
The Books Presented to the Royal Society by John Aubrey, F.R.S.

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THE BOOKS PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY
BY JOHN AUBREY, F.R.S.

By J. BUCHANAN-BROWN

THIS article has been written with two limited purposes in mind. My first concern has been to collect the extant documentary references to the presentation by John Aubrey of books to the Library of the Royal Society, identifying them with varying degrees of certainty with the copies of the works still extant in the Society's library, and further by physical examination to establish the presence in the library of books once owned by Aubrey and of which there is no actual documentary evidence of gift by him. Then, and as a natural corollary and in a very limited way, to indicate how these books illustrate something of Aubrey's attitudes to the Experimental Philosophy.

The formative influence of this philosophy upon Aubrey as an undergraduate at Oxford has been ably demonstrated by Robert G. Frank Junior in his study of John Lydall's letters to Aubrey (1). The persons mentioned in that correspondence show that as a member first of Trinity College and then of the Middle Temple in London, Aubrey frequented the circles from which the Royal Society sprang and it is therefore wholly in character that he should have been one of the signatories on 5 December 1660 to the proposals for the formation of a society to hold regular meetings for experiment and discussion (2). However, his membership of this society was not formally proposed, by Dr Walter Charleton, until 24 December 1662. Elected on 7 and admitted on 21 January, Aubrey was named on 23 May 1663 (3) as one of the original Fellows of what had become, by Charles II's charters, the Royal Society.

The frequency with which Aubrey's name occurs in Hooke's *Diary* shows how assiduous he was in attending meetings of the Royal Society, at least after 1671, while the *Journal Books* record his contributions to their discussions. Although Aubrey had thoughts of standing for the Secretaryship in 1677 (4), he was never elected to the Council nor to office within the Society, yet his status is indicated by his election on 30 March 1664 to the Georgical Committee (5), his choice on 30 November 1678 with the future Earl of Pembroke to inspect the proceedings of the Secretaries (6) and his selection to serve on the committee which audited the accounts in the years, *inter alios*, 1665, 1676, 1688 and 1691 (7). Further evidence of the esteem in which he was held may be

detected by the fact that in 1676 Oldenburgh made transcripts from his papers (8) and that in 1691 the Society took the quite unprecedented step of commissioning a manuscript copy of his *Natural History of Wiltshire* (9).

Given, then, the importance to Aubrey of the Royal Society as a focus for his intellectual and indeed his social activities, it is hardly surprising that he should wish to make some return. His material circumstances limited the extent of his benefactions, but, nevertheless, over a period of nearly thirty years the library enjoyed the occasional donation of books to an aggregate of some twenty-nine volumes.

The documentary evidence* for these gifts to the Royal Society falls under three heads:

- I. Gifts recorded in the Journal Books;
- II. Gifts recorded in Hooke's *Diary*; and
- III. Gifts mentioned in Aubrey's correspondence.

I. THE JOURNAL BOOKS

It would be reasonable to suppose that these official records would contain a complete record of all donations to the Society, but, for reasons which will become apparent, this is not the case. Nonetheless, the five entries (10) which follow do record gifts of eight individual books.

- 30 November 1670: Mr Awbery presented the Society with an old Printed book in the Antient British Tongue [29]. He received the thanks of the Company, and the Book was delivered to Mr Hook for the Societies Library.
- 15 December 1670: Mr Awbrey . . . presented a Book intituled, Grammatica Linguae, Cambro-Britannicae, per Doct. Davies [23]: As also Heronis Ctesbii Belopoica or Telefactiva, per Bernardinum Baldum: una cum Heronis vita, eodem Baldo Authore [13]. Both these Books delivered to Mr Hook for the Societies Library.
- 11 November 1680: Mr Awbery presented a Book in 8°, entituled, Thomæ Hobbs Angli Malmesburiensis philosphi vita [3]. Thanks were given him for his present.
- 6 November 1695: Mr Aubrey presented the Society for their Library the three following books (1) Chronicon Saxonicum [21], (2) Margarita Philosophica [19] (3) Wardi Astronomica Geometrica [20] which were Delivered to the Library Keeper accordingly.

* In setting out this evidence I have interpolated within square brackets a series of italic numerals which refer to the subsequent identification of the books concerned.

6 January 1697: Mr Aubry presented his book of Miscelanies [1] for which he received the thanks of the Society.

II. THE DIARY OF ROBERT HOOKE

Elected Curator of Experiments to the newly formed society on 12 November 1662, Hooke duly had the appointment confirmed for life by the now Royal Society on 27 July 1664. As such, he was responsible not merely for conducting experiments at the regular meetings of the Society, but for the maintenance of the 'Repository' or museum, and additionally of the library. As we have seen from the Journal Books, volumes presented to the Society at its meetings were entrusted to him and there is evidence in his *Diary* of other presentations by private individuals, of purchases of books made for the Society (11) and of his compilation of a library catalogue (12). Following his election as Secretary in November 1677, it is probable that his library duties lapsed to some degree (Gunter ends his period as library keeper in 1676), however, there is evidence in the *Diary* that he still received books donated to the Society and clearly he played an important part in negotiations which led in 1678 to the accession of the Arundel Library, the gift of the Duke of Norfolk and the most important single donation in the history of the library (13).

Hooke was himself an inveterate book-buyer and his purchases are entered in the *Diary*, but it is possible to distinguish categories where books are mentioned. When a bookseller is involved and a price specified, this would seem to indicate a private purchase on Hooke's part: when books are 'received' from a bookseller without mention of price, they may possibly be on Hooke's own account, or more probably in fulfilment of an order for the Society's library; but when books are 'received' from or 'presented' by somebody who is not a bookseller and particularly when that person is a Fellow, then the assumption must be that this records a gift to the Royal Society.

In Aubrey's case there are two entries (14) which fall into this last category:

Friday 21 November 1673: Mr Aubrey presented me his Ferrante Imperatus [14].

The gift is noted on the day after Aubrey had sold Hooke a number of books in settlement of a debt of 20 sh. From the wording it sounds as if it was a present to Hooke and not a donation to the Society, but a later entry, if it refers to the identical copy of the book, would seem to indicate that Hooke had in any case placed it in the Society's library, for, under Tuesday 9 March 1675, he notes: '... Set harry [Hunt] about Repository. Hary had 9 books & catalogue. 2 Johnsons. . . . Ferranti Imperrat. . . .'

The other relevant entry is under Monday 6 July 1674:

'... Received from Mr Aubrey, Pappus [17]. Apollonius Perg [8]. Diophantes [11]. Copernicus [10]. Bacon de mirabilibus artis & naturæ [2]. Gebri Alchimia [26]. Lulli testamentū [15]. Hartlib about engines & husbandry [27]. Neipeir Logarithms [16]. Brerewood de ponderibus [9]. --- Andersons ----- [7]. Descartes de lumine [25]. Pell in high Dutch [28]. Pecquett [18]. Galileo de Regula proportionis ----- [12].

III. AUBREY'S CORRESPONDENCE

Less information comes from this source than might have been expected. Writing to Anthony Wood on 25 December 1673 (15), Aubrey mentions that he 'designs' his Italian fencing-book for the Royal Society, to which he has 'contributed severall choice things', including a manuscript *Historia Roffensis*. The latter was ultimately declined by the Society and although the incident is of some interest in illustrating the way in which the Society at this early date set limits to the fields of its intellectual activities, such a discussion is outside the scope of this article. As far as the fencing-book is concerned, my grounds for identifying it with the 'Fencing book italicé' listed among the books bequeathed to the Royal Society by George Ent are set out under No 22 below.

In another letter to Wood (16) Aubrey writes of 'good books' given to the Royal Society and, since in this context he specifies that they included Bacon's *De mirabili potestate artis et naturæ*, this is a clear reference to the substantial donation which, as I have already shown, Hooke recorded in his *Diary* for 6 July 1674.

Again, in an undated letter to the same correspondent (17), Aubrey refers to the 'Books that I gave to the Library of the R. Soc.' which would appear to have included *Israel's Salvation* [24] by his old friend Edward Bagshaw. From the context it would seem that the work in question had been subsequently bound up with other tracts not of Aubrey's gift.

Finally there is a reference (18) to the manuscripts which Aubrey obtained in 1683 for the Royal Society from Thomas Merry's widow, but as they were never in Aubrey's private possession, this is merely an instance of his concern to preserve scholarly papers and not a record of his generosity (19).

Thus there is documentary evidence (20) that over a period of nearly thirty years, between 1670 and 1697, Aubrey presented some twenty-six different books to the Royal Society. The list which follows attempts positively to

identify either the volumes themselves or the editions of the works mentioned with books which are still or were once held in the Society's Library. The varying degrees of confidence with which these identifications are proposed are marked by the four categories into which the list itself is divided. The first, *Presentation Copies*, requires no explanation since it comprises the extant volumes which from the donor's or other inscription can positively be identified with Aubrey's gift.

The second category, *Books Identifiable with Aubrey's Gift*, comprehends those volumes which are still extant, but which, in the course of rebinding or repair, have had their original end-leaves or paste-downs replaced and which, therefore, no longer contain evidence of ownership or presentation. The coincidence of author and title between the extant edition and the work listed in the document cited suggests more or less strongly that this was the very book which Aubrey gave to the Royal Society and the earlier the extant volume can be presumed to have been in the Society's possession the greater the likelihood that it was, in fact, the actual book presented by Aubrey. In this respect the entries in the printed catalogues of the Society's library are of prime importance and it is therefore appropriate to describe them under the dates which will be used as references to them hereafter.

1681. *Bibliotheca Norfolciana: sive catalogus libb manuscriptorum & impressorum . . . quos Henricus Dux Norfolciae, &c Regiae Societati . . . donavit*

Compiled by W. P., the bulk of the catalogue (pages 1-153) lists in alphabetical order of authors the printed books and manuscripts collected by Thomas Howard (1584-1646), 2nd Earl of Arundel, and presented to the Royal Society by his grandson, Henry Howard (1628-84), 6th Duke of Norfolk, in 1678. As an appendix, there follow two separate lists of printed books (and a few manuscripts) received from other sources. The first, occupying pages 154-67, lists the library of George Ent, the younger, bequeathed to the Society on his death in 1679: the second (pages 169-75) records the donations of books by Fellows and other benefactors. Neither list is complete and, as I shall show (*see* No 22), there is a distinct possibility that books from the last category have been entered under Ent's bequest. Both lists give author, title, place and date of publication and group the books according to size without attempting to follow alphabetical order of authors within the classes of folio, quarto &c.

1681/1685. A recent manuscript note on the fly-leaf of this catalogue describes it as:

Consisting of the latter portion of the printed 1681 Catalogue—from Mr Ent's books (21) to the end—interleaved & containing MS amplifications & additions down to 1684 (which seems the latest date) Being a hand-catalogue written up about 1685, probably by Mr Foster mentioned in Council Minutes of January 14 1684/1685 as 'the person that catalogues the books in the Library'.

The manuscript additions are entered in the same style as the printed entries and both are assigned numbers. The 1681 Catalogue seems to have been a reasonably complete record of the Ent bequest (only one manuscript addition is made to the 371 printed entries), but was very defective in respect of books presented by individual Fellows and other benefactors, and to the 164 printed entries it adds a further 460 in manuscript (22). Thus, while far more comprehensive than the 1681 Catalogue, and evidently based upon a physical stock-taking of the books, there seems reasonable grounds for doubting whether it is itself complete. Suspicion is aroused when no number is assigned to a printed entry that perhaps the volume concerned had either been mislaid or was on loan to a Fellow and for this reason was not included when the hand-catalogue was prepared (23). Thus the fact that it lists only 14 of the 25 books presented by Aubrey to the Society before 1685 may not necessarily mean that the books in question had been lost by this date (24), although the listing of an extant volume must offer the strongest grounds for supposing that it is the very book presented by Aubrey.

1825. *Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Society*

This sets out to be a complete catalogue of the books in the Library in alphabetical order of authors. There do seem to be omissions and misattributions, Rhys falling into the latter and an edition of Avicenna (*see* Gebir 26) which had been in the Library since 1695 into the former. This may perhaps be due to compilation from earlier library lists (*see* Rhys 23) rather than from a physical stock-taking.

1839. *Catalogue of the Scientific Books in the Library of the Royal Society*

Arranged in alphabetical order of authors under subject classifications, this catalogue makes good the omissions of 1825 and would appear to have been compiled from a physical stock-taking (*see* Pecquet No 18).

1841. *Catalogue of the Miscellaneous Literature in the Library of the Royal Society*

An unclassified list in alphabetical order of authors of the non-scientific books in the Society's Library. The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books credits both this and the 1839 Catalogue to Panizzi. As with the earlier catalogue, 1825 is corrected and supplemented and once again the compilation would seem to have been made from a physical examination of the books (*see Rhys 23*).

If these catalogues are of prime importance in establishing the degree of plausibility with which the second category of books may be identified, they are no less useful with respect to the two remaining categories in my list which comprise the books no longer extant in the Society's Library. For while it is only to be expected that over so long a period the books presented by Aubrey should be subject to the usual hazards of loss, damage and sale as duplicates, they were also affected by the reorganization of the Library which occurred in 1872. By a resolution of 20 June of that year, the Council decided to restrict, with some exceptions, the Library to scientific works and to dispose of the remainder of the books falling within the category of 'General Literature' (25). Thus, to all intents and purposes the 1841 Catalogue becomes a sale-catalogue of the volumes which Bernard Quaritch acquired from the Society within the next twelve months. However, entries in this, and earlier printed catalogues suggest the identity of Aubrey's gifts and provide my third category, *Catalogued Books no longer Extant*. Finally there remain the *Uncatalogued Books no longer Extant*, books of which the identity can only be guessed and of which the loss, or sale, or exchange must be presumed to have occurred either before 1685, perhaps, or certainly before 1841.

EXTANT PRESENTATION AND ASSOCIATION COPIES

1. Aubrey, John, *Miscellanies*, London, E. Castle, 1696, 8vo, Wing A 4188 Catalogues: 1825; 1841

With Aubrey's autograph presentation inscription ('Liber Societatis Regalis ex dono authoris.') on the title-page and important corrections and additions in his hand throughout. The binding is modern.

2. 'Bacon de mirabilibus artis & naturæ'
Tracts CLVII (a quarto) contains:

- (i) John Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica*, Amsterdam, G. Silvius, 1564
- (ii) Johannes Scheubelius, *Algebrae compendiosa facilisque descriptio*, Paris. G. Cavellat, 1552

- (iii) Albertus Pighius, *Adversus prognosticatorum vulgus Astrologiæ defensio*, Paris, H. Estienne, 1518
- (iv) F. Claudius Celestinus, *De his quæ mundo mirabiliter eveniunt*, and Roger Bacon, *De mirabili potestate artis et naturæ* (both ed. O. Finé), Paris, S. de Colines, 1542
- (v) Antonius Mizaldus Monslucianus, *Cometographia*, Paris, C. Wechel, 1549

Catalogues: 1681 (1681/85—unnumbered) items separately listed under the general heading, 'Rogeri Baconis quædam de Alchimiâ, etc.' 1825; 1839

The sixteenth century calf binding has been rebacked, but the original end-leaves have been preserved. On the second front fly-leaf is Aubrey's autograph ownership-inscription:

Sum Johis Aubrij de Easton-Piers. R.S.S. 1664.

On the first, two notes in his hand:

Rog: Bacon mentions Perspective glasses p. 43/v p. 44 artific [em] Gedeonis, qui lagunculis fractis/ et lampadibus, igne saliente cū fragore ineffabile, Madi/ anitarum destruxit exercitum.

Mr W^m: Lilly (the Astrologer) told me, that/ Monas Hieroglyphica Δ , was made by a Friar in/ Germany, who could have made it knowne to J. Dee,/ who did not understand it, and that Kelley perhaps/ poysoned the Friar; for he did not live long after./ 1673.

Thus, although the volume contains works on mathematics and astronomy, it seems to have been prized for Bacon's alchemical writing. Aubrey's note does, however, reveal another important facet—the claim for the priority of the invention of the telescope by an Englishman, a theme upon which Plot enlarges in his *Oxfordshire*, Ch: IX, § 2ff.

- 3. B[lackburne], R[ichard], *Thomæ Hobbes . . . vita*, Carpololi, Apud Eleutherium Anglicanum sub signo Veritatis, 1681, 8vo, Wing H 2268.

Catalogues: 1681 (1681/85—No 409); 1825; 1839

This is the Latin life, based upon and to a large extent translating Aubrey's English minutes, and may upon this account be classed as an author's presentation copy. The title-page is inscribed by an unidentified hand: 'Præsented to the Royall Society Novemb^r. ye 11. 1680, by I John Aubry Esq. fellow of ye sd Society.'

4. Blancanus, Joseph, *Aristotelis loca mathematica . . . De mathematicarum natura dissertatio . . . Clarorum mathematicarum chronologia*, Bologna, B. Cochius, 1615, 4to

Catalogues: 1681 (1 copy); 1681/85 (2 copies); 1825; 1839

Contemporary vellum, with Aubrey's armorial book-plate and fly-leaf inscription: 'Jo: Aubrey RSS 1660'.

The 1681 Catalogue enters a copy (1681/85—No 65) under the Ent Bequest; 1681/85 adds a second (No 234) under the gifts from Fellows and other benefactors. It is only reasonable to presume that the latter is this copy, presented by Aubrey at some unknown date, and that Ent's copy was sold as a duplicate at some time between 1685 and 1825.

5. Charleton, Walker, *Inquisitiones duæ anatomicæ-physicæ*, London, Pulleyn Jnr., 1665, 8vo, Wing C 3681

Catalogues: 1681 (1681/85—Ent No 178); 1825; 1839

Modern cloth. On the verso of the first leaf (a blank signed 'A') is the author's presentation inscription:

Generoso & liberali Eruditione/ perquam exculto viro, Dno./ JOHANNI AUBRÆO,/ Libellum hunc/ Esse sui voluit monumentum & pignus/ amoris/ Auctor

For the possible connexion between books listed in the Ent Bequest and titles or volumes known to have been owned by Aubrey. See No 22 below.

6. Hayward, Edward, *The Sizes and Lengths of Rigging for all the States Ships & Frigates*, London, P. Cole, 1655, Folio, Wing H 1229

Catalogues: 1681 (1681/85—No 593); 1825; 1839

Contemporary paper-boards, vellum spine. The front fly-leaf bears the following inscriptions in the donor's and Aubrey's hands:

Jo: Awbrey/ 1668/ Donum Richardi Holfort Ar:/ This was never Publique./ for my ever honoured friend Mr R Hooke to be put in the Library if he please

EXTANT BOOKS IDENTIFIABLE WITH AUBREY'S GIFTS

7. '--- Andersons --- ---'

Probably Tracts LXXIV (an old collection in a modern binding) containing the following works by the Scots mathematician, Alexander Anderson (1582–c1619). All are Paris-printed quartos:

- (i) *Supplementum Apollonii redivivi*, A. Beys, 1612
- (ii) *Ad angularium sectionum analyticen theoremata*, and
- (iii) *Apologia pro Zetetico*, O. de Varennes, 1613
- (iv) *Vindiciae Archimedis*, 1616, and
- (v) *Animadversiones in Fr. Vietam*, J. Larquehay, 1617
- (vi) *Exercitationum mathematicarum*, O. de Varennes, 1619

Catalogues: 1681/85—No 258; 1825; 1839

Both nineteenth century catalogues being author-listings give separate entries for each title; 1681/85 as a volume-list shows all the items bound together at that date and makes plausible the suggestion that this was the volume presented by Aubrey.

8. 'Apollonius Perg.'

Probably one, other or both of these two works by Apollonius Pergoeus:

- (a) *Conicorum libri IV* (ed. C. Richard SJ), Antwerp, J. and J-B. Verdussen, 1655, folio
- (b) *Conicorum libri V-VII* (ed., with *Archimedes Assumptorum liber*, G. A. Borelli), Florence, G. Cocchini, 1661, folio

Catalogues: (a) 1681/85—No 60; 1825; 1839

(b) 1681/85—No 61; 1825; 1839

Both are in modern bindings.

9. 'Brerewood de ponderibus'

Probably:

Brerewood, Edward, *De ponderibus . . . veterum nummorum*, London, J. Bill 1614, 4to, STC 3612

Catalogues: 1681/85 (a manuscript addition showing it bound with Ent No 93); 1825; 1841

Ent No 93 is the same author's *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages* (London, 1622: STC 3619) the work with which the extant copy is now bound. Although the binding is modern it seems plausible to suggest that Aubrey's gift had been joined with Ent's bequest before 1685.

10. 'Copernicus'

Perhaps:

Copernicus, Nicolaus, *De revolutionibus orbium caelestium*, Basle, 1566, Folio

Catalogues: 1839

11. 'Diophantes'

Perhaps:

Diophantus, *Arithmeticon libri VI* (ed., with Latin trs., C. G. Bachet), Paris, S. Cramoisy, 1621, folio

Catalogues: 1825; 1839

The binding is modern.

12. 'Galileo de proportione'

Probably:

Galileo Galilei, *Tractus de proportionum instrumento*, Strasbourg, D. Hautt, 1635, 4to

Catalogues: 1681/85—No 364; 1825

1681/85 records a copy bound with the same author's *De sacræ scripturæ testimoniis* (Hautt, Strasbourg, 1636) as is the extant copy. Although the latter is in a modern binding they would thus seem in all probability identical.

13. Hero of Alexandria, *Ctesibii Belopæca*, Ausburg, D. Frank, 1616, 4to

Catalogues: 1825; 1839

Perhaps the copy bound up as Tracts 137 (3), although all trace of earlier ownership has disappeared with the original binding.

14. 'Ferrante Imperatus'

Probably:

Imperato, Ferrante, *Dell' historia naturale* (ed. and augmented by G-M. Ferro), Venice, Combi and La Nou, 1672, Folio

Catalogues: 1681/85—No 38; 1825; 1839

We have seen from the inscription in No 6 (*above*) that in one case a gift was made to Hooke with the express proviso that should he himself not wish to retain it, the book should be passed on to the Society. From the *Diary* entries which I have quoted, this would appear to be another instance of a book originally given by Aubrey to Hooke being subsequently transferred to the Society.

15. 'Lullii Testamentū'

Perhaps:

Lull, Ramon, *Testamentum* (with *Testamentum novissimum*, 2 pts in 1 vol., ed. D. M. Rault), Rouen, D. Berthelin, 1663, 12mo

The fact that no entry for this volume occurs until the 1883 *Catalogue of Scientific Books in the Library of the Royal Society* makes identification of this volume with Aubrey's gift extremely tenuous.

16. 'Neipeirs Logarithms'

In Tracts XCVI (a modern binding) is:

Napier, John, *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis description*, Edinburgh, A. Hart, 1614, 4to, STC 18349^a

Catalogues: 1681 (1681/85—Ent No 94 where it is misdated '1645')

See No 22 below where the question of Ent's and Aubrey's donations is discussed.

17. 'Pappus'

Probably:

Pappus Alexandrinus, *Mathematicæ collections* (ed. F. Commandini), Pesaro, H. Concordia, 1588, Folio

Catalogues: 1681/85—No 76; 1825; 1839

The binding is modern.

18. 'Pecquett'

Perhaps:

Pecquet, Jean, *Experimenta nova anatomica* (with *Dissertatio de circulatione sanguinis*), Amsterdam, G. Jansson, 1661, 12mo

Catalogues: 1839

In a modern binding, preceded by G. B. Verli, *Anatomia . . . oculi humani* (ibid., H. Wetsten, 1680). Verli's treatise only is listed in the 1825 *Catalogue*, while both appear in 1839. I am inclined to believe that 1825 is not always accurate (see No 26 below), particularly where composite volumes are concerned and hence that there is good reason to believe that this may have been the volume given by Aubrey.

19. Reisch, Gregor, *Margarita Philosophica*, Fribourg, J. Schott, 1503, 4to

Catalogues: *see below*

1825 lists a copy described as being printed at 'Argent. [Strasbourg] 1508', neatly killing two birds with one stone for, as appears in the 1839 catalogue, the

Society then (and still) has copies of the Basle edition of 1508 and of this first edition of 1503 actually printed at Fribourg, but, as stated in the colophon, by the Strasbourg printer, Schott, whence the confusion over the place of printing. I am inclined to believe that the copy of the 1503 edition may have been the book given by Aubrey, since, although it lacks any definite association with him, it does contain pen marginalia in English and in a 16th century hand as evidence of association with this country antedating Aubrey's gift.

20. Ward, Seth, *Astronomia Geometrica*, London, J. Flesher, 1656, 8vo, Wing W 816

Catalogues: 1681/85—No 466; 1825; 1839

Contemporary calf rebaked, modern end-leaves. In all probability the copy which Aubrey presented, and the marginal cross-reference at Lib. II, 15, perhaps in his hand.

CATALOGUED BOOKS NO LONGER EXTANT

21. 'Chronicum Saxonicum'

Probably:

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ed. Edmund Gibson), Oxford, 1692, 8vo, Wing A 3185

Catalogue: 1825; 1841

This gift is interesting in showing the breadth of Aubrey's antiquarian interests (26) and his connexions with the younger school of Oxford historians—Gibson himself, Tanner, White Kennet, Nicolson, *et al.* The volume itself was probably sold to Quaritch in 1873, although I have been unable to trace it in his catalogues.

22. 'Italian fencing-book'

Catalogues: 1681 (1681/85—Ent No 305)—'Fencing-book italicé'

1825—'MODO di metter mano alla Spada, con figure illustrate
Oblong 12° senza data.

1845—*similar description*

From this description it would appear to be related to the work noted by Carl A. Thimm (27) as:

MODI de metter mano alla spada. Oblong 24°. 1560 Venice 42 plates of fencing, the text also engraved.

Thimm's description is, however, taken from Quaritch's *General Catalogue of Books* (1874), where Quaritch describes it (28) as '*s.l.e.a.*'. Thimm states as definite a place and date of printing around which Quaritch set tentative parentheses. This is not, however, Quaritch's first listing of the book and Mr Dring kindly drew my attention to 'Rough List No 14' issued in October 1873 where an identical entry under the same heading appears on page 6. The date makes it just conceivable that this is the Royal Society copy, although Quaritch specifies the books in the list as coming from the libraries of 'W. Wilson-Saunders Esq., F.R.S, F.L.S., . . . Dr Berthold Seeman, F.L.S. . . . the late Dr Leeson . . . and Serge Sobolewski of Moscow'.

While I feel that 1681, 1681/85, 1825, 1841 and Quaritch all describe the same volume, there is nothing except coincidence to suggest that the 'Italian fencing-book' which Aubrey 'designed' for the Royal Society is the 'Fencing-book italicé' which is listed among the books which Ent bequeathed to it and if this were an isolated instance there the matter might rest. It is not, however, and we have seen how one association copy (No 5) coincides with a title listed in the Ent Bequest and how the Ent Bequest contains a work similar in title to one which we know Aubrey to have given to the Society. I would therefore like to suggest three possible explanations:

(a) *Faulty cataloguing*. It is just conceivable that in a few isolated instances the cataloguer might have erred in attributing to Ent books presented to the Society by others and this might account for the entry of Napier (No 16) as Ent's bequest in the second section of 1681 rather than as Aubrey's gift in the third. This is however a less likely explanation than

(b) *Duplication*. We have seen in the case of the Blancanus (No 4) how 1681/85 shows that the Society possessed two copies of the work, one bequeathed by Ent in 1679 the other presumably presented by Aubrey at an earlier and unrecorded date (29), and how in all likelihood Aubrey's copy was retained and Ent's sold or exchanged as a duplicate. Given the friendship between Ent and Aubrey, their mutual interests and circle of acquaintance, it would be hardly surprising if each owned copies of the same text of other works as well. That 1681/85 fails to list the Napier, which we know from Hooke was given to the Society, and the Charleton, of which there is no record of presentation, may be accounted for by the knowledge that the catalogue itself is incomplete. If this is so, then the Charleton survives in precisely the same way as the Blancanus, while in the absence of any note of ownership it is impossible to say whether the extant copy of Napier was originally Ent's or Aubrey's.

While this might serve to explain the apparent discrepancy in the catalogue

entries relating to Napier and Charleton, it is inadequate to explain so unusual an item as this 'Italian fencing book', and we must look for a third possibility, namely,

(c) *The Sale by Aubrey of Books to Ent*. Aubrey's impecuniousness is notorious and in order to raise the wind he undoubtedly resorted to periodic sales of books from his library. One such sale took place in 1677 (30) and we know (31) that, on 20 November 1673, Hooke took from Aubrey a number of books in settlement of a debt of 20 sh. Furthermore financial need was likely to override the most generous of intentions if the 'Chrysostom . . . (with the arms of Judge Hobard)', mentioned in a letter to Wood of 14 May 1673 (32) as intended for some Oxford college, is identical with the 'Chrysostoms' which Hooke records as having purchased from Aubrey for £4 10 sh. on 10 December 1674 (33), the latter having once more become his debtor to the tune of at least 45 sh. (34). It would therefore seem likely that other close friends (including George Ent) may have adopted Hooke's solution when faced by Hooke's problem, and hence that since, as we have seen, intention did not always imply performance, the presence among Ent's books of the Italian fencing-book and even of Charleton's treatises may be due to their purchase either in settlement or instead of a loan (35).

23. 'Grammatica Linguae Cambro-Britannicae per Doct. Davies'

Catalogues: *see below*

At first sight the work concerned would seem to be *Antiquae linguae Britannicae rudimenta* (1621: STC 6346), a Welsh grammar compiled by John Davies of Mallwyd (c. 1570–1644). However, the *Rudimenta* was published as an octavo and both the 1681 and 1825 catalogues note the work in question as a folio. Furthermore, both these catalogues (and Birch in the interim) entitle the book concerned *Cambro-Britannicae linguae institutiones* and date the edition 1592. It would thus seem probable that what we are considering is not Davies's *Rudimenta*, but *Cambro-Britannicae Cymbræcæve institutiones et rudimenta* (1592: STC 20966) by John David Rhys (1534–1609), the error arising from a mistranscription of the Latin title-page of the latter. ('By John David Rhys' is translated 'à Johanne Davide Rhæso', if therefore the surname is omitted one is left with 'à Johanne Davide'—the form the author's name takes in 1681 (1681/85 No 24)—which may be Anglicized as 'by John Davies'.)

This supposition finds confirmation from 1681, which also lists among the folios 'Dr David Phesi [*sic*] Welch Grammar', evidence that there was a copy of the book in the Library in 1681, although 1681/85 cross-refers this entry to its

duplicate No 24; and this copy must surely be identical with the 1592 *Institutiones* correctly entered in the 1841 *Catalogue* under 'Rhæsus'. One might therefore suggest that the 1681 compiler worked (at least as far as this particular section is concerned) from a subsidiary list on which the book was correctly entered as well as from a manuscript library catalogue which not merely enshrined the original misreading of the title, but ensured that it was perpetuated by Birch and the 1825 cataloguer. In 1841 Panizzi, to whom the British Museum attributes the catalogue, must have corrected the entry by actual collation, since there is no entry for Davies.

The hypothesis can be all the more confidently advanced from Aubrey's known familiarity with Rhys's grammar, from which he quotes in his *Natural History of Wiltshire* (36). The donation, together with the 'old Printed book in the Ancient British Tongue' (No 29; possibly one of the texts edited by William Salesbury) underlines the 'British' cast of Aubrey's antiquarianism.

In any event the book itself is no longer extant, and was probably sold to Quaritch in 1873. Three copies are listed in his Catalogue No 288 of March 1873, but this is probably too early for any of them to have been the Royal Society copy.

UNCATALOGUED BOOKS NO LONGER EXTANT

24. 'Israel's Salvation'

I have been unable to trace any work of Edward Bagshaw's under this title, but, as Anthony Wood writes (37): 'Tis true he did finish and compleat *Vav. Powells* little thing called *A Collection of those Scripture prophecies which relate to the call of the Jews*, &c. added to his *Concordance of the Bible*'. However, this is a somewhat tentative identification of what was clearly a short tract which was not catalogued either separately or as part of a composite volume in 1681/85.

25. 'Descartes de Lumine'

Probably:

Le Monde de Mr Descartes, ou traité de la lumiere . . . 3 pts, Paris, J. Le Gras, 1664, 8vo

26. 'Gebri Alchimia'

Unidentifiable. Probably disposed of as a duplicate at an early date, since the text was duplicated in a composite volume published at Nuremberg in 1541 (4to) in the Arundel Library, while among the books bequeathed by Sir Theodore de Vaux in 1695 is a Latin translation of Avicenna and Geber (Geneva:

1572: 12mo), the latter, although still extant, is not listed in the 1825 catalogue. It is, however, entered in 1839 and, as in the case of Pecquet (No 18) gives grounds for supposing that 1825 was based upon written lists and 1839 upon physical examination of the books in the library.

27. 'Hartlib about engines & husbandry'

No book by Hartlib is listed in the 1825 *Catalogue* and the extant copies of his attributed *Discourse of Husbandry* (1650) and *Legacie* (edns. of 1651 and 1655) are, appropriately, the 19th century gift of his biographer, Henry Dirckes. It is possible that what Aubrey presented was one of the three editions of the *Legacie* (Wing H 989-991) for, although a copy of the 1652 edition is among his books in the Bodleian Library (in Ashmole 1621), an inscription on the title shows that it was purchased in the 1670s, perhaps to replace this gift.

28. 'Pell in high Dutch'

Probably:

Rhonius [J. H. Rahn], *An Introduction to Algebra translated out of the High Dutch by T. Brancker, altered by D. P.* [i.e. Dr John Pell], London, 1668, 4to, Wing R 136

Another copy of the work was among the mathematical books presented to Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford. Powell (38), cites *Minutes of Lives*, for Aubrey's opinion of the work and account of Pell's share in it.

29. 'An old Printed book in the Antient British Tongue'

Unidentifiable, but see 22 above.

Such are the books which Aubrey presented to the Royal Society: the evidence which we can derive from them as to their owner's scientific and other interests must, however, be partial, since they represent so small a proportion even of the books which he is known to have possessed. The substantial residue of his library was presented c.1691 to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (and transferred with the printed books and manuscripts to the Bodleian Library in 1869), and a collection of mathematical books given to Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford after 1692. Nevertheless, and in so far as the contents of a man's library can ever truly reflect his attitudes of mind, they do supplement what can be gained from a study of Aubrey's writing, although they do nothing to alter conclusions which one would draw from such a study.

It would, I think, be fair to say that Aubrey's scientific writings distil through the idiosyncratic alembic of his personality much of the scientific

spirit of the age; that the age was one of transition from a vitalistic to a mechanistic view of the universe; that the process of transition was not uniform throughout the sciences, and that, as Aubrey's life (1625-1697) spanned the greater part of this century of transition, it is perhaps inevitable that in his writing he should reflect both the vitalism current in his youth and the mechanism which replaced it and which could exist side by side. These earlier influences are readily apparent in the form of his scientific writing and both the *Natural History of Wiltshire* and *Adversaria Physica* (39) are collections or natural curiosities much on the lines recommended by Bacon. In both works there is evidence of his acceptance of a vitalistic explanation for natural phenomena (40) and his gift to the Society of three alchemical works (Bacon, Gebir and Llull) might imply an adherence to the hermetic tradition. Yet the attractions of alchemy (41) do not exclude a far more 'modern' attitude of mind evident in his interest in the strictly scientific experiments of Boyle or Hooke (42), his employment of crude chemical indicators to determine the mineral content of springs (43), his observations relating to heat and light (44), and his formulation of a theory of sound-waves based upon observation of echoes (45), and if on the one hand he presented these alchemical books to the Royal Society, chemical treatises may be found among those he presented to the Ashmolean Museum (46).

It is perhaps untypical to adduce Aubrey's chemical interests as evidence of his attitude of mind, since the 'modern' advances in the science really belong to the next century and the alchemical tradition was far stronger and more widespread. Nonetheless, even when a more advanced science such as astronomy is considered we can see in Aubrey this dualism. The gifts of Copernicus and Galileo to the Society, to which he twice delivered a paper on one of his own astronomical observations (47), and his association with Hooke's observations at Gresham College in 1677-1678 (48) might mark him as a pure astronomer of the stamp of his much younger friend Halley (49); but of course Aubrey's predilection for astrology is notorious. He certainly seems to have sought in its study some explanation for his own misfortunes (50) and by his *Collection of Genitures* (51) attempted to test empirically the theory of planetary influence by individual case-histories.

Chemistry and astronomy are minor compared with mathematics and it seems quite clear that Aubrey shared the general conviction that mathematics were fundamental not merely to the new philosophy but to all learning (52). It is hardly surprising then that mathematical books should have been the predominant category of his gifts to the Royal Society; that a still more substantial quantity of books should have survived the depletion of his library to be presented to Gloucester Hall towards the end of his life; that he should

have contemplated writing the *Lives of the English Mathematicians* (53), and that he should have assembled in his *Brief Lives* (54) a considerable body of material to that end. Yet even in mathematics where he seems at his most 'modern' and scientific one might perhaps detect a trace of hermeticism.

His *Miscellanies* are avowedly a 'collection of Hermetick Philosophie' which he proposed should be examined with the same care as Natural Philosophy (55), and from it it is possible to argue that Aubrey was influenced by Dee's mathematical theories (56). Conceivably Chapter I—Day-Fatalitie—may relate to Dee's supracellular mathematics and another Chapter—Converse with Angels—has for its subject-matter precisely the objective of Dee's highest mathematical flights. As far as Dee himself is concerned, Aubrey's interest in him arose not merely from the man himself (Aubrey presented the Royal Society with his key-work, the *Monas Heiroglyphica*) but was reinforced by his friendship with Aubrey's prestigious grandfather, Dr William Aubrey (57). Furthermore Aubrey's friendship with Ashmole, who followed the tradition of Dee, would place him on the fringes at least of the Hermetic/Rosicrucian movement (58). However, and despite his interest in the occult, in astrology, alchemy and magic (59), it would be as wrong to exaggerate this aspect of Aubrey as it would to overemphasize the modernity of many of his notions. The clue to a proper appraisal comes from his confession that the *Miscellanies* were compiled from his 'scattered papers' (60), for the truth surely is that Aubrey was far too busy collecting material ever to have evolved a consistent and coherent philosophy. Happy in an age where all knowledge seemed to be within the reach of a single mind, he devoted himself to collecting, upon quasi-Baconian principles, over an extraordinarily wide range of topics and it is surely to his credit that he did not merely collect, like so many of his contemporaries, but in the closing years of his life made a definite if not always perfect attempt to put his collections in order (61). Typically of the amateur he tended to dissipate energies which true scientists such as Ray, or Boyle, or Hooke concentrated upon their chosen field.

Not, as we have seen, that he lacked the liveliest appreciation for the work of genuine and forward-looking scientists, but he simply lacked formal training as a scientist and his birth and family circumstances gave no indication that he would be forced to seek a reputation and even a livelihood as a Natural Philosopher. Yet precisely because of the survival of his correspondence with Anthony Wood which so closely documents the years after his financial ruin in 1671 (62), we tend to forget the figure he made up to middle age and before in Wood's words 'he made shift to rub out by hanging on Edm. Wyld, Esq; living in Blomesbury neare London, on James Earle of Abendon, whose first

Wife was related to him, and on Sir Joh. Aubrey, his Kinsman'. Up to the age of forty-five he had been able to cut a far more dashing figure, 'in a sparkish Garb . . . with his Man and two Horses' (63), spending high, for he had been born to estates, however encumbered, in Brecon, Hereford and Wiltshire and was consciously Esquire Aubrey of Easton Piers (64).

Not that he was the coarse and brutal booby squire of the type he himself satirized in his fragmentary *Country Revell* (65). His education at Trinity College, Oxford, and at the Middle Temple, his contemplated visit to Italy and his sojourn in France, the fact that he neither graduated nor was called to the bar would indicate a gentleman of means with a marked taste for intellectual pursuits. As such Aubrey was typical of the forward-looking class of rural and urban capitalist who encouraged the application of the discoveries of Natural Philosophy to the improvement of agriculture, navigation, trade and industry. The gifts to the Society of Hartlib's *Legacie* and of Hayward's book on the Commonwealth navy may typify this tendency within the class to which Aubrey belonged and which in turn by its predominant position within the Royal Society led to the creation by the Society of Committees to further these particular aims. His membership of the Georgical Committee is then little cause for surprise since it would be natural for one of his class and known interests. There is ample evidence in his writings of a deep concern for the improvement of agriculture in particular (66), but it is apparent both from what he wrote and from the books which he owned that the associated questions of trade and economics also pre-occupied him to some degree (67). All in all this can be claimed to build up the portrait of a landed gentleman, with all the interests of the most forward-looking members of his class, who ranged more widely than most in that he also dabbled in science, medicine (68) and antiquities.

Yet these facts might bear another interpretation. The class which realized the economic importance of the discoveries of the new philosophy and which had the money with which to support research undoubtedly stimulated invention. All these interests of Aubrey could therefore be those of the projector rather than of the patron if we do not accept that Aubrey in youth and middle-age was a very different figure from that familiar to us in the correspondence with Wood. After his estates were sold Aubrey undoubtedly nourished a variety of schemes of recouping his fortunes. Many of them concerned the exploitation of mineral rights (69) and in one instance at least correspondence with Andrew Paschall (70) shows him as one of a small group of projectors exploring the possibilities of lead-mining in the Mendips. In the upshot the scheme proved abortive when Aubrey's patron, the Earl of Abingdon, failed to provide the necessary financial support. Abortive, too, was the attempt to

popularize the virtues of the mineral waters of Send (71), in Wiltshire, and in association with Sir Edward Hungerford to improve the port of Bristol by clearing rocks at the mouth of the Avon (72).

These are however the schemes of Aubrey's old age and poverty; while he had his estates it was as patron rather than practitioner that he followed Natural Philosophy, although it is, perhaps, in the realm of antiquities that Aubrey's role of gentlemanly amateur and patron is most clearly seen, when, as an Oxford undergraduate, in 1643 he commissioned the hedge-priest Hesketh to make drawings of the ruins of Osney Abbey from which the engraving for Dugdale's *Monasticon* was afterwards made (73). Later, when he lived in Wiltshire, with an entrée to Wilton House (74), as a member of a hawking-party composed of the leading Royalist gentlemen of the county (75), he made his most notable 'discovery'—Avebury—and it was as much due to his social position as to his antiquarian reputation that in 1663 he should have acted as a guide to Charles II and James, Duke of York, both to the stone circles and in an ascent of Silbury Hill (76).

To sum up, then, Aubrey's attainments: he would appear to have been a country gentleman of wide intellectual interests, deeply influenced by Baconian Natural Philosophy. These interests appear to have been followed to the detriment of his material well-being so that we may well wonder whether, had he fought the law-suits which clogged his estates with the zeal with which he collected antiquities and natural curiosities, he might not have remained Esquire Aubrey of Easton Piers and posterity have remained the poorer for the unwritten *Brief Lives*. Nevertheless, even supposing that his studies contributed to his financial ruin, they served him well after the sale of his estates. Although he expressly disclaimed all pretensions to learning (77), his scholarly pursuits gave him a *raison d'être* and justified him to some degree in the eyes of his contemporaries to whom he made no mean figure as an antiquary and natural philosopher. The ordering and expansion of his notes and observations gave him occupation and respect. Thus so distinguished a botanist as John Ray could recommend his *Adversaria Physica* for publication for its scientific merit (78), although posterity will value it solely for the quaint scraps of anecdote and folklore which it contains. Not that he lacked the scientific spirit of enquiry, yet paradoxically it inspires his antiquarian rather than his overtly scientific studies. To folklore (79), to pre-Roman, Roman and Mediaeval antiquities he applies in some degree those principles and methods of scientific deduction based upon accurate observation (80), and if he is among the last generation of unscientific scientists he may perhaps fairly claim to belong to the first generation of scientific antiquaries. But above all he will remain as the author of *Brief Lives*,

which best demonstrates his extraordinary zest for new ideas, a zest which in the excitement of the chase for information sometimes overrode a worldly shrewdness, and above all his delight in the quirks of human nature. For at bottom his interest is less in scientific abstractions than in the men and women who remain so fresh and idiosyncratic in his biographical vignettes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express my thanks to the Council of the Royal Society for the privilege of searching the book-stacks in their Library for unrecorded items once owned by John Aubrey and to their successive Librarians, Mr I. Kaye, O.B.E., and Mr N. H. Robinson, for their support and cooperation. Having received so much kindness and help from all members of the library staff it is perhaps invidious to mention individuals by name, but I should like to express my gratitude to Mr A. J. Clark for his invaluable and patient guidance of my investigations and for his readiness to pass on all relevant information which he encountered in the course of his normal duties.

Finally, I should like to acknowledge my debt to Mr Michael Hunter, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, for making available to me his unpublished paper 'The intellectual activities of John Aubrey', delivered to a seminar in Oxford on 25 January 1972, as well as a number of references in Birch's *History*, Hooke's *Diary* and Aubrey's correspondence. He has also kindly checked transcripts against their originals in the Bodleian Library and I have had the benefit of his views and criticisms in conversation.

NOTES

- (1) *Notes and Records Roy. Soc. Lond.*, 27, 193-217 (1973).
- (2) *Signatures in the first Journal-Book . . . of the Royal Society* (1950): See Part I, Plate 3 for facsimile.
- (3) Royal Society, *Journal Book Copy* (J.B.C.), I, 100, 103, 109.
- (4) *The Diary of Robert Hooke 1672-80* (ed. H. W. Robinson and W. Adams, 1935), 311.
- (5) Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London* (1756-1757), I, 406-407.
- (6) Birch, III, 442.
- (7) Birch, II, 123, III, 325 and J.B.C., VII, 149; VIII, 83.
- (8) Royal Society, *Classified Papers (C.P.)*, VIII, (1) 28, 30 printed in John Aubrey, *Three Prose Works . . . Observations* (1972), Chapters II-VI.
- (9) Bodleian Library, Oxford (B.L.), Mss. Ballard, 14, 116; Wood, F 39, 405, 429.
- (10) Transcripts taken directly from J.B.C. III, 292, 296; V, 210; VIII, 315; IX, 19: Birch, II, 455, 462; IV, 56, who (II, 462) interpolates the full title of Hero, (No 13).
- (11) E.g., 12 October 1672 (*Diary*, 10).
- (12) 25 May 1673 (*Diary*, 44).

- (13) Donations e.g., 11 April 1678, 27 June 1679 (*Diary*, 352, 416). Entries relating to Arundel Library occurring January 1677–September 1678 (*Diary*, 270, 273, 296, 325, 373, 377).
- (14) *Diary*, 70, 111: the titles have been corrected by the original manuscript in the Guildhall Library.
- (15) *B.L.*, Ms. Wood, F39, 248.
- (16) *Ibid.*, 255.
- (17) *Ibid.*, 116.
- (18) *B.L.*, Ms. Ballard, 14, 137.
- (19) An earlier instance occurred in 1676. On 18 May (Birch, III, 316), Aubrey reported to the Society that he had obtained the loan of papers belonging to Samuel Foster (d. 1652: Gresham Professor of Astronomy), so that the Society might examine them and take such copies as they required. In Merry's case the object seems to have been to secure the Society's 'approbation' whereby 'the widow might be encouraged to print them' (Birch, IV, 223).
- (20) The presence of a further three association copies has been established by the examination of all books in the Society's library printed before 1698.
- (21) The leaf listing the first 25 volumes in the Ent Bequest is wanting, but since the manuscript numbers run from 26, no additions would appear to have been lost.
- (22) The numbers which the cataloguer has supplied relate to volumes and the numbers of individual works added to both sections of the catalogue are far in excess of these figures due to the policy of conjoining works by the same author (*see e.g.*, Brerewood, No 9 and Galileo No 12 *below*) and the presence of many bound volumes of tracts. While only one volume is added to the Ent Bequest, extensive additions are made to volumes of tracts of which the contents may either have been (apparently) cursorily noted in 1681, or, if still separate at that date, have been subsequently bound up with works from other donors (*see e.g.*, Brerewood No 9).
- (23) For example, in the Ent Bequest three volumes are left unnumbered, with similar breaks (181, 187, 292) in the numerical sequence of the catalogue. More significantly there is a gap in the numeration of the last section between 157 and 166 to allow for the printed entries not merely of 'Petri Scavenii librorum catalogus &c, 1666' and 'Rogeri Baconis quædam de Alchymia, &c' but also for the individual works bound up in the latter, which is the volume presented by Aubrey (*see* No 2). Since the cataloguer assigned his numbers only to volumes and never to individual works in composite volumes it is clear that Aubrey's gift was not to hand when the catalogue was compiled, nor may we infer were the Ent books. Thus of the books presented by Aubrey and not printed in the 1681 catalogue, only those actually to hand in the library would have been added in manuscript in 1681/85.
- (24) As early as January 1678 the Council of the Royal Society took measures to recover books missing from the Library (Hooke, *Diary*, 340).
- (25) Mr A. J. Clark has kindly drawn my attention to the various minutes of the Library Committee leading up to this resolution and showing how it was implemented. On 14 June 1871 was raised the question of 'the clearing out of the Library, by sale, or otherwise, of duplicates, and of works in general literature which may be regarded as out of place in a scientific library.' The duplicates were first considered and, after inspection, it was resolved on 13 July to sell them *en bloc*, tenders from booksellers to be invited for this purpose. By 16 November three such tenders had been received (Quaritch £31 10s.:

Weldon £25; Rowsell £10), but none was accepted and instead printed lists were circulated to the Fellows from which they were able to buy individual books. The wisdom of this course is demonstrated by the minutes of 22 February 1872 which report that the sale of duplicates had raised the sum of £47 8s. 6d.

The Committee now proceeded to the matter of general literature circulating copies of the 1841 *Catalogue of Miscellaneous Literature* in which were to be marked both the Arundel Library books and those books which it might be thought desirable to retain. By 14 June this process was complete, so that the Committee could recommend the sale of the books on the general grounds that the works themselves were rarely consulted by the Fellows, that existing space did not allow of all of them to be housed in the Library (some indeed were kept in the Assistant Secretary's private apartments) and that, while the 'typographic and bibliographical rarities' which they proposed to retain would present no shelving-problem, the lack of space would become even more acute when the Society moved from the main building of Burlington House to rooms in the new buildings on the forecourt. As far as the Arundel Library books were concerned, the original gift had permitted the sale or exchange of individual items for other books, provided that the books so acquired were marked with the Howard of Norfolk stamp (which explains the apparent anomaly of certain books which bear the stamp and were printed after 1680).

There seems to be no note of the precise date of disposal of these books, the minutes of the meeting of 22 January 1874 simply recording that 3700 selected volumes had been sold to Quaritch for £370 10s. However, it would seem most probable that it occurred at some time between 26 May, the date of the previous meeting of the Committee, and 29 September 1873, when the removal of the Library to its new quarters began.

How Quaritch disposed of the books it is impossible to say. I have been unable to discover any catalogue specifically devoted to books from the Library of the Royal Society, although it was his practice in his monthly lists to give the provenances of the books offered in them. I cannot rule out the existence of such a list since the British Museum holds no monthly catalogue for the years 1872-1874 inclusive and even Bernard Quaritch Ltd. (to whose Director Mr E. M. Dring I am indebted for permission to examine their archives) do not possess a complete run of catalogues for the period. It is far beyond the bounds of this article to collate the 1841 *Catalogue of Miscellaneous Literature* with Bernard Quaritch's *General Catalogue of Books* (1874) and *Supplement* (1877) and I am left with the unsatisfactory conclusions of my notes on the three books (21-23) probably involved in this sale.

It will not, I trust, be judged impertinent if I add something on the fate of the 'typographic and bibliographical rarities' preserved in 1873. They must for the most part have been those books described by H. M. Mayhew and R. Farquharson Sharp in their *Catalogue of Early Printed Books* . . . (1910), books which were largely if not entirely disposed of at Sotheby's on 4 May 1925. However, De Ricci is incorrect in asserting that this sale completed the dispersal of the Arundel Library, since a substantial body of Thomas Howard's collection (including volumes from Pirkheimer's Library) survives in the Royal Society. Indeed this and other sources provide an unexpectedly large number of earlier printed books (and not merely in the scientific field) which would seem well worth separate study and description.

- (26) The two Welsh books (Nos 23 and 29) given by Aubrey reflect the Society's interest in language as much as the donor's interest in Celtic antiquities. Aubrey's opinion of the Saxons was low (see *Monumenta Britannica: B.L., Ms. Top. Gen. 24, 260a*).
- (27) *A Complete Bibliography of Fencing and Duelling* (1896), 194.
- (28) 'Latest Purchases . . . Fencing', 1589.
- (29) Since neither of the donations mentioned in Hooke's *Diary* is recorded in the *Journal Books* (in the second instance perhaps because no meetings were held between the end of June and October in 1674), it is plausible to suppose that Aubrey had presented other books in addition to Hayward (No 6) to the Society through Hooke, particularly during the years when he was the Library-keeper and specifically before 1672, that is, during the period for which no diary-record by Hooke has survived.
- (30) *Brief Lives* (ed. Andrew Clark, 1898), I, 45.
- (31) Hooke, *Diary*, 70.
- (32) *B.L., Ms. Wood, F39, 206*.
- (33) *Diary*, 135.
- (34) *Ibid.*, 124.
- (35) It is interesting, although speculative, to consider which books Ent might have acquired from Aubrey, if indeed he ever did buy part of the latter's library and if the coincidence of these four titles is not simply due to chance or to miscataloguing. The list of Ent's bequest impresses first by the number of books which it contains which were written by Aubrey's friends and secondly by the presence of a class of book so strikingly absent from the Ashmolean bequest—antiquary's books. This may of course be quite simply explained by that obvious factor in any friendship, a community of interests and a common circle of acquaintance. And yet one must wonder that whereas Aubrey left the Ashmolean three works by Hobbes, Ent should bequeath the Royal Society just twice that number—*Thucydides* (1676), *Odyssey* (1675), *Problemata Physica* (1625), *De cive* (1647), *Of Liberty and Necessity* (1647) and *De mirabilibus Pecci*—none duplicating an Ashmolean title. Charleton's works are common to both bequests—Charleton was a medical colleague of Ent's father, Sir George—but what are we to make of Thomas Gore's *Nomenclator Geographicus* (1667) or his *Catalogus* (1674); Sir William Petty's *Reflections on Persons and Things in Ireland* (1660); Christopher Wase's *Of Free Schools* (1678), or of Wood's *Notitia*, none of which was left by Aubrey to the Ashmolean? And then there are such antiquarian books as Dugdale's *Origines*, Spelman's *Glossary* (1664), Inigo Jones's *Stone-Heng* (1659), Sheringham's *De Anglorum originine* (1670), Speed's *Epitome* (1676), Camden's *Queen Elizabeth* (1675) and *Remains* (1674), or Philipot's *Villare Cantianum* (although its presence here is more probably explained by Ent's family affiliations with Kent). We might also note books with which Aubrey was familiar and from which he quoted in his writings (Gregory's *Posthuma*, Macchia-velli's *Discourses on Titus Livius etc.*, or Brevint's *Missale Romanum*).
- (36) *B.L., Ms. Aubrey, I, 23^b*.
- (37) *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692), II, 362.
- (38) *John Aubrey and his Friends* (1963), 307. This edition reprints (pp. 295–310) as Appendix B (Aubrey's Library) the articles, by Dr R. T. Gunter in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (VI, No 69, 1931) and anonymous in *The Times Literary Supplement* (13 and 20 January 1950), describing respectively the books given by Aubrey to the Ashmolean Museum and Gloucester Hall, Oxford.

- (39) Aubrey's manuscript has not survived. C.P. VII (1) 30 is an early transcript: B.L. Rawlinson 158-159 contains Thomas Hearne's transcript of a transcript made by Robert Plot.
- (40) E.g. B.L., Aubrey, Ms. 1, 11^a: *Observations*, 341.
- (41) See, e.g., *Brief Lives* I, 162-170 with his account of the Elizabethan alchemist, Thomas Charnock which he had obtained from Andrew Paschall who was also in correspondence with him about a manuscript of Llull (26 May 1681: B.L., Ms. Aubrey, 13, 46).
- (42) Robert Boyle, *Works* (ed. T. Birch, 1744), V, 571-572: Hooke, *Diary*, 106.
- (43) See *Natural History of Wiltshire* (N.H.W.) (ed. John Britton, 1847; repr. 1969), 20-26: it is interesting that he should use Petty's 'Quæres for the Tryall of Minerall Waters' rather than Boyle's.
- (44) *Observations*, 336, 338.
- (45) N.H.W., Part I, Chapter 1.
- (46) E.g., Ashmole, C67 and D60 each contain tracts by Grew.
- (47) 'Mr Awberys Cloudy Star' C.P., VIII (1) 24: Birch, II, 273.
- (48) *Diary*, 235, 287, 381.
- (49) Aubrey had the highest regard for Halley (letter to Wood: 17 January 1680: B.L. Ms. Wood F39, 337^b) and even succeeded in making him take a polite interest in the claims of astrology (Halley to Aubrey: 16 November 1679: B.L. Ms. Aubrey 12, 147).
- (50) *Brief Lives*, I 48, Note 1.
- (51) B.L., Ms. Aubrey, 23.
- (52) 'Arithmetique & Geometrie are the Keys, that open unto us all Mathematicall (and Philosophicall) knowledge and by consequence (and indeed) all other knowledge'. (B.L., Ms. Aubrey, 10, 8).
- (53) B.L., Ms. Aubrey, 8, 69, 70.
- (54) See 'Contents' of Anthony Powell's edition of *Brief Lives* (1949) for the predominance of mathematicians (and scientists) among Aubrey's subjects.
- (55) *Three Prose Works* . . . *Miscellanies*, 6.
- (56) Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972), 223, 77, 169.
- (57) *Brief Lives* I, 59, 211.
- (58) Interestingly enough Aubrey's 'cousin' Henry Vaughan the Welsh poet and physician published in 1655 and 1657 English translations of Heinrich Nolle's *Systema medicinae hermeticae generale* (*Hermetical Physick*) and *De generatione rerum naturalium* (*The Chymists Key*). Aubrey, who knew Hartlib during the interregnum, may have met Comenius through him, he mentions his *Lux è tenebris* approvingly (*Miscellanies* 6). Hooke was also interested in alchemy and in 1676 seems to have been involved in an unrealized project for a Rosicrucian club (*Diary*, 242).
- (59) Aubrey's interest in magic appears to have been more than academic and there is evidence from his copy of Zecorbeni's *Clavicula Salamonis* (B.L., Ms. Aubrey, 24) that he experimented with spells.
- (60) *Miscellanies*, 5.
- (61) *Three Prose Works*, 367.
- (62) B.L., Mss. Wood, F 39, F 40, F 47, F 49, F 51; Ballard, 14; Tanner, 456^a.
- (63) *Life of Anthony Wood* (1772), 208.
- (64) He inscribed his books (in the 1650s and 1660s) 'Jo. Aubrey de Easton Piers'. (Powell, *John Aubrey*, 295: citing Gunter).
- (65) Surviving in B.L., Ms. Aubrey, 21.

- (66) E.g. *N.H.W.*, Part II, Chapter VII.
- (67) E.g. *ibid.*, Part II, Chapters V, IX, XI. *B.L.*, Ashmole, 1665, 1672 contain a number of tracts on trade, agriculture and finance and Ashmole 16 6^a the *Five and Two Essays in Political Arithmetic* (1687) of his friend Sir William Petty.
- (68) Aubrey had known Harvey well (*Brief Lives* I, 295–304) and it is interesting that the medical book be presented to the Royal Society (Pecquet, No 18) should have been a work especially recommended by Harvey (G. L. Keynes, *The Life of William Harvey* (1966), 364). While an undergraduate, he engaged with his friend, Francis Potter, in early experiments in blood-transfusion (see C. Webster, 'Origins of Blood Transfusion.' *Medical History* XV, 4, (1971)).
- (69) *Faber Fortunæ*, *B.L.*, Ms. Aubrey, 26.
- (70) *B.L.*, Ms. Aubrey, 13, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 76.
- (71) *N.H.W.*, *B.L.*, Ms. Aubrey, 1, 35–36.
- (72) *B.L.*, Ms. Wood, F 39, 386.
- (73) Anthony Powell, *John Aubrey*, 50.
- (74) *N.H.W.*, *B.L.*, Ms. Aubrey, 1, 135^b.
- (75) *Monumenta Britannica* (*B.L.*, Ms. Top. Gen., 24, 23).
- (76) *Ibid.*, 24.
- (77) Letter to Anthony Wood 23 October 1688 (*B.L.*, Ms. Tanner, 456^a, 34).
- (78) Letter to Aubrey 10 October 1692 (*Further Correspondence*, ed. R. T. Gunter, 1928, 180).
- (79) His *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme* is one of the earliest essays in comparative folk-lore.
- (80) *Monumenta Britannica* 'Chronologica Architectonica . . . Aspidologica . . . Graphica . . . Vestiaria' (*B.L.*, Ms. Top. Gen., 25, 152ff) attempt a scientific chronology based upon architectural styles, the changes in the shape of shields, palaeography, and dress.