pt. of iv) ; the commentary of Asconius on Cicero's speeches ; unique MSS. of Manlius and Statius ; MSS. of Horace and of Sallust's *Bella* (both eleventh century). The library still owns a few leaves of a fourth century MS. of Virgil ; a series of valuable MSS. by Irish and Scotch monks, etc.

Greek books, and made it a school of learning. He and his coadjutor, the Abbot Hadrian, ' fountain of letters and river of arts ', were much encouraged by the eagerness of the English for instruction ; and, on their mission through England, ' forasmuch as both of them were . . . fully instructed both in sacred and in secular letters, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and rivers of wholesome knowledge daily flowed from them to water the hearts of their hearers ; and, together with the books of Holy Scripture, they also taught them the metrical art, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic ' (Bede : *Hist. Eccles.*, iv, 1). Thereafter all the better monasteries became rallying places for lovers of learning, laymen as well as monks deriving benefit from the movement. Aldhelm, ' the first Englishman who cultivated classical learning with any success, and the first of whom any literary remains are preserved ', was Canterbury's most famous pupil ; but we are only concerned now to note that his works prove him to have ' had access to a very considerable library of Christian writers ' (*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, 1, 75). Benedict Biscop (*c.* 628–90) spent some time at Canterbury before he founded the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow—' one monastery on two sites ', as Simeon of Durham puts it (672). A proof of the eagerness with which books were sought at this time is Benedict's practice of bringing them from Rome, as he did on six occasions, once at least making a journey expressly for this purpose. When he died he left repeated instructions for the preservation

of the 'most noble and rich library' he had gathered together. His successor Ceolfrid observed his wishes, and added to it. To the teaching of Benedict and Ceolfrid, and to this library, we owe the works of the Venerable Bede, one of the greatest scholars of his day, and the author of one of the most interesting of old English books, the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

Both Wearmouth and Jarrow monasteries were destroyed by the Danes, the former about 867, the latter a century later.

About the time a library was being formed at Jarrow, Acca, Bishop of Hexham, was industriously gathering books and erecting a 'large and noble library' at his church, whilst Aldfrith of Northumbria (*see* p. 44) was ordering copies of a book for the use of 'lesser persons.' A pupil of Bede, Egbert by name, when he became Archbishop of York, naturally followed Jarrow's example and founded a library and a school of learning, where the range of teaching was wide, and included the study of classical authors, grammar, arts and science as well as theology. Among the 'infinite number of excellent books' in the library—some of which he mentions in his metrical catalogue—Alcuin acquired the wide and varied erudition for which he was famed. More than once Egbert's successor, Ælbert, went abroad in search of new books or new studies; and on one of these occasions Alcuin accompanied him to Rome. At length Alcuin became head of the school and library (778), but after a little while he was appointed master

of a school established by Charles the Great. 'We impose upon ourselves', proclaimed Charles (782), 'the task of reviving, with the utmost zeal, the study of letters well-nigh extinguished through the neglect of our ancestors. We charge all our subjects, as far as they may be able, to cultivate the liberal arts, and we set them the example'. As far as he could he accomplished this task, though whether he undertook it from genuine love of learning, or because it was then politic for him to attract to his court the leading scholars of neighbouring countries, historians have not yet decided. Alcuin was soon made Abbot of St. Martin's of Tours, and under his rule great activity prevailed in the scriptorium. He persuaded Charles to let him get books from Britain, where he had sowed the seeds of knowledge in the morning of his life. 'I, your Flavius', he writes, in the florid style peculiar to some writers of his day, 'according to your exhortation and wise desire, have been busy under the roof of St. Martin, in dispensing to some the honey of the Holy Scriptures. Others I strive to inebriate with the old wine of ancient studies; these I nourish with the fruit of grammatical knowledge; in the eyes of these again I seek to make bright the courses of the stars. . . . But I have need of the most excellent books of scholastic learning, which I had procured in my own country, either by the devoted care of my master, or by my own labours. I therefore beseech your majesty . . . to permit me to send certain of our household to bring over into France the flowers of Britain, that the

garden of Paradise may not be confined to York, but may send some of its scions to Tours '.[1]

The learning and the love of books which had been transmitted from Rome to Benedict Biscop, from Benedict to Bede, from Bede to Egbert, and from Egbert to Alcuin, was passed on by Alcuin to his pupil Rabanus Maurus, who established the library of Fulda monastery (*c.* 820). From Fulda issued Servatus, the pupil of Rabanus, and the Abbot of the Ferrières monastery for more than twenty years. A man of catholic tastes, regretting the decline of learning to the extent that ' men scarcely tolerate any who try to acquire it ', he became one of the most notable of the scholars by whom books were cherished for their own sake. Some idea of the library to his hand may be obtained from a single letter, wherein he refers to Virgil, Martial, Prudentius, Alcuin, and Theodulfus. He borrows, or tries to borrow, books from Fulda, Tours, York, Fleury and Rome—doubtless for copying. A true book-lover, he is quick to borrow and slow to lend. He will not lend a book to a monk at Sens, as his messenger will be exposed to the dangers of a journey on foot; nor will he send another book, because ' it is too large to be concealed in vest or wallet, and, even if either were possible, it might

[1] To illustrate further the connexion of England with continental learning, we may note that in the ninth century Loup of Ferrières made his monastery of St Josse-sur-Mer a kind of depôt for the trade of books then carried on with England. This, of course, was after Alcuin's time.

be a prey to robbers tempted by its beauty'. It would not be easy to overrate the services of this monk in preserving and transmitting manuscripts: all our information goes to prove his industry in studying, transcribing and comparing his copies with those belonging to other monasteries. 'With a view to correcting his own texts, he borrows extra copies of works already in his possession. He thanks a friend for revising his copy of Macrobius and for sending a manuscript of the commentary of Boëthius; he inquires about a manuscript of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, and, in the same letter, answers questions on prosody by quoting Virgil and Juvencus as well as Servius and Priscian. He informs a monk of the Benedictine monastery at Prüm that he intends to compare his own copy of Cicero's *Letters* with the text which he has just received, and thus arrive at the truth; he also asks for his friend's copy of Cicero's translation of Aratus, with a view to filling up some *lacunae* in his own' (Sandys, p. 470).

The influence of Fulda and Ferrières was felt at the monastery of Corbie, where the library became famous. The history of this collection is worth recording as typical of the progress and fate of nearly all monkish libraries, and because the channels whereby some of its books came down to modern times can be easily and clearly traced. Corvey or Corbie, in Picardy, seems to have been planted by a colony of monks from the Columbanian monastery of Luxeuil. Of the abbey's

early history we can say little; but, when quite young, monasteries at Rome and Monte Cassino helped to enrich its library. After the temporary revival of learning under Charles the Great its scriptorium was one of the busiest in France; then, perhaps, was first adopted the rule requiring the higher officers of the monasteries to pay the librarian ten sous, and the inferior officers five, while the revenue from a certain amount of corn formed the book-fund. In the fourteenth century the discipline of the monks became lax; instead of working in the scriptorium themselves, they allowed benefactors to employ professional scribes in Paris to increase the number of books. Worse followed. Having ceased to value their books, they gave some away and carelessly lost others. President De Thou, who visited Corbie during the civil wars, has told us of the sad state to which the library had come, as in so many other monastic collections. Whether De Thou took base advantage of the laxity of the community to acquire manuscripts for himself, either by bribery or theft, we cannot tell; but certainly books bearing the Corbie mark were afterwards found in his library. According to the monks, he stole and concealed them in corn hogsheads when the royal troops made a granary of the abbey. However severe the losses, the collection was still a splendid one in 1636, when the monastery fell into the hands of the Spaniards. On the retirement of the captors 400 of the books were transferred to St. Germain-des-Près: subsequently 25 of this batch

were stolen, some being found afterwards in the great library of St. Petersburg, and one in the British Museum. In 1795 the manuscripts left at St. Germain's were moved to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where they remained. About the same time, the books still at Corbie were taken to Amiens; then, a little later, 75 of the more valuable manuscripts were sent to Paris for preservation with the other treasures of Corbie. Now, over 400 manuscripts, all the most precious survivors from this garner (excepting a few in St. Petersburg and Amiens) are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1]

One of the first departures of the mendicants from their strict vow of poverty was in favour of book-collecting. St. Francis had little sympathy with learning, and believed it sinful to own books; hence he could not approve of the change. The story runs that when a novice asked for leave to own a psalter, the saint cried, 'When you have got a psalter, then you'll want a breviary, and when you have got a breviary, you will sit in a chair as great as a lord, and will say to some brother, Friar! go and fetch me my breviary!' His admonition had little effect, for the time came

[1] Two of the earliest MSS. of the *Thebais* of Statius came from Corbie and are at Paris; the earliest MS. of the letters of Seneca probably came from Corbie; three parts of a single MS. (tenth century) of Pliny's *Natural History*, formerly at Corbie, are now in Paris, the Vatican and Leyden; the Speeches in the *Bella* and *Histories* of Sallust, now in the Vatican, were excerpts from Corbie; there is also a MS. of Livy.

when their industry in accumulating books was so great as to call for a formal complaint to the Pope of the difficulty the monks of other orders had in getting them. Richard de Bury testifies to the same effect. 'Whenever it happened that we turned aside to the cities and places where the mendicants we have mentioned have their convents, we did not disdain to visit their libraries and any other repositories of books; nay, there we found heaped up amid the utmost poverty the utmost riches of wisdom. . . . These men are as ants. . . . They have added more in this brief [eleventh] hour to the stock of the sacred books than all the other vine-dressers' (*Philobiblon*, Thomas' ed., p. 203). The more important mendicants' libraries were in the Franciscan houses in London, at Oxford—where they had two houses crowded with books—at Annaberg in Saxony, and at Oschatz; in the Dominican houses at Oxford and Venice, and in the Carmelite house at Oxford.

One important work of the Franciscans must not be overlooked. Sometime in the fourteenth century circulars were sent out, or visits were paid, to about 160 monasteries; and with information thus gained the *Registrum Librorum Angliae* was compiled—a national co-operative catalogue only conceivable in the dreams of modern librarians. At first, it was a list of some 90 authors, and of their works, showing the libraries wherein they could be found. Much later, a Benedictine monk of Bury, named John Boston, added 20 names to the list of libraries, and about 600 names of

authors. Further, he wrote a short account of each writer 'drawn from the best sources at his disposal: so that the book in its completed form might claim to be called a Dictionary of Literature. If this *Catalogue* of Boston's did not serve as a model to Trithemius and his successors (and there is no reason to suppose that it did), it was at least the legitimate ancestor of the later *Bibliothecae.* What is more to the point at present, it furnishes a key to the literary possessions and perhaps still more to the literary needs of England about the year 1400, the importance of which it would be difficult to exaggerate' (*Camb. Mod. Hist.* 1 : 592).

It would be tedious to narrate the histories of the mendicants' collections, or of the greater collections belonging to other monastic orders. Besides, the story of one community is much like that of another: periods of prosperity alternate with periods of laxity and neglect, while persecution and suppression was the common end. On the whole, the monasteries declined with the Middle Ages. Books and learning were less appreciated by the religious as they came to be more esteemed by laymen. In mid-fourteenth century Richard de Bury laments the decline of learning among the monks; nearly a century later Erasmus deplored it. With the New Learning the monks had little sympathy, and were in conflict with its most famous exponents, Erasmus, Colet, and More.

The extinction of the religious houses in England was quick and thorough. They were out of favour with the crown and the people; the discipline in

them was loose or lacking altogether; morally, the monks were not above reproach, while the extent of their wealth was in accord neither with their rule nor their creed; so that their dissolution was enacted with less trouble than would have been the case had they enjoyed their reputation unimpaired. Within a few years, over 1,000 were closed and their lands and property confiscated. John Leland, antiquary and librarian to Henry VIII, viewed with dismay the threatened destruction of monastic books. Already he had been commissioned to examine the libraries of cathedrals, abbeys, priories, colleges, and other places wherein the records and secrets of antiquity were kept; with some diplomacy he now requested Cromwell to extend the commission to collecting books for the king's library. His request was granted only in part, perhaps because the monks' books were suspected,[1] but he sent to London the choicest volumes of the library in St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. He had, besides, 'conserved many good authors the which otherwise had been like to have perished, to no small incommodity of good letters, of the which, part remains in the most magnificent libraries of your royal palaces. Part also remain in my custody, whereby I trust right shortly so to describe your most noble realm, and to publish the majesty of the excellent acts of your progenitors, hitherto sore obscured for lack of emprinting of such works as lay secretly in

[1] They had been overhauled previously for books distasteful to the Government.

corners'.[1] Some books saved by him, together with his own manuscripts, form part of the Cottonian Collection at the British Museum. But all our evidence points to the dispersion and total destruction of a great number of books. John Bale, in his preface to Leland's *New Year's Gift*, writes: 'A great number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions reserved of those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soapsellers, and some they sent oversea to the bookbinders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of the foreign nations. Yea, the universities of this nation are not all clear in this detestable fact. . . . I know a merchant man, which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of gray paper by the space of more than ten years, and yet he hath store enough for many years to come' (Morley: *Eng. Writers*, v. 8, 103). Records of sales bear out Bale's account of the contemptuous treatment of books, as for example the following: 'Old books in the choir, 6*d*', 'old books and a cofer in the library, 2*s*.'—the eighteenpence being probably for the 'cofer'—'old books in the

[1] Letter to Henry VIII, Morley, *Eng. Writers*, v. 8, 104. John Stowe, whose books form part of the Harleian Collection, saved some books belonging to the abbeys; so also did Archbishop Parker.

vestry, 8*d.*', and so on. While Henry VIII's violent act was responsible for the destruction of many curious and unique manuscripts, which would be purchased eagerly by amateurs nowadays, the loss to literature and learning probably was not of great consequence, in spite of what has been written and said on the subject. The iconoclasts took most care to destroy obnoxious ecclesiastical books, although they did not altogether confine their handiwork thereto. But, by this time, the exponents of the New Learning had taken over the guardianship of books and the work of teaching,[1] and ardent collectors had been at work garnering up and transcribing books over the greater part of western Europe for more than half a century.

[1] 'The loss of a few schools in the monasteries was well compensated by the foundation of others on a more enlightened plan and with much better instructors.'—Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, v. 1, ch. 5, § 32. The whole of this paragraph is worth reading in connexion with the above.

CHAPTER IV

THE RENAISSANCE AND BOOK-COLLECTING

Apart from the information given summarily in the foregoing chapters, and from some facts about important libraries which will be dealt with later, our knowledge of medieval book-collecting, especially private collecting, is scanty ; consisting, indeed, merely of isolated and not very interesting records, as that Bishop Chandos bequeathed books to the Friars Minors of Chichester ; Elizabeth de Burgh, some to Clare Hall, Cambridge ; and Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, a collection of illuminated French romances to the monks of Bordesley Abbey. Richard de Gravesende, Bishop of London, had one hundred volumes ; the catalogue is now in the archives of St. Paul's Cathedral. Some learned travellers from England either took books with them, like Giraldus Cambrensis, when he went to Paris ; or collected manuscripts when abroad, like John de Basing, who brought from Athens many Greek books, either for his own use or for Bishop Grosseteste.

But to string together odd records of this kind is dreary work, rewarding us with no clear picture of collecting, so we will content ourselves with a short account of one interesting book-lover, and

then pass on to the Renaissance. Richard Aungerville (1287–1345) was born within sight of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's and is known therefore as " de Bury." He received his education at Oxford, where he attached himself, he says, to professors and scholars celebrated for wit and learning. As a result of his studies, he became tutor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III, who thought highly of him. The success of his mission to the Pope at Avignon was responsible for his getting the See of Durham, as well as for his acquaintance with Petrarch. Petrarch describes de Bury as ' a man of ardent temperament, not ignorant of literature, and with a strong natural curiosity for obscure and recondite lore ' —an estimate not quite tallying with the Englishman's own account of his education. He was a book-lover rather than a scholar. He accumulated books unremittingly himself, and with the aid of continental publishers and booksellers. In Paris, with open treasure chest and purse untied, he scattered his money with a light heart, ransoming priceless books ' with his dust and dross '. He possessed more books than any other prelate in England ; he kept about his person copyists, correctors, binders, and illuminators ; the hall of his house was strewn with manuscripts, and he stepped over them in going to bed. Being empowered to promote and depose his colleagues as he chose, he was offered many bribes, which he took, not in money, but in books ; thus came to him four manuscripts from the monastic collec-

tion of St. Albans. He also persuaded the country schoolmasters to sell their books to him, and the friars to search and buy for him. His love for books, as expressed in the *Philobiblon*, was a mania, recognised and disliked as such by his contemporaries. They accused him of vain display, of neglecting his duties for his books, of sinfully indulging in the pleasures of literature instead of leading a holy life. But, as the genial Autocrat has well said : ' Nobody can do anything to make his neighbours wiser or better without being liable to abuse for it '. Old de Bury's example was not without its influence. If Dr. Sandys is right, the literary interests with which de Bury inspired Edward III may well have led that prince to patronise Chaucer and Froissart.[1] Moreover, the author of the *Philobiblon* deserves some honour for bestowing upon Durham College a library from his own collection.[2] To regulate the use of these books he drew up rules, based partly on those in use at the Sorbonne in Paris. No volume was to be lent to anybody not belonging to the Hall, unless a duplicate of it was in the collection ; then, it could be lent in return for a pledge of equal value. The librarians were to account annually for all the books ; and they are also to require borrowers to exhibit their loans once a year. The provisions for lending books have caused Richard de Bury's foundation

[1] *Camb. Eng. Lit.*, v. i, 213.

[2] Durham was a monastic house, Oxford ; Trinity College was built on its ruins.

to be regarded as the 'earliest circulating library' in England, but some monasteries had lent books on like conditions long before. De Bury's library was destroyed in the sixteenth century.[1]

At the revival of learning, books were collected most actively in Italy; and to understand the part they took in this new age, we must look somewhat closely into the history of collectors in that country. Generally speaking, the aim of the Italian collector was to acquire learning rather than beautiful books. With the utmost eagerness and pains he sought fresh manuscripts of Greek and Latin authors, and compared and collated them with copies already in his possession. The newly-found versions were industriously transcribed over and over again, and distributed to other centres of learning, where they were again copied and disseminated for the general good. If a collector was lucky enough to find the only known manuscript of a classic author, his joy was unbounded; he would imagine the book to personify the author, who stretched out his hands to heaven with a cry for deliverance from obscurity. Their delight was so exuberant because they were being introduced to a literature long forgotten in the slumbering West, and was different from the calm pleasure which welcomes new discoveries in a literature already well known.

[1] Read the preface to Thomas' edition of the *Philobiblon*, 1888; in a later article (1889) that editor expressed doubt both of de Bury's learning and of his gift of books to Durham College; see *Library*, v. 1, 335.

Petrarch (1304–74) was one of the earliest collectors. From his boyhood he was devoted to books. Instead of studying law at Bologna, as duty bade him, he spent his time in accumulating his first library, and reading. His father afterwards burned his books, with the exception of Virgil and Cicero, which, at the boy's earnest entreaties, were spared, half-burned. Happily Petrarch was not discouraged: he would go to any trouble to secure books, especially a new manuscript. His affection for Cicero amounted to a passion. He undertook journeys himself and sent emissaries to distant parts of Europe where even a fragment of his favourite author was likely to be found. In a letter to a friend he describes his visit to Liège: 'When we arrived I heard that there was a good supply of books, so I kept all my party there until I had one oration of Cicero transcribed by a colleague, and another in my own writing, which I afterwards published in Italy; but in that fair city of the barbarians it was very difficult to get any ink, and what I did procure was as yellow as saffron' (Elton, p. 43). He was fortunate enough to rescue Cicero's letters to Atticus, Brutus and Quintus at Verona. He found Avignon to be a paradise of books; at Rome he discovered English and French merchants buying all the books he most prized. 'Are you not ashamed', he cried to his Roman friends, 'that your avarice should allow these strangers every day to acquire some remnant of your ancient majesty?' (Elton, p. 44).

He gladly welcomed the copies of Homer and Plato sent to him from Constantinople ; but, being almost ignorant of Greek, he could not read them, much to his regret. He formed two private libraries, one at Vauclose and the second at Parma, and his *De Remediis utriusque Fortunae* contains a study of book-collecting. He was the first of his time to recognise the value of public libraries as compared with private collections ; and he gave books for this purpose (1352), and intended to bequeath the remainder of his library to St. Mark's at Venice.

Boccaccio imitated Petrarch's example in amassing books ; his visit to Monte Cassino has already been described (*see* p. 39). But the great collector of the age was Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459). Poggio was among the earliest pupils of Chrysoloras, a Byzantine professor of Greek in Florence, and he became so renowned for his learning, and for his efforts on behalf of literature, that the first half of the fifteenth century has been sometimes called the age of Poggio Bracciolini—though, as Hallam remarks with his sound sense, this was too high a compliment. He also rummaged among the neglected books of Monte Cassino, and rescued the only remaining copy of an ancient treatise on aqueducts. At the monasteries of Reichenau and St. Gall his success was much greater (*see* p. 48). He visited England, but discovered little, although had he gone to the great monasteries of the western districts, he would have been well rewarded. Everywhere he was

diligent and unscrupulous in raking up books. 'No severity of winter cold, no snow, no length of journey, no roughness of roads, prevented him from bringing the monuments of literature to light'.[1] He did not shrink from fraud to get a copy of Ammianus Marcellinus. He hated money to be spent on anything but books. To avoid the errors due to careless copyists, he transcribed many manuscripts himself, and offered them for sale.[2] Besides Quintilian and Ammianus, Poggio discovered a part of Lucretius, Columella, three books of Valerius Flaccus, eight orations of Cicero, Vitruvius, and some less important books; whilst twelve comedies of Plautus were brought to light in Germany through his suggestions.

Poggio wasted much time in composing scurrilous and filthy invectives against a fellow-collector, Francesco Filelfo. Filelfo, a learned man and a professor at Padua in his eighteenth year, travelled to Constantinople in 1419. There he spent his time in diplomacy, in learning Greek, and collecting books. All the Byzantine bookshops were at his command, and, as the Eastern empire particularly wished to maintain friendly relations with the Italian princes, possibly he was allowed to buy, or to obtain in some way books from the museums and libraries of the city. After living

[1] Francesco Barbaro, quoted in Symonds' *Renaissance*, v. 2, 100.

[2] As, for example, two volumes of St. Jerome's letters for one hundred golden florins.

in the East for nigh upon eight years, he returned to Italy with a large supply of Greek books, among them the most famous writings of the ancients.[1] His contemporaries, Giovanni Aurispa and Guarino da Verona, also brought many manuscripts from the East, the collection of the former amounting to nearly 240 works, many quite unknown to Italian scholarship.

In dealing with an age so active in learning, it is rash to assign priority in a work to anybody. But Palla degli Strozzi (1372–1462) was probably the first of his day to bring together books expressly for a public library, as Petrarch was the earliest to realise its utility. Vespasiano tells us of the project: 'Being passionately fond of literature Messer Palla always kept copyists in his own house and outside it, of the best who were in Florence, both for Greek and Latin books; and all the books he could find he purchased, on all subjects, being minded to found a most noble library in Santa Trinità, and to erect there a most beautiful building for the purpose. He wished that it should be open to the public, and he chose Santa Trinità because it was in the centre of Florence, a site of great convenience to everybody. His disasters supervened, and what he had designed he could not execute'. (Symonds, v. 2: 121).

The disaster referred to was his banishment by

[1] Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Herodotus, Euripides, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aeschines, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Theocritus, Strabo, Philo-Judaeus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Plutarch's *Morals*, Lucian, Plotinus, and many others.

Cosimo de' Medici (1434), the man who was to realise his project. Before this event, Cosimo (1389–1464), while in exile himself, had built the library of St. Maggiore at Venice. On his return to Florence he continued accumulating books, and brought together three collections of manuscripts, most of them having been bought in the Levant. A few years later another library fell into his hands owing to the death of Niccolo de' Niccoli (1364–1423), one of the most famous collectors of the time. Niccolo, like Poggio, had a passion for books. He directed the efforts of Cosimo's agents in collecting books; he sent orders, for instance, through his patron for the purchase of a unique copy of Livy from the monastery at Lübeck. He copied most of his books himself. He spared so little expense in getting originals that he used up all his fortune and died heavily in debt. Yet, 'wisest and most benevolent of men', he did not keep his treasures to himself, but allowed the public to read and transcribe them, and lent them so freely to his friends that some two hundred were on loan at his death. His indebtedness was responsible for the control which Cosimo obtained over the 800 manuscripts left by him. Cosimo deserves honour for the use he made of them: he put 400 in the library of S. Marco; the remainder he divided between his friends and his own collection. Later, Cosimo founded a library in the Abbey of Fiesole, and this collection, with his own library, and the library of S. Marco, to which he often made

additions, now form the oldest part of the Biblioteca Laurenziana.

Cosimo's valued coadjutor in his work for libraries was Tommaso Parentucelli (1398–1455).[1] Tommaso may have acquired his taste for books while in the service of Palla degli Strozzi as tutor ; and all his life he moved in society friendly to literature. His gift for librarianship recommended him to Cosimo for cataloguing Niccolo's books. Tommaso went a little beyond his commission. He added to the catalogue the titles of books he thought necessary to make the collection representative, and this ' bibliography ' served as a model for the formation of libraries of Fiesole, of the Badia at Florence, of the Duke of Urbino, and of Alexander Sforza at Pesaro. As soon as he could afford it, or enjoyed sufficient credit to borrow money, the future pope began his library : ' to own books, we are told, was his ambition, " his pride, his pleasure, passion and avarice " ; and he was only saved from ruin by the constant help of his friends ' (Elton, p. 69).

Coluccio Salutato and George of Trebizond were also noted collectors. The work of Federigo, Duke of Urbino (*d.* 1482), as a collector was still more important. His biographer, Vespasiano, has described his library with some particularity. ' To Duke Federigo alone ', he says, ' was given the enterprise to carry out what no one for above a thousand years past had done, by establishing a library superior to any formed during all that

[1] Thomas of Sarzana, afterwards Pope Nicholas V.

period'. Allowing for some exaggeration, few of the many considerable private libraries then existing could vie with the Urbino. The Duke did not spare money: whenever he heard of any desirable book in Italy or abroad, he sent for it. During fourteen years he maintained at Urbino, Florence and elsewhere, thirty or forty copyists continually employed in transcribing Greek and Latin classics. By these means he amassed a famous and excellent library, including besides the classics, much theology, and medieval and humanistic literature—the whole costing something like thirty thousand ducats. The catalogue still exists in the Vatican. The Duke of Urbino's rule was to bind his books in crimson, ornamented with silver. 'It is thus a truly rich display to see all these books so adorned; all being manuscripts, on vellum, with illuminations, and each a complete copy,—perfections not found in any other library. Indeed, shortly before he went to the siege of Ferrara (1482),' Vespasiano continues, 'I compared the catalogue with lists of other libraries which he had procured, such as those of the Vatican, Florence, St. Mark, Pavia, down to that of the University of Oxford in England, and found that all but his own had deficiencies and duplicates.' This princely collection was housed in a fine hall, with windows 'set high against the northern sky admitting a subdued and steady light which invited to study'.

Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98), referred to above, was the agent of Cosimo de' Medici, Nicholas

V, and other eminent men, as well as the Duke of Urbino. His business, a large and flourishing one, was to obtain manuscripts, have them transcribed, and sell the copies to collectors: at one time he employed more scribes than any other collector in Italy. Not only did he supply Italian scholars, but he carried on a brisk trade in manuscripts with Hungary, Germany, Portugal and England. Vespasiano naturally disliked the printing press: he notes with satisfaction that the library at Urbino contained no printed book. But he himself was the last of the medieval traders in books.

Italy was the starting-place for a movement which spread all over Western Europe. Nowhere was its effect greater than in England; because there its influence was exercised upon a people glorying in their own freedom, and strength and virility. Our business, however, is not with the ultimate effect of the revival upon English literature, but with the humble scholars who helped it on. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who added manuscripts to Duke Humphrey's library, was one of the earliest to win a name for scholarship in Italy as well as England. A contemporary of this noble scholar was William Gray, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who spent some time in Cologne and Italy in acquainting himself with the classics. As the natural result of his patronage of learning and his sympathy with every phase of the revival, he became the friend of Nicholas V—the Tommaso Parentucelli mentioned

above. Although Gray owed his bishopric to this friendship, his devotion to literature was not politic, but pure and strong. He was conspicuously industrious in accumulating books, and, if he could not obtain them in any other way, he employed scribes to copy them for him. While at Florence he engaged an artist to adorn his books with miniatures and initials in a costly manner. When he returned to England he brought his books with him ; and later with about 200 of them he founded the library of Balliol College. In the reign of Edward VI and during the Great Rebellion, some were destroyed, and most of the miniatures were spoiled ; but even now over 150 volumes of his harvest are in the college.

About the time of Gray's death William Celling, or Tilly of Selling, went to Italy, and while there collected many Latin and Greek books which he brought to England. They were housed in the library over the prior's chapel, Christ Church, Canterbury. Here they were destroyed by fire about twenty-five years later owing to the carelessness of some of Henry VIII's inquisitors ; and one of the works thus lost was a complete copy of Cicero's *Republic*, of which only about one-third has been preserved elsewhere. Among other scholars who visited Italy may be mentioned Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, John Phreas, John Colet, William Lily, and William Grocyn. The last named spent two years in Italy, and brought home books. A catalogue of his library—

a fine one—was found at Merton College in 1889.[1]

The puny labours of these collectors and their scribes would not have borne their richest fruit had it not been for the printing-press. Gutenberg set up his Mazarin Bible in 1456; Lactantius was printed at Subiaco in 1465; Caesar, Livy, Aulus Gellius, Virgil and Lucan were issued at Rome in 1469; between 1470 and 1488 came Cicero's letters, and some of his orations, Ovid, Theocritus, Hesiod and Homer. By 1493 most of the greater Latin classics were in print; then Aldo Manuzio began his celebrated series of the Greek classics, and by 1518 'no extant classic of the first rank remained unprinted'. The conditions of publishing and bookselling, and therefore of libraries and book-collecting, were entirely changed. We pass at this point from the Middle Ages to modern times.[2]

[1] Printed in Oxford Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, 2nd ser., 1890.

[2] Read also ch. 16, The Classical Renaissance, by Sir R. C. Jebb; and ch. 17, The Christian Renaissance, by Dr. M. R. James, in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, v. 1. The whole of v. 2 of Symonds' *Renaissance in Italy* is singularly interesting to librarians and book-collectors.

CHAPTER V

THE PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES OF ITALY

In the foregoing chapters we have traced the earliest records of the formation of libraries; seen how libraries nursed through the Middle Ages the treasures of ancient literature; and sketched the rise of book-collecting during the Renaissance. Our fourth period may be described as the age of the great libraries—a period in which we can no longer keep pace with the growth of book collections, although, as our purpose is to show only the main features of library development, it is not necessary to do so. Broadly speaking, from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth libraries made progress only as regards number and size. The principle of their establishment was the same: they were either accumulations of beautiful, rare and curious books, or libraries for the encouragement of scholarship, as they had been from the earliest times. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did libraries become widely recognised and at all active as agencies for popular education.

This being the case, our attention may be con-

fined to a few of the greatest libraries of the world, before concluding our story with an account of popular town libraries.

Naturally Italian libraries claim notice first, not because they are now the greatest, but because no country had such brilliant beginnings in book-collecting and library founding.

As an institution the **Bibliotheca Vaticana** is the oldest of the great modern libraries, although the present collection began as late as the fifteenth century. A Chartarium ecclesiae Romanae was built by Pope Damasus towards the close of the fourth century: here the store of archives was kept until the seventh century; then it travelled with the Papal court to Avignon (1309); but again came to Rome after the great Schism, much smaller, and in many ways the worse for its journeyings. At this time the Vatican Library, properly so-called, began.

Eugenius IV took some interest in the library, but Nicholas V thoroughly reorganised it. How Nicholas, as Tommaso Parentucelli, distinguished himself in bibliography we have already learned (*see* p. 71). During his eight years' pontificate he fully gratified his bookish tastes; converted Rome into 'a vast workshop' of learning, 'a factory of translations from Greek into Latin', and added many manuscripts to the original store by employing trustworthy copyists and buying without stint the rarest books. He died without carrying out his design for a library building, leaving 824 Latin

manuscripts and 352 Greek; not 5,000 as some authorities declare. It is said that his successor, Calixtus III, enriched the Vatican with many volumes saved from the Turks after Constantinople, and that he even spent 40,000 ducats on books[1]; but Vespasiano, who was vitally interested in books and libraries, tells another story, from which it appears that when Calixtus entered the library, he exclaimed: 'Behold whereon Nicholas spent the substance of God's church', while he gave away several hundred volumes to one of the cardinals, by whose servants they were sold for a song.

Sixtus IV treated the library better. Although of no distinction as a Christian pontiff, he was learned, and his interest in the library led him to assign an annual income to it and to appoint Bartolommeo Sacchi, or Platina (1421–81), as librarian (1475). A better man was not to be found. Having a perfectly free hand, and being supplied with plenty of money, Platina chose suitable rooms in the Vatican, had them lavishly furnished and decorated, and arranged the books in them. When he took office the collection included 2,527 volumes; the catalogue completed by him, 'and Demetrius of Lucca, his pupil . . . only eight days before his death', contains 3,499 volumes (1481)—at that date, a remarkable increment for six years. Much of his work was undone when the Duke of Bourbon sacked Rome about

[1] Assemani, the historian of the Vatican.

forty years later, and the rabble pillaged the books.

Montaigne has left us an interesting picture of Platina's library in 1581, when he visited it. It ' is contained ', he says, ' in five or six rooms all communicating one with the other. There are many rows of desks, each desk having a great number of books chained thereto. Also, in the chests, which were all opened for my inspection, I saw many manuscripts, of which I chiefly remarked a Seneca and the *Opuscula* of Plutarch. Amongst the noteworthy sights I saw was the statue of the good Aristides. . . I saw likewise a Chinese book writ in strange characters, on leaves made of a certain stuff much more tender and transparent than the paper we use. . . I saw also the Breviary of St. Gregory in manuscript. . . Next, a book by St. Thomas Aquinas, containing corrections made by the author himself, who wrote badly, using a small character worse even than my own. Next, a Bible printed on parchment, one of those which Plantin has recently printed in four languages. . . I inspected the library without any difficulty; indeed, any one may visit it and make what extracts he likes; it is open almost every morning. I was taken to every part thereof by a gentleman, who invited me to make use of it as often as I might desire '.[1]

Six years after Montaigne's visit, Sixtus V began to build the present splendid repository of

[1] *Travels*, Waters' ed., 1903, v. 2, 118.

the Vatican books, to which he added also a good number. Thenceforward the history of the library has been almost unbrokenly prosperous. During the seventeenth century it acquired by bequest the manuscripts of Fulvio Orsini, the antiquary (1600); the famous library of the Elector Palatine seized by Tilly at the capture of Heidelberg (1622); a large part of the Urbino collection; the collection, still more important in scholars' eyes, of manuscripts from the monastery of Bobbio (1618);[1] and finally 2,000 of the manuscripts once belonging to Queen Christina of Sweden were added by Alexander VIII, the head of the Ottoboni family, into whose possession the queen's library had passed.

During the pontificate of Benedict XIV two precious collections were added, the Ottoboni and the Capponi manuscripts. About half a century later the library suffered the one serious reverse of its fortunes, when the French carried to Paris all the manuscripts written earlier than the ninth century, as well as the finest illuminated volumes (1798). At the peace of 1815 the plundered books, or most of them, were restored; but at the same time Heidelberg took advantage of the settlement to regain for its university about one-third of the Bibliotheca Palatina improperly obtained by the Vatican two centuries before.

Last century the Vatican was fortunate enough to secure many fine accessions, specially full of

[1] But Borromeo had already picked out some of the best at Bobbio; see p. 89.

rarities. Among them should be mentioned the libraries of Cardinal Zelada (1800); of Count Cicognara (1823); of Cardinal Mai (1856); the Borghese collection (1891); and the Barberini collection (1902). Cardinal Mai, who bequeathed his library, had been librarian at the Vatican since 1819; and, continuing there the work he had begun at Milan, he did great service to scholarship by discovering fragments of other Latin works, and six lost books of Cicero's *De Republica* among the priceless Bobbio palimpsests. The Borghese accession is of the greatest historical value, and the archives in it fortunately complete the defective period of the series, from the beginning of the fourteenth century to 1377, when the papal court was at Avignon. The series of archives is now complete from the seventh century.

The Vatican Library has not been pre-eminently valuable to scholars owing to the difficulty of access to it; but under Leo XIII, and during the prefectship of Father Franz Ehrle, S.J., matters have mended somewhat. This pope had the Leonine Reference Library constructed under the great hall of the library, or Sala Sistina, in order to put all the printed books at the disposal of students. The manuscripts and even the 'secret archives' are also available for consultation. Readers must first obtain the permission of the Cardinal-Secretary before they can use the library. The number of printed books is over 250,000, and manuscripts over 40,000. Among the treasures are Cicero's *De*

Republica, first discovered by Cardinal Mai; a Bible of the fourth century, known as the *Codex Vaticanus*; Virgils of the fourth, sixth, and seventh centuries; a Terence of the fourth century and also one of the ninth century.

The Laurentian Library, or **Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana**, of Florence, which was founded about the same time as the Vatican, originally comprised the libraries of the Medici family, of Fiesole, and of San Marco. The Medici books consisted of the acquisitions of Cosimo (see p. 70), his brother Lorenzo, and his son Pietro. The richest part of the collection, however, would appear to have been assembled by Lorenzo the Magnificent, who got Angelo Poliziano and Mirandola to procure books for him, praying 'that they might find such a goodly number of books that he would be obliged to pledge even his furniture to buy them'.[1] A Greek named John Lascaris also got books for Lorenzo. He was specially charged to rescue from Constantinople and the towns of Greece the Greek manuscripts which ran the risk of being destroyed by the Turks. He made two journeys, each time bringing a good store of books, and on the second occasion he secured about 200 manuscripts, acquired mostly at Mount Athos.

On the expulsion of the Medici and the approach of the French (1494), the collection suffered loss, perhaps considerable loss, some of the rarest and most beautiful books being stolen. Fortunately, before the mischief went too far, the autho-

[1] Poliziano: *Epistolae*, ii. 7.

rities of Florence stepped in and took charge of it. A little later, when the city's finances were at a low point, it was sold to the Dominicans of San Marco, and united to the library founded there by Cosimo the Elder and Niccolo de' Niccoli (see p. 70). Its safety was not more assured here, as Savonarola and his followers picked out some of the most richly illuminated and bound volumes of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Pulci, and other 'witty' authors, and carried them to the public square, where they piled them up with 'frivolities' seized from private houses and torn from the heads of women, and destroyed them in the religious orgy known as the Burning of the Vanities. The Dominicans, in their turn, fell upon evil days, and at length were forced by straitened means to sell their library to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X, who removed it to the Medicean villa at Rome (1508). Clement VII, Giulio of the same family, restored them to Florence (1532) as the nucleus of a public library, for which Michelangelo was commissioned to build a home.[1] So slowly, however, was the building erected that Cosimo, first Grand Duke of Tuscany, could not open it until 1571.

It is needless to follow this library's fortunes during later times. Even now it is not large, the number of printed books in 1906 being only 11,494 (incunabula, 242), and of pamphlets 2,577. But its chief treasures consist of 9,689 Greek and Latin manuscripts. Among the rarest may be

[1] See description in Clark, p, 234.

mentioned the Virgil of the fourth or fifth century, once at Bobbio, the missing leaves of which were found by Cardinal Mai in the Vatican; this is one of the principal manuscripts forming the basis of the modern text. The seventh century *Pandects* of Justinian is here also. This is the very manuscript jurists from the Bologna school of law used to make pilgrimages to Pisa to study; the Pisans had obtained it from Amalfi, where it was found in 1137. It was brought to Florence in 1406. Other rare manuscripts are: the *Annals* (*i–vi*) of Tacitus, translated in the ninth century from one dated 395, which is supposed to have come from one or other of the monasteries of Corvey, Fulda, and Lübeck; also an eleventh century manuscript of the *Annals* (*xi–xvi*), and the *Histories* (*i–v*) of Tacitus—the latter being the only surviving manuscript of these books. Then there are: a Homer of the tenth century; Pliny of the tenth or eleventh century; Cicero's letters copied by Petrarch; and the *Decameron* transcribed from Boccaccio's own manuscript by a contemporary. Nor must we forget to mention the *Codex Amiatinus* of the Bible, which is one of three manuscripts written by order of Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow (*see* p. 51), and taken by him to Italy as a gift to the Pope.

Lately a great deal has been done in the way of cataloguing and describing its manuscript contents, especially by Signor Enrico Rostagno, keeper of manuscripts since 1890, and the author of the prefaces to the two superb volumes containing

facsimiles of the Medicean Tacitus. The *Pandects* manuscript has also been issued in fac-simile.

Before dealing with the National Library of the same city, it will be well to pass to Venice, and give an account of the **Biblioteca Marciana**, which was also founded, or refounded, at the time of the Renaissance.

When Petrarch gave books to Venice for a public library (1352), he stipulated that they should not be sold or divided; but some of them were seized by Louis XII (1499), and the rest were not appreciated, so that most of them are now scattered or lost. In 1635 a number were found in a dust-choked upper chamber, some hardened into shapeless lumps by the damp, others 'ready to crumble into dust in the hands of the discoverers'.

A like fate nearly befell Cardinal Bessarion's books. At the time of the revival of learning, the Cardinal (1395–1472) was smitten with the prevailing passion for collecting books. He was well known as a promoter of Greek literature. In him, wherever he was, learned and cultured men found a good friend and helper. To him we owe the discovery of the Greek poets Coluthus and Quintus of Smyrna; and Venice owes about 600 volumes of Greek and Latin works which he had collected in Constantinople, Egypt and Greece. The Senate accepted his gift (1468), put it in the Church of St. Mark's, and promptly forgot all about it. A century later it was found, and properly housed.

The history of the Marciana has been uneventful and prosperous. In size it has grown steadily: in 1822 it contained 65,000 printed books and manuscripts; in 1840 about 114,000. After the fall of the republic and the suppression of the convents many private and conventual libraries have been united with it. Now it comprises 415,752 printed books, 12,084 manuscripts, 100,458 pamphlets, besides music and autographs.[1] It has been moved several times. Napoleon transferred it from the Libreria Vecchia to the Doges' Palace (1812); thence it went to the old Zecca or mint; in 1905 it was removed to a new building.

The **National Library (Reg. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale), Florence**, is larger than the Laurentian, although not so rich in unique books. Its chief claim to notice is the celebrity of its founder, Antonio Magliabechi, the most famous Italian bibliophile of the seventeenth century (1633–1714). As a boy, Magliabechi first served with a painter, then with a firm of jewellers; and when forty years old he was still a goldsmith. But from his early years he was devoted to books, and he laid out most of his money in buying them. In time he not only became acquainted with the most learned men in Florence, but became pre-eminent himself for erudition. For many years he was librarian

[1] The Marciana contains many Greek MSS. of great value; important MS. collections of works on Venetian history; rare incunabula; a codex of the laws of the Lombards, priceless in value; and a Latin Homer in the autograph of Boccaccio.

to Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany; but the situation, if not a sinecure, was rather a compliment to his learning than one exacting much labour. Despite the rather cruel epigram of the Jesuits describing him as 'doctor inter bibliothecarios, sed bibliothecarius inter doctores,' his learning was wide and varied, although he won his reputation rather because he knew where information was obtainable than from the depth and great extent of his knowledge. He amassed an extraordinary collection of books, which, as with Richard de Bury, were scattered all over his house, in disorderly heaps wherever he could find room—in the lower chambers, where they stood against the wainscot or were piled on the floor, so that one could not sit or walk about save in the narrow passage left to pass from one room to another; in the porch and on the stairway; and in the bedroom wherein he studied through the night. His prodigious memory enabling him to find the book he needed at once, he escaped the worst consequence of his disorderly habits, although he was not spared great trouble in verifying the accuracy of his references, about which he was punctilious, even if, as on one occasion, he had to move five hundred books.[1]

To the mania of this strange old man Florence owes the nucleus of its fine Biblioteca Nazionale. Magliabechi died in 1714, eighty-two years old, 'dirty, ragged, and as happy as a king'; and

[1] Read a capital article on M., by Dr. Axon in *Library Association Record*, v. 5, 59.

he left the 30,000 volumes he had accumulated to the city for a public library.

For nigh upon a century the Magliabechian library, with the accessions occasionally made to it, remained independent, but in 1862 it was united with the grand ducal Biblioteca Palatina to form a National Library. The Palatine Library was comparatively new, as it dated only from 1815, when it was formed from the remains of the old Pitti Palace Library, and the collections of Poggiali on Italian literature, and of Rzewusky. Since the amalgamation the old statute whereby the Magliabechian was to receive a copy of every work printed in Tuscany has been strictly enforced; previously it had been neglected.

In 1906 the National Library contained 544,021 printed books, 19,383 manuscripts, 702,842 pamphlets, 25,947 pieces of music, 9,037 prints and drawings (including 284 by Dürer), 20,218 portraits, 3,847 maps, 3,575 incunabula, 208,215 biographical notices, besides documents and charters. It is regularly increased by the purchase of books, both Italian and foreign. Until now it has occupied the first floor of the Uffizzi Gallery, near the repository of Tuscan archives (400,000 volumes and 200,000 documents); but last year (1907) a design for a new building was accepted.

The founder of the **Biblioteca Ambrosiana** at Milan (1609) was Cardinal Federigo Borromeo (1564–1631), he who figures in Manzoni's great novel, *I Promessi Sposi*. While a student in Rome

he collected books, and did so until his elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Milan, not only buying himself, but employing scholars to procure books and manuscripts for him in all parts of Europe, until he had amassed 'about 15,000 codices, many of exceeding rarity, and 30,000 printed volumes' (Noyes: *Milan*, p. 359). Some of these were manuscripts taken from the monastery of Bobbio. Others had been brought together by Gian Vincenzio Pinelli (1535–1601) and fell into Borromeo's hands rather curiously. Pinelli was a noted collector of books nearly all his life. He diligently watched the catalogues of leading booksellers in Italy and Germany, and no important printed book would appear to have escaped him. In this way, and by overhauling the stock of dealers in old parchment, he laid by a valuable store. He agreed with a fellow-collector, named Aicardo, to allow both their hoards to become the property of the survivor, who happened to be Pinelli. When Pinelli died, his relations decided to remove his books to Naples. Among them, however, were 300 volumes of commentaries on the affairs of all the Italian States; and the Venetian Government, being unwilling to allow these to get into foreign hands, insisted on retaining them in Padua. The rest were despatched 'in three shiploads' from Genoa. Pirates captured one vessel, and cast the cargo overboard, maybe in disgust at finding it so little to their taste. But the other ships reached Naples safely, and there the books were stored in a damp garret

and forgotten until, by chance, Cardinal Borromeo heard of them, and bought them for his library.

For some time the Cardinal had thought of founding a library for the use of the public. In 1603 he began to build a home for his books, and it was opened six years later, under the name of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

When Montfaucon visited it (1690) he found there forty thousand volumes, conveyed, he says, 'from Thessaly, Chio, Corfu, the country of Otranto, and Calabria'. In the early part of the nineteenth century the library enjoyed the careful guardianship of Cardinal Angelo Mai (1782–1854), the noted philologist and antiquary, who afterwards became librarian of the Vatican. He examined the Ambrosian manuscripts with indefatigable labour, and in the course of years of work succeeded in bringing to light some ancient works not then known either at all or in a complete form; among them the palimpsests of Plautus, Cicero's speeches, Fronto's letters, and fragments of Symmachus.

In 1836 the collection comprised nearly 100,000 printed books and 4,633 manuscripts. About forty years later Prof. C. Mensinger presented his European library of 2,500 volumes, 300 maps and 5,000 pieces, all relating to the literature and language of European countries. Now the library contains about 230,000 printed books, 8,400 manuscripts, and 41,000 prints.[1]

[1] Like the Laurentian at Florence, the Ambrosiana contains many valuable MSS., among them being the

Other important Italian libraries may be dismissed more summarily :

Bologna, Biblioteca dell' Università.—Founded by Count L. F. Marsigli, 1712. Rich in Oriental MSS., early editions, and Aldines, and MSS. and books on Italian municipal history ; possesses oldest codex of Lactantius. Open to public ; and now comprises over 255,000 printed books, (including 880 incunabula), 5,000 MSS. (including 560 on natural history bequeathed by Ulysses Aldrovandi), and 48,000 pamphlets.

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale.—Founded with library of Card. Seripando, 1804. Rich in valuable MSS., and early printed books ; special collection on volcanoes. Open to public ; now comprises 385,670 printed books, 4,217 incunabula, 7,950 MSS., and 220,780 pamphlets.

Rome, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele.—Founded with old Jesuit library, and books from other suppressed communities. A general library, but rich in theology. Open to public, and now contains over 400,000 printed books, 1,600 incunabula, 6,200 MSS., 5,800 periodicals, 300,000 smaller pieces, and 30,000 documents and charters. A bridge unites this library with the *Biblioteca Casanatense*, founded in 1700 by Card. Casanata, and containing now 112,000 printed books and 5,981 MSS.

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale (formerly University Library). —Founded in 1723 by Vittorio Amadeo II. The collec-

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Peshito and Syro-Hexaplar from the Nitrian convent of St. Mary Deipara (*see* p. 36) ; fragments of an illustrated *Iliad* of the third century (recently issued in facsimile) ; a Greek Pentateuch of the fifth century, written on papyrus ; several palimpsests, mostly from Bobbio, including a Plautus of early date, fragments of Cicero's speeches, and a seventh century MS. of St. Jerome's commentary on the Psalms, full of contemporary glosses in the ancient Irish character ; also a Virgil with notes in Petrarch's handwriting, and his famous eight lines on Laura.

tion of the House of Savoy was the nucleus of the library. Includes 59 MSS. from Bobbio. Open to the public; and contains about 350,000 printed books, 1,500 MSS.. and 10,000 prints, including many rarities in each class. A disastrous fire destroyed about 24,000 printed books and 2,000 MSS. (1904).

CHAPTER VI

PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES OF FRANCE, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE history of the **Bibliothèque Nationale** is particularly instructive owing to the long time of its growth, the variety of sources whence books were obtained, and its great size. It is the continuation of the old Royal library. St. Louis and some of the seven monarchs succeeding him made small collections of books, none of which survived. It was reserved for John, the Black Prince's captive, and his successor Charles V to form the Louvre library, an assemblage of a few classical, and many theological and ecclesiastical books, much astrology and chiromancy, as well as some translations of Arabic works, amounting altogether to 973 richly bound and illuminated volumes. These books were arranged on desks and in bookcases in a tower of three stories.[1] From a description of one room we should say the library had the appearance of a sanctuary, being lighted in the day by stained glass windows, and at night by thirty chandeliers and a 'great silver lamp'. Charles loved books, and his courtiers soon discovered a gift of a fine manuscript to be a

[1] As books were then put flat on desks and not upright on shelves, a small number of books took up a large space.

sure means of winning his favour. Under Charles VI the library grew to 1,100 volumes, but in after years some of the books were lost, partly through lending them to people who kept them. Books seized from persecuted Jews made up for these losses to some extent, so that when stock was taken in 1411, although 207 volumes were missing, 200 had been added. When France came under English control at the beginning of Charles VII's reign, the Duke of Bedford, a lover of literature, as well as an able general, purchased the royal library and took it to England.

The books on loan at the time of the sale were probably brought together about 1470 as the nucleus of a fresh collection; however this may be, we know that from the time of Louis XI, who united with it the French libraries of the Dukes of Burgundy, the second library made slow but sure progress. Charles VIII added many beautiful manuscripts, and in his rapid expedition into Italy, he seized the greater part of the King of Aragon's library, which, since the time of Robert of Anjou, the patron of Petrarch and Boccaccio, had steadily grown in size and rarity of contents. His successor united the Royal collection with the library at Blois, which had been refounded with 60 books (including some carried off by Bedford), brought from England by Charles of Orleans. He also added at least 1,000 Greek, Latin, Italian, and French manuscripts seized from the Duke of Milan's library (1499) as well as a part of the collection left to Venice by Petrarch. More important

still was the acquisition, either by purchase or gift, of the library of Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse, then described as the ' bibliographical marvel of the age ' on account of the number of the volumes, the quality of the vellum, and the beauty of the writing, the numerous miniatures, and the jewelled velvet bindings. Thus augmented, it was regarded as one of the ' four marvels of France '.

About 1520 Francis I, finding the library at Blois too far away, began to collect another at Fontainebleau, which he put in charge of Guillaume Budé, then the most learned man in France. At Budé's suggestion the French ambassador at Venice bought and sent home Greek manuscripts ; while three agents were despatched to the East to collect Oriental manuscripts ; but all we know about their mission is that one of them found himself forgotten in Asia Minor after he had spent all his money, was obliged to sell his manuscripts, got thrown into prison, and then pressed into the military service of Soliman II. A year after Budé's appointment the fine library of the Constable of Bourbon was confiscated and added to the royal library ; while foreign visitors to Paris were responsible for further acquisitions. In 1544 the 1,790 manuscripts and 109 printed books of the Blois library were added to the collection at Fontainebleau, as well as 40 Greek manuscripts brought from Naples by Constantine Lascaris. It would appear that the store of books formed at Anet by Henry and Diane of Poitiers was independent of

the royal library, which, indeed, ' fut un peu mis au pillage ' for the favourite, and no doubt the purloined books were sold with the Anet library in 1723. But Diane seems to have been responsible for some acquisitions, because, at her suggestion, every publisher was required to give two copies of his books to the royal library.[1]

Thus in mid-sixteenth century the Bibliothèque du Roi was an united and well-established collection. About 1567 it was shifted to Paris; later it was again moved and installed in the Collége de Clermont (1595). Henceforward the library became less the king's own personal collection, and more a general court library. Subsequently it migrated to the convent of the Cordeliers (1604); again to the Rue de la Harpe (1622); then to the Rue Vivienne (1666); and finally to its present abode in the Rue Richelieu (1721).

During all these years the library made steady progress. In 1594 President De Thou (1553–1617) was appointed master of the library, but he is better known as a learned man and a private collector than as a good librarian.[2] One of his

[1] Francis had required one copy of every work printed in France to be deposited; but the injunction was not observed properly for some time.

[2] As a collector, De Thou's tastes were fastidious, When a book appeared which he thought worth buying, he ordered several copies to be printed on paper manufactured for his use. If he failed to get his own copies specially printed, he would pull several copies of a book to pieces to make up one perfect copy. His private library comprised about 9,000 volumes, 1,000 being MSS. Francois, his eldest son, considerably increased it; and later owners also made additions. It was sold in 1789.

earliest acts as master was to acquire Catherine de' Medici's 800 manuscripts, mostly Greek (1599). Catherine brought with her to France manuscripts formerly owned by Eastern emperors, but recently purchased by Cosimo. Later, she confiscated Marshal Strozzi's library, claiming that as it had been inherited by a nephew of Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) it was Medici property, and therefore her property, although the Marshal had paid for it!

In 1642 the library contained but 6,000 volumes, principally manuscripts. Among these were included Philippe Hurault's collection of 418 manuscripts, and the Marquis de Brèves' store of 100 manuscripts; both acquisitions were almost wholly brought together in Constantinople. When the great Colbert, as superintendent of the royal buildings, obtained control of the library (1661)—as he did, although a master and keepers held office—the store of books amounted to 16,746 volumes. Under his rule, by purchase, by obtaining gifts, and by exchange it was nearly trebled in size. He directed some provincial officials to search for books and documents illustrating French history and politics, and to transcribe what they could not buy. At least five agents were sent to procure manuscripts in Constantinople and the Levant: one, a Dominican named Wansleben, accumulated 660 fine books in five years' wanderings in Egypt and Syria (1671–76). For some time French ambassadors had been instructed to buy books in the countries to which they were accre-

dited: thus from Portugal came 250 volumes on the history of the Peninsula, Asia, Africa, and America. Choice books and manuscripts were obtained from the collections of Gaston d'Orléans; Du Fresne, librarian to Queen Christina; Hippolyte, Count of Bethune; Gilbert Gaulmin; Dr. J. Mentel; and the great Fouquet; manuscripts also from the Collége de Foix, and prints from Abbé de Marolles. By an advantageous exchange 2,096 manuscripts were got from the Mazarine library.

Towards the close of Colbert's administration one of the keepers, Nicolas Clément,[1] began work on the classification and cataloguing of the books. He laboured at his task for about thirty-nine years, and by 1714 had compiled, in twenty-three divisions, a class catalogue of 43,000 volumes. His arrangement has been preserved to this day almost without alteration.

After Colbert's death the library came under the librarians' control again (1694), and Camille le Tellier, Abbé de Louvois, king's librarian from 1684 to 1718, proved to be a good administrator. Several distinguished collectors were employed to buy accessions: for example Jean Mabillon, the Benedictine monk, brought together nearly 3,000 volumes in Italy. The abbé introduced the practice of opening the library to students twice a week (1692), and of exchanging duplicates with libraries in other countries (1694), but these improvements were soon in abeyance. In 1715, three years

[1] Author of *Idée d'une nouvelle manière de dresser le catalogue d'une bibliothèque.*

before his death, the collection amounted to 70,000 volumes.

From 1718 to 1790, under the librarians, J. P. Bignon, B. de Blanzy, A. J. Bignon, J. F. G. Bignon, and J. P. C. Lenoir, progress was even more rapid. In 1721 the library contained 96,000 volumes; in 1722, 98,000; in 1790, 156,868. A noble assemblage of Chinese books had been acquired; annotated manuscripts from Etienne Baluze the historian; many manuscripts also from Philibert de la Mare and President de Mesmes; Abbés Sevin and de Fourment, sent to copy manuscripts in the Sultan's library at Constantinople, came back with 600 fine books; 6,000 of probably the 'most valuable manuscripts ever amassed by a person of private fortune' came from Colbert's library; valuable English books from D'Avaux, minister at Charles II's court; and a huge number of books from the libraries of M. de Cangé, P. D. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, Camille Falconet, the physician and scholar, and De Fontanieu, the antiquary, who had accumulated more than 60,000 pieces illustrating French history. By this time these treasures were accessible to the public, the library being opened in 1735; the same privilege had been granted at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, at Saint-Victor, and at the Bibliothèque des Avocats some long time before.

Then the Revolution fell upon France. In a few years the library was doubled in size. Books came from the forfeited collections of the émigrés, from suppressed monasteries, and from churches.

H. P. Ameilhon, librarian of the Arsenal, did considerable service in saving books from destruction by getting a commission to group the libraries of dissolved monasteries. He also saved some private libraries, including those of Malesherbes and Lavoisier. Altogether he seems to have amassed no less than 800,000 volumes, and, although some were afterwards restored to their owners and some were given to other public libraries, many fell to the royal library, now for the first time called the Bibliothèque Nationale. Under the Empire acquisitions were equally important and extensive: the annual appropriation was increased; the copy-tax was strictly enforced; and the fortune of war brought books from Florence, Venice, Rome, the Hague, Berlin, and other places.

During the revolutionary and Napoleonic period an indefatigable worker for the library was the unassuming Van Praet, a Belgian bibliographer, born at Bruges in 1754. From early days he indulged his love of books, and he quickly earned notice as a collector and bibliographer; his catalogue of the Duke de la Vallière's library being specially noteworthy. In 1784 he entered the royal library at Paris, became underkeeper 1792, and keeper 1794. Although twice denounced as a suspect, he escaped the guillotine, and he returned to his charge without the diminution of zeal natural under such circumstances. He it was who opened the library daily instead of twice a week; and he did his utmost to communicate its literary treasures to students and learned men. Whoever came to

consult him was sure of a warm welcome, and of his best help, while his excellent memory enabled him immediately to hit upon the material sought for. When the peace compelled the French to restore the books they had looted, poor Van Praet was inconsolable, but, by judicious substitutions, he managed to retain some prized volumes.

With the rapid and vast growth of the National Library since the Restoration we cannot deal. Let it suffice to say it is now the leading library of the world in the number and value of its contents. Largely this is so through the labours of its two last administrators, M. Taschereau, and M. Léopold Delisle,[1] who held the office for thirty-one years. Among many signs of distinction in his management of the library, M. Delisle deserves mention for acquiring a portion of the Ashburnham manuscripts, including some which had been stolen from the library many years ago, and for his project of the general printed catalogue (1897).

It is estimated that the National Library now contains nearly 3,000,000 printed books, 250,000 maps, and 102,000 manuscripts—(among them 31,679 French, 20,855 Latin, 1,313 Hebrew, and 170 Abyssinian), and 250,000 prints. It is a reference library, but duplicates are issued for home reading.

Before leaving the history of this library let us refer more particularly to its administration. Soon after the Revolution broke out, the new Government put in charge a happy family of eight

[1] Read memoir in *Library* (N.S.), v. 2 : 1.

keepers, ' bound to one another in the bands of fraternity, enjoying the same salaries and possessing the same powers '. Oddly enough, this queer administration endured, with some modifications, for over thirty years. In 1828, however, the library was reorganized into five departments, with a board of as many responsible heads. Only four years later the old arrangement, with some alteration, was again adopted, and a board of nine keepers and seven assistant-keepers installed. ' The keepers ', said M. Guizot, ' in their respective sections, have to occupy themselves with the business of the sections ; in their departments, with the business of the departments ; in the board, with the business of the whole library '—a constitution, one imagines, better in a speech than working satisfactorily in practice. It lasted four years. Then a new minister of public instruction put a responsible head over each department, and one responsible administrator over the heads. The work of the heads was to administer their departments ; the work of the administrator was to govern the whole institution. According to this minister, M. de Salvandy, ' diffused responsibility ' was responsibility destroyed. Of the wisdom of the change no impartial critic can doubt ; but as all reforms of the kind depose or injure certain officers, and as it is possible, under a democratic constitution, for personal interests to impair the efficiency of public ends by judicious wirepulling, it follows that a change for the better often endures only while the reformer responsible for it remains in

power. Salvandy was 'out' in 1839, the year his change was made. Again the library was reorganized into six departments. Then the old arrangement of four departments, and governing body of eight keepers was resumed. Again M. de Salvandy came back to office and reinstated his system, and, although many changes were introduced a year later as a result of the Revolution of 1848, the office of administrator-general was retained.[1]

The **Bibliothèque Mazarine,** another great Parisian library, owes its foundation to Gabriel Naudé, one of the most interesting figures among bibliographers. Mazarin began to collect books before he became Richelieu's favourite, and had at Rome as many as 5,000 volumes. But although he provided the money and gave some of the books, the project of establishing a public library in Paris was conceived and suggested by Naudé.

Naudé was a Parisian, born in 1600. While studying medicine, he developed an intense love of books. When only twenty years of age, to his great delight, he became librarian to President de Mesmes, whose collection was one of the three most valuable libraries in Paris, the others being the king's and De Thou's.[2] In 1626 he left De Mesmes to continue his medical studies at Padua, but on

[1] Read J. Macfarlane's "National Libraries of Great Britain and France," in *Library*, v. 10, 37.

[2] De Mesmes' collection was the work of four generations of book-lovers; it is now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

returning to Paris, Pierre Dupuy's influence got him appointed librarian to Cardinal Bagni, an office which took him to Rome. When Bagni died, Naudé transferred his services to Cardinal Barberini. Soon afterwards Richelieu recalled him to Paris (1642) to take charge of his collection. The great cardinal died the same year, and Naudé became librarian to Mazarin.

In 1643 about 12,000 printed volumes and 400 manuscripts had been accumulated by Naudé's exertions; 6,000 of them being the Dubois collection purchased at the death of Jean Descordes 'the Varro of his time'. 'The library', wrote Naudé, 'is to be open to all the world without the exception of any living soul; readers will be supplied with chairs and writing-materials, and the attendants will fetch all books required in any language or department of learning, and will change them as often as is necessary' (Elton, p. 184). Then the Royal Library possessed only 6,000 volumes, and was wholly a private collection. The Mazarine Library, on the contrary, was the resort of Pierre Gassendi, the opponent of Descartes, Ismaël Boulliau the astronomer, Colletet the poet, Aubery the historian of Richelieu and Mazarin, Hugo Grotius, Perrot d'Ablancourt, René Moreau the physician, and of other learned men. Only in three other places in Europe had scholars equal facilities: at the Bodleian, Oxford; the Ambrosian, Milan; and the Angelica, Rome.

After the library was opened, Naudé assiduously continued his task of collecting books. Having

got all he could in Paris, he went to Flanders, then he spent a year in Italy, and returned with 14,000 volumes (1645–6); came back from Germany in 1647 with 4,000 books and manuscripts; went to England later and came home well laden, so that, what with his own purchases, and the gifts of other people, he brought together no less than 45,000 volumes in eight years, and had made the Mazarine, as he boasted, 'the eighth wonder of the world'. To an intimate correspondent of Naudé we are indebted for an account of his methods in buying. 'The booksellers' shops seem devastated as by a whirlwind. He buys up everything, printed or manuscript, in all languages, leaves the shelves empty behind him, and sometimes comes down upon them with a rule, and insists upon taking their contents by the yard. Often, seeing masses of books accumulated together, he asks the price of the entire lot; it is named; differences ensue; but, by dint of urging, bullying, storming, our man gets his way, and often acquires excellent books among the heap, for less than if they had been pears or lemons. When the vendor comes to think over the matter, he concludes that he has been bewitched.[1] . . . Did you see our Naudé coming out of a bookseller's shop you could never help laughing, so covered from head to foot is he with cobwebs. . . . I have seen multitudes of Hebrew books in his bedroom, so stained and greasy and stinking, that one's nose seemed

[1] It is on record that Naudé was only once outwitted in buying books; then the salesman was a Scotsman.

damaged irrecoverably; they must have been disinterred from Jewish kitchens, smelling as they did of smoke, soup, cheese, pickles, or rather of a mixture of each and all these aromas. . . . But, without joking, Naudé means that Paris shall have the finest public library in Europe' (Garnett, p. 167).

In 1651, owing to the troubles of the Fronde, Mazarin lost power for a time; his property was confiscated, and the library sold. What a blow this was to Naudé! He did his best to stop the sale, but without success; then he tried to persuade Queen Christina of Sweden to purchase the whole collection, but failed to get her to take more than a few manuscripts; and, at last, in despair, he spent his own savings to secure the medical books.

His occupation being gone in Paris, he went to Stockholm to take charge of Queen Christina's famous library; but, the climate and the court not suiting him, he soon returned to France, where he died before reaching Paris.[1]

When Mazarin returned to power, he set about re-collecting his scattered books, and among his first purchases was Naudé's own collection, including, of course, the medical books previously in the Mazarine. How much more of the original collection was brought together is not known. The Frondeurs, now fussily fawning on Mazarin, re-

[1] On Naudé read Mr. G. Smith's admirable article, *Library Association Record*, v. 1, 423, 484, which contains also a description of Naudé's book, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*.

turned many books in their possession, and some bought by booksellers were reclaimed ; but a large number were certainly lost, because the collection only amounted to 37,000 volumes in 1720, and not till 1760 did it reach its old total of 45,000 volumes. After the cardinal's death the library was bequeathed to the Collége Mazarin. At the Revolution the State obtained control of it, and added about 50,000 volumes taken from monasteries. In 1799 it was opened to the public daily, instead of twice a week.

The extent of the library in 1804 was 92,304 volumes ; in 1821, 150,000 volumes ; now it contains over 250,000 printed books, 1,900 incunabula and 5,800 manuscripts ; so that like all the great libraries it has grown rapidly during the nineteenth century, although its rarities were mostly acquired earlier.

Other important French libraries are :—

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.—The Marquis de Paulmy collected 100,000 volumes, which were acquired by the Count d'Artois, who joined them to a portion of the famous library of the Duke de la Vallière, and founded the Arsenal Library, 1796. The library is rich in romances, dramatic literature, and French poetry. Open to the public ; contains nearly 454,000 printed books, and 7,907 manuscripts.

Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève.—Founded by Cardinal de Rochefoucauld, who became abbot of Ste. Geneviève, 1624. In a few years amounted to 7,000 volumes ; in 1687, about 20,000 volumes. Contains the library of C. M. le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, who had inherited the books of his tutor, Antoine Faure, and had collected in England, Holland, Italy and Germany. Open to the

public since 1710. Contains over 340,000 printed books, and 3,493 manuscripts.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université (Sorbonne).—Rich in classics, theology, science, history. Four libraries: Faculté des lettres et des sciences (Sorbonne) (*c.* 300,000 v.), Faculté de droit (80,000 v. and 239 manuscripts), Faculté de médicine (160,000 v., 82 incunabula, 394 manuscripts), Ecole sup. de pharmacie (40,000 v., 27 incunabula, 55 manuscripts). Total, *c.* 580,797 v.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

During the height of the battle of St. Quintin (1557) Philip II of Spain invoked the aid of Lorenzo, the saint of the day, to aid him in beating the French, and vowed that if he won he would erect a monument to his saviour. Philip triumphed, and to fulfil his vow founded the monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial on a spur of the Guadarrama mountains, about thirty-one miles from Madrid.[1]

Until his death Philip was devoted to the monastery, and, in his eyes, the library was by no means its least important part. 'The civilized world was searched; the libraries of all nations were overhauled to stock the library . . . with great books and precious manuscripts. Greece, Arabia, and Palestine contributed. . . Philip himself . . . worked at the catalogue and annotated the list of volumes. The original collection was greatly augmented . . . by the seizure of volumes belonging to heretics, and by works presented by loyal

[1] The name Escorial is derived from *scoriae*, iron-mining refuse scattered upon the hillside.

and wealthy subjects', as well as by people of other countries who courted Spain's favour.[1]

The library received its first considerable gift in 1576, when Don Diego de Mendoza presented his private library to the king. Mendoza, well known as the author of the novel *Lazarillo de Tormes*, had been named ambassador to the republic of Venice (1538). In Venice he had leisure to cultivate letters, and to mix in the society of humanists. He patronised and aided with his counsel the Aldine press, then at the height of its reputation; and from manuscripts in his library a complete Josephus and some Fathers of the Church were first printed by it. He had collected his manuscripts from all parts: he had sent emissaries to Mount Athos and Thessaly, and had received books from Sultan Soliman the Magnificent in exchange for a service. His collection, which has been carefully described in Miller's catalogue of 1848, is still the most precious part of the library.

Nearly all the Escorial's acquisitions have been of rare character. Soon after Mendoza made his gift, Antonio Agustin, Archbishop of Tarragona, bequeathed his library, which was specially rich in Greek classics (1586); he had been a collector for over forty years. Montanus, the Oriental scholar and first librarian, bequeathed a fine collection of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic manuscripts. Later 3,000 volumes seized from the Emperor of Morocco

[1] Calvert, *Escorial*, p. 55. Read the chapter on the library, and examine the numerous illustrations of the library and the principal manuscripts.

were added. Isabella the Catholic, who had inherited her father's taste for book-collecting, owned two separate libraries, consisting mainly of theology, ancient classics, modern literature, and romances of chivalry, and the 'broken remains of them have contributed to swell' the Escorial. At what date the precious accumulation of Constantine Lascaris found its way to this library we do not know. He was of the same family as John Lascaris (*see* p. 82), and together they had fled from Constantinople on its occupation by the Turks. He gave his library to Messina; thence it went to the Escorial. While in Italy his collection did much to spread a knowledge of Greek writings.

Both the monastery and the library have seen troublous times: they suffered by fire (1671); then over a century later were exposed to the ravages of French invaders. King Joseph Bonaparte removed the books to Madrid, whence it returned with a loss of 10,000 volumes (1808). Fire again devastated the upper library in 1872.

Although it has enjoyed the copy-tax for many years, the library is by no means the largest or the most important in Spain. In 1877 it contained only 32,143 printed books and 4,611 manuscripts; now the return is 35,000 printed books, 4,627 manuscripts (1,886 Arabic, 582 Greek, 73 Hebrew, 2,086 Latin) and 7,000 prints. Moreover, it has been of much less service to students and scholars than any other library of its size and value owing to the difficulty of access to it. 'Its stores', said Mariana, the Spanish historian of the sixteenth century,

' are more precious than gold : but it would be well if learned men had greater facilities for reading them ; for what profit is there from learning if she is treated like a captive ? ' (Elton, p. 165). The complaint is not much less true to-day.

Other important Spanish libraries are :—

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional (formerly Biblioteca Real).—Founded in 1711. A general library, but rich in Spanish history and topography. Contains Duke of Ozuna's collection of manuscripts. Open to public ; contains about 600,000 printed volumes, (including 2,057 incunabula, and 800 editions of Don Quixote), 30,000 manuscripts, 20,000 documents, 28,000 drawings, and 100,000 prints.

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional.—Founded in 1796. Largely increased from monastic collections, 1841. Rich in theology, canon law, history, Portuguese and Spanish literature. Open to public ; now contains 400,000 printed books, and 16,000 manuscripts.

CHAPTER VII

LIBRARIES IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, BELGIUM, HOLLAND, RUSSIA, AND SCANDINAVIA

GERMANY

GERMANY, if backward in providing libraries for popular instruction, is deservedly renowned for the number and wealth of its public and university libraries, the latter being in many cases collections of many years' growth, and consequently large, and rich in precious books.

The **Berlin Royal Library** (Königliche Bibliothek) originated from monastic libraries, mainly those of conquered lands, and not dissolved German houses. The spoil first formed the nucleus of the electoral library of Brandenburg (1650), which, within forty years, grew to about 20,600 printed 'works, comprising, perhaps, three times that number of volumes', and 1,618 manuscripts—principally by the acquisition of a series of Bibles and manuscripts from Magdeburg, the Berlin cathedral library, and two other important accumulations. Under Frederick William I the library saw some dark times: the expenditure on books was reduced almost to nothing, and the salaries of the librarians were within an ace of being stopped; so that,

although the library had benefited by the copy-tax for books printed in Prussia since 1699, at this monarch's death the number of volumes was not more than 74,000 (1740). With the great Frederick came a more friendly feeling for the library. In his reign the library was nearly doubled in size, and he superintended the erection of the present building (1775–80), the motto on which, "Nutrimentum spiritûs," he also selected. He was not a lover of rarities or sumptuous books, but that much higher type of collector, the reader and student; as is proved by the existence of six libraries for his own private use, five libraries, each consisting of nearly the same books, being housed in his palaces, and one small library held in readiness for use when he was travelling; while he did not scruple to break up and rebind in parts his heavier books when he became too aged and feeble to hold them.[1]

During the nineteenth century the Berlin Royal Library received several important acquisitions: notably the libraries of Möhsen; Roloff; H. J. von Diez (17,000 volumes and 836 manuscripts); C. A. Rudolphi (15,000 volumes); Sir

[1] Napoleon imitated Frederick in this as in other respects: first by employing Frederick's librarian, the Abbé Denina of Paris; then by forming independent libraries for each palace. The books of one palace were rarely allowed to be moved to another. Probably the books were the same, or nearly the same, in each library, as they were in Frederick's collections; but certainly Napoleon had them classified on the same scheme in each palace, so that he could put his hand immediately on the book he wanted.

Robert Chambers' Sanskrit manuscripts; Count Mejan's collection of 14,170 volumes on philology, history, Italian and French literature; Baron von Meusebach's library of 36,000 books, especially valuable for German literature; a large part of Ludwig Tieck's library; and James Meyerbeer's collection of musical works, printed and manuscript. By 1850 about 520,000 printed books, and 10,000 manuscripts had been accumulated; now the number is more than double, being 1,230,000 printed books, and 33,000 manuscripts (including 4,000 Eastern Asiatic, 259 Hebrew, 167 Abyssinian, 3,288 Sanskrit, 1,177 Persian, 523 Turkish, 106 Armenian, 6,500 Arabic), without counting maps. Among this vast hoard are many treasures, such as the manuscript of Luther's translation of the Bible; Melancthon's report of the Diet of Worms; Gutenberg's 42-line Bible on parchment (1450), the first large book printed with movable type; and an eighth century manuscript of the Gospels.

The library has been accessible to the public from the beginning.

Munich Royal Library (Königliche Hof- und Staats-bibliothek) was founded by the fifth Albert, Duke of Bavaria (1550–79). Inheriting from his forerunners a library of moderate size, he largely increased it by getting books from Italy and by purchasing three large collections belonging to H. Schedel of Nuremberg (645 books and manuscripts), J. A. Widmannstadt (500 books and over 330 manuscripts, chiefly Oriental), and a part of J. J. Fugger's library. From that time till mid-seven-

teenth century the library made steady progress, acquiring Stöckel's accumulation of Spanish books ; Senator Hœrwart's musical library ; the Bishop of Augsburg's collection ; and that of Duke Christopher of Würtemburg, which was seized after the battle of Nordlingen. Under Elector Ferdinand Maria the copy-tax was imposed on Bavarian printers, but there would appear to have been difficulty in collecting it ; however, some additions were from this source. Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits—which occurred early in Bavaria—the Royal library was enlarged by books of the suppressed houses, and in 1784 the whole collection found a home in the Jesuits' college. Half a century later it was removed to a new building erected by King Louis I (1832–42) ; and soon after it received notable accretion by the purchase for £12,000 of the library of the French Orientalist, E. M. Quatremère, numbering 40,000 printed books, and 1,200 manuscripts. At about the same time the library exceeded 560,000 printed books, (9,500 being incunabula), and about 22,000 manuscripts ; now it exceeds 1,100,000 printed books, including 13,000 incunabula, and 50,000 manuscripts. This library also holds the national archives of Bavaria, amounting to 500,000 documents. It is especially valuable for its Biblical and theological books, its German and Hebrew manuscripts.

Other important German libraries may be dealt with more briefly :—

Darmstadt, Grossherzogliche Hof-Bibliothek.—This Grand-Ducal library was founded 1817, by union of the

Grand Duke Louis I's private library with a Court library dating from 1670. Rich in musical, medical, and legal books. Open to the public; comprised, in 1906, 490,032 printed books, and about 4,000 manuscripts.

Dresden, Königliche öffentliche Bibliothek.—This Royal library was founded by Elector Augustus of Saxony in Annaburg Castle (1556); collection of George Fabricius was added (*c.* 1580). Brought to Dresden by Elector Christian I; made 'liberally accessible' (*c.* 1650). Contains Count Bruehl's library of 62,000 volumes, and Count Buenau's collection of 42,119 volumes. Consisted of 300,000 printed books, 2,800 manuscripts, and about 20,000 maps in 1853; now contains about 490,000 printed books and boxes of pamphlets, 2,000 incunabula, 6,000 manuscripts, and 28,000 maps; many rarities.

Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek.—Founded about 1737. Owes very large part of its collection to the labours of Librarian Heyne, who increased it from 60,000 volumes to over 200,000 volumes in forty-nine years (1763–1812). It is open to the public. Contained (1907) 536,018 printed volumes, and 6,489 manuscripts.

Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek.—This city library was founded 1529. Contains many rarities in early theological literature. Open to public; now possesses about 600,000 printed books and 5,000 manuscripts.

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek. — Present library founded in 1703 by Elector Palatine John William. Contains about one-third of the famous Bibliotheca Palatina (*see* Elizabeth Godfrey's *Heidelberg*, p. 149, for a good account of the Palatina). Open to public; contains now over 400,000 printed books, including 1,000 incunabula, 4,000 manuscripts, 3,000 papyri, and 3,200 ancient documents.

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek.—Founded with 600 volumes belonging to the expelled Dominicans, 1543; 4,000 volumes were added from other monastic collections. Contains Casper Börner's library; J. G. Böhme's historical collection; Professor J. F. Gehler's medical and scientific library of 24,000 volumes; Professor G. H.

Schäfer's philological library; and the fine Tischendorf manuscripts, including the fourth century Codex Friderico-Augustanus. The library, which is open to members and the public, contains about 550,000 printed books (including 550 incunabula), and 6,000 manuscripts.

Strassburg, Kaiserl. Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek. —Founded, 1871. An earlier library was destroyed during the siege of 1870. Open to public; contains about 898,000 printed volumes.

Stuttgart, Königliche Landesbibliothek (*Royal Library*)— Founded in 1777 with about 4,000 books formerly belonging to the Ludwigsburg court library; reinforced by monastic collections; J. Lork's accumulation of 5,000 editions of the Bible; Panzer's series of 1645 Bibles; the general library, amounting to 25,000 volumes, of Privy Councillor Frommann; the military library of General von Nicolai; and the Abbé de Rulle's library, rich in incunabula. A library valuable for its series of Bibles, its historical and theological works. Open freely to the public; contains 531,000 printed books, (including. 4,593 incunabula), 5,276 manuscripts, 7,967 Bibles, and 169,000 smaller pieces. Enjoys copy-tax for books printed in Würtemburg.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Hungary provides us with a notable example of zeal in collecting. Matthias Corvinus (1443–90), king of Hungary, took advantage of the dispersal of Constantinople's literary treasures to accumulate classic manuscripts, and the writings of early Christian authors. He also employed many transcribers at Buda and at Florence to enrich his store. Though by no means wealthy, he was prodigal not only in buying books, but in decorating them, the illumination and bindings being of the finest workmanship; and he endowed his

library with over 30,000 ducats a year. When he died (1490) he had amassed, it is said, 50,000 volumes, nearly all manuscripts, but we confess to a difficulty in believing these figures to be correct.

Succeeding rulers were not of the same tastes, and they began to disperse the Bibliotheca Corvina by giving some of the rarest volumes to the Western kings whose favour they courted. During the Turkish occupation of Buda (1526–29) the majority of the books were burned, only 400 being left, and 35 taken to Stamboul and added to the Sultan's collection.[1] Scattered amongst the great libraries of Europe a fair number of Corvina books now survive; Vienna possesses the most. But they are very rare, and a collector who finds one nowadays may account himself a lucky man.

Vienna obtained its Corvina collection soon after the foundation of the Imperial library by Frederick III (1440). Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II, one of the most noted humanists of his time, and the Count von Peuerbach would seem to have mustered the nucleus of Austria's greatest library. Maximilian I continued the work by acquiring the library of Conrad Pickel, called Celtes, a German poet; by obtaining books from monasteries; and by scraping together as many volumes as he could from the Bibliotheca Corvina. During the next reign progress was slow, although two fine collections were received, one made by physician Latz,

[1] The Sultan presented the Corvina books in his library to the Emperor of Austria in 1876, but they turned out to be of little value.

and the other consisting of the choice manuscripts, including over a hundred Greek and Latin codices, gleaned by the learned Busbecke in Greece and Asia. At the end of the reign, librarian Blotz was appointed, and he did good work: notably by acquiring Sambucus' library; by planning the removal of the library to the Hofburg; and by making an excellent collection himself, which, at his death, came into the possession of the Imperial. Dr. Sambucus (1531–84), historiographer-royal, was a prince among collectors, and for twenty-two years he wandered far and wide in search of manuscripts, specially seeking Corvinian books in the villages of Hungary.[1] Other notable accessions were the books of Dr. Tengnagel, Blotz's successor, and of Tycho Brahe, the astronomer; as well as the famous collection of Count Fugger of Augsburg, a rich ingathering amounting to 15,000 volumes, some very rare.

Soon after these accessions were received Peter Lambeck became librarian (1663). While in Paris with Cardinal Barberini (1646) he met with Dupuy, Petau, Naudé, Huet, and Baluze, all noted bibliophiles and collectors; and no doubt their influence contributed to make him not only a zealous collector, but a bibliographer whose skill and knowledge are apparent in his famous commentaries on the Imperial library's history and contents.[2] During

[1] He discovered 800 letters of St. Gregory of Nazianzenus, Chrysostom, Basil, Cyril, and a fragment of Petronius, etc.

[2] *Commentaria de Augusta Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, 1665–79, 8 vols. in fol.

his librarianship of seventeen years the library was increased by 16,000 volumes, making 96,000 in all; of these he bequeathed 3,200 himself.

On the death of Leopold I his private collection was added (1705). Under Charles VI the library saw some of its best times. The principal acquisitions were Baron von Hohendorf's fine library of 6,787 printed books, among them some from Grolier's collection, and some with the manuscript notes of eminent owners; the Archbishop of Valencia's library, which was bought from the Franciscan monks of Valencia; and, more important still, the choice collection of Eugene of Savoy, amounting to about 15,600 printed books, manuscripts, and pieces—an accumulation not only notable for its size, but for the rarity of its contents. In succeeding reigns the Imperial was steadily enlarged; especially under Joseph II, when monasteries in Styria, Carinthia, and in the Tyrol were dissolved and their libraries confiscated. 'This epoch', writes Edwards, 'is distinguished, not so much by the acquisition of entire collections, after the fashion of earlier days, as by that watchful and constant attention to all opportunities of supplying deficiencies, and of selecting choice and rare books, which had now become the more desirable method of increasing it'.

A traveller who visited the library in 1785 has referred to the accessibility of the books. 'It is open every morning', he says, 'till twelve o'clock for all persons who choose to come. . . . It is not so difficult to obtain prohibited books as has been

pretended. . . . I myself read the *History of the Council of Trent*, and all Machiavelli's works through, without any leave'.

A little later the stock of books amounted in round figures to 250,000 volumes. During the century which has elapsed since, the library has grown to about 900,000 (including 8,000 incunabula), over 27,000 manuscripts, 350,000 engravings, 32,000 pieces of music, 6,000 music manuscripts, and 100,000 papyri—a rapidity of growth which precludes us from referring here to the important accessions of this period, although we cannot pass by the addition of Baron von Hammer's collection, which made the Imperial library the richest in Europe for Oriental manuscripts. Nor is it possible to more than hint at the many rarities it contains—such as the magnificent fifth century manuscript of Genesis, wrought in gold and silver letters on purple parchment; the Livy, a fifth century Scottish manuscript supposed to have belonged to the English monk, St. Suitbert, and the only one containing the fifth decade; Tasso's *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, in the poet's own hand; and the papyrus of the Archduke Rainer, a large collection of documents illustrating 'the development of civilization through twenty-seven centuries'.[1]

Other important libraries in Austria-Hungary are:—

Vienna, Universitätsbibliothek.—Founded in 1777. Benefits under the copy-tax. It is open to the public; con-

[1] Discovered in the Fayûm, Egypt, 1877–8.

tained (1906) 707,188 volumes, including 964 manuscripts. Increases about 30,000 volumes per annum.

Buda-Pest, Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum (*National Museum*) Founded in 1802 by Count Franz Széchényi with a large and excellent collection of Hungarian books. Open to public; contains 400,000 printed books, including many Hungarian and Latin incunabula, 18,000 newspapers, 16,000 manuscripts (mostly Hungarian, including 11 Corvina books) and about 500,000 documents.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

In 1827 a royal and a public collection were united to form the Brussels City library. The former had belonged to the old Ducal House of Burgundy. At one time the house was famous for its love of beautiful books: the brothers Charles V of France, the Duke of Berry, and Philip 'le Hardi' of Burgundy, were enthusiastic collectors—the last named being at special pains to amass books by employing scribes and by purchasing largely in Italy, while he also got books by his marriage with the Count of Flanders' daughter. Philippe le Bon (1396–1467) formed collections in the fifteenth century at Dijon, Paris, Bruges, and Antwerp. When Burgundy was incorporated with France, the Dijon and Paris collections were added to the Louvre library, afterwards the Bibliothèque Nationale,[1] but the Belgian libraries were preserved for a time by Mary of Burgundy; then, after her marriage with the impecunious Maximilian of

[1] Franklin, *Les Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, v. 2, 130.

Austria, many of the books were sold and dispersed in France, Sweden and Germany.

Margaret of Austria repaired the loss to some extent by making another fine collection ; and the work was continued by Mary of Austria, the Regent. Later the library underwent further vicissitudes, fire and the myrmidons of Marshal Saxe being its enemies. Scarce had it recovered its strength by annexing the libraries of suppressed Jesuitical communities and by about twenty years of slow growth, than the French occupied Brussels, and despatched, as it was their little way to do, first, seven wagon-loads of books, and then, a little later, 171 selected manuscripts and many printed books—all to make work for Van Praet. The surviving books were entrusted to M. de la Serna de Santander, a Spaniard (1795), and he moved them to a new home, put them in order, and added to them books from several sources, especially from the suppressed abbeys, from the University of Louvain, from the Grand Council of Malines, and from the depôt of the Cordeliers at Paris.

La Serna de Santander was succeeded in 1812 by C. J. E. van Hulthem (1764–1832), who held office till 1826. A year after, the Burgundian library was united with the Brussels City library, and was made much more accessible to the public than it had been.

The City library dates only from the time of the suppression of the Jesuits, when it was founded with some of their books. To it and to the Burgundian, when combined, was added the fruits

of Van Hulthem's passionate love of books, a collection amounting to 63,000 printed books and 1,016 manuscripts, including treasures which entitle him to an honoured place among bibliophiles.[1]

In 1839 the combined libraries, already national in reality, were called the National Library of Belgium, and were housed in the Palais de l'Industrie. Of the extent of its acquisitions we need but note that whereas in mid-nineteenth century it contained 205,000 printed books and 19,700 manuscripts, now it contains over 600,000 and 28,000 respectively. Among the manuscripts are some of the choicest and most interesting in Europe. We cannot leave this part of our subject without the briefest reference to the work of Father Joseph van den Gheyn, S.J., who was appointed keeper of manuscripts at the beginning of this century. One of his first reforms was to arrange and display in glass cases some of the chief manuscript treasures, then he began work upon the excellent and full *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la B. R. de Belgique.*

The Dutch libraries may be dismissed with a brief reference.

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library). Founded in 1798 after the flight of William V by bringing together in the Mauristhuis the remains of the Stadt-

[1] Catalogue in 6 v., 1836, *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana.* One of the greatest treasures is the Peterborough Psalter, of the thirteenth century, which passed from Peterborough Abbey into the hands of Charles V of France, thence into the Burgundian Library.

holder's Library; the books belonging to the States-General; and some smaller collections. Specially rich in early printed books, particularly Dutch; its collection of Elzevirs, and of the productions of the Aldine, Justine, Stephanine, and Plantinian presses are very valuable; while the Spinoza and chess collections are important. The general collection is strongest in political, legal, and historical works; the pamphlets illustrating the history of the Netherlands are very numerous. Open to public, and books are lent out. Contains over 500,000 printed books, and 6,000 manuscripts.

Amsterdam, Municipal University.—Founded in 1578. Special collections of Hebraica and Judaica; and of books, manuscripts, and pieces on Dutch plays, playwrights and theatres. Now contains about 500,000 printed books, including pamphlets.

Leyden, Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit.—Founded at the same time as the University of Leyden by William I, Prince of Orange, 1575. Library has brought together a particularly rich collection of Dutch literature; also 3,400 Oriental manuscripts. Contains 190,000 printed books, and about 6,400 manuscripts.

DENMARK AND SCANDINAVIA

Copenhagen Royal Library (Det Kongelige Bibliothek) is one of the oldest in Europe. Even before the reign of King Christian III (1533–59) there were small collections in existence, but this monarch first properly organized the library by importing foreign books, employing a court bookbinder, and a librarian, named Master John. His son, Frederick II, and Christian IV were rulers of similar tastes. Both were responsible for acquisitions, although the latter was a better friend to the University Library of Copenhagen. But

the collection developed more quickly and on better lines under Frederick III (1648). He bought three large and valuable private libraries belonging to Joachim Gersdorf, Laus Ulfeld, and Peter Scavenius; all the leading publications of France and Italy were regularly received; Paulli, historiographer-royal, was sent through the principal countries of Europe to glean rarities, both printed and manuscript; and, still more important, two scholars were instructed to bring together as much as they could find of the old Eddas and Sagas of the Northmen, and succeeded in forming a special library of which Copenhagen is still proud. Not only did Frederick take good care to augment the library, but he permitted scholars and students freely to use the books, and he began to build a new home for his collection in 1667, when it had outgrown its old quarters. At his death the library contained 10,163 volumes.

For some time afterwards progress was slow. Several good accessions were received, notably the books of Hermann Meier, Puffendorf, Count Friis, and Christian Reitzer—the last being sold by the owner at a sacrifice rather than let it go out of Denmark into the hands of the Czar of Russia, or to the Earl of Sunderland in England, both of whom were willing to pay handsomely for it. But other collections, equally valuable, were lost to Denmark through political troubles and war: thus, among others, the fine library of Gudius went to Wolfenbüttel, and Rostgaard's huge collection was dispersed. A better time came with

Christian VI, and librarian Gram, who took office in 1730. Then 'large accessions, improved arrangement, and liberal accessibility, combined to elevate it to a distinguished place among the great libraries'. 'Systematic arrangements' were made for the purchase of foreign books; and the copytax of 1697 was amended and enforced. After eighteen years of such management the library could muster 65,000 volumes.

Then the library again suffered eclipse, owing to the vagaries of librarian Moellmann, who neglected and shut it up. But since Moellmann's death (1778) the Royal Library has made good progress. In 1785 it received one of the finest accessions ever made to a library at one time. Count Otho de Thott, the Danish statesman, was a king among collectors. In his lifetime he collected two large libraries; the first was destroyed in a fire at his house, and the second, amounting to 121,945 printed books, including 6,039 volumes printed before 1531, and 4,154 manuscripts, came to the library almost in its entirety, partly by bequest and partly by purchase.

In 1850 the Copenhagen Library could muster over 400,000 volumes. Now it contains over 720,000 volumes, including 20,000 manuscripts and 2,600 incunabula.

RUSSIA

In a little over forty years Count J. Zaluski, a wealthy Pole, collected a library of about 200,000

volumes. His brother Andrew, Bishop of Cracow, added several extensive collections to this already huge library, and in 1747 endowed and opened it to the public of Warsaw. Then it was described as 'a splendid, unequalled, and, in regard to its stores of Polish history, an inestimable library'. After Andrew's death, the count continued to make additions to it; while he nobly consummated the work by bequeathing it to the Jesuits' college at Warsaw in trust for the public (1761). Then it contained about 300,000 volumes, being probably the most extensive library in Europe; and it was rich in literature, history, and especially theology. The Jesuits scarce had it for a decade when their order was suppressed (1773). For a time the library came under Government control; then, in 1794, the all-conquering Suvoroff carried it to St. Petersburg as a trophy of war. As the library was transported over bad roads during inclement weather many books were lost, stolen, and damaged; but in 1796 it was still found to contain over 262,000 books and 24,000 prints. At St. Petersburg it was united with another collection which had been seized by the Czar Peter during his invasion of Courland (1714); a building was erected for it, and it was called the **Imperial Library** (Imperatorskaja Publichnaja Biblioteka).

A copy-tax, requiring the deposit of two copies of every work published in Russia, was imposed in 1810. Since then, owing to wise purchases and liberal gifts, the Imperial Library has grown to large dimensions: it can now muster 1,594,240

printed books, 33,928 manuscripts, 21,238 charts, 92,407 prints and 57,735 autographs. The principal treasures of a very wealthy library are: the Slavonic collection; the Greek manuscripts, some of the earliest of them from Byzantium and Mount Athos; the Hebrew and Karaite parchments (a collection probably not equalled anywhere else); the Oriental manuscripts acquired in Turkish and Persian wars, and collected by Prince Dolgorouki, Count Simonitch, Mr. Khanikof, and Gener[1] Kauffmann; and the nearly perfect sets of Aldines and Elzevirs. Its special pride is the *Codex Sinaiticus* of the Greek Bible, found by Tischendorf (1859). Curiously enough, this library possesses a valuable series of French State Papers, which an infuriated mob carried away from the Paris archives and sold to the highest bidder, one named Dubrowski, a Pole.

Moscow, University Library.—(Imperatorskij Moskovskij Universitet) Founded by the Empress Elizabeth, 1755. Rich in history and science. Now contains 220,000 volumes and about 16,200 manuscripts.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLISH LIBRARIES

British Museum.—The nucleus of the English national library was formed with the collection of the English kings, the Cottonian, the Harleian and the Sloane libraries.

With much labour Edward Edwards has collected some information of a fragmentary and not very interesting character about the **English Royal Library.** His account has not been extended materially by a later writer.[1] Few of the English kings were men of pronounced literary tastes: even their display has seldom, and never with much effect, taken the form of book-collecting. Henry VII, who could not fail to be influenced to some extent by the New Learning, which began to reach England in his reign, read most of the worthiest books written in French. A number of entries in the privy purse expenses of Henry VII, refer to the purchase and binding of books, and to him we owe the series of vellum books printed for Antoine Vérard, the Paris publisher. The English sovereigns from Henry VIII to Charles I increased the collection slowly

[1] Read Mr. Fletcher's *English Royal Collectors*, in *Library* (N.S.), v. 1, 305.

and not very steadily; the principal acquisitions during this time being the valuable library of Henry, Prince of Wales, containing books accumulated by Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, and by Lord Lumley, besides many books of Cranmer's and others of his own collecting; and a single priceless volume, the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which had been given to the English king by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria (1624).

During the Commonwealth agitations the library was cared for by a few friends—Hugh Peters the fanatic, Bulstrode Whitelocke, Selden, and that interesting figure in religious and library history, John Durie. Durie was deputy library-keeper under Whitelocke; and, although his principal work in life was the thankless one of curbing fanatical religious zeal, he made an excellent librarian. In *The Reformed Library Keeper*, the first treatise on library economy in English,[1] he expresses the opinion that a librarian ought to be a missionary of culture and not merely a custodian and a distributor of books—an opinion now so common as to be regarded as part of the ordinary cant of the profession. On most questions of librarianship he expressed sound views: as, the desirability of a good printed catalogue, the use of press-marks, and liberality of service.

[1] London, 1650. It is reprinted in Kent and Dana's *Literature of Libraries*; in Mr. Pollard's *Old picture books*, p. 172; and in *Library*, v. iv, p. 85. Read also an admirable essay on Durie in Dr. Garnett's *Essays*, p. 174.

In 1662 was passed the Act enabling the Royal Library to claim a copy of every work published in the English possessions. For a time the tax was not properly enforced; but Richard Bentley, the eminent scholar, who was appointed librarian in 1694, at once gave an earnest of his ability by making it effective, and so 'procured near one thousand volumes, of one sort or other'. He seems to have worked steadily to put the library in good order; perhaps more to this end than to others' use of the library. A complaint about the inaccessibility of the books was lodged; and Bentley replied: 'I will own that I have often said and lamented that the library was not fit to be seen. . . . If the room be too mean, and too little for the books; if it be much out of repair; if the situation be inconvenient; if the access to it be dishonourable; is the library-keeper to answer for it? . . . The expenses and toils of a long war are but too just an excuse that the thought of a new library were not part of the public cares'. During his keepership a broadside was issued entitled, 'A proposal for building a Royal library, and establishing it by Act of Parliament'; whether he himself was the author is unknown, but the proposal came to nothing. In 1757 George II presented the Royal Library to the nation.

The **Cottonian Library**, like the Earl of Arundel's, contains many survivals from the old monastic collections. They were obtained from earlier collectors by Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), who

spent money without stint in accumulating ancient chronicles, records, charters, and other materials essential to writing English history. With Camden's and Sir Henry Spelman's aid he scraped together nearly 1,000 volumes of papers, so valuable that, in the florid words of Fuller, 'the fountains were fain to fetch water from the stream', which means, in plain English, that State secretaries were glad to borrow back valuable originals. For some time the authorities were nervous about Cotton's collection. Once he was accused of selling secrets to Spain; then, in 1629, the Lords of Council had his library sealed up and summoned him before them, ostensibly because 'there was found in his custody a pestilent tractate . . . containing a project how a prince may make himself an absolute tyrant',—to wit, Dudley's *Proposition for His Majesty's Service to Bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments*. The closing of his library and the worry of the suspicion cast upon him seems to have hastened his death (1631). The library was restored to his son, who added to it; while the grandson, Sir John Cotton, continued the good work. The public were admitted to use the manuscripts in Sir John's time, though only by favour, and sometimes permission was withheld, as it was once from Bishop Burnet. The collection became more accessible when the Act was passed for its acquisition and preservation 'for public use and advantage' (1700). Not long after it was shifted from Cotton House to Essex House, thence to Ashburnham House, where the

Royal Library was stored. It had not been at Ashburnham House more than a few months when a disastrous fire occurred. The fire was attributed to 'the villainy of that monster in nature', Dr. Bentley, by his enemies, whereof he had many. The headmaster of Westminster, it appears 'saw a figure issue from the burning house, in his dressing gown, with a flowing wig on his head, and a huge volume under his arm'. This was Bentley, the librarian—for the collection was then in his charge—but all he had done was to rescue from the flames the famous *Codex Alexandrinus*. The damage was considerable; of the 958 manuscript volumes 114 were 'lost, burnt, or entirely spoiled; and 98 damaged so as to be defective', but clever and skilful work has done much to restore the latter. The best possible course for the future safety of both the Royal and Cottonian libraries was taken when they were incorporated with the British Museum.[1]

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford (1661–1724), made his name famous among scholars and bookmen by founding the **Harleian Library**. In 1715 he was the owner of 2,500 valuable manuscripts, among them being the collections of Stow, the

[1] Of the value of the Cottonian, readers of English history may see the best evidence in frequent footnotes like 'Cott. MS. Otho C. xi., f. 84.' Citations take this unusual form because Sir Robert arranged his manuscripts in fourteen wainscot presses adorned with the heads of the twelve Caesars, Cleopatra and Faustina—an arrangement copied, it is believed, from the Laurentian at Florence.

antiquary and historian of London, Fox, the martryologist, and Sir Symonds D'Ewes, an assiduous collector of records and documents. His librarian then was Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726). Originally a draper's assistant, Wanley spent all his leisure in studying old books and manuscripts to such good purpose that the Bishop of Lichfield got him admitted as a commoner to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. Later he was engaged in cataloguing manuscripts in Coventry and Warwick; then as assistant in the Bodleian; and finally, after an interval at other work, he served with the Earl of Oxford during the last eighteen years of his life, and consequently deserves credit for much that is excellent in the Harleian.[1]

The earl at his death left 6,000 manuscript volumes, 14,000 charters and 500 'rolls'. Edward, second earl (1689–1741), continued to accumulate until the number of manuscripts reached 8,000, printed books 50,000 volumes, prints 41,000, besides many pamphlets. Ultimately the manuscripts were bought by the Government for £10,000 (1753); but the printed books were dispersed. Like the Cottonian, the Harleian manuscripts were brought together mainly to illustrate English history, but books on other subjects are included.

In 1753 effect was given to Sir Hans Sloane's bequest of books, manuscripts, curiosities, and rarities of various kinds, in exchange for £20,000—

[1] Read Mr. Barwick's essay in *Library* (N.S.), v. iii, 24, 243.

that sum ' not being, as I apprehend and believe ', said Sloane in his will, ' a fourth of the real and intrinsic value ' ; thereupon the Cottonian, Harleian, and the Sloane collections were united in Montagu House, which had been adapted for the purpose. To these George II added the Royal Library (1757). Two years later the new institution, under the name of the British Museum, was opened at Montagu House on January 15.

From 1759 to 1823 the history of the museum was uneventful. The country spent upon it only about £31,000, according to Edwards' estimate. Fortunately, many fine private benefactions compensated in some degree for the Government's parsimony. Later, more liberal and occasionally adequate appropriations were made for the library's support.

It will be convenient here to tabulate the principal acquisitions of the museum since its foundation :

c. 1756–74. Thomas Hollis frequently enriched the library by gifts.

1759. Solomon Da Costa presented 180 valuable Hebrew books in history, theology, and jurisprudence.

1762. George III purchased and presented the Thomason collection of books and tracts illustrating the history of the Civil War and Commonwealth period. George Thomason was a Royalist bookseller. About 1641 he began to gather together the numerous tracts that were being published so rapidly, and continued to do so until *c.* 1663. Dr. Barlow, Bodley's librarian, tried to persuade his curators to buy them, but without success. Henry Mearne purchased them (1680), and he

and his representatives kept them until 1762. Amounted to 2,220 volumes, containing about 33,000 separate publications.

1766. Dr. T. Birch bequeathed a large manuscript collection, rich in materials for British history and biography.

1769. Major A. Edward's bequest of £7,000 received.

1799. Sir William Musgrave added nearly 2,000 volumes, mainly biographical works.

1799. Rev. C. M. Cracherode bequeathed his collection of 4,500 volumes, valued at £10,000.

1807. Lansdowne MSS. purchased.

1813. Library of Francis Hargrave purchased for £8,000.

1818. Dr. C. Burney's library purchased for £13,500 (520 manuscripts; 13,500 volumes).

1820. Sir J. Banks left 16,000 volumes of works on natural science.

1823. George IV presented (?) his father's collection of 65,259 printed books, including many of great rarity, and 15,000 tracts, which had cost £130,000. Whether this accretion was given or received in exchange for a sum of money is a controversial point; and readers who care to follow it up should read Edwards, v. 1, 473; and *Notes and Queries*, ser. 1, v. iii, 427; v. iv. 69, 109, 155, 446; v. v. 89.

1829. Francis Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, bequeathed 67 volumes of manuscripts on the history and literature of France and Italy; 96 charters; £5,000, the interest on which was to be used for maintaining, binding, and augmenting the manuscripts bequeathed; and £7,000, the interest on which was to be paid to the custodian of the collection.

1831. Library of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, acquired from the Royal Society. Many of the books were collected on the continent by the earl during his travels. He bought some books belonging to the Palatine collection; and about 100 manuscripts that had belonged to Pirckheimer. The library was presented to the Royal Society (1667).

1846. Library of 20,240 volumes collected by Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) acquired under bequest.
1846. Chinese library of Mr. Morrison acquired from the Lords of the Admiralty; thus, 12,000 Chinese works of theology, poetry and prose fiction were added to the 3,000 already in the museum.
1849. Library of Dr. H. J. Michael, numbering 4,420 volumes, acquired; mainly theology.
1864. Cureton's Oriental manuscripts acquired; also Joseph Almanzi's collection of Hebrew manuscripts.
1883. Ashburnham MSS., mainly historical, acquired.
1894. Gift of books from Sultan of Turkey.
1895. Gibbon papers added.
1895–97. Nelson papers of Viscount Bridport added.
1899. Mr. V. Stuckey Lean bequeathed £50,000 for building.
1899. Hardwicke papers and manuscripts acquired.

The story of the British Museum Library during the Victorian era is the story of the lives of four eminent librarians, Sir Antonio Panizzi, John Winter Jones, Sir E. A. Bond, and Dr. Richard Garnett. Panizzi, one of the most remarkable librarians the world has known, was an Italian, born in 1797. He became an advocate and a politician, but his views being distasteful to the Modenese Government, he was obliged to flee the country (1821). With phenomenal lack of humour the authorities, in his absence, tried and sentenced him to be executed in effigy, and crowned the joke by sending him a bill for the expenses of the trial. In a letter signed 'The soul of Panizzi', and dated 'The Elysian fields, Regno diabolico', Panizzi declined to pay. He was at this time in Liver-

pool, where he learnt English; thence he went Londonwards to become professor of Italian in University College. There he produced his edition of Boiardo and Ariosto; became well known in society; and found good friends in most of the Liberal statesmen, to whose influence he owed his appointment as extra assistant in the museum (1831). His opportunity came in 1836, when he appeared before a committee inquiring into the management of the institution; and 'courageously, yet with perfect good taste and official decorum, he laid bare the enormous deficiencies of the national library'. As a result he was marked for promotion, and in 1837, just when the museum was being moved to its new quarters, he succeeded Mr. Baber as keeper of printed books. Henceforward the library made marked progress. Catalogue rules were formulated and the catalogue begun; the library was systematically overhauled for deficiencies, and a report presented (1845) by which an additional £10,000 a year was obtained for the purchase of books. He enforced the copyright act vigorously, even journeying through Scotland, Ireland and Wales to secure its observance. His influence with the donor secured the 'matchless Grenville library, perhaps the finest collection of books ever formed by a private individual'. He introduced all sorts of minor improvements in the administration; and, more important than all the foregoing, designed the famous circular reading-room (1852). He became principal librarian in 1856; retired in 1866; and

was gazetted as a knight three years later—never was honour more richly deserved. The extent of his labour, and the thoroughness and efficiency of his administration, his practical nature, cannot be indicated more clearly than by saying that when he became keeper the library contained 240,000 volumes; nineteen years later, when he became principal, the number was 640,000; by the time he retired the collection had been increased fivefold. He came at a time when the museum needed a strong controlling hand, and, considering the obstacles he had to overcome, no man has done more or so much for the museum as he.[1]

John Winter Jones, born in 1805, did not seriously begin his career in life until thirty years of age; then he became secretary to the Charity Commissioners. This temporary office led to his appointment as permanent assistant in the printed books department in the year Panizzi became keeper (1837). He bore a fair share of the general duties of the department, and probably the lion's share in preparing the rules for the new catalogue, and in carrying on the work of cataloguing. He 'held from the first a primacy among the assistants actually engaged in its compilation, which became enhanced as the difficulties of the task became more apparent . . . Subject to a reference to Mr. Panizzi in extreme cases, Mr. Jones was the ultimate authority. His clear head, legal habit of mind, and attention to minute bibliographical

[1] See Garnett, p. 288; also *Library* (N.S.), v. 2: 225.

accuracy, rendered him invaluable in this capacity, and his decisions constitute the basis and most essential part of the body of unprinted law which unforeseen exigencies gradually superinduced upon the original rules' (Garnett, p. 315). In 1850 he became assistant keeper; then in 1856 keeper of printed books; and finally principal librarian in 1866. 'His abilities rather qualified him to maintain an existing system in a high state of efficiency than to initiate alterations, and such was precisely the part marked out for him by the character of the times. The institution, thoroughly reorganized during the last thirty years, required rest, and no impulse was felt towards the reforms and developments which have proved practicable and salutary under his successor' (*Ib.*, p. 319). He died in 1881.

The successor referred to in the foregoing quotation was Sir Edward A. Bond, born in 1815. Under Sir Thomas Hardy and the Rev. J. Hunter he acquired an extensive knowledge of palaeography, which earned for him a post in the museum in the year Mr. Jones was appointed (1837). In 1854 he became assistant keeper of manuscripts; in 1867 head of the department. 'Few were prepared for the sweeping and vigorous measures by which, within a few years, he reorganized his department, reformed many defects which had been allowed to creep in, did away with the extraordinary mass of arrears which he found existing, and brought the work up to the high standard of regularity and efficiency which it has maintained

ever since' (*Ib.*, p. 336). In 1878 he succeeded Mr. Jones as principal librarian. In this capacity he introduced electric light into the museum; reduced the size of the catalogue by using print for the accession titles; persuaded the Treasury to print the huge catalogue of printed books now com pleted; adopted the sliding-press; and carried out the divorce of the natural history and Bloomsbury Museums. He retired in 1888, and died in 1898.

Dr. Richard Garnett never attained the position of principal librarian, though he won much distinction as keeper of printed books, and as an author. Nearly all his life he lived in close association with the museum. Born in 1835, he came to London in 1838, when his father, the Rev. R. Garnett, became assistant keeper of printed books; then in 1851, when only sixteen years old, he was himself appointed to an assistantship. Altogether he served forty-eight years, finishing his professional career in 1899, after having been keeper for nine years. He died in 1906, the best-loved man in his calling. As a writer once happily said, 'If he have any enemies they are more intangible than most ghosts, for we have never met with any one who knew of them even at third-hand'.[1]

Sir E. A. Bond was succeeded by Sir E. Maunde Thompson (1888), under whose directorship the British Museum has made great progress in all departments. In his time the value of the modern

[1] Read a memoir in *Library*, (N.S.), v. i, 1.

collections of the library has been doubled by the series of Subject-Indexes compiled by Mr. G. K. Fortescue, the present keeper of printed books.

The British Museum now contains over 2,000,000 volumes.

Bodleian Library.—'Above all thy rarities, old Oxenford,' said Charles Lamb, 'what do most arride and solace me are thy repositories of mouldering learning, thy bookshelves'; and of these he and M. Bourget put the Bodleian Library in the first line.[1] And in the hearts of all librarians it holds something like first place for the interest of its story, for its precious contents, and for the beauty and charm of its buildings.

The earliest record of a University Library relates to a small collection preserved in St. Mary's Church. Only when Bishop Cobham of Worcester made a handsome gift of manuscripts was a library room built adjoining St. Mary's. As this was but 45 × 20 feet, a donation of 600 manuscripts, worth 'a thousand pounds and more', from Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, made another move necessary. An upper floor was built to the Divinity School: it became known as 'Duke Humphrey's Library', and is now the oldest part of the Bodleian. In course of time the name of the 'good' Duke might have been permanently associated with the object of his beneficence. However, Edward VI's reforming com-

[1] Abstracted, with the Editor's permission, from an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* by the present writer, in September, 1902.

mission bethought themselves that a much needed reform was the destruction of papistical literature (1550). Being apostles of 'thorough', the well-meaning vandals seized and burned all books that appeared popish. Other works they sold to tailors as measures, and to bookbinders for covers. The ruin was complete: only four or five of the duke's gifts have been recovered, and the replenishing of fires was the last base use of the shelves and desks.

To Sir Thomas Bodley (*b.* 1544) fell the labour and honour of refounding. A scholar and a linguist, well-travelled and a courtier, he was admirably fitted for diplomacy, which at first seems to have been his chosen career. After serving in France and Holland he returned home, with the hope of soon enjoying a secretaryship. It had been twice promised. Burleigh commended him. Essex praised him. Who gave him the heartier support, in fact, is a matter for debate. Burleigh began to wonder what Essex was driving at; Essex was not less puzzled by Burleigh's conduct. Bodley seems to have been such a good servant that each statesman feared the alliance of the proposed secretary with the other. Hence the poor ambassador found that two supports may not always be so strong as one, for he lost the prize.

He was sorely disappointed, but resolved, he tells us, 'to possess my soul in peace all the residue of my days . . . to set up my staff at the Library door in Oxon; being thoroughly persuaded

that . . . I could not busy myself to better purpose, than by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waste) to the public use of students. For the effecting whereof I found myself furnished . . . of such four kinds of aids, as, unless I had them all, there was no hope of good success: for without some kind of knowledge, as well in the learned and modern tongues as in sundry other sorts of scholastical literature; without some purse-ability to go through with the charge; without great store of honourable friends to further the design; and without special good leisure to follow such a work; it would but have proved a vain attempt and inconsiderate' (*Reliquiae Bodleianae*).

So we find this successful diplomatist at an entirely different business. He superintends the refitting of Duke Humphrey's chamber; approves a design for a fine new roof, and plans shelves and desks. He interviews builders, carpenters, and carvers. He is often 'put in a dump' by the slowness and incapacity of the workmen; and beseeches librarian James to hurry them up. If the work is in arrears, 'lewd excuses' are inadmissible: 'I pray God Jo. Bentley keep touch in amending the building, whereof I stand the more in doubt for that I am informed he maketh that which was naught a great deal worse with his very unrightly daubing, which I trust Mr. Brent or Mr. Gent will cause him to forbear, or else I will forbear to him his wages'. Meanwhile he is despatching many other missives, couched in

a different tone, to scholars, booksellers, and notabilities in all parts of the kingdom, soliciting help. He is discovered in London turning over the contents of the bookshops by Archbishop Ussher, who is likewise engaged for the library of Dublin University. From time to time he receives books from the energetic John Bill, the bookseller, who is rummaging in the shops of Europe—in Rome, Padua, Florence, Venice, Milan, Frankfort, Paris, and elsewhere. All the books purchased in this way he invoices and barges 'in dry fats' to Oxford. And on November 8, 1602, the library is opened with a stock of about 2,500 volumes, in those days a fairly large collection.

Bodley was now to get his reward. He was a vain man: his relations accused him of this when he left his estate to the library instead of to them: and they spoke truly, if unkindly, for we gather traces of it in his letters. Working for the library with the best intentions in the world, he yet had no desire to share the credit with others. He was 'utterly against it', that only the principal donors should be mentioned in a suggested list of benefactions, because (he urged with consummate diplomacy) to omit any name at all would be invidious, and to publish a complete list was not worth while.[1] Also, although many men had approved of his labour, and had given assistance, yet 'the ordering and plotting of all things, and

[1] But a register of benefactors has been kept, and is probably complete, excepting the donation of Cromwell 'the usurper,' which is not entered.

the bulk of all the burden for matter of cost and otherwise', was, and would be, his alone. He would not assume the deserts of other men's bounties, nor would he consent to have his share of the work minimised or forgotten. The fact that what honours he got were deserved is some excuse for the desire to get them. In 1603 he was knighted, being one of the 237 who received the accolade by the time James I reached the south. In the following year he obtained a grant for his institution to be called 'The Library of the Foundation of Thos. Bodley, Knight', with licence to the University to purchase land in mortmain for its maintenance. He became known and respected as a man of learning. His opinion on the *Cogitata et Visa* was sought by Bacon; and he gave it, 'reputing it to be a token of your singular love, that you joined me with those of your chiefest friends to whom you would commend the first perusal of your draught'. Furthermore, James I, who visited the University in 1605, and again in 1610, was comlimentary and promising. 'Sir Thomas Bodley', he said, jockin' wi' more than usual deeficulty, 'should be Sir Thomas Godly'. Perhaps with more seriousness the British Solomon 'declared that if he were not a king, he would be an University man', or a captive, chained up in Bodley's, as were the books.

Although he had come to know Carlyle's 'goose goddess', commonly called Fame, his work still went on. He 'had not in vain been, for the best twenty years of his life, a diplomatist'. He

negotiated, 'after many rubs and delays', the extraordinary covenant with the Stationers' Company, entitling the library to receive a copy of every book published in the kingdom (1610).[1] To point to this result is to indicate clearly the ability, shrewdness and foresight of the man. But how can we adequately convey an idea of his labour? Perhaps by saying that soon the lack of storage necessitated the erection immediately of the first part of the great quadrangle now forming the main building of the Bodleian (1610). And perhaps what shows best his love for his undertaking is the bequest of considerable estate for salaries, repairs, and new books when he died in 1613—a last result of his 'drunkenness with the applause and vanity' of his library, which gave much annoyance to his friends.

It is not easy to think of Bodley as a founder of libraries or as a book-lover, because the shrewd, hard-featured portrait hanging in the Bodleian is rather that of a man of affairs. Such, indeed, he was. We are wont to think of him as a typical Elizabethan Englishman: confident in spirit, even sanguine and obstinate; not ungenerous personally, but greedy enough as founder; apt

[1] The Stationers' Company *agreed* to do this. By 14 Charles II, *c.* 33 (1662), three copies of books published in England were to be given to certain public libraries; by 8 Anne, *c.* 19 (1709) the number was increased to nine, then by 41 George III, *c.* 107, to eleven; but by 5 and 6 William IV, *c.* 110 (1835), it was reduced to five—the libraries now getting them are: Bodleian, Camb. Univ. Lib., Brit. Mus., Advocates' Lib., Trinity College Lib., Dublin.

and thorough in business, with a masterly grasp of detail, and of enormous and untiring industry; in short, a hard man of the world, tempered by geniality, tact and culture.

Before Bodley's death James I had promised him he should take what he listed from the royal library, but in the end gave little more than his own works, *voto majora fideque munera.* They were borne to the library with the ceremony befitting such an occasion. The Vice-Chancellor led the way for twenty-four scarlet-robed doctors and 'a mixed multitude of others'. Library-keeper Rous received the procession, made a 'verie prettie speech', and put the treasures *in archivis* with a 'great deal of respect'.[1] Largely as the result of Bodley's solicitations, or through the example he had set, Burleigh, Raleigh, Cotton, Sir Thomas Roe, and Sir Kenelm Digby helped on the noble work. Digby cut down fifty oaks in order to buy a building site near Exeter College, and a little later he gave a good number of fine books. Some of these books had belonged to one Thomas Allen, who had given them to Digby. Digby, believing Allen would like them to be well used, and knowing 'all good things are the better the more they are communicated', included them in his gift. The finest volumes in the Exeter

[1] This happened in 1620, after Bodley's death. In the same year a catalogue was published by Librarian James, containing about 20,000 articles. It was not classed, but alphabetical, and James regarded this as somewhat new, remarking upon the difficulty of classification.

monastic library also enriched the Bodleian. William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, the 'dark W. H.' of Shakespeare's Sonnets, gave 250 volumes of Greek manuscripts, the greater part of the famous library of Francesco Barocci. Pembroke was persuaded to this generous act by Archbishop Laud (1573–1645), himself a good friend to the library. Laud despatched agents to Germany to buy the treasures which the wars were rapidly dispersing, and to the East to acquire Oriental manuscripts. The total product was a collection of about 1,300 manuscripts in more than twenty languages. Some of these were obtained through Robert Huntington, before mentioned as visiting the Nitrian desert in search of manuscripts. As chaplain to the Levant Company at Aleppo for ten years, he was able to pay long visits to Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt to collect books. He gave a few manuscripts to Merton College and the Bodleian, but his entire collection of 646 volumes was bought for the latter for £700 (1693). Before this date many valuable manuscripts, including some Coptic copies of the Gospels, collected by him for Thomas Marshall, Dean of Gloucester, came to the Bodleian by gift ; and other books procured by him for Archbishop Marsh were put beside them when that prelate died (1713).

The Civil War did the library little or no damage. It suffered nothing at the hands of the Royalists ; and when Oxford capitulated to the Parliamentary Army (1646) General Fairfax not only set a guard over it, but presented the valuable Dodsworth

collection on the national, local, family and monastic history of England. Cromwell also gave the remainder of the Barocci library, some volumes of which had been retained by Pembroke. The famous library of John Selden (1584–1654) was nearly lost. According to Anthony à Wood, it was the intention of the great Parliamentarian to bequeath it to the Bodleian. At some time or other, however, he desired to borrow certain manuscripts. The statutes forbade the librarian to accede to the request. Charles I had made a similar attempt, and had gracefully received a like answer. Selden could not expect to fare better, but he took offence and left his library to the students of the Inner Temple, provided they found a building to contain it. The condition not being observed, Selden's executors handed the books over to the Bodleian ; meanwhile, eight chestsful of the registers of abbeys and other manuscripts relating to the history of England had been lost in the fire at the Temple. In all, the accession amounted to more than 8,000 volumes. They were stored in the new west wing, 'the Selden end', an addition which had been found necessary by 1630, so rapidly had the library grown since the erection of the east wing by the founder.

During the eighteenth century the Bodleian saw some dark times. The truth is, from 1701 to 1859 the librarians were ill-paid and inattentive, with scarcely any other policy than the comfortable one of 'letting things slide'. On Dr. Hudson, the librarian from 1701 to 1719, black paint is laid

pretty thickly by his assistant, Thomas Hearne. Hearne had a genius for vituperation, and was constantly hurling at his enemies such choice and elegant phrases as 'a pert jackanapes', 'a vain, proud, empty fellow', and 'an illiterate, mean, silly, trifling and impertinent fellow'. He describes his superior in similar terms: 'The Dr. hath been of a loose, profligate, and irreligious life . . . the family of the Harrisons he has married into now is good for just nothing, being as stingy (if it can be) as himself' (Hearne: *Diary*, v. 58). This unedifying extract raises the suspicion that Jack was scarcely better than his master; and further evidence confirms it, showing that the library was unfortunate at this time in its chiefest officers. Bowles, Fysher and Owen, the successors of Hudson, were simply easy-going and neglectful, but Mr. John Price (1768–1813) must surely for ever be regarded as an example of all that is bad in librarianship. While he held office the growth of arrears was terribly rapid. Donations came in; he could not help that. But purchases were discouraged, possibly as the easiest means of keeping arrears down. There being an enormous demand for Captain Cook's *Voyages*, when published in 1784, Price promptly loaned the library copy (a gift of George III) to the rector of Lincoln College, kindly telling him 'that the longer he kept it out the better, for while it was known to be in the library, he was perpetually plague with inquiries for it.' Another good example of his happy-go-lucky way

of conducting affairs is recorded in his own handwriting. He loaned a portrait to Professor White in 1806, receiving in exchange a written promise to return it. On this precious document appear the following remarks :—

> *Mem.* Not returned, June 24, 1807. Nor as yet, Oct. 1808, J.P. And never to be retd.

The date of the last pathetic note is not given ; and why the portrait was ' never to be returned ' is a mystery.

Despite the indifferent management, donations, as we have said, kept coming in. The most important was that of Dr. Richard Rawlinson (1690–1756), the nonjuring bishop, who presented a collection of 4,800 manuscripts, especially rich in historical and topographical matter (1734). A letter written by Rawlinson indicates how he acquired some of his documents : ' My agent last week met with some papers of Archbishop Wake at a chandler's shop : this is unpardonable in his executors, as all his manuscripts were left to Christ Church ; but *quære* whether these did not fall into some servant's hands, who was ordered to burn them, and Mr. Martin Folkes ought to have seen that done '. Among the pickings of chandlers' shops, and a whole mass of unsorted deeds, papers, ships' logs, were the remains of Thomas Hearne, the Thurloe State Papers, Samuel Pepys' papers,[1] and manuscript material once be-

[1] His books went to Magdalene College, Cambridge.

longing to Michael Mattaire, Sir J. Jekyll, and Walter Clavell. A gift so excellent would surely put energy into any librarian, however slack. It did nothing of the kind. The manuscripts were left to shift for themselves, in cupboards—*in tenebris*, to use the phrase which got Hearne into trouble in Hudson's time. And *in tenebris* many were allowed to stay until Mr. Henry Coxe took office (1860).

In the early years of the nineteenth century Lord Sunderlin gave the best books from the collection of his brother, Edmund Malone, the Shaksperian critic. Richard Gough's collection, acquired by bequest in 1809, comprised more than 3,700 volumes, chiefly on English topography, Anglo-Saxon and Northern literature, and printed service books ; while Francis Douce's large library, presented in 1834, is famous for its missals and books of hours. In 1841 the Rev. Robert Mason presented the munificent sum of £36,000. Between 1836 and 1847 further riches came in the shape of Jonathan Boucher's collection of tracts on American affairs ; and George Chalmers' collection on the same subject—both acquired by purchase.

Such benefactions, and others we have not space to mention, with the receipts under the covenant with the Stationers' Company, have built up a library great in every sense of the word. In the importance of its individual treasures it ranks nearly first among the collections of the world. Its Oriental manuscripts, Biblical codices, and Rabbinical literature are unrivalled ; in

materials for English history it is particularly rich, while its series of Greek and Latin *editiones principes* is unquestionably one of the finest. 'The oldest public library in Europe' has also become one of the largest. It passed from a corner of St. Mary's to a small room, thence to Duke Humphrey's, gradually annexed the buildings of the main quadrangle, the Radcliffe Camera, and finally the basements of the Ashmolean and of the Examination Schools in High Street. But a few years ago the Ashmolean books were added to the Bodleian. These consist of three small collections made by Elias Ashmole (1617–92), Dr. Martin Lister and Anthony à Wood. Ashmole's original library—a large one, and the fruit of thirty years' industrious collecting—was accidentally burnt in a fire at the Middle Temple (1678); but during the fourteen years left to him before he died, he brought together 1,758 volumes, of which 620 were manuscripts, principally on historical and scientific subjects, and these he bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum.

Altogether the Bodleian contains now about 700,000 volumes and 32,000 manuscripts, besides prints, coins, seals, and other curiosities. One cannot but envy the student whose lot it is to work amongst a library so large and so wealthy in rare and precious books—'in the heart of learning, under the shadow of the mighty Bodley, where the odour of the moth-scented coverings of the books is fragrant as the first bloom of those sciential apples which grew

amid the happy orchard'. Countless subtle influences unite to arouse the purest and noblest emotions—architectural beauty, mellow and soothing, ancient, heavy-carved furniture, fine portraits, the outlook on the groves and greensward of a beautiful garden, the quiet privacy of the alcoves, the accumulated associations of three centuries. 'C'est la poésie même de l'étude rendue présente et comme palpable'.

Cambridge University Library.—This library did not enjoy the advantage of being founded by such a benefactor as Sir Thomas Bodley, who not only gave the Oxford library a good start, but endowed it with a name and established for it a tradition. Perhaps this circumstance explains why Bodley's library has more often received handsome gifts than the sister library at Cambridge.

Two lists of the library's contents at an early period exist, one of 52 volumes in the library in 1425, the other of 330 volumes in stock in 1473. In 1475 Thomas Rotheram or Scot gave the building in which the library was stored until mid-eighteenth century, as well as between two and three hundred books and manuscripts. Among subsequent donors were John Harris, mayor of Cambridge, Theodore Beza, the reformer, Andrew Perne, and Francis Bacon. In 1648 Parliament voted £2,000 towards the 'building and finishing' of the library, and £500 for George Thomason's collection of books in Eastern languages. A year later Parliament also permitted

the library to receive Archbishop Bancroft's collection, which he had bequeathed provisionally in 1610. This collection was returned to Lambeth at the Restoration.

Notwithstanding these acquisitions, in 1654, when Bodley's foundation was in flourishing condition, John Evelyn found the Cambridge library 'mean, though somewhat improved by the wainscotting and the books lately added by Archbishop Bancroft's collection. They showed us little antiquity', he says, 'only King James's works, being his own gift, and kept very reverently'. Other accessions somewhat improved matters: namely, a bequest of over 4,000 volumes by Mr. Henry Lucas (1664); the library of over 10,000 volumes brought together by Dr Holdsworth; a gift of over £1,000 presented by Tobias Rustat, on condition that it was invested and the proceeds applied to the purchase of 'the choicest and most useful books' (1666); and Bishop Hacket's books (1670). Rustat's example was followed by Mr. William Worts, who left an estate to the University, the income from which was to be used for certain special purposes, and the balance handed over to the library (1709). Owing to some neglect or misunderstanding the library did not benefit under this bequest until about 1820.

In 1715 George I gave Bishop Moore's library, of over 30,000 books and manuscripts, including many early English printed books. Bishop Burnet refers to this collection as 'a most valuable trea-

sure, both of printed books and manuscripts, beyond what one can think the life and labour of one man could have compassed; and which he [Bishop Moore] is as ready to communicate as he has been careful to collect it'. 'This collection was itself more than double the whole of the then existing University Library; and it was the means of altering the whole face of the University buildings. . . . A new office, that of Principal Librarian, was created, as became the dignity of the place, and all sorts of learned men were chartered to do the work necessary to render the books available for use as speedily as possible, but, from one cause or another, the work flagged, and it was upwards of five-and-thirty years before the new library was rendered ready for use; and during that time the pillage was so unlimited, that the only wonder is that we have any valuable books left'.[1] The new building was opened in 1755.

The library continued to grow but slowly. Not till 1819 was the copyright privilege of much effect. About 1837 a new building was projected, and towards this and other ends a sum of over £21,000 was raised; but although subscriptions came in so freely, grants towards the building expenses had to be made from the library funds, and the purchase of books was diminished in consequence, while only one wing was completed.

In 1868 Sir G. Scott enlarged the south wing by adding a storey to the existing building, and

[1] Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 201; read his essay on the library.

continuing it to the west limit of the site. Twenty-one years later the west (Hancock) front, connecting Scott's building with Cockerell's building of 1837, was erected.

In 1905 another appeal was made on behalf of the library, which seems always to have been more or less in difficulties. It was then stated: 'The ever-increasing stream of books flows in, but there are no shelves to contain them; scholars give or bequeath their collections, but there are no hands to catalogue them; members of the staff grow old, but there is no money wherewith to pension them; valuable books are offered for purchase, but it is necessary to decline them'. About £147,900 was required to extend the accommodation and to augment the maintenance fund. At the time of writing (September, 1908) the library authorities are about to take possession of a large bookstore which is estimated to hold some 460,000 volumes. This addition was made possible by the generous gift of £5,000 by the Goldsmiths' Company.

In 1858 the estimated number of volumes was 200,000; now it would appear to amount to over 720,000 volumes, 9,000 manuscripts, and 80,000 maps. Among these books are a fine series of early productions of the English press, especially Caxtons and Wynkyn de Wordes, and of incunabula of Cologne and the Low Countries; while the following special collections are worthy of note:—The Acton (59,000 volumes of history collected by Lord Acton, at his death purchased

by Mr. Andrew Carnegie and presented to Mr. John [now Lord] Morley, who gave them to the University Library); the Adams collection; the *Adversaria* (printed books with manuscript notes); the 'almost ideal Chinese library' of over 4,300 volumes collected by Sir Thomas Wade during many years spent in China; the Bensly Oriental books; the Gibb collection of Turkish books; the Irish books (mainly Henry Bradshaw's collection); the Madden series of sheet ballads; the Ritschl collection (classical pamphlets); the Sandars manuscripts and early printed books; the Taylor-Schechter Hebrew documents and manuscript fragments from the Genizah at Old Cairo; the Venn collection of books on Logic; and the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts.

The regulations are very liberal: members of the senate are permitted to borrow as many as ten books at a time, while free access is allowed to about 500,000 volumes. This freedom of access to the books', says Mr. H. G. Aldis, 'is one of the greatest and most valued privileges, and to it is, I believe, largely due that real love and affection in which the library is held by so many of those who frequent it'.[1]

John Rylands Library, Manchester.—Although only opened to the public in 1899, this library has a collection of books rarely to be found in any library of recent foundation. But happy chance and the munificence of the founder, the late Mrs.

[1] See his interesting essay on the Cambridge University Library in *Lib. Assoc. Record*, v. vii, 626.

John Rylands, conspired to put within the reach of Manchester people one of the finest accumulations of modern times.

Count Reviczky, a Hungarian noble of fortune and culture (*b.* 1737), well known in his day as a collector of choice books, particularly incunabula, gleaned in the course of years an 'extraordinary series of the primary and most choice editions of the Greek and Latin classics. No collector has ever succeeded in amassing a complete series of first editions, but Reviczky, whose researches in this direction were incessant, is believed to have made a nearer approximation to completeness than any previous or contemporary collector' (*John Rylands Library, Brief Historical Description*, 1906, p. 6). In 1790 the count sold his collection to the second Earl Spencer, on terms which cost the purchaser in the end only £2,500; and from that time the Althorp Library of the Spencers became famous, although it had been founded by the first earl some years before.[1]

The accession 'gave direction to Lord Spencer's taste in collecting. . . . From this time onward, for something like forty years, Lord Spencer is said to have haunted the salerooms and book-

[1] Earl Spencer's great-grandfather, the third Earl of Sunderland, who was Harley's rival both politically and as a book-collector, accumulated a library described in 1703 as the finest in Europe both for the disposition of the apartments and for the books. His collection, amounting to 17,000 volumes, was pledged to the Duke of Marlborough for £10,000 in part payment of a loan, and in 1749 it went to Blenheim.

sellers' shops, not only in this country but throughout Europe, in his eagerness to enrich his already famous collection with whatever was fine and rare—even to the purchase of duplicates in order to exercise the choice of copies' (*Ib.*, p. 7). When Lord Spencer heard of a rarity in a public collection, he did not hesitate to propose an exchange of a number of modern books for it : as in the case of the two Virgils belonging to the Royal Library of Stuttgart, which were exchanged for some theological books, to the satisfaction of both parties. When the Althorp library was sold it amounted to more than 40,000 volumes.[1]

Fortunately, it came into the market in 1892, about two years after the builders had begun work on the fine repository in Deansgate, Manchester, and Mrs. Rylands, being anxious not only to make the building, but its contents, a worthy memorial of her husband, seized the opportunity of buying the collection, which might otherwise have gone to America. At a later date (1901) Mrs. Rylands bought and added to her memorial the splendid collection of manuscripts belonging to the Earl of Crawford, of Haigh Hall, Wigan. She died in 1908; and £200,000 of her large fortune was bequeathed to the library. The library contains about 130,000 volumes, 2,500 being incunabula, and more than 800 being publications of the Aldine Press; it is noted for these

[1] It is described by Dibdin in *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (1814–15); *Aedes Althorpianae* (1822); and *Book Rarities in Lord Spencer's Library* (1811).

and other bibliographical rarities, such as books formerly belonging to great collectors—De Thou, Grolier, Maioli, and Diane de Poitiers—and for its theological works.[1]

Reference can be made only to the oldest and largest of the other important English libraries :—

Birmingham Public Libraries.—Founded 1860. Contains 322,129 volumes. Special collections on Shakspere, Byron, Cervantes, Milton.

Liverpool Public Libraries.—Established in 1852 under special Act of Parliament. Entire cost of present buildings (opened 1860), except Picton Reading Room, and Hornby Room, borne by Sir William Brown. Picton Reading Room opened 1879. Rich in local literature, books on fine art and natural history. The Hornby collection of fine art books and valuable prints is housed in a special room, opened 1907. Reference Library now contains 137,883 volumes; circulating departments, 133,838 volumes.

London, Guildhall Library.—Original collection founded by Sir Richard Whittington and William Bury, 1421–26; destroyed partly in 1549. Refounded, 1824. Special collections : books, prints, maps and manuscripts on London—the finest collection in existence. Hebrew literature; libraries of the Clockmakers', Gardeners' and Cooks' Companies; library of the old Dutch Church in Austin Friars; the Willshire collection of early prints illustrating history of engraving; National Dickens Library. Contains 134,712 volumes and pamphlets, and nearly 6,000 manuscripts. See article by Mr. E. M. Borrajo in *Library Association Record*, v. 10: 381.

London, Lambeth Palace Library.—Founded by Archbishop Bancroft, 1610. Laud, Tenison, Manners Sutton, and others generously gave to it. Rich in old theology,

[1] Read *The John Rylands Memorial Library* (*Lib. Assoc. Rec.*, v. i, 564).

rare illuminated manuscripts, and early printed books. Open to public; now contains 40,000 volumes, and 14,000 manuscripts.

London, London Library.—Founded by Dean Milman, Mr. Gladstone, Carlyle, and others in 1841. A subscription library of standard literature. Contains 230,000 lending books, and 10,000 reference books. It is probably used more by eminent scholars and literary men than any other library in the kingdom.

London, National Art Library.—Founded, 1841. Art students admitted free; the public on payment of a small fee. Contains 115,000 volumes; 160,000 prints and drawings; and 175,000 photographs. Under the same management are the Dyce Library of 15,000 volumes on English drama, poetry, and Italian literature, bequeathed in 1869, and the Forster library of 19,000 volumes of history, biography, and travel, bequeathed in 1876.

London, Patent Office Library.—Founded, 1855. Special library of science and technology; transactions and journals of learned societies. Open to public; contains about 103,000 volumes.

London, Sion College Library.—Founded, 1629, for the use of the clergy of the city and suburbs of London. Mainly theological; rich in Port Royal authors, and liturgies. Copyright privilege commuted for annual grant, 1835. Open by leave.

London, University College Library.—Founded 1828. Rich in archaeology, classics, science, medicine, and Oriental books. Open by leave; contains about 115,000 volumes.

Manchester Public Libraries.—Founded 1852; a public subscription of nearly £13,000 raised to establish it. Rich in books on local history, topography, and industries; in political and commercial tracts; and in periodicals. Contains 151,974 volumes in reference library; and 217,044 in lending libraries. Here also is housed the Greenwood Library for librarians, probably the finest collection of books on bibliography and library science ever brought together; books from it are lent to librarians all over the country.

Oxford, All Soul's College.—Library still contains books presented to it by Henry VI (1440). In 1710 Colonel Christopher Codrington bequeathed books valued at £6,000, and a sum of £10,000 in money, £6,000 to be for the erection of a building, and the rest for buying books. Rich in jurisprudence. Now contains about 100,000 volumes.

Oxford, Queen's College Library.—Earliest traces of library occur in 1362; chains for books bought in 1389. Dr. Thomas Barlow, Bodley's librarian, bequeathed principal part of his library, 1691. Rev. Robert Mason bequeathed £30,000 for the purchase of books. Rich in theology, English and modern European history, and English county histories. Now contains about 100,000 volumes.

CHAPTER IX

PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES OF SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

SCOTLAND

Library of the Faculty of Advocates.—This, the leading library of Scotland, was founded in 1682. In 1680 a committee of the Faculty reported that ' it was fitt that, seeing if the recusants could be made to pay their entire money, there would be betwixt £3,000 and £4,000 in cash ; that the same be imployed on the best and fynest lawers and other law books, conforme to a catalogue to be condescended upon by the Facultie, that the same may be a fonde for ane Bibliothecque whereto many lawers and others may leave their books '.

The project was actively supported by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, who became Dean of Faculty in 1682, an eminent jurist, an accomplished scholar, and, to the end of his days, so thorough a student, that when the changes of the Revolution led him to abandon public life, he betook himself to Oxford, that he might enjoy at leisure the stores of the Bodleian ' (Edwards : v. ii, 3). Two years after the Committee's report the library was founded, and a little later the first

librarian was appointed. Originally the library was but a law library: it received some gifts of law books, and occasionally small sums were voted by the Faculty for the purchase of others. However, the collection became gradually more general in character, while even in its earliest days care had been taken to secure materials for Scottish history. By 1686 the collection and the furniture was valued at £11,000 Scots; six years later it comprised 3,140 volumes. In 1700 some rooms in the Exchange Stairs, Parliament Close, where the books were housed, suffered by fire, and the library came near perishing. It was then moved to the ground floor of the Parliament House, where it has remained ever since. By Queen Anne's Act it came to enjoy the copyright privilege, and from this date it rapidly grew in size and became more and more general in character. On the resignation of the first well-known librarian, Ruddiman, David Hume was appointed as successor (1752). According to Hume, it was 'a petty office of forty or fifty guineas a year' and 'a genteel office'; though the salary was small, he accepted it because it gave him 'the command of a large library'. He did not get the office without trouble. A member of the Faculty was named as librarian, but the majority voted for the historian. 'Then', writes Hume, 'came the violent cry of "Deism," "Atheism," and "scepticism". 'Twas represented that my election would be giving the sanction of the greatest and most learned body in this country to my profane and

irreligious principles'. The ladies were his partizans. 'One has broken off all commerce with her lover, because he voted against me! And W. Lockhart, in a speech to the Faculty said: "there was no walking the streets, nor even enjoying one's own fireside", on account of their importunate zeal. . . . Such, dear Doctor, is the triumph of your friend"' (Burton: *Hume*, v. i, 372).

Two years after taking up office Hume was in trouble. Three of the curators censured him for buying indecent works, 'unworthy of a place in a learned library', by La Fontaine, Bussy-Rabutin and Crébillon. He wrote to Lord Advocate Dundas, denying Bussy-Rabutin's impropriety; in any case, it did not matter if the impropriety were executed with decency and ingenuity! 'I can presume', continues Hume, with some pertinence, 'without intending the least offence, that as the glass circulates at your Lordship's table, this topic of conversation will sometimes steal in, provided always there be no ministers present. And even some of these reverend gentlemen I have seen not to dislike the subject' (*Letters*, ed. Hill, p. 352). He sought redress, but feeling certain he would not succeed, did not press for it. 'Being equally unwilling to lose the use of the books, and to bear an indignity, I retain the office, but have given Blacklock, our blind poet, a bond of annuity for the salary. I have now put it out of these malicious fellows' power to offer me any indignity, while my motive for

remaining in this office is so apparent'. Hume's biographer, Burton, throws a curious light on the state of affairs in the library at this time. Walter Goodall, who was 'seldom sober', acted as assistant-librarian. 'One day . . . when Goodall was busied with his "Vindication"' of Mary of Scots, whom he worshipped, 'he chanced to fall asleep, with his head resting on his manuscript—an accident which some may think typical of the fate awaiting his readers—and in that position was observed by Hume, who roared in his ear that Mary was —— and had killed her husband. Poor Goodall started from his slumber, in doubt whether he was dreaming, or had heard a real voice. But, almost before his eyes were well open, he sprang upon Hume, and thrust him to the farther end of the library, exclaiming that he was some base Presbyterian, bent on murdering the queen's fame, as his forbears had murdered her person' (Burton: *D. Hume*, v. i, 374). With a drunken assistant spending a part of his time whitewashing Queen Mary, and a librarian writing a history of England, and indulging in horseplay during intervals of his official work, we may well wonder how the library was administered under them. In the eighteenth century it is common to find literary men receiving charity under the guise of salary for library services; and even to-day such questionable methods of poor-relief are sometimes practised. It suited owners of libraries to pay a diminutive stipend, and literary men to receive it so long as they were permitted to carry

on their own work ; but no system could be more detrimental to the good administration of libraries. Hume, as we have seen, was content to have the use of the collection in return for his 'services', but he was probably no loss to it when he resigned after serving five years.

Several large and important acquisitions were made for the library during the nineteenth century, among them being the Marquis of Astorga's collection of 3,400 old Spanish books (1824) ; Professor Thorkelin's library of about 1,200 volumes, relating chiefly to the history and antiquities of the northern nations ; and the Dietrich collection of tracts and dissertations, including many of the writings of Luther, Melancthon and other leading reformers, mostly in the original editions. This last collection was purchased by Sir William Hamilton for £80, but through some mismanagement it was left in a damp cellar, whence Mr. Halkett, well known and respected as a librarian, rescued it.

The Advocates' Library now contains over 525,000 volumes (including many incunabula and specimens of early Scottish printing) and 3,100 manuscripts ; the most valued parts of the collection relate to law, Scottish civil and ecclesiastical history, genealogy and heraldry, poetry, Bibles, prayer-books, liturgies, and Greek and Latin classics.

Since 1700 the premises of the library have been frequently extended ; a large addition is at present (1908) in course of construction.

Other important Scottish libraries are the following :—

Aberdeen, University College.—The library of King's College dates from 1495 ; that at Marischal College, devoted to science, medicine and law, from 1593. The former collection benefited under the Copyright Act until 1835 ; since then it has received a grant of money instead. Rich in classics, classical archæology, and Celtic literature. Now contains about 180,000 volumes.

Edinburgh, Signet Library.—Established by the Society of Writers to H. M. Signet in 1755. At first only law books were collected ; then, in 1788, the library began to become more general in character. Rich in Scottish and English history and topography, and in early printed books, besides law. Non-members may be admitted on application to curators. Now contains about 107,000 volumes.

Edinburgh, University Library.—Founded with law and theological books bequeathed by Clement Little, 1580. Library building erected, 1615. Has received many donations, among them a collection from Drummond of Hawthornden (1627) and 2,000 volumes from Rev. Jas. Nairne (1678). The copyright privilege, which had been enjoyed since 1709, was commuted in 1835. Now contains about 208,000 volumes.

Glasgow Public Libraries.—The Mitchell or Central Reference Library was founded in 1874 out of bequest of £70,000 by Mr. Stephen Mitchell. This library is rich in Scottish poetry, Glasgow literature, early Glasgow printing, books on Burns, and the Covenanters. It now contains about 175,000 volumes. In 1902 Mr. Robert Jeffrey bequeathed a valuable collection of books, and about £20,000 subject to the payment of some annuities. A system of sixteen district libraries has been organized, towards the cost of which Mr. Carnegie gave £105,000 ; they contain about 140,000 volumes. See *Descriptive Handbook of the Glasgow Libraries*, 1907.

Glasgow, University Library.—Dates from fifteenth century. The Hunterian Museum, which is housed in

the University, is rich in manuscripts and early printed books, especially Greek and Latin classics. Now contains about 200,000 volumes. See *Notes on Glasgow Libraries*, 1907.

St. Andrews University Library.—Traces of college libraries from 1478 to 1499. University library, with which collegiate libraries were united, was founded in 1611. Enjoyed copy privilege until 1835. A modern general library, strong in pedagogy. Now contains 118,000 volumes.

IRELAND

The Library of **Trinity College, Dublin,** was founded about the same time as the Bodleian. Like the Escorial, it owes its foundation to the victors of a fight. In this case the conquerors at the Battle of Kinsale, 1601, 'resolved to do some worthy Act that might be a memorial of the gallantry of military men, and of that due respect which they had for true religion and learning. To promote which they raised amongst themselves . . . £1,800 to buy books, to furnish the Library of the University of Dublin . . . and it was resolved by the benefactors that Dr. Challoner and Mr. J. Ussher should . . . procure such books as they should judge most necessary to the library. . . . Coming into England for that purpose . . . they met Sir T. Bodley there, buying books for his new erected library at Oxford; so that they began a correspondence . . . helping each other to procure the choicest and best books' (Parr: *Life of Ussher*, p. 10). James Ussher (1581–1656), Archbishop of Armagh, one of the

collectors mentioned in the above quotation, was a remarkable bibliophile. Besides working for Trinity College, he brought together a goodly library for his own enjoyment. This private collection was to be sold after his death, but Cromwell stopped the sale, and, by an order in council (1656), appointed three scholars ' to certify what part was " fitt to be bought by the State " '. Ultimately, the whole library, amounting to about 10,000 volumes and also many valuable manuscripts, was purchased for £2,200, and the money was raised in part by the Irish Army. The library was sent to Dublin Castle, the object being to make it a part of a new college, then projected. But in 1661 the whole collection came to Trinity College as the ' gift ' of Charles II.

Since that year Trinity College Library has been augmented with gifts from many benefactors. The most important were Sir Jerome Alexander's bequest of law books and valuable manuscripts (1674) ; Dr. Palliser's bequest of over 4,000 volumes on condition that they should be kept together and called Bibliotheca Palliseriana (1726) ; Dr. Claudius Gilbert's gift of nearly 13,000 volumes (1736) ; Dr. Stearne's bequest of a valuable collection of manuscripts (1741) ; and Mr. Quin's bequest of a choice collection of classical and Italian books (1805). The year 1802 is noteworthy for the purchase of M. Greffier Fagel's library of 20,000 volumes for £10,000, by the Board of Erasmus Smith, and presented by them to the college.

The library has enjoyed the fruits of the copy-tax since 1801. In 1907 it contained 303,189 printed books and 2,059 manuscripts, among the latter being the eighth (?) century *Book of Kells*, one of the most beautiful manuscripts in existence. It is open to the public by leave.

Another Irish library of importance is the **National Library**, founded in 1877 at Leinster House. It was opened in a handsome permanent building in 1890. The books of the Royal Dublin Society have been transferred to this collection, which is also rich in history, biography, music, books on Ireland, zoology and fine arts. It is open to the public, and contains about 140,000 volumes.

CHAPTER X

PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES

LIBRARY history in America begins about a century before the foundation of the first popular lending library. Most of the early collections were connected with educational institutions. This class of library, from small beginnings, has increased rapidly; in 1875 the number of college libraries, not counting academy, school and college students' society libraries, was 312; in 1900, 689 college libraries were reported.

Of these, the oldest and most important is **Harvard University Library**, which was started with a small collection belonging to John Harvard in 1638, six years after the foundation of the university. Other benefactors came forward, among them Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Dr. Lightfoot, Richard Baxter, and Bishop Berkeley. Baxter sent the library some of his commentaries and histories, among them Freherus, Reuherus, and Pistorius's collections. 'Now', he writes, thinking of the personal loss of this gift, 'I must depend on the credit of my memory'. The fire of 1764, which destroyed the whole of the first Harvard library and other property of

the college, served to show how many friends the institution had. Gifts came from all sources: from the legislature by subscription, from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from Thomas and Brand Hollis, from Thomas Palmer and other generous friends.

The collection was more than restored. In 1790 the catalogue occupied 350 pages; and some idea of the character of the collection may be given if we note that 150 pages catalogued theological works. Through the generosity of Mr. I. Thorndike the college acquired the celebrated library of Professor Ebeling of Hamburg, which consisted of 3,200 books, mainly on America, and about 10,000 maps and charts (1818).

Another valuable accumulation of Americana was presented by Mr. Samuel Elliott (1823). When the library had outgrown its accommodation, a bequest from Mr. Christopher Gore, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, enabled the College authorities to erect Gore Hall, to which the books were moved in 1841. A year later thirty-four Bostonians subscribed £4,000 for the purchase of books, and about 12,000 volumes were added in this way. In 1841 the library contained 38,000 volumes; in 1877, with other special collections of the college, 259,000 volumes and 200,000 pamphlets; and in 1907, 742,210 volumes and 440,512 pamphlets. Only members of the University and privileged persons may take books away; but the public may refer to the books in Gore Hall, where access is allowed to about 72,000 volumes. Har-

vard, moreover, lends to other libraries. It is a representative University Library, strong in philology, history, philosophy, jurisprudence, literature, and theology.

Yale University Library, New Haven, was founded in 1700 by eleven ministers, who ' formed themselves into an association for the erection of a college '. At their first meeting, as the initial step towards the proposed college, each of them brought a number of books. Thirty-three years later Bishop Berkeley presented 1,000 volumes, then reputed to be ' the finest collection that ever came together at one time into America ' and his example was followed, on a smaller scale, by Newton, Halley, Bentley, Burnet and others. Until 1845 the collection grew very slowly ; but in that year a fund was raised, large purchases were made in Europe, and the library became one of the important libraries of the States. In 1849 it amounted to 20,516 volumes, and in 1904 to about 475,000 volumes, mainly theology, literature, philosophy, history, philology and law. Books are lent to other libraries.

The State libraries of the United States correspond with the ordinary European governmental library. They grew up quite naturally as libraries for the use of the legislature and of the officials. The earliest library of this kind was established in New Hampshire.

New York State Library, Albany, is perhaps the most important. Founded in 1818, it retained all the ordinary characteristics of the State library

until 1845, when it was put under the management of the regents of New York State University. Since then it has grown rapidly. Not a small part of its importance and its fame is due to the association of Mr. Melvil Dewey with it as director. Mr. Dewey was born in 1851. Since 1873, when he became librarian of Amherst College, he has devoted nearly the whole of his time to librarianship and the promotion of library interests. He took the leading part in organizing the American Library Association, founded in 1876. In this same year, which he calls his *annus mirabilis*, he founded the Library Bureau, and, more important still, published the first edition of his *Decimal Classification*. After acting as librarian of Columbia College for a time, Mr. Dewey became in 1888 first consulting librarian, and then director of the New York State Library. In this capacity he thoroughly reorganized the library, founded the first State Library Association, 1890, drafted the New York State Library Law of 1892, and organized the State system of travelling libraries and library inspection.[1]

The New York State collection now consists of 604,037 volumes and pamphlets, without counting documents.

Corresponding with the State libraries in character and purpose, but overtopping them all, is the **Library of Congress**, the national library of the United States, now famous for the efficiency of its administration, and for the liberality with

[1] Read essay in *Library* (N.S.), v. ii, 337.

which the American Government supports it. It was founded in 1800, about the time the Government was first established at Washington. It appears that a small but valuable library was brought together, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Mitchell of New York, and Dr. Gallatin. In 1814, however, the Capitol and the library were totally destroyed by the British troops. Being then in some financial difficulty, President Jefferson, to make good the loss, offered to sell for £4,600 his own collection of 6,700 volumes. The offer was accepted, and his books became the nucleus of the second collection (1815). About seventeen years later a law library was established as a separate collection ; but, after the new Library of Congress was opened, it was retained at the Capitol for the convenience of the courts. In 1851, when the library had grown to over 50,000 volumes, a fire occurred and destroyed considerably more than half the stock ; but nearly all the books of the law library, and most of Jefferson's collection on the history and politics of America, were saved. Congress, however, with great liberality, voted money for the Library's restoration, and in four years over 60,000 volumes were registered, so that the collection was larger than before the fire. In 1846 an Act was passed requiring the deposit of two copies of every book on which copyright was desired, one for the Library of Congress, and one for the Smithsonian Institution. Owing to inter-State difficulties this enactment could not be properly enforced for some

time ; but in 1870 an amendment brought about great improvement in this respect.

From 1864 to the present day the Congressional Library has made enormous progress under two able librarians, Mr. A. R. Spofford and Mr. Herbert Putnam. Two years after the appointment of Mr. Spofford the library of the Smithsonian Institution, which had been founded with a bequest by James Smithson in 1846, was transferred to the Congressional collection. At the time the Smithsonian library comprised about 40,000 volumes, chiefly on natural science.

In 1872 Mr. Spofford made the first demand for a new building, and he repeated it every year for fourteen years ; then at length action was taken (1886), and twenty-five years later the building was ready for occupation. This building, including the site, cost considerably over $7,000,000, and it is still ' the largest, most ornate, and most costly building in the world yet erected for library purposes '. It is designed to contain over 4,000,000 volumes. By 1907 it had amassed 1,433,838 volumes and pamphlets, 94,483 maps, 464,618 pieces of music, 253,822 prints, and so has won from the Boston Public Library the premier position among American libraries. Although a very rich general library, it is strongest in natural science, politics, history and law. Like most of the State libraries, it is free for reference to all adults, but only members of Congress and officials may take books out of the building.

In 1898 the Congressional Library took advan-

tage admirably of its position as a national library to print and distribute cards for the card catalogues of any library willing to subscribe. On the whole, the scheme has been successful.

Boston Public Library probably owes its early foundation to Josiah Quincey, junior, who suggested to the city council that the State Legislature should be asked to give Boston authority to establish and maintain a rate-supported library. The necessary law was passed in 1848. 'Mr. George Ticknor was the person who mapped out the sagacious policy of that library—a policy which has never been improved. . . . For fifteen years or more Mr. Ticknor gave the subject his personal attention'.[1] He also gave a choice library of ancient classics and modern French and Italian literature. While the library was in process of formation, Mr. Edward Everett presented his valuable collection of United States documents; Major Bigelow gave £1,000; Nathaniel Bowditch added his books, especially rich in works on mathematics; Mr. Jonathan Philips £2,000; and Mr. Joshua Bates made his first donation of £10,000. In 1854 the library was first opened to the public with about 12,000 volumes. Now it contains about 1,100,000 volumes. Over two hundred agencies of various kinds for the distribution of books have been established; and the central library, finished in

[1] W. F. Poole, Presidential Address, American Library Association Conference, 1887.

1895, is the finest library building in America, excepting only the Library of Congress.

The New York Public Library was formed by the consolidation of the Astor, Lenox and Tilden foundation libraries. The Astor Library was founded in 1848 by bequest of John Jacob Astor, and with funds belonging to his son and grandson. Their united benefactions amounted to about two million dollars. The library was opened in 1854 with an endowment of over a million dollars. The Lenox Library was founded in 1870 with $800,000, belonging to Mr. James Lenox, who also gave a very rich collection of Americana, Shakesperiana, Elizabethan poetry and Bibles. The Hon. S. J. Tilden bequeathed seven million dollars for the foundation of a public library, but the will was set aside in the law courts. However, one of the heirs, Mrs. William A. Hazard, was not content that Mr. Tilden's purpose should be thwarted, and she handed over to the trustees more than two million dollars.

In 1895 the three foundations were united. Then, in 1897, the city of New York obtained power from the legislature to issue bonds for the construction of a central building in every way worthy of the city. Plans were approved the same year. At the time of writing the building is approaching completion. Dr. Carnegie, in 1901, made it possible to give New York the finest library system in the world when he presented $5,200,000 for the erection of sixty-five branch libraries. The New York Public Library in 1907

contained 724,894 volumes, 273,205 pamphlets, and 65,823 prints in the reference libraries, and 621,390 volumes in the lending libraries.

Of the other important American libraries, it is only necessary to mention here the following :—

Baltimore, Enoch Pratt Library.—Founded in 1882 by Enoch Pratt, on condition that the city guaranteed for it an income of $50,000. Dr. Carnegie has given half a million dollars for branch libraries. The library, which is both lending and reference, contains 249,795 volumes (1907).

Brooklyn (N.Y.) Public Libraries.—Founded 1898. The system comprised 26 branches, 2 stations, and administration department, with a total of 553,217 volumes (1907).

Chicago, Newberry and John Crerar Libraries.—The former was founded in 1887 with a bequest of three million dollars from Walter L. Newberry. Contains (1906) 223,211 volumes, and 73,000 pamphlets and maps. The latter was founded in 1889 with a bequest of two million dollars from Mr. J. Crerar. It is situated on the south side of the city and is devoted specially to science and useful arts. The John Crerar Library contains 215,144 volumes (1907).

Chicago Public Library.—Founded in 1872. Present building erected in 1893–97 at a cost of two million dollars. It is both a reference and lending library ; contains 339,282 volumes (1907).

Chicago University Library.—Founded, 1892, by the purchase in Germany of 150,000 volumes. Library is open ; contains 479,778 volumes and pamphlets (1900).

Cincinnati Public Library.—Founded in 1867. A circulating and reference library of 300,000 volumes (1904).

Ithaca, Cornell University.—Founded in 1868. Henry W. Sage gave the present building, and an endowment fund of $300,000. Rich in history, and European continental literature. Contains 339,701 volumes and 51,000 pamphlets (1907).

New York, Columbia University.—Founded in 1754, by Mr. Joseph Murray, who bequeathed his library and other property, worth about £8,000. Mr. Seth Low, President of the University (1890–1901), gave one million dollars towards the buildings. Contains 391,523 volumes (1906).

New York, Mercantile Library Association.—Founded 1820. Subscription and reference library, containing 260,000 volumes (1904).

Philadelphia Free Library.—Founded 1891. Mr. Andrew Carnegie has offered $1,500,000 for the erection of thirty branch libraries. A circulating and reference library; contains 310,630 volumes (1907).

A brief account of popular libraries in America is reserved for the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI

POPULAR TOWN LIBRARIES

'It is evident that there should be in all countries libraries of two sorts: libraries of deposit and research and libraries devoted to the general reading and circulation of books'.—*Report of the Select Committee*, 1850.

We can conclude this book with but the merest sketch of the history of popular town libraries—a subject with which the late Edward Edwards could deal adequately only in a volume of 362 pages, and Mr. Ogle in a work nearly, if not quite, as big.[1] But some account of popular libraries is necessary here to show briefly the later development of library work, and to emphasize the contrast between older libraries and modern popular libraries. Hitherto our subject has embraced only deposit and research libraries with an interesting history, and a record for achieving much for scholarship. Modern times have seen the growth of large numbers of smaller libraries, intended not primarily to advance scholarship, but to educate the people. In some large towns, as Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Glasgow, the two systems are united—their fine reference collections

[1] The latter work is the best account of the public library movement; and the reader who wishes to delve deeply into the subject should master its contents.

representing the one, while their branches represent the other. The two kinds cannot be compared ; their aims are so different ; and, so far as England is concerned, while the rate limitation exists, no town much smaller than the four just mentioned can aspire to a general library of deposit and research.

GREAT BRITAIN

Popular town libraries are not the conception of modern times. In the same class may be put the seventy public libraries established by the Arabs of Andalusia in the ninth century, and those established in China by Hongwon, of the dynasty of Ming, in the fourteenth century. The Roman and Grecian public libraries were for research rather than for popular use. But monastic collections, as they were designed largely for the education and instruction of the communities they belonged to—albeit limited communities—resemble the popular library in idea. The likeness was closer when the monasteries lent books to laymen, as they sometimes did.

From monastic collections to church libraries, wherein books were provided for parishioners' use, is but a step nearer the popular library. But Edwards would seem to be in error in saying the deposit of Bibles in churches ' laid the first rude foundation ' of English parochial libraries (1537). We hear of church libraries as early as 1416 ; books were chained in Salisbury Cathedral (1452) ;

ten books were chained in All Saints' Church, Derby (1525); at Chirbury, Salop, books were chained from 1530; while several libraries contain works of early date, as at Shipdham, Norfolk, where a Wynkyn de Worde exists (1509), and at Swaffham, in the same county, where a book of illuminated Hours (c. 1420), and a version of the Vulgate, printed in 1483, may be found. How many such libraries existed at this early date we cannot imagine, but it is sufficient to note that they did exist, and that in them is embodied the idea of disseminating approved knowledge among the populace—that is, the idea of the popular library.

Soon after the printing of the first English Bible it was ordered 'That ye shall provide . . . a book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church, that ye have cure, where your parishioners may the most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson, and the parishioners aforesaid' (1537). The people flocked in such crowds to read the Bibles that a choice had to be made of certain of their number to read aloud to the rest. Seven years later Edward VI ordered each parish to 'provide within three months one book of the whole Bible of largest volume in English, and within one twelvemonth the Paraphrasis of Erasmus, the same to be set up in some convenient place within the church'. Evidence pretty clearly

proves most of these books to have been chained. In Mary's time even the dim light so provided was extinguished: first, reading aloud was forbidden; then certain translations and editions were prohibited, and the Bible was only to be read under restriction as to age, sex and social rank; while some books which had been put in churches a few years before became an offence against the law. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Edward VI's order was repeated (1559), and from this time onwards church libraries made fair progress, the number of books being slowly but surely increased. Thus, we hear of libraries at Totnes, Devon, (1566); at Bury St. Edmunds (1595); at Grantham, Lincolnshire (1598); at King's Lynn, 1617; at Langley Marish, Bucks (1623), to the parish church of which place Sir John Kidderminster gave a large library, still preserved in its ancient condition; at Boston, Lincolnshire, 1635, and at Nantwich, Cheshire, probably before 1620.[1]

Popular town libraries properly so-called originated at about the same time. The earliest examples are those of Norwich (1608), Bristol (1615) [2] and Leicester (1632).

The libraries both at Norwich and Bristol were handed over for a time to private societies by the city corporations. At Norwich the citizens had some difficulty in regaining control. Bristol's case was

[1] Read the careful account of Church libraries and chained books in Cox and Harvey's *English Church Furniture*, 1907.

[2] Bristol had a public library belonging to the religious guild of the Kalendars; it was destroyed by fire (1466).

particularly scandalous, as not only did members of a private library get control of the books in 1773, but occasionally they obtained privileges and grants from the corporation, 'and eventually these became so much a matter of course, that when resumption of management by the city council was being advocated, the members of the society began to talk of rights and compensation' (Ogle, p. 197). Both collections are now accessible in the city libraries.[1]

Archbishop (then Bishop) Williams was responsible for the foundation of the Leicester Library. With the aid of subscriptions and of a bequest of over 600 books from Thomas Hayne, a good library was formed. To this was added an earlier church library, founded by Henry, Earl of Huntingdon. Zeal for learning was not longer-lived at Leicester than at Norwich or Bristol; the library suffered from careless guardianship; many of the more valuable books were stolen or mutilated; while the status of the librarian was such that at one time he was promoted to flunkeydom, his principal duty being to bear the mace.

A further step towards people's libraries was taken in 1653, when Sir Humphrey Chetham bequeathed £7,500 for the foundation and endowment of a hospital for the maintenance and education of boys; £1,000 'for or towards a library within the town of Manchester for the use of scholars, and others well affected . . . the same

[1] Read a description of some of the treasures among the Bristol books in the *L. Assoc. Rec.*, v. i, 589.

books there to remain as a Public Library for ever ; and my mind and will is, that care shall be taken that none of the said books be taken out of the library at any time . . . and that the said books be fixed or chained, as well as may be, within the said library, for the better preservation thereof '. He also gave £1,000 to buy a ' fit place ' for the library,[1] and £200 for ' godly English books ' to form the church libraries of Manchester, Bolton, Turton, Walmesley and Gorton.

Still no attempt at an organised scheme of libraries occurred until 1699, when the Rev. James Kirkwood published anonymously *An Overture for Founding and Maintaining of Bibliothecks in every Paroch throughout the Kingdom*[2]; and in 1702, when he published *A Copy of a Letter anent a Project to erecting a Library in every Presbytery or at least County in the Highlands*. Happily, his efforts were not quite fruitless, as the General Assembly approved his scheme, and formulated rules ' about the ordering and preserving the libraries in the Highlands '.

Whether Dr. Bray,[3] the founder of the Society

[1] The Chetham library now contains about 60,000 volumes. It is rich in old theological and historical works.

[2] Reprinted, 1889 ; brought to the notice of librarians by Mr. H. T. Folkard, at a time when there appeared to be only one other copy in existence. Read Blades' essay in *Library*, v. i, 9.

[3] Author of *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, 1726, containing ' several schemes of parochial libraries, and a method laid down to proceed by a gradual progression from strength to strength, from a collection not much exceeding in value £1 to £100.

for the Propagation of the Gospel, took his idea of parochial libraries from Kirkwood's tract we cannot tell; but from about the same time to his death (1704–30) he collected funds and established 'upwards of eighty' parish libraries in Great Britain and thirty-nine in North America, and got Parliament to pass 'An act for the better preservation of parochial libraries . . . in England (7 Anne, c. 14, 1709).

At first these collections were intended for the use of the clergy, but in time their use extended over a wider circle. After his death his 'associates' added seventy-eight parish and thirty-five lending libraries before 1807; and other persons, following their example, also founded small collections. These collections did not lead to any permanent establishment of libraries; nor indeed could they do so, because the literature in them was partly sectarian, and in no case satisfying to the needs of the people. But Dr. Bray's scheme was the foundation of the familiar Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

Libraries better designed for the wealthier classes of people were established as circulating subscription libraries. Into the vexed question as to the earliest circulating library, we do not propose to go; but Allan Ramsay started one in Edinburgh as early as 1725, and Samuel Fancourt opened another in London in 1740 or 1742.[1]

[1] Read Mr. Clarke's excellent essay on *The Reputed First Circulating Library in London*, in *Library* (N.S.), v. i, 274.

One of the oldest, and still one of the best, is the Liverpool (Lyceum) library, founded in 1758, which has this year (1908) celebrated with much distinction its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary.

By 1775 such subscription libraries were fairly common.

Meantime a library was established at Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland, by Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, for the benefit of all residents within a radius of twenty miles. The library was founded with a considerable number of books bought from the descendants of the Rev. Thomas Sharpe, and in 1792 Dr. John Sharpe bequeathed a collection then valued at £800. Good work was done in East Lothian by Mr. Samuel Brown, who conceived the idea of travelling libraries. His plan provided for sending boxes, each containing fifty volumes, to the villages, where they remained two years, and then were redistributed. This system was copied in Peebles-shire by the Free Church of Scotland; in the Highlands and Islands by the General Assembly; in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire by the Unions of Mechanics' Institutes; in Cambridgeshire by the Technical 'Education Committee, and very generally in the States, as well as in Russia.

Contemporaneous with Scottish travelling libraries was the growth of Mechanics' Institutes, which numbered 400 in 1849, and in the aggregate possessed from 300,000 to 400,000 volumes. Some of these institutes still flourish; but, like nearly all early attempts to provide popular libraries, most of

them are foredoomed to failure because they are intended, either expressly or by implication, for a limited class, instead of for the people as a whole.

In mid-nineteenth century a great change took place, mainly owing to the efforts of three men, William Brotherton, William Ewart, and Edward Edwards (*see* p. 214). Brotherton and Ewart between them co-operated in the preliminaries leading to the act ' for encouraging the establishment of museums in large towns ' (1845), under which libraries were founded in connexion with museums at Warrington (1848), and at Salford (1849). This was but a first step. In 1848 Edward Edwards opened his campaign for popular libraries by contributing statistics of libraries to the *Transactions* of the Statistical Society, and an article on public libraries in London and Paris in the *British Quarterly Review*. Acting upon these statistics, Ewart obtained the appointment of a Parliamentary Select Committee on public libraries, which took the evidence of many interested people, including some librarians, among them the most important witness of all, Edward Edwards—and reported strongly in favour of rate-supported libraries (1849). Hence on August 14, 1850, a ' Bill for enabling Town Councils to establish Public Libraries and Museums ' received the royal assent. Of the objections urged against this Bill little need be said : in the main, criticism took the form it still takes ; and, with some acumen, critics anticipated that neither one halfpenny nor one penny in the pound would suffice

for the support of libraries, and that newspapers and novels would occupy too much space in them, as indeed a section of the public and a few librarians now believe. This Act applied to municipal boroughs only; and books could not be bought out of the rate, which was limited to one halfpenny.

Henceforward the movement made steady progress, as the following table of successive enactments and of the adoptions of the Acts in every decade will show clearly.

1853. Public Libraries Act (Ireland and Scotland).
[Extended operation of Ewart's Act of 1850 to Ireland and Scotland. Now repealed.]

1854. Public Libraries Act (Scotland).
[Amended Act of 1853 by altering the limit to one penny in the pound as regards Scotland; and laid down the principle of adoption by a public meeting of £10 householders. Now repealed.]

1855. Public Libraries Act (Ireland).
[Fixed the limit of rate at one penny; any town council or board of municipal commissioners in a town of 5,000 inhabitants could call a public meeting of householders, a two-thirds majority of whom were sufficient for adoption. Partially repealed.]

1855. Public Libraries Act (England and Wales).
[Provided for founding libraries in towns and parishes of more than 5,000 inhabitants. Allowed the purchase of books out of the income from the rate; and imposed the limit of one penny in the pound. Two-thirds majority necessary for adoption. London was specially provided for. Remained the principal Act till 1892. Now repealed.]

1859. Adoptions to this date, 24.

1866. Public Libraries Act.
['Extended the initiative as to adoption so as to include a requisition for ten ratepapers, did away with the population limit, enlarged the power of co-operation among authorities, reduced the two-thirds majority of the 1855 Act to a simple majority, and withdrew the right to demand a poll'. Now repealed.]

1867. Public Libraries Act (Scotland).
[A small Act referring to constitution of library committees, and period to elapse between rejection of the Acts and another attempt at adoption. Now repealed.]

1869. Adoptions to this date, 46.

1870. *Elementary Education Act.*

1871. Public Libraries Act (Scotland).
[Limited the borrowing powers of library authorities. Power given to enact bye-laws. Now repealed.]

1871. Public Libraries Act (England and Wales).
[Extended operation of public libraries to local boards under Public Health Act, 1848. Now repealed.]

1877. Public Libraries (Ireland) Amendment Act.
[Provided for schools of music out of penny library rate; for borrowing; and for the appointment of co-opted members of library committees.]

1877. Public Libraries Amendment Act.
[Provided an alternative method of adopting by voting papers. Allowed authorities to levy less than one penny. Now repealed so far as concerns England and Wales.]

1879. Adoptions to this date, 98.

1884. Public Libraries Act.
[Provided that library authorities might accept grants in aid from the Education Department for teaching science and art, and made it quite clear that buildings might be erected for libraries, museums, science and art schools and galleries. 'It will be perceived that this Act greatly extended the educational scope of the free library, whilst providing for imperial aid for the added work of committees. It was a weakness in the Act that the penny limit was left unaltered . . . The Act itself demonstrated the acceptance of the belief in official quarters that the free library had become a valuable educational instrument and ally'—Ogle, p. 54. Now repealed as regards England and Scotland.]

1887. Public Libraries Act (England and Wales).
[Empowered any district, as defined in the Metropolis Management Act, 1888, to adopt on the same conditions as a parish. Additional powers in borrowing, etc. Now repealed.]

1887. Public Libraries (Scotland) Amendment and Consolidation Act.
[The principal Act for Scotland.]

1889. Public Libraries Act.
[Designed to lessen the expense of collecting the library rate. Now repealed.]

1889. Adoptions to this date, 194.

1890. Public Libraries Act (England and Wales).
[Now repealed.]

1892. Public Libraries Act.
[English Consolidation and Amendment Act. Consolidated seven previous Acts; removed some inconsistencies due to earlier legislation; simplified process of adopting the Acts; and of the combination of authorities to found and support libraries. Now the principal Act; repealed in part by act of 1901.]

1893. Public Libraries (Amendment) Act.
[Permitted urban authorities to adopt the Acts without resort to a poll. Local Government Act of 1894 extended this power to rural parishes.]

1894. Act to amend the Public Libraries Consolidation (Scotland) Act, 1887.
[Brings Scottish law into line with English law as it stood in 1893.]

1894. Public Libraries (Ireland) Act.

1898. Libraries Offences Act.

1899. Public Libraries (Scotland) Act.

1899. London Government Act.
[Created Metropolitan boroughs, which henceforward became the library authorities.]

1899. Adoptions to this date, 393.

1901. Public Libraries Act, 1901.
[Amended rating provisions in some details, and gave power to make bye-laws.]

1902. Public Libraries Act (Ireland).

1908. Adoptions to this date, 570.

For much of the legislation briefly described above the Library Association, founded in 1877, has been responsible. Especially prominent among the members who have worked for some of the above Acts are Lord Avebury, Lord Windsor, Mr. J. Y. W. MacAlister, Mr. H. W. Fovargue, and Mr. H. R. Tedder. At the time of writing, the members of the Association, and especially the Legislation Committee, of which Mr. T. C. Abbott is chairman, are endeavouring to secure the passage of a Bill which will provide for county

as well as town and district library systems, remove the limit of one penny in the pound, exempt public libraries as educational institutions from local rates, and legalize the expenditure of public money to provide for lectures or exhibits at libraries.

UNITED STATES

The history of popular libraries in America begins, both legislatively and in fact, with the work of Dr. Thomas Bray, who founded a library in South Carolina. In 1700 the Legislative Assembly of this state enacted a law for the regulation and protection of the library. Five years later similar legislation was secured for another library in North Carolina. As already noted, Dr. Bray founded thirty-nine libraries of various kinds and sizes in North America.

Work of a more permanent character was done when Benjamin Franklin and his friends founded the Philadelphia Library Company. 'At the time', says Franklin, in his *Autobiography*, 'I established myself in Pennsylvania, there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the Colonies to southward of Boston. . . . Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their books from England. . . . And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature—that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals . . . and by the help of my friends . . . procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and

ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred. This was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous; it is become a great thing itself, and continually goes on increasing'. Thus Franklin founded in America a popular subscription library, seven years later than Allan Ramsay's establishment of 1725. Although his library was open for the home reading of books only to subscribers, as a reference collection it was accessible to the public almost from the first, the librarian being allowed to 'permit any civil gentleman to peruse the books . . . in the library room, but not to lend or suffer to be taken out of the library, by any person who is not a subscribing member, any of the said books'. From its foundation to the present day the library (which must not be confounded with the Philadelphia Free Library) has flourished. In 1869 Dr. James Rush bequeathed over one million dollars for the erection of a branch at Ridgeway. It is now probably the oldest and largest proprietary subscription library in the world.

Other subscription or proprietary libraries were founded at Newport, Rhode Island (1747); in New York (1754); at Charlestown (1755); at Salem, Mass. (1760); at Portland (1765); in Boston (the well-known Athenaeum, 1807); another in New York (the Mercantile Library Association, 1820); at Philadelphia (the Mercantile

Library Company, 1821) ; at Cincinnati (1835) ; at St. Louis (1846), and other places. The value of these libraries to the public was recognised from the first, and exemption from taxation was one means of encouraging their establishment.

In 1833, at Peterboro', New Hampshire, a town library was established and supported out of the local taxes, and it still flourishes. Legislation had not yet countenanced such enterprises, although there would appear to have been nothing in the statutes to forbid them. But soon, in New Hampshire and other states, matters were put on a better legal footing. As early as 1835 New York State provided for district school libraries, and twenty other states followed the example. It appears that, 'theoretically the scheme was most promising, and in some of the States, notably in Michigan after New York, it had a large measure of success. But although New York expended over $50,000 annually in this direction for fifty-five years, the system has there, as elsewhere, proved on the whole a failure. . . . The school district proving too small a unit for efficient library work, the next experiment took the town as the unit' (Fletcher, p. 21). The first law in history providing for the establishment and maintenance of a town library by taxation was passed by the Massachusetts legislature (1848), and applied to Boston, which was empowered to spend $5,000 a year on a public library. The first general law for a state was passed by New Hampshire in the following year. Then Massachusetts,

before the Boston library was opened, passed an Act authorizing other cities and towns to establish and maintain libraries (1851). The first town to put the new Act in force was New Bedford (1852). Other states quickly followed Massachusetts in legislating; Maine passing laws in 1854, Vermont in 1865, Ohio in 1867, Colorado, Illinois, and Wisconsin in 1872, Indiana and Iowa in 1873, Texas in 1874, Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1875, Michigan and Nebraska in 1877, California in 1878, Missouri and New Jersey in 1885, Kansas in 1886, and New York in 1892.

In most states, as in England, the law fixed a limit to the tax to be levied: the Massachusetts Act, for example, imposed a limit of one dollar for each of its rateable polls. The operation of this limit has affected the library movement differently in different states: thus, in New Hampshire, where no limit was fixed, and in Massachusetts, where the limit has been removed, libraries exist in great numbers; on the other hand, in Maine the limit of one dollar per taxable poll for establishing, and 25 cents thereafter for maintaining, put a very effectual check on library progress.

As early as 1889 library law in America was very progressive in character; then New York, by granting state aid to public libraries with a large circulalion of books, began a system still unparalleled by any in England. A year later Massachusetts again led where England has not yet followed by creating legislatively a state com-

mission of five persons, ' appointed by the governor, to foster the establishment and growth of public libraries throughout the State. The commission is to furnish to librarians and trustees of libraries such advice and general assistance as may be required, and is empowered to make a gift of books to the extent of $100 to any town accepting the provisions of the law. Thus the town elects a suitable board of trustees, and appropriates a sum ranging from $15 upwards, according to the valuation, and must otherwise conform to the requirements of the State library law ' (Fletcher, p. 24). In Massachusetts the state commission has been so successful that out of 346 towns and cities in the state only 7 were in 1900 without a public library. The same state passed legislation in 1906, extending the benefits of the commission to towns of less than $600,000 valuation. New Hampshire, which preceded Massachusetts by two years in passing a general state law, now followed the sister state in establishing commissions one year later (1891). Twenty-one states have similar commissions.

A further development took place in New York (1891), where a law was passed putting the state library system under the control of the State University. The effect of this enactment was to bring about the establishment of an elaborate system of travelling libraries, to encourage the formation of town libraries in place of the old district school libraries, and to afford state aid to towns requiring it.

But again an American state, this time New Hampshire, has affirmed a principle hardly yet dreamed of on this side of the Atlantic—the principle of compulsion in library matters, as in education. A Bill was brought before the New Hampshire legislature in 1892-3, requiring each town of a certain size to assess annually a sum to be appropriated solely for establishing and maintaining a public library. In certain cases state aid was provided for. Legislation on these lines was effected in 1897, so that New Hampshire ranks its libraries with its schools as educational agencies which the community is in duty bound to provide.[1]

BRITISH COLONIES.

In the British Colonies the history of popular libraries is too like that in the mother country or in the United States to call for detailed treatment here. Canada passed a general Libraries Act in 1854; further legislation took place in Ontario in 1882 and 1895. In Cape Colony and Natal libraries have been established, and are aided with grants from the governments. In Victoria legislation was effected in 1870, 1885 and 1890; in South Australia in 1898 and 1902; in New South Wales in 1867; in Queensland in 1878 and 1887; in Tasmania in 1867; and in New Zealand in 1869, 1875 and 1877. Certain differences between the law in the colonies and in the mother country exist. As a general rule, the

[1] See Fletcher, ch. 2; but it is not up to date.

Colonial Governments help all kinds of libraries; in South Australia and Tasmania a limit to the rate is not fixed.[1]

FRANCE.

An early attempt to found popular libraries in France was made at the time of the Revolution, when the National Convention conceived the idea of putting them in all districts, and making them accessible to everybody. But this, like other plans of the more enlightened revolutionaries, had to give place to measures of violence and disorder. However, libraries were established in the central schools of the departments, and, in after years, out of these grew municipal libraries. The provisional government of 1848 desired to form, in each rural commune, libraries on the laws and duties of the citizen, agriculture, farming, national history, progress of civilization, biographies of great men, and the masterpieces of French prose and verse. This scheme likewise proved abortive. Two years later a private association failed in its endeavour to carry out similar aims. The Société Franklin, established 'to found municipal libraries in districts needing them, to advise in their organisation and in selecting books, and to help them with gifts of books and money', was more successful; and, with other societies of similar kind, did much

[1] Read Mr. Bain's essay 'Libraries of Canada,' *Library* v. 7, 241; Mr. Boosé's essay, 'Constitution of Colonia Public Libraries', *Library*, v. 6, 391.

useful work. By 1873 France enjoyed 773 popular libraries, with 838,032 works ; by 1902 the number had increased to 2,911 subventioned libraries, with 4,166,417 volumes, not counting similar institutions in Paris, nor about 1,000 popular libraries not receiving grants in aid. Besides popular libraries, France has about 100 large municipal libraries, and, in 1902, a return showed that 43,411 school libraries were in existence. These school libraries, which contained in that year 6,978,503 volumes, partly class and children's books, and partly books for adults, were started under the Second Empire (1860). Imposing as these figures appear, Professor Langlois, of the Sorbonne, expresses the opinion that France is not only behind England, but Germany. The popular libraries, he said, were augmented mainly by occasional gifts, and, instead of being storehouses of new and attractive books, were dumping-grounds (*dépotoir*) ; and that whereas in France the cafés were clean and handsome and the libraries shabby and ill-kept, in England the ' pubs ' were dirty and the libraries fine, cheerful and attractive.[1]

GERMANY.

In Germany, the towns of Augsburg, Danzig, Hamburg, Lübeck, Trier, Ratisbon (Regensburg),

[1] *Bulletin des Bibliothèques Populaires*, pp. 3–7, from which most of the information on French popular libraries is obtained. The *Bulletin* is designed to give assistance in the selection of books, and to draw attention to the needs of popular libraries in that country.

Halle, Görlitz, Ulm, Frankfurt and Nuremburg possessed town libraries (Stadtbibliotheken), enjoying municipal care before the end of the sixteenth century. During several centuries the history of these libraries and others of a similar kind ' is characterised—if we may take it as a whole—by more of a steady progressiveness than is their history in any other country in the world ' (Edwards : *Free Town Libraries*, p. 225). In the eighteenth century, besides town libraries, there were a number of small collections attached to churches and schools, principally in Central Germany and Saxony. But these libraries were not, in the truest sense of the term, popular libraries. ' The greater number ', writes Dr. Schultze, in *Freie öffentliche Bibliotheken*, ' do not at all represent the public library as understood in this book. Instead of trying to keep abreast of the times, they have slavishly followed their original plan of buying only theology, history and philology, thereby making them useless except to the learned, and as their means increased during this century, they have gone on in an objectless way, trying to rival the University libraries. . . . They are very little used . . . and cost the towns enormous sums, and would be decidedly better if converted into real public libraries '.

The honour of establishing the first modern library of this kind belongs to Grossenhain, where what was first known as a school library, then as a town library, was opened for the issue of books on Sunday afternoons (1828). At the same

time the Saxon Economic Association rather faint-heartedly organised a system of village libraries for the circulation of agricultural books, and its success was a surprise, even to the promoters.

In 1841 Professor von Raumer, while travelling in the United States, was struck with the high average intelligence and culture of the working people, which he believed to be due to the facilities afforded to them for reading books,—probably those in the district school and other small libraries. On his return to Berlin Von Raumer and his colleagues formed what we may call a university extension society for science lectures, with the secondary object of founding Volksbibliotheken, or people's libraries. A small charge for admission to the lectures was made, and as the lecturers gave their services free, about £900 was raised and handed over to the city. In 1850 the first four libraries were opened, and thenceforward were maintained, partly by the city, which contributed £150 per annum, and partly by the society, out of the proceeds of its lectures. By the time the society was dissolved in 1879 it had provided over £5,000. There are now twenty-eight popular libraries in Berlin : the largest contains 11,245 volumes, and the smallest 3,354 ; the total stock is 167,787 ; the issues for a year were 1,344,079 volumes.

Berlin excepted, Frankfurt a. M. was more fortunate than any other large town prior to the seventies, as she possessed public libraries of one

kind or another, either through the agency of societies or through private munificence. Even twelve years ago the large towns were so miserably provided with popular libraries of any kind that twenty-eight towns, with an aggregate population of 7,294,000, had only 401,655 volumes among them. That there is a demand for books is proved by the efforts of several associations and large employers of labour to meet it, as in Hamburg (1899), Essen (1899), Bremen (1902), and Dortmund (1905).

But while in England the villages have remained uncared for, in Germany a good deal has been done for them. Saxony and Würtemburg have village libraries (Ländliche Volksbibliotheken): the latter state had 586 in 1870, and 1,213, with 261,000 volumes, in 1890. Since 1892 a society for the extension of popular education has done much to foster village libraries; in the first seven years of its existence it established about 760 such libraries and helped 343 others.

Although popular town libraries have existed in England and the United States for over fifty years, the time to pass judgment upon them has not yet come. But if, in England, they have not done quite all they were expected to do, the reasons are to be found in the personnel, the absence of a definite policy, and difficulties in selecting books.

In English libraries, with their limited income, the maintenance of a high standard of librarianship has been difficult. 'Every man who enters on this calling', said Edwards, 'may give a power-

ful impulse to its elevation. It will never open for him a path to wealth or to popular fame. It is, and is likely to be, eminently exposed to social indifference and misconception. But, as a means of permanent usefulness, it presents opportunities which are surpassed only by those of the pulpit or the press'. To secure men capable of making the most of these opportunities, and content, at the same time, to win poor rewards is a serious problem. As a matter of fact, in the early days of English town libraries, the office of librarian was often given to retired tradesmen, or to men who had failed in their chosen career. Matters have mended somewhat in this respect. Library authorities demand trained men; and chiefly owing to the efforts of the Library Association Education Committee, and especially of three members of that body, Mr. J. J. Ogle, Mr. H. D. Roberts, and Mr. J. D. Brown, they are now able to get them, if reasonable salaries are offered. With the improvement of the personnel should come a more definite idea of a town library's policy. At present, each library has its own policy. Is a rate-supported library an educational institution or a recreative institution—or is it both the one thing and the other? Shall school libraries be encouraged or not? Is it desirable to provide newsrooms, or not? Shall towns organise lending or reference libraries, or both?—an important question which has been raised more than once, and probably will be brought to the front again very shortly. The diversity of opinion among librarians

on these and other points is extraordinary, although a little clear thinking, and a little less hostility to change, would settle most of them out of hand.

A third problem confronting town libraries is the selection of books. Naudé could safely buy books by the yard, because they were not so plentiful in his day ; and, as a rule, the old libraries of deposit and research welcomed any book, unless it was a duplicate. Now, the number of books is enormous, and town libraries must select. What are to be selected ? Who is to make the selection ? Only a very complacent committee and an equally complacent librarian can be satisfied that their selection is the best, even for their own library. Obviously a first selection must be made by a large body of experts working co-operatively. Work on the right lines has been initiated already : France has its *Bulletin des Bibliothèques Populaires*, America its *American Library Association Book-list*, and England its *Annual List of Best Books*, published by the Library Association. Hence there is great hope for the future.

APPENDIX I.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOK-COLLECTORS AND LIBRARIANS

Note.—Only collectors not dealt with adequately in connexion with the history of libraries are included in this list, which is necessarily very short. For a very full list readers are recommended to consult the appendix to Edwards' *Free Town Libraries*; also see the same author's *Libraries and Founders of Libraries.*

Alexander VII, Pope (Fabio Ghigi) (1599–1667), founder of the Ghigi Library, Rome; a collection very rich in historical manuscripts.

Ashburnham, Bertram, fourth earl of (1797–1878), collector of a magnificent library of printed books and manuscripts; some portions were sold to the British and Italian Governments before 1895; then in 1897–8 the remainder was divided into three parts and sold; sale lasted three weeks, and £62,712 was realized. Many of the finest manuscripts came from the Duke of Buckingham's library at Stowe. Among the Stowe books were the *Collectanea* of Arthur Agard, the British State Papers collected by Mr. T. Astle, the O'Conor papers relating to the history and antiquities of Ireland, manuscripts of the historian of Sussex, Philip Morant, etc. Lord Ashburnham also purchased a great part of the Count W. Libri's library, which included 3,000 letters from the correspondence of P. D. Huet, Bishop of Avranches; early autograph manuscripts of Napoleon I; and an important series of Medici Papers. The books of the Acciajoli, a

Florentine family, and the correspondence of C. Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle, were also at Ashburnham. Lord Ashburnham's 'object was not so much to acquire a series of editions of any particular work, as to obtain the best copy of the rarest edition; and where this rule was broken through, it was generally in favour of Bibles and Testaments in various languages (but particularly in English), missals, hour books, breviaries, and other early service books. He formed, however, a probably unique series of editions of Juliana Berner's *Boke of St. Albans*, and a fine collection of the early editions of the works of Chaucer. . . . He was always dominated by the . . . idea of securing the rarest books only, and those in the finest and most perfect condition procurable'. (*Book Prices Current*, 1897, p. 355.)

Askew, Anthony (1722–74), physician: collected about 7,000 books and manuscripts, specially rare and fine editions of classics. Sold, 1775.

Barberini Family, collected a magnificent library in Rome; now a part of the Vatican.

Beauclerk, Topham (1739–80), collector of an encyclopaedic library of about 30,000 volumes. Sold, 1781.

Beckford, William (1759–1844), author of *Vathek*, collector; for twenty years lived in seclusion at his family mansion of Fonthill Giffard, where he spent large sums in architecture and decoration, and in collecting works of art and curios; owing to extravagance forced to sell Fonthill, 1822. The library and the choicest pictures were removed to Bath, where he continued to collect; former were sold, 1882—5,978 lots fetching £43,368.

Bembo, Cardinal Pietro (1470–1547), collector of books and manuscripts, especially poetical manuscripts; some of his books, which included the famous Virgil (4th cent.) and Terence (9th cent.) went to the Urbino library, thence some were transferred to the Vatican and some to the Barberini library; all now in the Vatican.

Bradshaw, Henry (1831–6), librarian and antiquary; educated at Eton and Cambridge; assistant in Cambridge University Library, 1856; resigned, 1858; appointed to overlook and arrange manuscripts and early printed books there, 1859. 'He laboured with unremitting industry, and in the process of identifying the printers of early books, or unravelling the history of manuscripts, he made frequent journeys to different parts of England and the Continent' (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). He discovered the *Book of Deer*, containing charters in Gaelic, 1857; also Celtic glosses in a manuscript of Juvencus, 1858, the first of many finds of the same kind. He rediscovered the Vaudois MSS., 1862; helped to expose Simonides, the forger of manuscripts, 1863; found two early Scottish works, *Siege of Troy* and *Lives of the Saints*, apparently by Barbour, 1866. Became University Librarian, 1867–86; president of Library Association, 1882. In his honour the 'Henry Bradshaw Society for the editing of rare liturgical texts' was founded, 1890. His various essays are in *Collected Papers*, published 1889.

Cavendish Family: formed a library of very beautiful manuscripts, and rare early printed books. Rich in early English literature and British topography. Bulk of collection brought together by the sixth Duke of Devonshire.

Christie, Richard Copley (1830–1901), bibliophile; educated at Oxford; professor of ancient and modern history, political economy and commercial science, and jurisprudence and law, Owens College, Manchester, until 1869; governor of Owens College, 1870; chancellor of see of Manchester, 1892–4; erected a library for the College at cost of £21,000; legatee under the will of Sir J. Whitworth, and was able, therefore, to be a munificent benefactor of the College; bequeathed to the College his library, comprising a fine collection of works from Etienne Dolet's press, Aldines, about 600 volumes printed by Sebastian Gryphus of Lyons, and a special collection on the

Renaissance. He took a particular interest in the Bibliographical Society and the Library Association; to the latter body he bequeathed £2,000, subject to the life interest of Mrs. Christie. See *Library Association Record*, v. iii, 95.

Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626–89), one of the most accomplished women of her age; collected a fine library, most of which is now in the Vatican. See *Bibliographica*, pt. 1.

Coke Family, Holkham; Thomas Coke, first earl of Leicester of that name, brought together a collection of illuminated manuscripts, getting most of them from Italy; 'Coke of Norfolk' added others. See Dorez: *Les Manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester*, Paris, 1908; and *Saturday Review*, v. 105: 823.

Cutter, Charles Ammi (1837–1903), librarian; educated at Harvard; assistant in University Library, 1861–8; librarian of Boston Athenaeum, 1869–93; librarian Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass., 1894–1903. Author of *Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue*; mainly responsible for *List of Subject Headings for use in Dictionary Catalogues*, and compiler of the *Expansive Classification*. Read *Library Association Record*, v. v: 582.

Dent, John (*c.* 1750–1826), collector of books and manuscripts. Specialities: editions of the classics; early English literature. The library, which amounted to about 15,000 volumes, was sold in 1827.

Edmond, John Philip (1850–1906), librarian; educated in Aberdeen; in publishing and bookselling for a time; then assistant in Sion College Library, 1889–91; librarian to Earl of Crawford, 1891–1904; librarian of Signet Library, 1904–6. He was one of the most eminent bibliographers of his time.

Edwards, Edward (1812–86), librarian; supernumerary assistant in the printed book department, British Museum, 1839; catalogued Great Rebellion tracts; published returns of library statistics in *Athenaeum*,

c. 1846; assisted Ewart and Brotherton to secure legislation for popular town libraries, 1850; first librarian of Manchester Public Library, 1850–8. His works include *Memoirs of Libraries*, 1859; *Lives of the founders of the British Museum*, 1870. Was awarded a civil list pension of £80 in 1883. Mr. Thomas Greenwood erected a memorial to him at Niton, I. of Wight. Read Greenwood's *Edward Edwards* (1902); and article in *Library* (N. S.), v. 3: 398.

Ewart, William (1798–1869), politician; carried Bill establishing rate-supported town libraries, 1850.

Fisher, John (1459–1535), bishop; collector of 'ye notablest library of books in all England' (Fuller), which was dispersed by Thomas Cromwell.

Fitzwilliam, Richard, Viscount (*d.* 1816), founded Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, by bequeathing his collection of books, illuminated manuscripts, engravings and paintings, and an endowment fund of £100,000.

Grenville Family (first and second Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos); collected fine library of manuscripts, books and prints; sold, 1849; Lord Ashburnham bought the manuscripts for £8,000.

Grolier, Jean (1479–1565), French collector; intendant-general of French Army; diplomatist; collected copies of the best works then existing, and had them splendidly bound; some sold, 1565; about 3,000 were bequeathed to Méric de Vic, his son-in-law, and were eventually sold, 1676.

Heber, Richard (1773–1833), collector; educated at Oxford; M.P., 1821–6; a founder of the Athenaeum Club; collected huge number of books—'eight houses full of them, overflowing all the rooms, chairs, tables and passages—two in London, one at Hodnet, one in the High Street of Oxford, others at Paris, Brussels and Ghent, besides numerous smaller hoards in other parts of the continent' (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). Collected especially on English language and litera-

ture, particularly poetry. Not known certainly how many volumes he collected, but certainly over 150,000; they are said to have cost him over £100,000. At the sale of the collections in England, 1834–6, £56,774 was realized. Other sales took place in Ghent and Paris. He is referred to by Sir Walter Scott as 'Heber the magnificent, whose library and cellar are so superior to all others in the world'.

Honywood, Michael (1597–1681), Dean of Lincoln; erected building for Cathedral Library at cost of £780; gave many excellent books to the library, including rare 17th century tracts and early printed books.

Hunter, William (1718–83), collector of rare and beautiful Greek and Latin books, as well as ordinary scientific works (over 12,000 volumes of printed books and 600 manuscripts.); now in Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.

Huth, Henry (1815–78), collector of a large library. Special features: early English literature, Shaksperiana, early German and Spanish books, incunabula, voyages and travels. Was enlarged by his son, Alfred H. Huth.

Ker, John, third Duke of Roxburgh (1740–1804), a rival of George III in book-collecting; brought together a splendid library, which contained an unrivalled series of Caxtons. Collection was sold during forty-five days in 1812, and £23,341 was realised— Valdarfer's edition of Boccaccio fetching £2,260. To celebrate the sale of the Boccaccio some bibliophiles inaugurated the Roxburghe Club, 1812.

Laing, David (1793–1878), antiquary, librarian to Signet Library; collected books and manuscripts, especially those on Scottish history and literature. Manuscripts bequeathed to Edinburgh University; remainder of library sold, 1879–81.

Lindsay Family: collected valuable library of books and manuscripts. In 1887 and 1889 portions of the library were sold; in 1902 the manuscripts were

sold to Mrs. Rylands for the John Rylands library. The present library, which is very large, is noted for its collections of French Revolutionary newspapers and broadsides; ballads; Papal bulls; books printed in Aberdeen from 1622 to 1736.

Lumley, John, Baron (c. 1534–1609), collector of valuable library, which was afterwards dispersed; the bulk was bought by James I, and is now in the British Museum as part of the Royal Library; 84 volumes are in the Cambridge University Library; and 40 volumes in the Bodleian.

Maioli, Tomasso (1500–49), Italian collector; owned large library, distinguished for fine bindings.

Marguerite de Valois (1553–1615), collector; called the Queen of 'femmes bibliophiles'; fine bindings.

Marsh, Narcissus (1638–1713), Archbishop of Dublin; collected Oriental MSS. and printed books; bought Mr. Bonnereau's library, and Bishop Stillingfleet's collection of 9,512 volumes, besides pamphlets; founded Marsh's Library, Dublin, with his collection in 1707. His Oriental MSS. were left to the Bodleian.

Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando (1658–1730), collector of Greek, Arabic, Turkish and Persian MSS.; also books on physical science; gave them to Bologna University.

Marucelli, Francisco, bequeathed a collection to Florence, and endowed it; these books were the nucleus of the Marucellian Library, which is noted for its works on art.

Mead, Richard (1673–1754), physician; collector of medical books, early editions of classics, and other works, all of which were sold 1754–5.

Morrison, Dr. Robert (1782–1834), Chinese missionary; collected nearly 10,000 volumes of Chinese books, which eventually came to University College, London.

Orsini, Fulvio (1529–1600), librarian to Cardinal Farnese; collected valuable and large library of manuscripts; bequeathed them to Vatican.

Parker, Matthew (1504–75), Archbishop of Canterbury; collector of valuable library of rare manuscripts, which

he obtained upon the dissolution of the monasteries; greater part of library in University, Corpus Christi, Caius and Trinity Hall libraries, Cambridge; tried to induce Queen Elizabeth to establish a national library.

Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de (1580–1637), French collector; employed scribes in Vatican and at the Escorial, and agents at Smyrna, and in France, Germany, Italy; large number of his books bought for the Collége de Navarre. He was the contemporary and friend of De Thou, Isaac Casaubon, Hugo Grotius and Scaliger.

Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703), diarist; collector of a library which he bequeathed in reversion to Magdalene College, Cambridge; his manuscripts relating to naval affairs went to the Bodleian. From the collection of English ballads in the Pepysian Library, Percy is said to have derived much material for his *Reliques*. See essay by present writer in *Library* (N. S.).

Perkins, Henry (1778–1855), collector of books of great rarity; also manuscripts. Although not large, his library realized £26,000, when sold in 1873.

Petty, William, 1st Marquis of Lansdowne, second Earl of Shelburne (1737–1805), statesman, collector of printed books, manuscripts, charts, prints. Specialities: State Papers, French Revolutionary tracts. Printed books sold, 1806; manuscripts purchased by the British Museum for £6,000, 1807.

Phillipps, Sir Thomas, first baronet (1792–1872), antiquary, collected a very large library of manuscripts, about 450 being Oriental, and many relating to English and Mexican history. Library was also rich in old Welsh poetry.

Ponickau, J. A. (d. 1802), collector of a library of 18,000 volumes and 640 manuscripts, which were bequeathed to the University of Wittenberg, with a sum of money. He also founded a church library at Roehrsdorff. What remains of his bequest is now in Halle University Library.

Rawlinson, Thomas (1681–1725), collector of books and manuscripts in the Low Countries and England. Specialities: English history; fine editions of the classics. His collection contained many duplicates. Printed books sold, 1721–34; manuscripts are in Bodleian.

Riccardi Family (1600–1800), Italian collectors of an extensive and fine library, which was for many years accessible to learned Florentines. Some of Giovanni Lami's books and a library belonging to the Capponi family were also added. It was purchased by Florence, 1813, and opened to public, 1815, under the name Biblioteca Riccardiana. The Riccardiana is noted for its historical MSS.

Spencer, George, fifth Duke of Marlborough (1766–1840), collector of a large library of rare books, especially romance literature, poetry, missals; early English printed books. Sold, 1819.

Sykes, Sir Mark Masterman, third baronet (1771–1823), collector of a fine library, rich in incunabula and early editions of the classics; also English poetry. Sold in 1824.

Teleki, Count Joseph, collector and founder of the Teleki Library, Budapest.

Teleki de Szèk, Count S. (*d.* 1822), Hungarian collector of a fine library of 60,000 volumes, which he gave to found a library at Maros-Vasarhely, 1812.

Tenison, Thomas (1636–1715), Archbishop of Canterbury; bequeathed his printed books and some of his manuscripts to parish of St.-Martin-in-the-Fields, London, as the foundation of a public library. The books were sold about 1860.

Thorold, Sir John (1734–1815), with his son, collected a large library of beautiful and rare books, including many first editions of the classics. Sold for £28,000 in 1884.

Thott, Count Otho de (*d.* 1785), a Danish collector, who accumulated about 122,000 volumes and 4,154 manuscripts; larger and choicer portion of it was bequeathed to the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

West, James (*c.* 1704–72), antiquary, collector of manuscripts, early English printed books (Caxtons, Wynkyn de Wordes, etc.), drawings, prints, and coins. Printed books sold, 1773; manuscripts sold to Petty, and now in British Museum. Some of the best books came into Gough's possession, and are now in the Bodleian.

Willett, Ralph (1719–95), collector of Merly library. Specialities: prints, drawings, incunabula, vellum copies. Sold for £13,500 in 1813.

Williams, Daniel (1643 ?–1716), Nonconformist divine and benefactor; collector of an extensive library, which forms the nucleus of the library bearing his name in Gordon Square, London, and now contains 50,000 volumes.

APPENDIX II.

PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED FOR THIS BOOK

Bouchot, H. Le Livre. 1886.

Bradley, J. W. Illuminated manuscripts. 1905.

Cim, Albert. Le Livre. 5 v. 1908.

Clark, J. W. Care of books. 1901.

Curzon, Hon. R. Visits to Monasteries of the Levant. 1897.

*Edwards, Edward. Memoirs of libraries. 2 v. 1859.

*— Free town libraries. 1869.

*— Libraries and founders of libraries.

*Elton, C. I. and M. A. Great Book-collectors. 1893.

*Encyclopaedia Britannica. Articles on libraries in 9th and 10th editions.

*Fletcher, W. I. Public Libraries in America. 1894.

*Fletcher, W. Y. English book-collectors. 1902.

*Franklin, A. Les Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris. 3 v. 1867–73.

*Garnett, R. Essays in Librarianship and Bibliography. 1899.

Kent, H. W., and Dana, J. C. Literature of Libraries in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. 6 v.

Lecoy de la Marche, A. Les Manuscrits et la Miniature. 1884.

*The Library. 1st and 2nd ser.

The Library Association Record.

The Library Chronicle.

The Library Journal.

Literary Year-book. Current year.

Minerva : Jahrbuch der gelehrten Welt. Current year.

Montalembert, Count de. Monks of the West. 6 v. 1896.
*Ogle, J. J. The Free Library. 1897.
Pellisson, M. Les Bibliothèques populaires à l'étranger et en France. 1906.
*Petzholdt, J. Handbuch deutscher Bibliotheken. 1853.
Rawlings, G. Story of Books. 1901.
*Sandys, J. E. History of Classical Scholarship. v. 1. 1903.
Stokes, Margaret. Six Months in the Apennines. 1892.
— Three Months in the Forests of France. 1895.
*Symonds, J. A. Renaissance in Italy. v. 2. 1897.

* Books so marked are important.

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