

Some Medical Bibliophiles and Their Libraries

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MEDICAL men are no more exempt from bibliomania than from other diseases, and in studying the history of this malady we find that many of its most eminent victims have been members of the medical profession. The roll of medical bibliophiles, a long and glorious one, contains the names of some who occupy a high place in the history of medicine by virtue of their achievements in the art and of others whose sole claim to remembrance is their devotion to the collection and preservation of books.

According to Dibdin¹ the term "bibliomania" was coined by Dr. John Ferriar (1761-1815), and this famous Manchester physician is said to have been the first to recognize the disease as a clinical entity. John Ferriar was a pioneer in public health and sanitation and the author of a valuable book of clinical records entitled *Medical Histories and Reflections* (1792-1798). An ardent student of English literature, he is now best known as the author of *Illustration of Sterne* (1798). Ferriar's poem, *The Bibliomania, an Epistle to Richard Heber, Esq.*, was printed in the second edition of his *Illustrations of Sterne* (1812), and had originally been published in a shorter form at Warrington in 1809 in a small quarto of 14 pages.² The poem begins:

What wild desires, what restless torments seize
The hapless man, who feels the book-disease,
If niggard Fortune cramp his gen'rous mind,
And Prudence quench the Spark by heaven assign'd!
With wistful glance his aching eyes behold
The Princeps-copy, clad in blue and gold.
Where the tall Book-case, with partition thin,
Displays, yet guards, the tempting charms within.

Ferriar is himself a victim:

Like Poets, born, in vain Collectors strive
To cross their Fate, and learn the art to thrive.

*The Wellcome Historical Medical Library.

²Ferriar's poem has also been reprinted in

¹T. F. Dibdin, *The Bibliomania, or Book Madness* (1809), 58. the *Palatine Notebook* (1882), ii.

Like Cacus, bent to tame their struggling will,
 The tyrant-passion drags them backward still:
 Ev'n I, debarr'd of ease, and studious hours,
 Confess, mid' anxious toil, its lurking powers.
 How pure the joy, when first my hands unfold
 The small, rare volume, black with tarnish'd gold!

But Ferriar appears to have taken the disease in a comparatively mild form and he makes reservations:

With deep concern, the curious bid me tell,
 Why no Black-letter dignifies my cell:
 No Caxton? Pynson? in defence I plead
 One simple fact: I only buy to read.
 I leave to those whom headstrong fashion rules,
 Dame Julian Berners and the Ship of Fools.

Richard Heber (1773-1833), to whom Ferriar dedicated his poem, was described by Sir Walter Scott as "Heber the Magnificent, whose library and cellar are so superior to all others in the world" and by the poet Campbell as "the fiercest and strongest of all bibliomaniacs." In his case the book-collecting mania was probably of congenital origin, for Dibdin records that he saw a catalogue of his books compiled at the age of eight! His library of 146,827 volumes—probably the greatest ever accumulated by one man—was acquired at a cost of about £100,000, and was disposed of in a memorable series of sales lasting over three years. Heber was responsible for the saying that "No gentleman can be without three copies of a book: one for show, one for use, and one for borrowers." He was not a medical man, but many of the finest books of the early medical collectors found a temporary home in his great library.³

The subject of medical book-collectors is vast and it could be approached from various angles. Studied from one point of view it would throw light on the history of the transmission of learning. By their zeal in amassing early books and manuscripts and by their bequests and gifts the medical collectors have taken a prominent part in the building up of the great libraries of the world. The university libraries and those of the great medical corporations in particular owe much to medical bibliophiles of the past. The library of the British Museum not only owed its very foundation to the munificence of Sir Hans Sloane, but also derived

³ W. Clarke, *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (1819), 278; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (1891), XXV, 357.

many of its greatest treasures from the libraries of Askew and other medical collectors. The examination of early collections throws light on the history of medical education by showing which were the accepted texts for study at different periods; on a higher plane, a thoroughgoing study, on the lines of the modern bio-bibliography, would form a valuable contribution to the history of medical thought. There is also the purely bibliographical interest of these early collections; and here it must be emphasized that the libraries of the great medical bibliophiles contained many treasures in general literature and that some of the rarest and most precious works have been preserved to us in the collections handed down by physicians. The scholar-physicians of the past took all knowledge for their province and their libraries were generally richer in non-medical works than in medical; the formation of really large specialized collections on medicine is a fairly recent development. Great collectors such as Bernard, Wright, Mead, and Askew, were the means of preserving countless treasures, and there were many others who played their parts on a smaller scale. Another important function of medical bibliophiles in days when public and institutional libraries were few was that of making books available to less fortunate students. The collections of Mead and others were made available to all serious students with little formality during the lives of their owners. Apart from these considerations, stories of great libraries, of the triumphs and disappointments of book-hunting, and of particular treasures owned by the great collectors of the past will always have a fascination for those who try to follow in their footsteps. To follow any one of these lines of approach in detail would be far beyond the scope of this article, the purpose of which is rather to make a rapid survey of the whole field and to indicate some of the material that awaits investigation. These notes are concerned solely with the personal libraries of medical men, and except for a few incidental references, the libraries of universities, colleges, and other corporate bodies are not touched upon.

According to Sudhoff⁴ one of the earliest relics of a personal medical library is an Assyrian clay tablet preserved in the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. This tablet contains a medical text and bears a note to the effect that it belonged to Nabû-Zêr-Kitti-Lisir, a physician who probably lived in the seventh century B. C. The remains of much older medical

⁴ K. Sudhoff, "Medizinische Bibliotheken, eine historische Plauderei," *Arch. Gesch. Med.* 21 (1929), 296.

libraries have, of course, been found in Egypt; but we must pass over these collections together with those of ancient Greece and Rome, of Alexandria and Byzantium, and the monastic libraries of the Middle Ages.

When we come to the early middle ages we find many references to, and even catalogues of, private libraries, but medical collections of any size are still rarely met with.

In 1415 Ugolino da Montecantini⁵ of Florence left a library of more than 100 books, of which 80 were medical. In 1450 Johannes Sindell, physician to the Emperor Frederick III, left 200 volumes of medicine and mathematics to the University of Prague.

One of the oldest and greatest of mediaeval libraries, that of Amplonius Ratingk (c.1363-1435), founder of the Collegium Amplonianum at Erfurt, has been maintained practically intact until the present day. Ratingk was Physikus or City Physician at Cologne and later, Rector of the University. He traveled in pursuit of books, bought continuously from Paris and Italy, and kept a permanent staff of copyists. From 1410 to 1412, before handing over his library, he himself drew up its catalogue, which is still extant as well as the books themselves, at Erfurt in the "Amplonianum." Ratingk's catalogue lists 640 manuscripts, comprising some 2000 different works. It is arranged in 12 classes: Grammatica (36 volumes), Poetica (37), Logica (27), Rhetorica (12), Mathematics (73), Philosophia Naturalis (64), Metaphysics (15), Philosophia Moralis (35), Medicine (101), Civil Law (7), Canon Law (16), and Theology (213). This catalogue, remarkable for its extent and its systematic arrangement, also comprises a list of desiderata. Ratingk drew up rules for the use of his library. It was open from eight to one o'clock, and loans were permitted but were carefully regulated.⁶

Our knowledge of the medical libraries of the fifteenth century has been greatly extended by the patient researches of E. P. Goldschmidt.⁷

⁵J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago 1939), 407.

⁶The catalogue of Ferrari da Grado's books has been printed by his descendant M. Ferrari, together with valuable remarks on medical literature and libraries in the fifteenth century, in his monograph *Une Chaire de médecine au XV^e siècle et un professeur à l'université de Pavia de 1432 à 1472* (Paris 1899); see also Allbutt's review of this book in his *Greek Medicine in Rome* (1921), 475. Another interesting collection of manuscripts, that of Pierre

Cardonnel, a celebrated physician of Paris who died in 1438, has been described by Achille Chereau, *La Bibliothèque d'un médecin au commencement du XV^e siècle* (1864).

⁷E. P. Goldschmidt, "Hieronymus Muenzer and Other Fifteenth Century Bibliophiles," *Bull. New York Acad. Med.* 14 (1938), 496; W. Schum, *Verzeichnis der Amplon. Handschriften-Sammlung* (Berlin, 1887). Ratingk's catalogue has been reprinted by P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheks-Kataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (München 1928), vol. II.

While cataloguing a large collection of incunabula in the library of Prince Dietrichstein at Nickolsburg, Dr. Goldschmidt found that the same owner's inscription in red ink constantly recurred in the books. About 150 volumes bore an entry such as:

Hic liber est mei Hieronymi Monetarii de Feltkirchen, artium et medicinae doctoris, quem mihi comparavi Nuremberge anno Domini 1482.

Hieronymus Muenzer was born in 1438 and died in 1508. He matriculated at Leipzig University in 1464, took his M.A. in 1470, and remained another four years as a junior lecturer in the arts course. He had begun the study of medicine before leaving Leipzig, as is proved by a folio volume on paper containing an extensive *Herbarius*, Bernardus de Gordonio's *De ingeniis curationum*, a brief *Bona anothomia*, and other medical texts, in the front cover of which is the note, "Iste liber medicinalis est mei Hieronymi Monetarii de Feltkirchen artium et medicine doctoris quem mihi comparavi in studio lipenzensi ann 1470." This volume is now in the Library of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, together with Muenzer's copies of the printed editions of Articella (1483), Bernardus de Gordonio (1480), Haly Abbas (1485), and Maimonides (1489).

In 1476 Muenzer went to Pavia, where he graduated M.D. in 1478. An interesting relic of his Pavia period is a volume of his lecture notes, containing the *Anatomy* of Mundinus, considerable excerpts from Galen and Haly Abbas, and "Consilia" of his teachers Antonio Guainerius and Ambrosio Binasco, now in the Harvey Cushing Library. From Pavia he brought back some of his finest books and he probably became a regular collector at this time. His stay in Italy coincided with the first great burst of activity of the printers, who were supplying the demand for books at moderate prices. Goldschmidt has tracked down and identified many books belonging to Muenzer's Pavia period. These include Avicenna's *Canon* (1473), Saliceto (1476), two works of his teacher Guainerius, *De febribus* and *De matricibus* (1474), Sylvaticus, *Pandecta medicinae*, and Falcutius, *Antidotarium*, bound with Albucasis, both printed by Jensen in 1474, now in the Boston Medical Library. His non-medical books include editions of Juvenal (1474), now at Yale, Lucan, Quintilian, Diogenes Laertius, Sallust, and Aeneas Sylvius. His copy of Aristotle, *De animalibus* (Venice 1476) contains the entry "In the year of the Lord 1476, in the last days of December, when we celebrate the

birth of our Saviour and indulge in all sorts of games and pastimes, I obtained this very fine book at cards and dice."

After leaving Pavia, Muenzer settled at Nuremberg and became one of the "Physici" of the city, a post corresponding to that of a modern Medical Officer of Health. He prospered and was able to travel and to indulge his passion for books. His notes show that he bought his Gordonius *Lilium medicinae* at Naples, his Claudianus and Solinus at Rome, his Boccaccio, Theophrastus, and others at Milan. The date of the purchase is usually written inside his books and has enabled Goldschmidt to trace the steady growth of his library. A catalogue of his books made in 1510 lists 185 volumes, and about 30 of these are now in the possession of various libraries in Europe and America and have been identified by Dr. Goldschmidt. His tastes were wide and after 1484 medicine does not predominate.

Muenzer had two predilections, the main one being Platonic philosophy. He obtained Ficino's Latin translation of Plato (Florence, 1487) and Plotinus on publication. His Aristotle's *Politics* contains the note:

This most noble book on the State, written in beautiful language and full of weighty sentences, has been read through by me Hieronymus Monctarius *utriusque medicine doctor*. I read it through, I say, for the sake of recreation, in the month of May 1499, when I was suffering of a dangerous disease, and used to alleviate the intolerable pain by this very agreeable reading at Nuremberg.

His other favorite study was geography, and in this field he had the rare first edition of Ptolemy, Solinus, Mela, Aeneas Sylvius, and other cosmographical writers. Muenzer gave considerable assistance to his friend Hartmann Schedel in the preparation of the latter's great *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493. Muenzer's travel diary, a manuscript of 416 pages in the hand of his friend Schedel, is still preserved at Munich. It is a valuable document, of which parts only have been published.

Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), Muenzer's friend and colleague in the office of city physician at Nuremberg, ranks as a prince of collectors and an indefatigable transcriber and preserver of books and manuscripts. Schedel's library, which is incomparably more important than that of Muenzer, has long been well known and was fully described by Stauber in 1908. Practically the whole of Schedel's library, consisting of about 350 manuscripts and of 500 to 600 printed volumes, still remains in the Munich library, of which, indeed, it forms the original nucleus.⁸

⁸ E. P. Goldschmidt, *Hieronymus Muenzer und seine Bibliothek* (London 1938).

Hermann Schedel (1410-1485), Hartmann's cousin, was also a notable collector; his books passed into the possession of Hartmann at his death. It is a remarkable fact that these three friends and colleagues at Nuremberg should have been such great bibliophiles and that their libraries have been so largely preserved. Comparatively few volumes have strayed from the Schedel collection. His Petrus de Abano (Hain No. 1) and his Nicolaus Leonicensus on syphilis (1497) are both in the Cushing Library. Without an extensive library Schedel could never have compiled his great *Nuremberg Chronicle*, a popular encyclopedia containing everything popularly known about the world and its history.

Both Schedel's and Muenzer's books have survived mostly in their original bindings. They employed the same bookbinders. Schedel had nearly every book that Muenzer owned, in either the same or a similar edition, but he had far more than Muenzer, especially in the field of history. Of his 350 manuscripts nearly half are written in his own beautifully clear handwriting. He copied entire historical works, monastic annals, letters, speeches, epitaphs, inscriptions, etc., and preserved a mass of valuable material which would otherwise have been lost. His manuscript collections form an almost inexhaustible quarry for researchers.⁹

Another great fifteenth-century bibliophile, born in the same town as Muenzer, was Ulrich Ellenbog (c.1430-1499), M.D. of Pavia, who practised successively at his native town of Feldkirchen, at Augsburg, and at Memmingen. His fine library of beautifully bound books was bequeathed to the Benedictine Abbey of Ottobeuern, where one of his sons had entered as a monk and had risen to the office of Prior. The library was kept together until about twenty years ago, and it is unfortunate that its contents were not noted while still intact. Although Ellenbog's library is now scattered, Goldschmidt has seen over twenty of his books, finely printed folios in their old white pigskin bindings, generally bearing interesting marginal notes in Ellenbog's hand. A *Pharetra doctorum*, printed by Mentelin before 1474, is in the Cushing Library. The Cambridge University Library possesses a volume containing five incunabula bound up for Ellenbog at Augsburg in 1476 and full of his autograph notes ranging in date from 1476 to 1497. This fine relic of the Ellenbog collection was described (1905) by the late Robert

⁹ R. Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek* (Freiburg 1908); E. P. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.* (Note 6) 496.

Proctor.¹⁰ A pathetic note on the back of the flyleaf of the Cambridge volume is in the form of a testament to his four sons, dated 1481, and expresses the wish that his books might be kept together after his death. Ellenbog was not only a collector of books, but also took an important part in establishing one of the first printing presses at Augsburg, that in the monastery of Saints Ulrich and Afra.

Dr. Burchard von Horneck left his splendid library of printed books and 183 manuscripts to the Bishop and Chapter of Wuerzburg in 1522. The collection is still largely preserved in the Wuerzburg University Library, although a few volumes, probably duplicates, have strayed. Two are in the British Museum and there is a Pliny in the Cushing Library. Horneck owned all of the standard Italian medical textbooks of the 15th century and many of the Latin classics.¹¹

The Cleveland Medical Library has an interesting group of about 30 incunabula from the library of Dr. Nicolaus Pol, physician to the Emperor Maximilian I. One of the finest is a splendid *Ketham* of 1495. The books are all in their original bindings and bear in their covers in very bold script the lettering: "Nicolaus Pol Doctor 1494." Goldschmidt believes that the Cleveland collection represents only a fraction of Pol's library. Before they came on the market the majority of his books were in the Franciscan convent at Innichen in Southern Tyrol, but Goldschmidt found a number in several monastic libraries of Northern Tyrol.¹²

It would appear from the evidence already adduced that the possession of a very fine library was not uncommon among the higher ranks of the profession in the Renaissance. There are but few traces of private medical libraries in England prior to the sixteenth century. Thomas Linacre, founder and first president of the College of Physicians of London, gave all his medical books to the College and a room was set apart for their accommodation. The few books which he reserved for his private use are alone specified in his will. They comprised the works of Thucydides, Theodore, Appollonius, Theocritus, Pindar, the declamations of Libanius,

¹⁰ R. Proctor, "Ulrich von Ellenbog and the Press of S. Ulrich at Augsburg," in his *Bibliographical Essays* (1905), 73.

¹¹ I. Schwarz, *Die medizinischen Manuskripte der koeniglichen Universitaets-Bibliothek Wuerzburg* (1907).

¹² Maggs Bros. *Catalogue of Medical Works from the Library of Dr. Nicolaus Pol* (1929).

Since this paper was written Dr. Max H. Fisch has published his splendid monograph, *Nicolaus Pol! Doctor 1494* (New York, Herbert Reichner, 1947), containing an exhaustive account of this great medical bibliophile. Dr. Fisch has identified no less than 467 items from Pol's library; 40 of these are in Cleveland and 13 at Yale.

and a commentary upon Homer. Linacre's library may be presumed to have comprised a good collection of the classics and medical books that had then been printed.¹³ The only work in the College library which can now be identified with certainty as having been the property of Linacre is a copy of the *Scriptores de re rustica* (1496) which bears his signature and which was presented to the College in 1733 by Dr. William Woodford, Regius Professor of Physic at Oxford. In 1520 Linacre drew up a list of the books belonging to his friend William Grocyn, who died in 1519.¹⁴ This catalogue, which enumerates 105 printed books and 17 manuscripts, was discovered among the archives of Merton College in 1889. It is entirely in Linacre's hand, and although not of direct medical interest, forms an interesting memorial of two great scholars and bibliophiles.

Although the library of the Royal College of Physicians does not itself come within the scope of this article, reference may be made at this point to some of the medical bibliophiles who followed the example of Linacre and helped to build up this noble collection.

William Gilbert in 1603 bequeathed to the College his whole library, globes, instruments, and a cabinet of minerals. In 1629 Matthew Holsbosch, M.D., a German who had practised his profession in England for fifty years, left his library of 680 volumes to the College. Further bequests and donations were made by Sir Theodore de Mayerne, by Selden, by Elias Ashmole, and by William Harvey, and the first printed catalogue made in 1660 by Dr. Christopher Merett shows that the library then comprised some 1300 volumes. After the Fire of London, which destroyed the College and its library with the exception of about 140 volumes, Henry Pierrepont (1606-1680) first Marquis of Dorchester, an Honorary Fellow of the College, presented the whole of his magnificent collection and a new library was built for its reception. The catalogue of the Dorchester collection, compiled in 1664 and written upon vellum, is still preserved; it enumerates 3200 volumes.¹⁵

Among later benefactors were Dr. Richard Hale (1670-1728) who left £500 for the purchase of books; Dr. Thomas Crow (1671-1751) who left a choice collection of Greek and Latin books; Dr. Thomas Gisborne

¹³ J. Noble Johnson, *The Life of Thomas Linacre* (1835), 300.

¹⁴ M. Burrows, "Linacre's Catalogue of Books Belonging to William Grocyn in 1520," *Oxford Hist. Soc. Collectanea* (2nd. Ser., 1890), 317.

¹⁵ W. Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians* (1878), 111, 364; E. Boswell, "The Library of the Royal College of Physicians in the Great Fire," *The Library*, 4th. Ser., 10 (1930), 313.

(died 1806); and Dr. Matthew Baillie (1761-1823) who bequeathed all his medical books to the College. The most important benefaction of recent times is that of Dr. David Lloyd Roberts (1835-1920) of Manchester, who bequeathed his valuable library of old medical books to the College and his collection of the works of Sir Thomas Browne to the John Rylands Library.

The library of Dr. John Clement, President of the College of Physicians in 1544, an intimate friend of Sir Thomas More, has been described by A. W. Reed.¹⁶

Although he was not a medical man, reference should be made to the remarkable library formed by John Dee (1527-1608), alchemist, spiritualist, and one of the most learned men of his age.

The catalogue of Dee's manuscripts, taken from an autograph list in the Gale Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, has been reprinted by Dr. Montagu Rhodes James. Dee tried to rescue manuscripts from the dissolved monastic libraries and he also endeavored to induce the King to establish a national library. The catalogue of his library was made on September 6, 1583, just before Dee left England for the Continent. As soon as he had departed, his house at Mortlake was pillaged by the mob (owing to his reputation as a sorcerer), his books were to some extent dispersed, and his valuable scientific instruments broken. On his return six years later Dee was able to recover three-fourths of the books. The catalogue of 1583 cannot therefore be regarded as a complete record of the MSS. which Dee possessed at the time of his death. Books and manuscripts from Dee's library found their way into the collections of Digby, Ashmole, Pepys, Gale, Harley, and Sloane, and many items have been identified in the libraries of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (the largest portion found in any one place), the Bodleian, Cambridge, British Museum, Lambeth Palace, and Trinity College, Dublin.¹⁷

According to an account drawn up by Dee in 1592, he possessed in all about 1000 MSS. and 3000 printed books, which he valued at £2000. Dr. James, who has identified over two hundred volumes from Dee's library, thinks it doubtful whether these figures can be trusted. The catalogue of 1583 shows that Dee had over two hundred MSS. His

¹⁶ A. W. Reed, "John Clement and His Books," *The Library*, 4th. Ser., 6 (1926), 329.

¹⁷ M. R. James, "Lists of Manuscripts Formerly Owned by Dr. John Dee, with Preface and

Identifications," *Suppl. Trans. Bibliog. Soc.* No. 1 (1921). See also Charlotte Fell Smith, *John Dee (1527-1602)*, (1909).

was in the main a special collection designed to assist his peculiar studies. Had it survived intact it would have been a first-class repository of medieval science books, excluding medicine. Alchemy, astrology, physics, geometry, optics, and mathematics are all very copiously represented. Some of the treatises he mentions are not now extant. Dee left no catalogue of his printed books, but he refers to several in his diaries.¹⁸

A small collection of books may be as revealing as a large one, and we may now consider the books of some humbler practitioners.¹⁹ Many, no doubt, had no more than Thomas Brydon, an apothecary of Cambridge, who died in 1589 leaving property to the value of £60. From the inventory of his goods we learn that "In the study were a table, oulde books, oulde keys and other trash, 2s. 6d. In the Hall an oulde bible and service book, 1s. 8d." Richard Meakes, a barber-surgeon of Cambridge, who died in 1604, left "old books and other lumberment" to the value of 1s.

John Thomas (?1490-1545), surgeon of Cambridge, had a very good library. He had 91 works, and of the 58 whose titles are given, 11 are medical. Of classical authors he had Ausonius, Aulus Gellius, Caesar, Cicero, Horace, Politian, Sallust, and Virgil. He had no Greek authors, but he had Greek and Hebrew grammars and several copies of the Lexicon of Calepinus. Devotional works included the New Testament in Latin, a psalter, a missal, and the Golden Legend in Latin and French. The list contains no English books, and his light reading seems to have consisted of the Italian historian Sabellicus, the Latin Comedy of Acolastus, and the Epistles of Francis Niger. The highest value for any one book is Politian's *Opera*, 16d. The total value of the books as estimated by the University appraisers is 36s. 4d., and his medical books included Galen, the Rule of Salerno, Guy de Chauliac in Latin and French (8d. and 4d. respectively), Johannes de Vigo (6d.), a herbal in French (4d.), Georgius Valla (8d.), and a "Fasciculus medicinae" 1d. (?"Ketham").

Dr. Robert Pickering, a physician of Cambridge who died in 1551, had a fine library of over 200 volumes valued at £10.14s.4d. His books are mostly in Latin and Greek, and there is only one English title. Of the 145 works mentioned by name, 43 are medical. He had Hippocrates, Celsus, Rhazes, Avicenna, Paulus Aegineta, and Aetius; and, amongst the

¹⁸ *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee and the Catalogue of his Library of Manuscripts*. Edited by J. O. Halliwell, Camden Soc., XIX (1842).

¹⁹ This section is based upon the late Dr.

W. M. Palmer's valuable paper on "Cambridge-shire doctors in the Olden Time," *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Proc.* 15 (1911), 200.

moderns, the anatomy of Mondino, Mesue, the medical epistles of Mandardus, the dispensary of Fuchs, two works by Fernel (*De Sanguinis Ova-ductione*, 4d., and *De Usu Pharmacorum*, 2d.). A copy of "Ketham's" *Fasciculus Medicinæ*, valued at 1s.4d., Reisch's *Margarita Philosophia* (8d.), Galen in Greek, 5 vols., (£2). He had twelve other Galen volumes, including *De Temperamentis*, greco-lat., value 6d. His favorite "modern" author was Otto Brunfels. Plato was his most valuable classical work, 2 vols., 10s., Cicero, 2 vols., 6s., Thucydides, Pliny, Herodotus, Herodian, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Socrates, Euripides, Seneca, Plautus, Pindar, Lucian, Suetonius, Martial, and Sallust. Other books listed include Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, eight works of Erasmus (his contemporary at Cambridge), Luther on Deuteronomy, *Tabula* of Ptolemy, *Imago Mundi* of Peter de Alyacus (1492), the *Epitome* of Joachim Vadianus, Greek and Latin Psalters, a Latin New Testament, and the *Scala Perfectionis*. Reference to "A luting book" may mean that he was a musician. Light literature is represented by the *Merry Tales of Poggio* in Italian, the *Nugae* of Nicholas Bourbon, *The Beauties of the Latin Tongue* by L. Valla, and the same author's version of the *Iliad*.

John Hatcher, M.D. (?1512-1587), Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge, had a very large and varied classical library and, what is more unusual, many contemporary works in English. These include Sir John Cheke's book on Greek Pronunciation, Ascham's *Epistles*, the Apology of the Prince of Orange, Micklethwaite's *Catechism for Householders*, Becon's *Spiritual and Precious Pearl*, and Wilkinson's *Confutation of the Family of Love, News of Strange Countries*, and many law books. His medical library, too, is on a different plane from that of any of his predecessors. It seems to have comprised all the books worth reading which had been published during or before his time. A few priced items are Galen (5 vols., £3.), Avicenna (13s. 4d.), Dioscorides (5s.), and Rosa Anglica (20d.) He also had Fallopius, Arnald da Villa Nova, Gratarolus, Cardan, Albucasis, and Benedictus Victorius; and, in English, Bright's *Treatise on English Medicine*, and Moulton's *Myrroure or Glasse of Helth*, 1540, Black-letter, value 1d.

Dr. Thomas Lorkyn (1528-1591), Hatcher's son-in-law and Regius Professor for 28 years, also had a very good library.²⁰ The great additions made to the literature of this country during his lifetime are shown in

²⁰ C. Sayle, "The Library of Thomas Lorkyn," *Ann. Med. Hist.* 3 (1921) 310.

his English books, of which he had far more than any of his predecessors. According to an inventory made at the time of his death, Lorkyn had 570 books. He had Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, Bale's *Votaries*, Elyot's *Governour*, More's *Utopia*, Skelton's *Poems*, Stubbs' *Anatomy of Abuses*, and Thevet's *New Found World*, Camden's *Britannia*, Turner's *Herbal*, 1568 (5s.), a book called *A Hundred and Fourteen Experiments of Paracelsus*, (2d.), *The Difference of the Olde Physic Taught by the Godlee Fathers and the New from Galen*, 1585 (2d.).

Lorkyn bequeathed to the Cambridge University Library "all his physic books or that appertained to physic, to be kept locked in the university library in a great cupboard."

There is an imperfect list of these books in the "Donor's Book" at the University Library. Lorkyn scribbled in nearly all his books and added his autograph monographs or his motto, "Voce et Odore." The provenance of many of his books is known. They passed from friend to friend and throw a pleasant light on the relations between some of the scholar-physicians of the Tudor period.

The copy of Thomas Muffet's *De Venis Mesaraicis Obstructis Theses*, "Praeside Felici Platero, Basle 1578," has the author's autograph inscription to Lorkyn and is apparently the only copy of this book in existence. Six books belonged to Nicholas Sympson, Barber to Henry VIII, whose picture occurs in Holbein's famous painting of the granting of the charter to the Company of Barber-Surgeons in 1540. Five books belonged to John Frere, M.D., of Padua and of King's College, afterwards President of the College of Physicians. Richard Sherman, M.D., of Caius College, gave Lorkyn the Rhazes of 1511. The collection now contains 272 books, comprising 281 works. Only four English books are left. Hippocrates is represented by 16 entries, Galen 33, Gesner, Paracelsus, Jacobus Sylvius, 8 each, Vesalius 3 (including the *Fabrica* of 1555). Lorkyn apparently had no manuscripts, but he possessed eight incunabula in eleven volumes: Nicolaus Falcutius (4 vols., Venice 1491), Savonarola (Venet. 1486), Rhazes (Venet. 1493), Avenzoar and Averroes (Venet. 1490), Sylvaticus (Venet. 1499), Saliceto (Venet. 1490), Petrus de Argellata (Venet. 1497), and Magninus (Lugd. ca. 1495).

John Soward, surgeon and scholar of Clare, in 1552, had Galen's *De Temperamentis*, valued at 1s., Macer's *De Virtutibus Herbarum*, the *Rule of Salerno*, and several works of Leonard Fuchs.

Richard Widdows, surgeon of Bridge Street, Cambridge, (died 1588) had Guido's *Questions*, Vicary's *Englishman's Treasure*, two antidotaries valued at 6d. each, a herbal, the Rule of Salerno, two books of "Secreates" valued at 12d. (probably Alexis of Piedmont), and five volumes of general literature.

Nicholas Gibbard, M.D., Fellow of Magdalen, was a younger contemporary of Lorkyn. By his will dated Sept. 4, 1593, preserved in the University archives, he gave "all the rewe of bookes begininge from Hippocrates and Goollen to the ende of the shelve in my upper studies against St. Maries, my notebooks and writings execepted, to Magdalen Colledge, conditionallie that they be good unto my wife and childe in performinge of the coppie hould over against Magdalen Colledge." The books came to the College in 1601. Thirty-three volumes now remain, all folios or large quartos, mostly printed at Basle and Venice. A few are in the original bindings, the rest having been rebound soon after accession. The only fifteenth-century book is a Celsus (Venice, 1493).²¹

The College accounts show that 17 volumes (probably Gibbard's) were bound for 57s. 2d., and 39 were chained at a cost of 6s. 6d.

John Furtho, a Fellow of Trinity, in 1633, bequeathed twenty of his best books to the library of his College.

The personal libraries of two famous Scottish physicians are incorporated in the library of Marischal College, Aberdeen. These are the collections bequeathed by Duncan Liddel (1561-1613) and Alexander Read (1580-1644). Liddel's library is the larger and more important of the two. No list of the books bequeathed by Read survives, but a number of them have been identified by Menzies.²² One interesting item is a copy of the first edition of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*, containing numerous underlinings and marginal notes in red ink in Read's handwriting. Among other volumes in the library known to have belonged to Read are Monardes' *Joyfull Newes* (1577), Taliacotius (1597), and the rare English translation of Fabry of Hilden's *Lithotomia Vesicae* (1640).

Mr. L. F. Newman has copied the contemporary manuscript catalogue of the medical books in the library of Thomas Deighton, a surgeon of Gloucester who died in 1640. The collection is a remarkable one for a country surgeon and it is unfortunate that the descriptions are so brief

²¹ R. T. Gunther, "The Row of Books of Nicholas Gibbard of Oxford," *Ann. Med. Hist.* 3 (1921) 324.

²² W. Menzies, "Alexander Read, Physician and Surgeon, 1580-1641, His Life, Works, and Library," *The Library*, 4th. Ser., 12 (1932) 46.

that it is not usually possible to identify the editions in question. The 121 books in Deighton's library included works by Hippocrates, Galen, Aemilius Macer, Valerius Cordus, Realdus Columbus, Nicolas of Salerno, Fabry of Hilden, Fallopius, Arculanus, Bauhinus, Remmelin, Guy de Chauliac, Fernel, Geminus, Paré, Paracelsus, Fuchs, Brunfels, etc. The proportion of early books in English is unusually high. He had English editions of Andrew Borde, Coghlan, Peter Lowe, Monardes, Conrad Gesner, John Jones, Thomas Gale, Timothy Bright, Ulrich Hutten, and John Banister.²³

Prof. Tricot-Royer²⁴ has published an exhaustive analysis of the catalogue of the library of Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius (1601-1671), Professor of Medicine and Rector of the University of Louvain. This library represents the working collection of an eminent medical teacher and consultant of the seventeenth century and provides valuable material for the history of medical libraries. Tricot-Royer found this catalogue in a volume containing 30 sale catalogues of seventeenth-century libraries in the Library of the Faculté de Médecine at Paris. The original printed catalogue is a quarto of 34 pages. The cover and title-page are missing, but the top of page 3 (the first in the book) bears the manuscript note: "Catalogus Librorum CL. Dni Plempij vendendorum Lovanij 1672," and a second note in another hand: "Bibliotheca Plempij venalis Lovanij 1672 per Nempaeum." It may be noted that Nempaeus was a publisher and bookseller of Louvain who issued the fourth edition of Plempius's *Fundamenta seu Institutiones Medicinae Libri VI* in 1664.

The number of titles listed in the catalogue is 1074, made up of Medical Books (768), Politics, History, Literature (238), Spanish and Italian (8), Greek and Latin (23), Oriental (39), together with various Arabic, Chaldee, and Talmudic items that are not enumerated by title. The 768 medical books were bound in 792 volumes, of which 173 are described as folios, 233 as quartos, 163 as octavos, and 93 as duodecimos. The titles, as in nearly all early catalogues, are much abbreviated and in many cases are so cryptic that the learned editor has not always been able to identify the edition.

²³ E. A. B. Barnard and L. F. Newman, "John Deighton of Gloucester, Surgeon," *Trans. Brit. and Gloucest. Archaeol. Soc.* 64 (1943) 71. The authors of this extremely interesting paper intend to publish the complete catalogue of Deighton's books in *The Library*.

²⁴ Tricot-Royer, *La Bibliothèque de Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius, professeur de Médecine au XVII^e Siècle*, (Mém. couronnés par l'Acad. Roy. de Méd. de Belgique, Tome xxii, fasc. 5, Brux., 1925).

A classification of authors according to their country of origin shows that Plempius possessed the writings of 145 Italians, 91 Germans, 83 French, 33 Dutch, 28 Belgians, 24 Spaniards, 19 Ancient Greek, 18 English, 10 Portuguese, 9 Swiss, 7 Arabs, 6 Romans, 3 Danes, and 1 Swede.

As Regius Professor, Plempius had to expound the writings of the "Fathers" of medicine and we can obtain some idea of the relative importance attached to their writings at that time by their representation in the catalogue. Thus we find that he possessed the works of Hippocrates and the writings of 57 commentators upon him, Galen (36 commentators), Avicenna (16), Aristotle (6), Dioscorides (6), Rhazes (4), Pliny (3), and Theophrastus (2).

The majority of the books in this catalogue are collected works, "Practices" of medicine and surgery, treatises on anatomy, physiology, gynecology, embryology, and so forth, but besides these comprehensive works there are a number of books dealing with more circumscribed subjects. Tricot-Royer classifies them as follows:—

Pharmacology and Materia Medica (40 writers), Plague and Pestilence (20), Medical Chemistry (14), Zoology (13), Botany (10), Magic and Astrology (9), Balneology, Hydrotherapy, etc. (7), Venoms (6), Moral Hygiene and Prophylaxis (4), Deontology (4), Physics (3), Teratology (3), History of Medicine (2), Salerno (2), Medical Education (1), Legal Medicine (1), and Veterinary Medicine (1), and Embalming and Burial (1).

Tricot-Royer justly laments the fact that a collection of 1016 books bequeathed to the Medical College of Antwerp in 1620 by Dr. Jean Ferreulx was sold to rehabilitate the finances of the College in 1818 for 200 florins.

A very interesting and valuable library is that of Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), not a regular practitioner but a notable dabbler in physic, part of whose library was sold on April 19, 1680, at the Golden Lyon, over against the Queen's Head Tavern in Paternoster Row.²⁵ The auction catalogue of 135 pages enumerates 5400 lots, of which 315 are medical. Books from the Digby collection recur in modern sales, mostly bound in morocco and having the Digby arms and monogram "K.V.D.," the "V" standing for the initial of his wife's name Venetia. Digby was one

²⁵ J. F. Fulton, *Sir Kenelm Digby, Writer, England in the Seventeenth Century* (1898) *Bibliophile and Protagonist of William Harvey* 36. (New York 1936); J. Lawler, *Book Auctions in*

of the earliest collectors to clothe his books in fine bindings, most of them being the work of the best French binders of the period. Part of Digby's library had been conveyed to France during the Civil Wars. He died there in 1665 and these books were forfeited to the French Crown by "Droit d'Aubain." The library was sold in Paris for 10,000 Crowns but Digby's relative, the Earl of Bristol, repurchased part of it. Many of his books, sumptuously bound in red morocco, are still to be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The Digby sale of 1680 realized over £900. The library contained a great number of incunabula, including a few Caxtons, many 16th century books, classics, history, travel, and belles-lettres. Under the heading of "Pamphlets" we find lots including Shakespeare's "Rape of Lucretia" and Hesiod's "Georgics" by Chapman, "in all 22 pieces, 3s.," and "Twelve plays written by Shakespeare, Shirley, Heywood, Chapman, etc., 3s." Rare Americana appear as "Tracts" throughout the catalogue and average about 4d. each. At the end of the catalogue there are 69 lots of MSS., chiefly historical and astrological made for the Earl of Bristol. It appears that these MSS. were sold separately on May 13, 1680.

In his lifetime, Digby became possessed of the valuable library of books and MSS. of his tutor, the learned Thomas Allen, of Trinity College, Oxford. He presented this collection to the Bodleian. In 1655 he presented 17 books to Harvard College. John Evelyn²⁶ considered the Digby library to be "of more pomp than intrinsic value, as chiefly consisting of modern poets, romances, chemical and astrological books," and we may conclude that the diarist did not share the opinion expressed in Richard Farrar's epitaph on Digby which described him as:

This age's wonder for his noble parts,
Skilled in six tongues and learned in all the arts.

Nathan Paget (1615-1679), M.D. Leyden, Physician to the Tower of London, Harveian Orator and five times Censor of the College of Physicians, was the intimate friend and counsellor of John Milton. He was one of eight London physicians who collaborated with Glisson in collecting the material for the treatise on rickets, eventually published by Glisson alone. A copy of the auction sale catalogue of his library, dated Oct. 24, 1681, is in the British Museum.²⁷ Paget's was the first medical

²⁶ J. Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*. Edited by W. Bray (1902) III, 309.

²⁷ J. H. Hanford, "Dr. Paget's Library," *Bull. Med. Lib. Assoc.* 33 (1945) 91.

man's library to be auctioned in England.²⁸ The books were auctioned by William Cooper, who had introduced this method into England in 1676. Cooper came to share the business with Edward Millington, a famous bookseller, with whom Milton, himself an inveterate book buyer, lived for a while in Little Britain. Cooper and Millington had neighboring shops and Milton and Paget must often have been in and out of them together.

The catalogue consists of 52 pages, and lists some 7000 to 8000 volumes. The books were on exhibition in Cooper's shop a week before the sale. The auction, according to the preface, was to begin at eight in the morning and last about four days. Paget's library was a very fine one, for that or any other time, and the catalogue bears witness to his scholarship and to the wide range of his interest. There are listed in all 2178 lots, including 34 bundles of pamphlets. Following the usual practice, the catalogue classifies the books according to size, subject matter, and language.

Latin medical and chemical books account for 816 lots, theological and philological books for 615, English books (mostly non-medical) for 723, and pamphlets (mixed languages and subjects) for 34.

There are a large number of books on the occult sciences. Here we find the early writers on astrology, the philosophers, the elixir of life, ghosts, apparitions, witchcraft, possession by demons, exorcism, the writings of Cardan, Paracelsus, H. Cornelius Agrippa, Roger Bacon, Robert Fludd, van Helmont, Jacob Boehme, William Lilly, Raymond Lully, J. B. Porta, Basil Valentine, J. R. Glauber, and many other less known and anonymous writers. It seems that less than one-half of the Paget collection was strictly medical, but he had all the necessary tools of his profession and a great deal more. His collection of the editions of Hippocrates, Galen, and Averroes, was very fine, and the only notable names that do not appear in the catalogue are those of Dioscorides, Celsus, and Vesalius.

Besides the medical classics there is a great variety of works on chemistry, mathematics, and related subjects. There are a number of works on wine and liquor making, on fasting women, and on plague. Although many of his medical books were printed before 1600 he had enough of later date to indicate that he kept well abreast of his age. He had the first edition of Harvey's *De Motu* and much related material, and the writings

²⁸ J. Lawler, *op. cit.* (Note 25), 59.

of Glisson, Charleton, and Sydenham. The works of mathematicians, such as Oughtred, Descartes, and Paget's younger contemporaries Wallis, Newton, and Isaac Barrow are included. There is much mystical, heretical, and sectarian literature. He had a remarkable collection of works on Socinianism, and nearly all the writings of the German mystic and reformer Jacob Boehme. There are many Quaker items, including the writings of George Fox, and several of the Americana. As befitted a friend of Milton, he had several tracts on freedom of conscience and of the press.

Paget evidently had a great love of literature for its own sake, and he possessed a not inconsiderable collection of his friend's works, including *Areopagitica*, two copies of the first editions of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and many others.

The library of the Rev. Dr. Whately, of Banbury, Oxon, which was auctioned by Edward Millington on April 23, 1683, is of special interest because it was sold together with the Physick Library of Simon Rutland, late of Brentwood in Essex. Rutland's library was the first special collection of medical books (apart from the general libraries of doctors) to be sold at auction in this country. According to the sale catalogue, the Physick Library was "replenished with variety of the best and most modern books in that Faculty, which will recommend them (to all the generous Professors of it) as being the first experiment in this nature so much desired and expected." Millington altered his hour of selling for this auction, beginning in the morning at the unusually late hour of ten, and selling only till twelve, resuming in the afternoon at three and continuing until seven. The medical books, which represent a comparatively small section of the 3115 lots in the catalogue, are chiefly foreign, modern editions of the old medical writers, and the treatises of learned contemporary physicians, mixed with the more empirical writings of the alchemists and herbalists.

John Knight (1600-1680), Sergeant Surgeon to Charles II, Surgeon General to the Forces and Master of the Barber Surgeons Company, had a valuable collection of heraldic manuscripts and a library of printed books on heraldry, genealogy, antiquities, and topography. He was a friend of Samuel Pepys, to whom he left three volumes of the works of Hubert Goltz, the numismatist, in order, no doubt, to complete the diarist's set. Of the set of five volumes now in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, three are beautifully bound in vellum, the remaining two being covered in ordinary binding. To Gonville and

Caius, his own College, he left some 60 volumes of heraldic manuscripts. His copy of Dugdale's *Baronetage*, 2 vols., 1675-1676, is embellished with about seven hundred drawings of coats of arms. The flyleaf of the first volume bears the following inscription in Knight's hand:—

This volume no erratas has;
The whole may for erratas pass.
If to correct them you intend
You'l find it Labour without end.
Tis therefore better let them go.
God only 'tis, knows who getts who.

To the town of Ipswich he left a valuable collection of printed books on genealogy, heraldry, antiquities and topography, including works by Dygdale, Ashmole, Plot, and Thoroton. The collection is still preserved in the Central Library of the Borough of Ipswich. To his quondam servant, John Franklin, and to Christopher Todd, his apprentice, he left "all my books of physick and chirurgery and all my instruments, etc., to be equally divided between them." Nothing further is known about his medical books.²⁹

Dr. Claver Morris (1659-1726), M.D. Oxford and Extra-Licentiate of the College of Physicians, enjoyed a large practice at Wells in Somerset. A vehement Tory and high churchman, he was a man of very varied interests and accomplishments, holder of public offices and an enthusiastic musician. He kept very careful accounts during 1686-1723, which have survived, and a diary of which a few years only are extant. The list of books published by Hobhouse³⁰ probably represents all he purchased during 1686-1723, but he must have possessed a number of medical and scientific books as well as classics before he came to Wells.

His library is that of a man of culture interested in most phases of the social and political life of his time. He purchased classics, history, polemical theology of the High Church order, a large number of mathematical books (ranging from Cocker's famous work to Newton's *Trigonometry*), and music. The literature of the day is represented by Dryden, Swift, *The Spectator*, and some ephemeral pieces. He had several books on the Turkish nation and religion, which illustrate the preoccupation

²⁹ E. M. Calvert and R. T. C. Calvert, *Serjeant-Surgeon John Knight, Surgeon General, 1664-1680* (1929); M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, Cambridge (1908).

³⁰ E. Hobhouse, *The Diary of a West Country Physician, A. D. 1684-1726* (1934); "The Library of a Physician circa 1700," *The Library* N. S. 13 (1932) 89.

with the ever present menace of Turkish advance felt at that time. The frequent occurrence of "S" in the Diary shows that he had studied his books, but he makes no comments on what he had read. Morris was well read in the science of his time, especially in chemistry, was versed in the classics, and was something of a mathematician with a taste for mechanical contrivances of all sorts.

In October 1686 he bought Etmullerus' *Opera Pharmaceutica Chymica* (8s.); Dolaeus' *Encyclopaedia* (7s.); Jones' *De Febribus Intermittentibus* (2s. 6d.); and Riverius' *Arcana* (1s.); in August 1689 Sir Walter Raleigh's *Marrow of Hist.* (2s.); Smetius' *Prosodia* (2s.); Wilkins' *Mathematical Magick* (2s. 6d.); and *Arte Treasury* (1s.).

In the same year he gave 10s. for an old copy of Pliny's *Natural History*, and in 1701 he paid 4s. 6d. for a Tauveray's *Anatomy* and for a *History of Physic*. For the titling of 15 volumes, he paid 3d. a volume. Binding was cheap. For Scapula's *Lexicon* and Belengardus's *Sentences* he paid 5s., and for binding three other folios, "but one of 'em large," 16s.

In 1703 his only purchase was Pitt's *Crafts and Frauds of the Apothecaries* (2s.).

In 1705, he brought his medical library up-to-date by numerous purchases, including works by Baglivi, Harvey, Sydenham, Lemery, Mead, Coward, Verduc, and Burmannus. A treatise on urines by T. H. cost 1s.2d. In the same year he bought Clarendon's *History* (3 vols. £2.6s.od.), Collier's supplement to his dictionary, St. Augustine's *Meditations* by Dr. Stanhope, Cocker's *Decimal Arithmetic* (3s.9d.), and others.

In 1709 he bought at Bath Sir John Floyer's *History of Cold Baths*. At Wells in the same year he bought Portal's *Midwifery*, *The London Cases*, Digby *Of Bodies*, Cole's *Short Hand*, and Newton's *Trigonometry*, second hand (5s.). In 1711, his purchases included *The Hospital Surgeon* (2/6), Balinus *De Urinis, Pulsibus* etc. 4to. (9s.), Dale's *Pharmacopologia* (2 vols., 6/9). He subscribed for the *Poetarum Latinorum Opera*, paying a first instalment of £1.0s.6d.

In 1713, he bought Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, the *Koran* in English, and Dryden's *Virgil*, on Royal paper with cuts, in folio (£1). Later purchases include Forestus' *Observationes Medicinales* (2 vols. folio £1); Schroderus' *Pharmacopoeia Medica Chymica* (9s.); Struthers' *Corticon Februum*; Quincy's *Pharmacopoeia Officinalis et Extemporanea* (7s.); Lemnius' *Observationes Medicinales* (3s.); Knolles' *History of the Turks*

(4s.3d.); and Cheyne's *Observations about the Gout and the Bath Waters* (2s.6d.).

He also bought either for himself or for the Musical Club, of which he was the leading spirit, large quantities of music yearly.

The libraries of Drs. Christopher Terne and Thomas Allen were sold by Edward Millington at the Auction House in Ave Mary Lane on April 12, 1686. An appendix to the sale catalogue lists books on medicine belonging to Dr. Robert Talbor, the author of *Pyretologia*.³¹

Millington's preface reveals that the sale by auction of special professional books of the character contained in this catalogue had not hitherto met with unqualified success.

This catalogue presents you with the Medicinal Parts of the Libraries of those two Worthy Persons mentioned in the title page, amongst which, it's obvious to every one that is competently skilled in the editions and hath tolerantly informed himself of what's printed in the Faculty, to remarque several valuable and scarce Books. The late Sales of Books of this nature have been so much discouraged, either through the forgetfulness of the Gentlemen of the profession as to the Time, or by reason that the hours of Sale have interfered with their business, that I had once resolved to have disposed of them another way; but upon second thoughts this Experiment is made intentionally accommodated of the supposed leisurable time of the practisers of that Noble Science, viz., from the hours of 10 to 12 in the morning, and from 3 to 6 in the evening; and when I also reflect that they were the Books of two eminent Physicians who were generally known to be buyers of the Choicest Books, I presume to promise myself an encouragement in some measure answerable to the trouble and expense of the Undertaking.

This catalogue contains 24 pages, lists 1051 lots, and consists entirely of English and foreign works on medicine then used by the Faculty.

The libraries of several eminent foreign medical men were sold in England. In 1655 the library of Jean Riolan the Younger (1580-1657) was offered for sale by John Martin and James Allestrye at the Sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard. A copy of the sale catalogue is in the Bodleian. No prices are given, the vendors apparently having a look at the customer and pricing accordingly.³² Parts of Hermann Boerhaave's library were sold in London on December 10, 1739 and April 16, 1740.

Sir Charles Scarburgh (1616-1694), physician to Charles II, James II, William III, and Queen Mary, was a noted bibliophile and owned a very valuable library of mathematical works and Greek classics.³³ A copy of

³¹ J. Lawler, *op. cit.* (Note 25), 86.

³² British Museum, *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales, 1676-1900*, 1915, p. xii. See also *Bibliotheca Osteriana*, note to No. 3809,

p. 346.

³³ R. Crawford, *The Last Days of Charles II* (Oxford 1909) 55.

the sale catalogue of his library dated 1695 is in the British Museum. Evelyn³⁴ records (March 10, 1695) that he dined at the Earl of Sunderland's with Lord Spenser. "My Lord showed me his library, now again improved by many books bought at the sale of Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent physician, which was the very best collection, especially of mathematical books, that was I believe in Europe, once designed for the King's Library at St. James's; but the Queen's dying, who was the great patroness of that design, it was let fall, and the books were miserably dissipated."

One of the most extensive and interesting of the private libraries sold by auction in the seventeenth century was that of Dr. Francis Bernard, physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.³⁵ The auction was held at the doctor's own house in Little Britain and began on October 4, 1698. The sale catalogue is a volume of 450 pages, and there are on the average 30 lots—some 50,000 volumes. The library is described as a "large collection of the best Theological, Historical, Philological, Medicinal and Mathematical Authors in the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German, Dutch and English tongues." The catalogue has a most interesting Preface:

The character of the person whose collection this was is so well known that there is no occasion to say much of him . . . This I think may with truth and modesty enough be said, that as few men knew books, and that part of learning which is called 'Historia Literaria' better than himself, for there never yet appeared in England so choice and valuable a Catalogue to be thus disposed of as this before us, more especially of that sort of books, which are out of the common course, which a man may make the business of his life to collect, and at last not be able to accomplish. A considerable part of them being so little known that even to many of the learned buyers, that we have reason to apprehend this misfortune to attend the Sale, that there will not be competitors enough to raise up to their just and real value. Certain it is this Library contains not a few which never appeared in any auction here before; nor indeed, as I have heard him say, for aught he knew, and he knew as well as any man living, in any printed catalogue in the world.

We must confess that being a person who collected his books for use, and not for ostentation or ornament, he seemed no more solicitous about their dress than his own; and therefore you'll find that a gilt back or a large margin was very seldom any inducement to him to buy. It was sufficient that he had the book. . . . But that he himself was not a mere nomenclator, and versed only in title pages, but had made that just and laudable use of his books, which would become all those that set up for collectors, I appeal to the letterati of his acquaintance who conversed most frequently with him, how full, how ready and how exact he was in answering

³⁴ Evelyn, *Diary* (1902) II, 346.

³⁵ N. Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918) II, 630; T. F. Dibdin, *Biblio-*

mania (1842) 316; W. Clarke, *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (1819) 397.

any question that was proposed to him relating to learned men or their writings, making no secret of anything that he knew, or anything that he had; being naturally one of the most communicative men living both of his knowledge and of his books.

As for the books of his own faculty, tho' it be not an entire collection (for who could, or rather, who would, have one in Physick?) yet it may be said, that it is infinitely the best and largest that ever yet appeared in these islands; and from hence the gentlemen of his own profession (I mean the learned part of them who are still of opinion that books and reading may be of some use to them in the Art of Healing) may be supplied with almost everything necessary or useful in it.

Bernard was an omnivorous collector, but he bought his books for use, and is said to have read all of them. Besides the classical languages he knew Italian, French, and Spanish, and his prodigious memory was a source of wonder to his friends. He took a keen interest in astrology and this foible and the untidy state of his library are tilted at by Garth in *The Dispensary*, in which Bernard figures as "Horoscope":

An inner Room receives the numerous shoals
Of such as pay to be reputed Fools,
Globes stand by Globes, Volumes on Volumes lie,
And Planetary schemes amuse the eye.

The Bernard catalogue is classified as follows, the figures being the number of pages represented by each section:

English books	74
Foreign Theology	31
Foreign Law	9
Mathematics	26
Medicine	125
Philology	151
Italian, Spanish, French	34

Considering the great size of the library the number of fifteenth-century books—about one hundred—is small.

From a copy priced in a contemporary hand (in the possession of John Lawler) we give some of the prices of medical and scientific incunabula:

	s.	d.
Isidori Hisp. Liber Etymologiarium. Venet. 1488	1	6
Albohazen Haly de Judiciis Astrorum. Ibid. 1485		
Jo. Regiomontanii Ephemerides Augustae. 1488	1	0
Avicenna de Partibus. 4 vols. Lugd. 1499	8	6
Arculani Practica. Venet. 1497	1	0
Petrus de la Certata, Chirurgia. Venet. 1492	1	6

Alberti Magni de Animalibus, Venet. 1497	}	1s. 8d.
Aristotelis de Natura Animalium, Ib. 1498		
Celsus, Venice 1497	}	£1 9s. 6d.
Aulus Gellius. Ib. 1496		
Dioscorides, Venet. Aldue 1494		
Nicander. Theriaca. Ib. 1499		
Procli Sphaera. Ib.		£1 7s. 6d.
Magnini Regimen Sanitatis. Lovan. 1482		1 0
B. de Gordonis, Liliium Medicinae, Venet. 1496	}	1 1
Aegidius de Cognoscendis Urinis, Ib. 1494		
Mundini Anatomia, Papii. 1478		2 2
Vales de Tharanta, Practica. Lugd. 1490		7
Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietate Rerum.		
August, 1491		4 0
Plinio Historia Naturale, Venet. 1481		5 2

Editions of the Greek and Latin classics fared somewhat better.

Homer. 2 vols. Florence, 1488 fetched	£1 12 0
Terentius. Tarvisii 1477	1 11 0
Cicero ad Atticum, Rome 1470	3 3 0

There were in addition no less than 22 Caxtons, by far the largest number in any sale to that date. These sold for a total sum of £4.13s.0d., an average sum of just under 4s.3d. each!

In examining the entries for English books printed before 1600 one is struck by the extremely small sums realized. The rarest black-letter items fetched only a few pence. Many books and pamphlets relating to America went for a few shillings and in some cases pence. The total sum realized by the Bernard sale was £5000, and the highest sum paid for any one book was £10 for Walton's Polyglot Bible. The lowest, the sum which most frequently occurs in the catalogue, is 4d. As no sum occurs below 4d., we may conclude that this was the lowest at which bidding might be started, increasing by penny biddings up to a pound, and six-penny ones after that sum had been reached.

Bernard possessed a copy of Harvey's *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium* given to him by the author, who was his colleague at St. Bartholomew's, in the year of its publication (1651). He was fond of poetry, for he had several copies of Chaucer, a Gower of 1554, a Spenser of 1611, besides Drayton, Ben Jonson, Shirley, Waller and Fletcher. It is rather remarkable that his only Shakespeare was a *Rape of Lucrece*.

Charles Bernard (1650-1711), Francis's younger brother, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Sergeant-surgeon to Queen Anne, was the first surgeon in England to own a really extensive library. The sale of

his books began on March 22, 1711. One of his treasures is mentioned by Budgell in *The Spectator*³⁶ of May 27, 1712: "Nothing has more surprised the learned in England that the price which a small book, entitled *Spaccio della Bestia Triumfante (sic)*, bore in the late auction. This book was sold for thirty pounds." The book is the first edition of Giordano Bruno's famous allegory (Venice, 1584). According to the late Sir Norman Moore,³⁷ Charles Bernard bought the Bruno at the sale of his brother's library in 1698 for 15 guineas, and it fetched £28 in 1711, not £30. As an example of the vagaries of book prices it may be mentioned that another copy of the work was bought in 1706 at the Bigot sale *with five other books* for 2s.1d.

Swift, in his *Journal to Stella* (March 19, 1711) records: "I went to see poor Charles Bernard's books, which are to be sold by auction, and I itch to lay out nine or ten pounds for some fine editions of fine authors. But 'tis too far, and I shall let it slip, as I usually do all such opportunities." On the 29th he reports that he did go to the auction, but "they were in the middle of the physic books; so I bought none; and they are so dear. I believe I shall buy none, and there's an end." On April 11th, he writes: "I went to the auction of Charles Bernard's books, but the good ones were so monstrous dear, I could not reach them, so I laid out one pound seven shillings but very indifferently, and came away, and will go there no more." However, on the 13th we read: "At evening I went to the auction of Bernard's books, and laid out three pounds three shillings, but I'll go there no more; and so I said once before, but now I'll keep to it."³⁸

According to his earliest biographer, Dr. Edward Tyson, F.R.S. (1650-1708), the great comparative anatomist, entertained about 1696 the idea of building a library for the College of Physicians to which he also intended bequeathing his own books "of which he had a Noble Collection and almost everything that related to Physick." For some reason Tyson never proceeded with this design, and he eventually left his library to his nephew Richard Tyson. Some of his MSS. did find their way to the library of the Royal College of Physicians, together with a few of his printed books.

In 1706, Tyson presented some books and MSS., including several of his own works, to the Bodleian Library. The letter which accompanied the gift, addressed to Dr. John Hudson, Bodley's Librarian, is extant. By

³⁶ *The Spectator*. Edited by G. A. Aitken (1898) V, 353.

³⁷ N. Moore, *op. cit.* II, 630.

³⁸ Swift, *Prose Works*. Edited by F. Ryland (1922) II, 140.

his will he bequeathed the works of Aldrovandus in 13 volumes folio to the Royal Society.³⁹

Sir Thomas Browne in his *Religio Medici* deplored the multiplicity of books and wished "for the benefit of learning, to reduce it, as it lay at first in a few and solid authors; and to condemn to the fire those swarms and millions of rhapsodies, begotten only to distract and abuse the weaker judgements of scholars, and to maintain the trade and mystery of typographers." Sir Thomas had a most remarkable and extensive library for a man expressing such sentiments and the statement is, no doubt, as Keynes says, purely rhetorical. The sage of Norwich was a persistent and omnivorous collector and reader of books. His library was sold by Thomas Ballard at the Black Boy Coffee House in Ave Mary Lane, near Ludgate, in January 1711. Only two copies of the sale catalogue are known to exist, one in the British Museum and the other in the Osler Library.

The catalogue contains something under 2500 volumes. Of these some 420 are dated after 1682, the year of Browne's death, and must have belonged to his son Edward. Edward's interests were much narrower than those of his father, and there was probably much tampering with the library between 1682 and 1711. Only one or two of the books can be identified at the present day as having belonged to Browne. His copy of Evelyn's *Sculptura* (1662) is in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Mr. Geoffrey Keynes has a copy of Leland's *Cygnæa Cantio* (1658), which almost certainly belonged to Browne.

Several analyses of the catalogue have been made and these provide valuable evidence of Browne's literary sources.⁴⁰ The extraordinary diversity of his interests and the vast range of his reading are illustrated at every point. There are books on such diverse subjects as medicine, theology, astrology, alchemy, magic, catalogues of auction sales, Egyptian plants and medicines, dictionaries, acts of Parliament, seamanship, travel, coins, and medals. The catalogue contains 2377 lots, classified as Libri Theologici; Historici; Philologici; Medici; Philosophici; Mathematici; Livres François; Libri Italiani; Libros Espannolos; Libri Teutonici and Belgice; English Books; Libri Omissi; English Folios Omitted.

The books under each head are further divided by size. In medicine he had Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Serapion, Averroes, Paracelsus,

³⁹ M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Edward Tyson, M.D., F.R.S., 1650-1708* (Philadelphia 1943) 215, 358.

⁴⁰ G. Keynes, *A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne, Kt., M.D.* (Cambridge 1924) 182; M. Letts, "Sir Thomas Browne and His Books," *Notes and Queries*, 11th Ser. 10 (1914) 321, 342, 361; R. Sencourt, *Outflying Philosophy* (1925).

and Dioscorides. Edward Browne borrowed his Lacunius' Epitome of Galen (Lugd. 1554). One of his favorite books was Bartholin's *Centuries of Rare Observations*. "Mine are in three volumes in 12 mo or small octavo" he writes. "I cannot be without them."

The *De Vulgi Erroribus* of Laurentius Joubert (Ant. 1600) is in the catalogue and no doubt influenced Browne in his choice of a title for *Vulgar Errors*. The library was rich in books on natural history. He subscribed to Grew's *Anatomy of Plants* (1682) as it came out and also obtained several subscriptions from friends. Garcia ab Horto's *Simples and Drugs of India* which he had in the abridged translation in the *Exotica* of Clusius (1605) he quotes again and again. He had the works of Aldrovandus, Rondeletius *De Piscibus Marinis* (1554), Belon's *De la Nature des Oyseaux* (Paris 1555), Ray's edition of Willoughby (1676). Athanasius Kircher is well represented, and another favorite book was Alexander ab Alexandro's *Gemales Dies*, a mine of information on Roman philology and antiquities.

He had Gruter's *Corpus* of ancient inscriptions and Paulus Jovius' *Elogia Doctor. Viror.* (Bas. 1571).

Here is the very copy of Caelius Apicius *De Re Culinaria* (Bas. 1541) from which he obtained the hint for his celebrated pickles containing oysters, anchovies, cucumbers, onions, and Rhenish wine. He was well stocked in the classics, having Homer, Aristotle, Strato, Pausanias, Thucydides, Herodotus, Plutarch, Athenaeus, Virgil, Solinus, and Pliny among others. Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* with Scaliger's commentary must have been in constant use. "Mine was printed at Thoulouse 1619, in fayre letter Greek and Latin . . . somewhat a thick folio," he writes to Edward in 1679. He had North's Plutarch, Holland's Pliny and Suetonius and Plutarch's *Morale*, Ogilby's *Iliad*, Stapylton's *Juvenal*, and Entropius' *History* translated by several hands, 1614.

In English literature he had *Hudibras* (although Part III only is in the catalogue), Michael Drayton, Spenser, Milton, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Cowley, Walton and Cotton, Herbert's *Temple*, and Samuel Daniel's *Poetical Essays*. Shakespeare does not figure in the catalogue, and we can only assume that some items have gone astray. There is only one book on witchcraft (*The Opinion of Witchcraft Vindicated in an Answer to a Work Entitled the Question of Witchcraft Debated . . .* by R. T., 1670)—a tract which cost 10d. The foreign section of the catalogue contains some 480 titles, and is extremely interesting.



John Dee (1527-1608)
Engraved by W. P. Sherlock from a picture in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Francis Bernard (1607-1697)
From an anonymous engraving.



Sir Robert Sibbald (1607-1697)
Engraved by Lizars from the portrait in the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.



Charles Bernard (1650-1711)
From a portrait in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London.



Sir Charles Scarborough (d. 1694)
Engraved by J. Brown from the picture
in the Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London.



Anthony Askew (1722-1774)
After the picture in
Emmanuel College, Cambridge.



Richard Mead (1673-1754)
Engraved by B. Baron after
Alan Ramsay.



John Ferriar (1761-1815)
Engraved by G. Bartolozzi, from a drawing
by G. Stothard, R.A.

Professor Robert R. Cawley⁴¹ has subjected Browne's literary sources to an exhaustive analysis and has studied his methods of working and composition. He has shown that Browne was acquainted with nine or ten languages. Browne was well described by Coleridge as "a hunter of oddities and strangenesses." His interest in foreign travel accounts for a generous portion of his reading. It is evident that his work was based on a system of commonplace books. He developed an uncanny faculty for picking out the particular oddities which were his favorites. From a vast tome he could extract some relatively insignificant detail such as a reference to the width of the Nile. Browne was forever complaining about the costliness of books and forever buying them. He had a passion for maps, and owned Moses Pit's *New English Atlas*, one of the most expensive books of the time (2 Gns.)

His extraordinary memory and knowledge of books are shown by his correspondence. In 1618 he writes to Edward, then on his travels:

Dr. Merrett's comment upon Neri de Arte Vitriaria is new come out in Latin. His Pinax Rerum Britanicarum not yet published; I send to him agayne next weeke. Mr. Mayoe, of All Souls, his book De Respiratione et Rachitide, newly come out; also Mr. Boyle's continuation of new experiments concerning the spring and weight of the Ayre, English, 4to. I keepe the sheets of the Transactions as they come out, monethly.

His letters both to Thomas, his younger son in the Navy, and to Edward, the physician, are full of advice on books and show that he kept a close watch on all new publications. A letter to Edward (June 28, 1679?) provides proof of his remarkable memory:

This day one came to show mee a booke and to sell it; it was a *hortus hyemalis*, in a booke, made at Padua, butt I had seen it above thirtie years ago, and it containes not many plants.

In his letter of advice to Dr. Henry Power of New-Hall, near Ealand Yorkshire (1647), Browne⁴² gave a list of books which he considered necessary for a physician's library. After exhorting his young friend to "lay his foundation in anatomy," he goes on:

The help that books can afford you may expect, besides what is delivered sparsim from Galen and Hippocrates, Vesalius, Spigelius, and Bartholinus. And be sure

⁴¹ R. R. Cawley, "Sir Thomas Browne and His Reading," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Amer.* 48 (1933) 426. ⁴² Browne, *Works*. Edited by S. Wilkin (1884) III, 483.

you make yourself master of Dr. Harvey's piece *De Circul. Sang.*, which discovery I prefer to that of Columbus . . . Read Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Matthiolus, Dodonaeus, and our English herbalists: Spigelius's *Isagoge in rem herbarium* will be of use, Wecker's *Antidotarium speciale*, Renodaeus for composition and preparation of medicaments . . . Read Morelli *Formulas Medicas*, Bauderoni *Pharmacopoea*, *Pharmacopoea Augustana* . . . Read Fallopius, Aquapendente, Paraeus, Vigo, Etc. See what chymistators do in their offices. Begin with *Tirocinium Chymicum*, Crollius, Hartmannus, and so by degrees march on . . . Having therefore, gained perfection in anatomy, betake yourself to Sennertius's *Institutions*, which read with care and diligence two or three times over, and assure yourself that when you are a perfect master of these institutions you will seldom meet with any point in physic to which you will not be able to speak like a man. This done, see how institutes are applicable to practice, by reading upon diseases in Sennertus, Fernelius, Mercatus, Hollerius, Riverius, in particular treatises, in counsels, and consultations, all of which are of singular benefit . . . Although I mention but few books (which, well digested, will be *instar omnium*), yet it is not my intent to confine you. If at one view you would see who hath written, and upon what diseases, by way of counsel and observation, look upon Moronus's *Directorium Medico-practicum*.

Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), founder of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh and the first Professor of Medicine there, was an ardent collector of books and manuscripts. His library was sold by auction on February 5, 1723, at his house in the Bishop's Land in Edinburgh, and the bulk of the collection was bought by the Faculty of Advocates for £342. 17s. The highspot of the collection was the manuscript copy of the "Conversations" between Ben Jonson and William Drummond of Hawthornden which went to the Advocates Library and which still remains the chief and most authentic source for the facts of Ben Jonson's life. The Sibbald sale catalogue is in the British Museum and also that of one which took place in 1707 when Sibbald sold some 900 volumes from his library.

According to Sir Robert Sibbald's own *Memoirs*⁴³ his love of books was evinced in his tenderest years. "While I was a child in my nurse's armes, my grandfather did observe my inclination for letters, for when I cryed and weept upon any occasion, I stilled upon the giving me the Psalms of Buchanan, he kept in his pocket." From the time he entered the High School of Edinburgh he spent any money he got on books and his habit of keeping to his study earned him the nickname of Diogenes in Dolio. In Paris he became well acquainted with Guy Patin, who lent

⁴³ *The Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722)*. Edited by F. P. Hett (1932).

him books. During the time that he was physician to the family of James Drummond, 4th Earl of Perth (1648-1716), Chancellor of Scotland, Sibbald acted as his literary adviser, making him acquainted with "the curious books, especially pieces of divinity, history, poems, memoirs of ministers of state, and discoveries in philosophy." About 1682, Sibbald records that he gave "a presse with three shelves full of books, to the Colledge of Physitians, amongst which were Galen's works, 5 voll Greek and five Latine, Hippocrates in Greek, of Aldus' edition, Gesner his history of animals, 3 voll, Paris bind, and some other valuable books."

Dr. T. P. C. Kirkpatrick⁴⁴ has published an interesting account of the library presented to Steevens' Hospital, Dublin, by Dr. Edward Worth (1678?-1733), and still preserved there.

The library of the celebrated Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754) has been so often described that it may be dismissed very briefly.⁴⁵ The sale of his books commenced on November 18, 1754 and again on April 7, 1755 and lasted 57 days. The sale of his prints and drawings continued for 14 nights. The books produced £5,496.15s.od., and total of all the sales (books, pictures, drawings, coins, medals, and antiquities) was £16,047.12s. The fine and rare books are so numerous that it is almost impossible to single out any for special mention. Bibliomaniacs such as Dibdin have rhapsodized about the Spira Virgil of 1470, Pfintzing's Tewrdanckh, 1527, Brant's *Stultifera Navis*, 1498, and the Aldine Petrarch of 1501, all upon vellum. The editio princeps of Pliny the Elder was bought by the King of France for £11.11s.od. Pliny by Jensen (1472) sold for 18 guineas. The large paper Olivet's Cicero was purchased by Askew for 14 guineas and sold again at his sale for £36.15s.od. Mead's copy of the *Epitome* of Vesalius on vellum, now in the British Museum, has been fully described by W. G. Spencer.⁴⁶

Mead's collections were freely laid open to the public; the enterprising student and the experienced antiquary alike found amusement and a courteous reception. Well may Dibdin say "Ever renowned Richard Mead! thy *pharmacopoeal* reputation is lost in the blaze of thy *bibliomaniacal* glory!"

The sale of the great library of Dr. Anthony Askew (1723-1774),

⁴⁴T. P. C. Kirkpatrick, *The Worth Library, Steevens' Hospital Dublin*, (Bibliog. Soc. of Ireland, Pamphlet No. 3, 1919).

⁴⁵T. F. Dibdin, *Bibliomania* (1842) (364); J. F. Payne, *St. Thos. Hosp. Gaz.* 8 (1898) 1;

Brit. Med. Jour. 2 (1900) 1508.

⁴⁶W. G. Spencer, "The *Epitome* of Vesalius on Vellum in the British Museum Library," *Essays on the History of Medicine presented to Karl Sudhoff* (1924) 237.

classical scholar and bibliophile, which took place in 1774 and lasted twenty days, marks an epoch in the annals of book-collecting.⁴⁷

The preface to the Sale Catalogue (which was sold at 1s.6d. small paper, 4s. the large) claims that it contains "without any doubt, the best, rarest, and most valuable collection of Greek and Latin books that was ever sold in England, and the great time and trouble of forming it will, it is hoped, be a sufficient excuse for the price put to it." In regard to Greek and Roman literature the collection was certainly unique of its day. Enriched with many a tome from the Harleian, Mead, Martin Folkes and Rawlinson libraries, as well as with numerous rare and splendid items from foreign collections, the books were sought after by almost every one then eminent in bibliographical research.

George III bought to the value of £300. De Bure spent £1500 on behalf of the King of France and other foreign collectors. Dr. Maty bought many books for the British Museum and the extensive purchases of the Rev. C. M. Cracherode eventually found their way into the national collection. Dr. William Hunter bought to the value of £500, his purchases including the *Anthologia Graeca*, editio princeps 1494 on vellum (£28.7s.od.), the editio princeps of Plato's *Opera* 2 vols. folio, 1513, justly described by Dibdin as one of the finest productions of the Aldine press (£55.13s.od.), Tewdranckh's *Poema Germanica*, Nuremberg 1517, on vellum (£21.0s.od.), Pliny *Natural History*, apud Spiram, folio 1469 (ed. prin.) (£43.0s.od.), and Terentianus Maurus *De Literis, Syllabis et Metris Horatii*, Mediol. folio 1497 (£12.12s.od.) This last is probably the only copy in existence. It originally belonged to Dr. Taylor, editor of Lysias and Demosthenes, who procured it from the Harleian Library for 4 guineas. All these books are now in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow.

There was a marked rise in the prices given for early books at the Askew sale. It was thought very remarkable at the time that the sale brought a guinea per article—one with another—of the 4015 articles of which the library was composed. As illustrating the rise in prices apparent towards the close of the eighteenth century, we may note that the Plinys of 1469 and 1472 which he bought at the sale of Martin Folkes, F.R.S., in 1750 for 11 guineas and £7.17s.6d. fetched £43 and £23 respectively at Askew's sale.

⁴⁷ Dibdin, *op. cit.* 383, 389, 390, 386; H. and His Library," *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.*, 9 Barnes, "On Anthony Askew, M.D., F.R.S., (1915) 23.

The sale of the library of Richard Wright, M.D., F.R.S., Physician to St. George's Hospital, in April 1787 lasted twelve days.⁴⁸ The neatly printed catalogue is arranged in alphabetical order under the respective departments. This library contained "many of the scarcest editions of old English poets, novels and romances and also a singular assemblage of theatrical writers, including the rarest productions of the English Drama." Lots 1567 to 2091 comprehend the English Theatre and, says Dibdin, "exhibit almost everything that is rare, curious, and valuable in this popular department." Original editions of the Elizabethan dramatists abound. The catalogue contains such entries as Dekker 15 pieces £3.3s.od., Heywood 26 plays £3.4s.od., Marston 9 pieces £3.4s.od., and Middleton 13 pieces £4.5s.od. The first four folios of Shakespeare fetched £10, £2.9s.od., £1.8s.od. and £1.1s.od. respectively!

The "elegant and valuable libraries" of Charles Chauncy, M.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A., and of his brother, Nathaniel Chauncy, Esq., were sold at auction by Leigh and Sotheby on April 15, 1790 and the 14 following days.⁴⁹ The Chauncys, able scholars and zealous bibliomaniacs, were the sons of Mr. Charles Chauncy, a wealthy linen-draper of Cornhill. Dr. Charles Chauncy died in 1777, aged 68, leaving his considerable fortune to his brother Nathaniel. Nathaniel at his death in 1790 left between his two daughters the sum of £120,000. The catalogue of the Chauncys' library lists 3153 lots and the sale realized £1650.11s.6d. Among the many notable items we find Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, a copy with the autograph inscription of the great dramatist to his worthy friend Mr. John Florio (1607), £4. Other notable items are Caius *Of English Dogges*, 1576, £5.10s.od.; Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse*, 1559, £5.15s.od.; Virgil. Venice, 2 vols. fol. 1472, £65 ("this book formerly belonged to Lord Oxford and was bought by him of Andrew Hay for 160 guineas"); and Caxton's *Dictes and Sayingis of the Philosophers*, 1477, 16 guineas.

The library of Dr. John Monro (1715-1791), Physician to Bethlehem Hospital, which was sold in April 1792, contained some of the rarest articles in English literature and was also extremely rich in Italian books.⁵⁰ The books contained copious memoranda in the hand of Monro, showing him to have been an accomplished scholar and extremely well versed in all questions of rarity, price, and intrinsic worth.

⁴⁸ Dibdin, *op. cit.* 401.

⁴⁹ Dibdin, *op. cit.* 416; Clarke, *op. cit.* 425.

⁵⁰ Dibdin, *op. cit.* 417.

The great library of William Hunter (1718-1783) now preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, contained more than 12,000 printed books, among which were many of the rarest specimens of early typography. His purchases at the Askew sale have already been referred to, and he obtained many of his first books from this source. Some of the copies on vellum from the presses of the early Venetian and Florentine printers are of unrivalled splendour. The Caxtons, Wynkyn de Wordes, and black-letter books were no less fine. The Hunterian library contained more than 600 manuscripts, many on vellum and beautifully illuminated.⁵¹

Although the introduction of book sales met with general acceptance, a few well-known collectors regretted the dispersal of "noble libraries." John Evelyn⁵² refers with obvious disapproval to "the humour of disposing books sub hasta," and laments over a "diminution which in a day or two has scattered what has been gathering many years." So long as books escape the dangers of war, fire, and flood they will always outlive their owners, and their transfer from one collector to another is but an incident in their lives. Many books can be traced from sale to sale over a period of hundreds of years, having passed through the hands of generations of collectors. An ever-increasing number now find a permanent home in national and institutional libraries, and it will never again be possible for private individuals to form libraries comparable to those of the great bibliophiles of the past.

Most of our latter-day collections have been built up on specialized lines, and it is probable that more knowledge and discrimination are applied to book collecting than ever before. By the publication of catalogues and bio-bibliographies collectors such as Osler, Cushing, Klebs, and Fulton have shared their treasures with thousands and have opened up new paths in medical history. The compilation of a good bibliography is said to be one of the surest passports to lasting fame, and it is fairly safe to prophesy that the catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Osleriana* will be studied long after the *Principles and Practice of Medicine* shall have been relegated to the limbo of forgotten books.

⁵¹ *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow 1908); Clarke,

op. cit. 140.

⁵² Evelyn, *Diary* (1902) III, 304.