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Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

23 OCTOBER, 1893 TO 16 MAY, 1894,

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Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

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(SECOND VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES.)

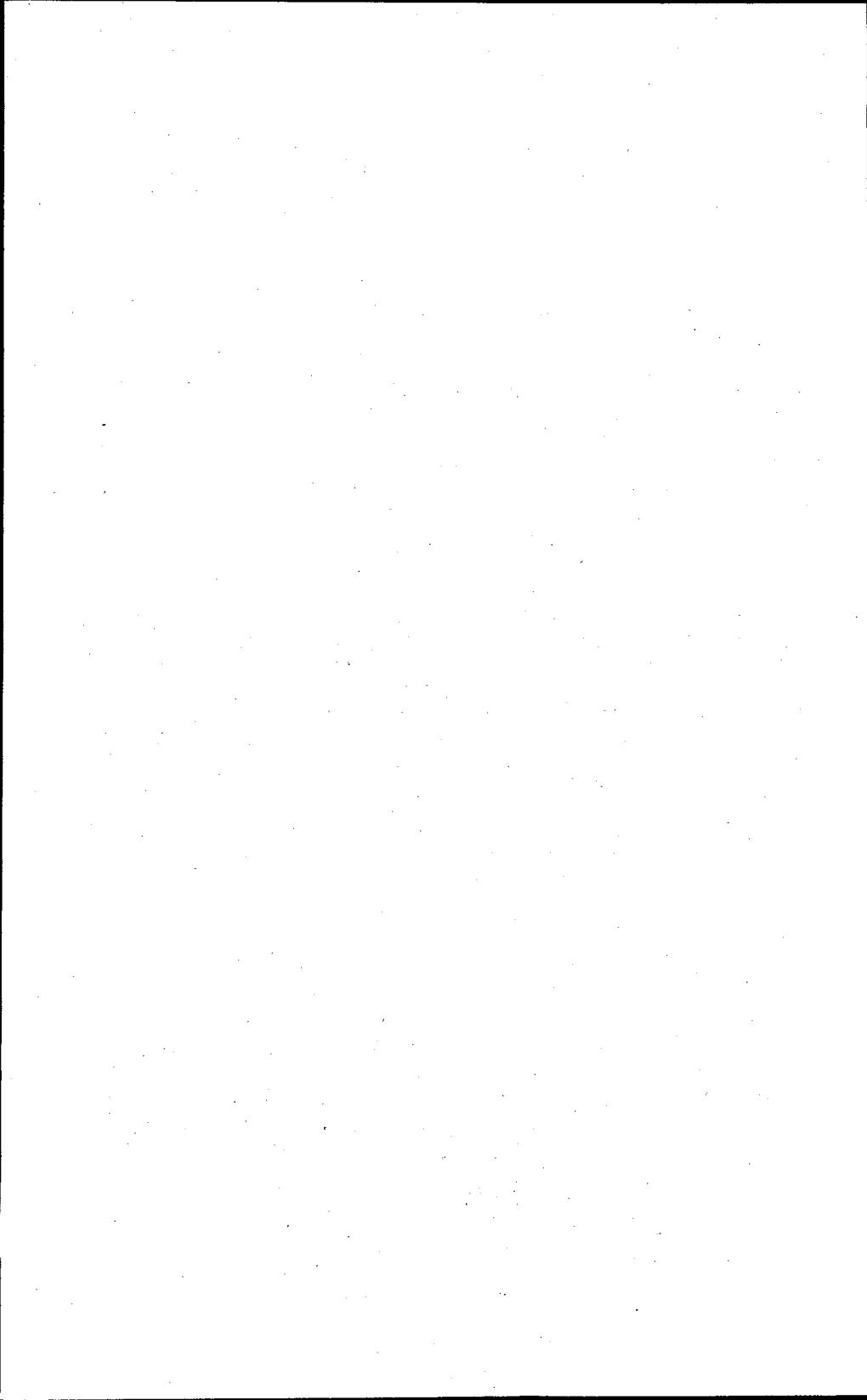
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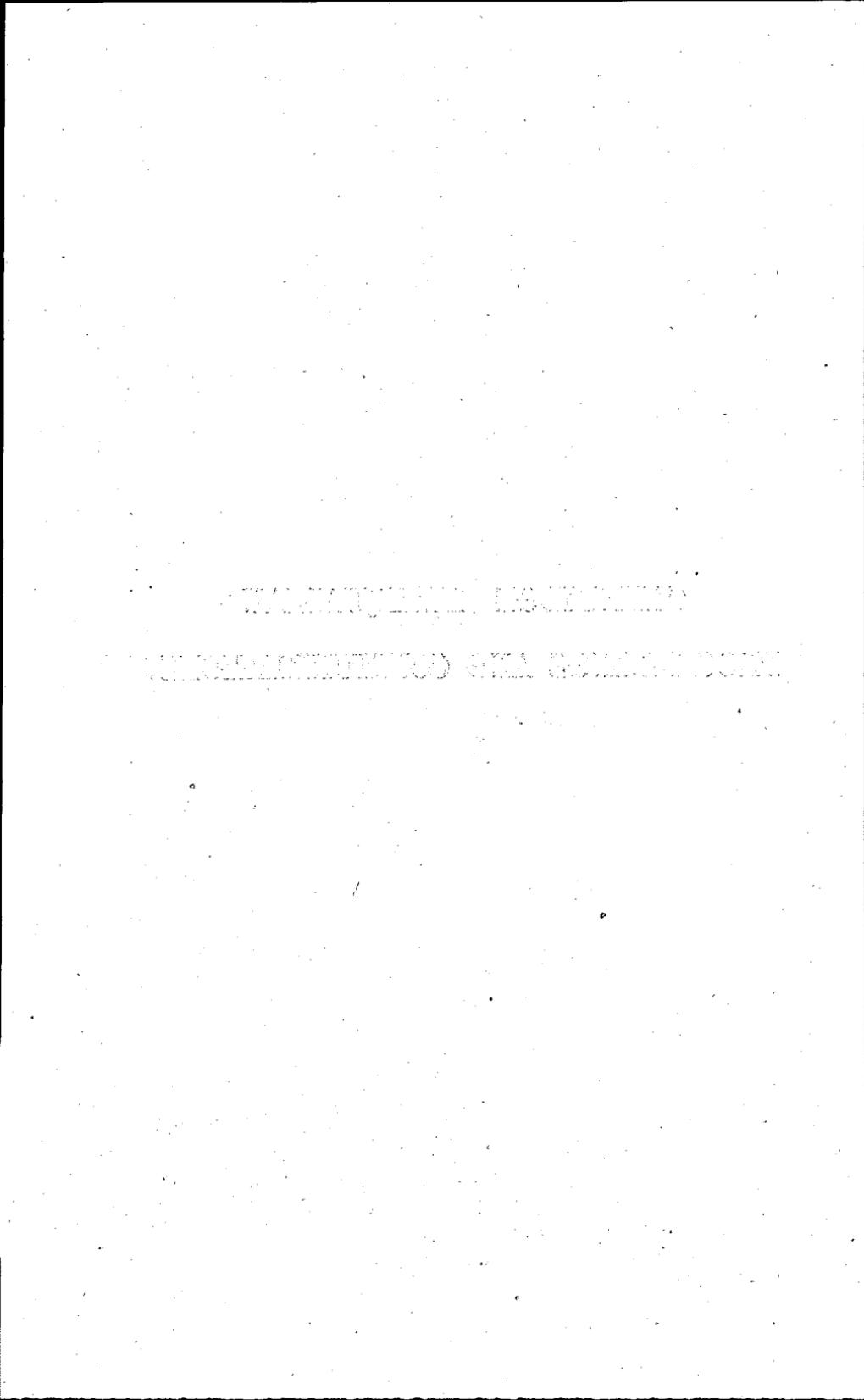
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PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS.



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VOL. VIII.



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MONDAY, May 7, 1894.

F. J. H. JENKINSON, M.A., President, in the chair.

Mr J. W. CLARK made the following communication:

ON ANCIENT LIBRARIES: (1) CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY; (2) CITEAUX, CLAIRVAUX; (3) ZUTPHEN, ENKHUIZEN.

I. *The Benedictine Monastery of Christ Church,
Canterbury.*

It is now generally admitted that the preservation of literature during the so-called Dark Ages was due, in great measure, to the Monastic Orders. In the matter of books they were both producers and consumers. Books were written and illuminated in their *Scriptoria*, and preserved in their Libraries, partly to be used by the more studious brethren of the house, partly to be consulted by those who came with proper credentials, or even to be lent on the deposit of a sufficient security.

The destruction of the monasteries, both here at the Reformation and in France at the Revolution, was so complete, that the reconstruction of these libraries, which admittedly existed in nearly every house, whether small or great, becomes a matter of considerable difficulty. I believe, however, that much may be done in this direction; and that when it is done, we shall find that the rules and arrangements of monastic libraries were adopted, with the necessary modifications, for those of the colleges at both Universities.

When monasteries were first founded, the few books which the community possessed were probably kept in the church; and subsequently, in presses in the cloister, where the brethren, even in our climate, passed many hours of each day in study. An account of this arrangement has been preserved in *The Rites of Durham*, but the passage is so well known that I need

not quote it here¹. As time went on, some protection against the weather was provided by glazing the cloister-arcades, and by allowing the older monks at least to occupy small wooden enclosures, called "carrells," or "carols," just large enough to hold a reader and his book.

So far as my researches have as yet proceeded I conceive that presses in the cloister were found sufficiently large to contain most monastic libraries until the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth, century. Then, however, it became necessary, in many monasteries, to build a special room for those books that were not required in the cloister. The old system was not abandoned; the cloister was still used as the habitual place for study down to the Dissolution; but, if Durham may be taken as a guide for what went on elsewhere, brethren might read in the library as well, if they thought proper to do so.

As this increase in the number of books had not been contemplated by those who devised the plan of the houses of any Order, no space had been left on which a library could be built; and therefore, it had usually to be placed over some existing structure. At Durham, for instance, it was placed over the parlour² at the end of the south transept; at the Benedictine monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, as I am going to explain, over the Prior's Chapel.

I am induced to attempt the reconstruction of this library because, by a fortunate accident, I have come across a very curious document, which gives sufficient data for the purpose. This I shall shortly describe. Before doing so, however, I will give the history of the building, as briefly as I can.

¹ *Rites*, p. 70. The practice is illustrated by the following passage from the *Voyage Littéraire*, ed. 1717, i. 297. The learned Fathers who wrote it were visiting Cruas, a Benedictine Abbey on the Rhone, in 1710: "On voit encore dans l'église l'armoire où on enfernoit les livres, contre la coutume des autres monastères de l'ordre, qui avoient cette armoire dans le cloître. On y lit ces vers d'un caractère qui peut avoir cinq cent ans:

Pastor jejunat qui libros non coadunat

Nec panem præbet subjectis quem dare debet," [etc.].

² *Rites*, p. 44.

Professor Willis, writing in 1869¹, tells us that

Roger de S. Elphege, Prior from 1258 to 1263, completed a chapel between the Dormitory and Infirmary....The style of its substructure shews that it was begun by his predecessor....[It] is placed on the south side of the Infirmary cloister, between the Lavatory tower and Infirmary. Its floor was on the level of the upper gallery, and was sustained by an open vaulted ambulatory below. This replaced the portion of the original south alley [of the cloister] which occupied...that position...But, as this new substructure was more than twice as broad as the old one, the chapel was obtruded into the small cloister-garth, so as to cover part of the façade of the Infirmary Hall, diminish the already limited area, and destroy the symmetry of its form.

Next, after describing the architecture of the chapel, he adds :

The vault...which sustained the pavement of the chapel, and rested on four piers in the middle of the space, was destroyed at the end of the seventeenth century, when the chapel was pulled down to the level of its floor....No trace of the original architecture of the chapel itself has been left, with the exception of the Early English western door, which opens into the gallery at the angle between its west and south branches, close to the Lavatory tower. But the style of the whole must, by its date, have been late Early English².

For the construction of a library over this chapel we have the following particulars. But, before recording them, it should be mentioned that the monastery possessed a considerable collection of books from very early times, which had increased so largely before the middle of the fourteenth century, that the catalogue made by Henry de Estria, Prior 1285—1331, records the titles of nearly three thousand works, bound in six hundred and ninety-eight volumes³. The place, or places, in which this large collection was bestowed, have not been recorded. Next, at the end of the list of works accomplished by Thomas Chillenden (Prior 1390—1411)—whom Leland calls

¹ *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury*, 8vo, 1869, p. 65.

² *Ibid.* p. 66.

³ This catalogue, preserved among the MSS Cotton (*Galba*, E. iv.) in the British Museum, has been printed in full in *Memoirs of Libraries*, by E. Edwards, 8vo, Lond. 1859, i. 122—235.

"The greatest builder of a Prior that ever was in Christes chirche"—, and whose energy seems to have made itself felt in every department of his monastery—the books that he caused "to be written and acquired" are enumerated¹. From this we may conclude that the library of the convent was largely increased during his term of office. As a natural consequence a separate room to contain the whole collection was required, and Henry Chicheley, who became Archbishop in 1414, three years after Chillenden's death, "having spent a large sum of money on the repair of the library of his church enriched it with numerous volumes of great value²." The position of this library is fixed by the next piece of history, for we are told that William Sellyng (Prior 1472—1494)

adorned the library over the Prior's Chapel with beautiful wainscot, and also furnished it with certain volumes chiefly for the use of those addicted to study, whom he zealously and generously encouraged and patronised. Further, he caused the south alley of the cloister to be glazed for the use of studious brethren, and constructed there very convenient framed contrivances (*textus*), which are now-a-days called carols³.

The passage quoted above from Godwin may either mean that Chillenden built a new room to contain books, or that he improved an existing one; but the account of Sellyng's works proves that by his time the books had been bestowed above the Prior's Chapel. Somner, who wrote in 1640, before

¹ Willis, *ut supra*, pp. 187, 189.

² Godwin, ed. Richardson, i. 126. *Magnam deinde pecuniam cum impendisset in reparacione Bibliothecæ Ecclesiæ suæ, eandem libris quam plurimis iisque præstantissimis instruxit.*

³ *Anglia Sacra*, i. 145. *Librariam etiam supra Capellam Prioris situatam per pulcrâ cælaturâ adoravit, quam etiam nonnullis libris instaurari fecit, ad usum maximè literarum studiis deditorum, quos miro studio et benevolentia nutritivit et fovit. Australem verò partem claustræ ad usum studiosorum confratrum vitreari fecit; ac ibidem novos Textus quos Carolos ex novo vocamus perdecentes fecit.* I have adopted the words "framed contrivances" as a translation of "textus," from Professor Willis, *ut supra*, p. 45. It will be observed that the same word is used below for a bookshelf.

this room had been destroyed, ascribes its original construction to Chicheley, and thus describes it :

Over this Chapell is the Church-Library...built...by Archbishop Chicheley, and borrowed from the Chapell, or super-added to it; the juniority of

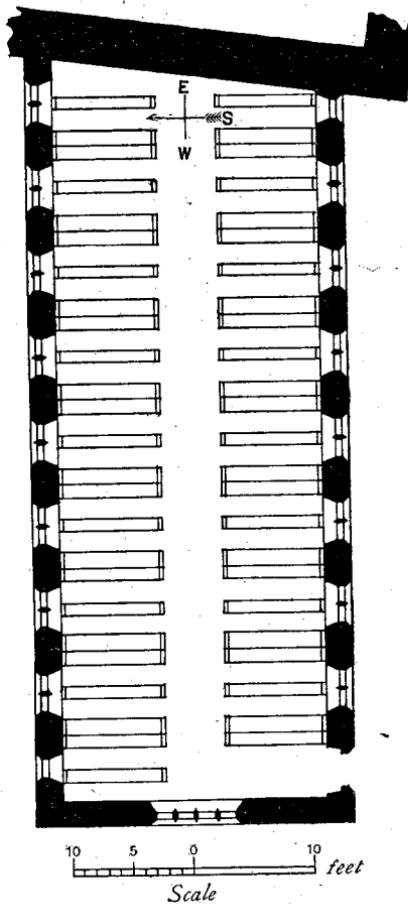


FIG. 1. Conjectural plan of the library over the Prior's Chapel at Christ Church, Canterbury.

the work, and the passage to it, plainly intimate so much. It was by the Founder and others once well stored with Bookes, but in man's memory shamefully robbed and spoiled of them all; an act much prejudicall and

very injurious both to Posterity and the Commonwealth of Letters. The piety of the present Churchmen hath begun to replenish it, and may it have (what it well deserves) many Benefactors, to the perfecting of the faire beginning ; with which wish I leave both it and the Chapell¹.

This library stood east and west, and of course must have been of the same size as the chapel beneath it, namely, according to Professor Willis, 62 feet long on the north side, 59 feet long on the south side, and 22 feet broad. The door was probably at the south-west corner, at the head of a staircase which originally led only to the chapel beneath it².

From these measurements I have constructed a plan of the room (fig. 1), and of the bookcases which I am about to describe. The windows are of course imaginary, but, as explained by Professor Willis in his essay on *The Library* in the *Architectural History*, it was the uniform practice in medieval libraries to place a window between each pair of bookcases. The readers' seats were in front of the windows, the bookcases at right angles to the wall between them.

I now pass to the above-mentioned document³. It is contained in a ms volume, now the property of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, composed of several quires of paper stitched into a parchment cover. They once belonged to, and were probably written by, brother William Ingram, who was *custos martirii* in 1503 ; and in June 1511 was promoted to the office of Pitancer. The accounts and memoranda in the book are of a very miscellaneous character. The part which concerns the library consists of a note of the books which were repaired in 1508. This is headed :

Repairs done to the books contained in the library over the chapel of our lord the Prior, namely, in new byndyng and bordyng with covers and claspyng and chenyng, together with sundry books of the gift of the aforesaid Prior, namely, in the year of our Lord 1508, and the year of the reign of King Henry VII, 23⁴.

¹ Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury*, 4to, 1640, p. 174.

² Willis, *ut supra*, pp. 65, 67.

³ I have to thank my friend Mr W. H. St John Hope, Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, for first drawing my attention to it; and the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury for leave to use it.

⁴ Reparaciones facte circa libros qui continentur in libraria supra

The writer goes round the room, beginning at the west end. He proceeds along the north side, and returns along the south side, to the point whence he started, enumerating on his way the bookcases and their shelves, the volumes removed, and, occasionally, a note of the repairs required. For my present purpose I will content myself with his account of a single bookcase, the first on the list. The writer begins thus: "From the upper shelf on the east side in the first seat (*de superiori textu ex orienti parte in prima (sic) sedile*¹)."¹ Three volumes are enumerated. "From the lower shelf (*de inferiori textu*)," two volumes. "From the upper shelf on the other side of the same seat (*de superiori textu ex altera parte eiusdem sedilis*)," seven volumes. "From the lower shelf (*de inferiori textu*)," five volumes. In this way eight seats, i.e. bookcases, are gone through on this side of the room. The writer next turns his attention to the south side, and goes through eight more seats, beginning with: "From the east side of the upper shelf on the south side (*de textu superiori ex parte australi incipiendo. In parte orientali*)."² The examination was evidently thorough, and, as the same number of seats is enumerated for each side of the room, we may, I think, safely conclude that all were examined, and that the whole number in the library was sixteen.

The passages I have quoted shew that each of these bookcases had an upper and lower shelf on each side, or, in other words, each would be made of two strong planks, one above the other, on which the books stood, so as to be conveniently consulted by readers on each side; the books were chained; and, in consequence, there must have been a desk, presumably below the shelves on each side; and a seat for the reader.

capellam domini prioris videlicet in le new byndyng and bordyng cum cooperioriis and le claspyng and chenyng eciam cum diuersis libris ex dono eiusdem prioris videlicet Anno d^omini M^o ccccc^o viij^o and Anno Regni Regis henrici viij^o xxiii.

¹ The Latin word "sedile," or its English equivalent "seat," was commonly used in the Middle Ages for a bookcase. In France the words "banca" or "banc" are similarly used.

Those conditions are all fulfilled in the bookcases which still exist in the Library of Merton College, Oxford (fig. 2), which

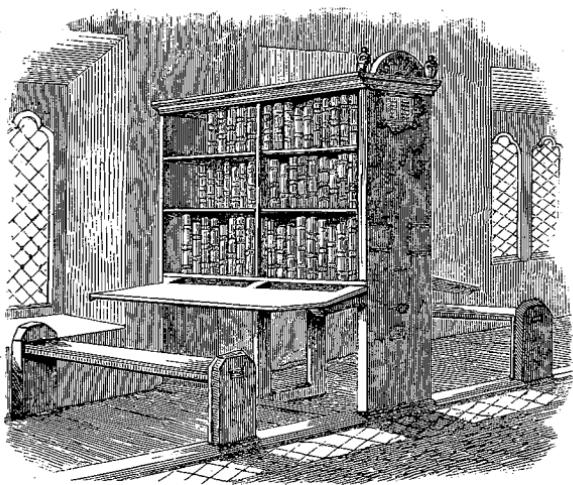


FIG. 2. Bookcase, desk, and seat in the Library of Merton College, Oxford.
(Lent by the Syndics of the University Press.)

was fitted up by William Reade, Bishop of Chichester, 1376—1385. They are 6 feet high, 7 feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and separated from each other by an interval of 4 feet. They stand at right angles to the wall, in the spaces between each pair of windows, the seat for the reader being similarly placed opposite the window. The plan of the Canterbury Library (fig. 1) shews that the space at our disposal will contain eight cases on each side, of the same size as those at Merton College, and with the same interval between each pair. It happens also that the Merton College Library is 20 feet 6 inches wide, or only 6 inches wider than that at Canterbury, so that the cases might well have been of the same length in the two rooms.

The accompanying illustration (fig. 3) has been drawn to shew the appearance that one of the cases at Canterbury probably presented when full of books. The Merton cases—which

I have already fully described in the essay on *The Library* in the *Architectural History*¹—have been exactly followed.

Lastly, let us now consider whether the library, as thus arranged, would have had sufficient shelf-room for the books which the convent possessed.

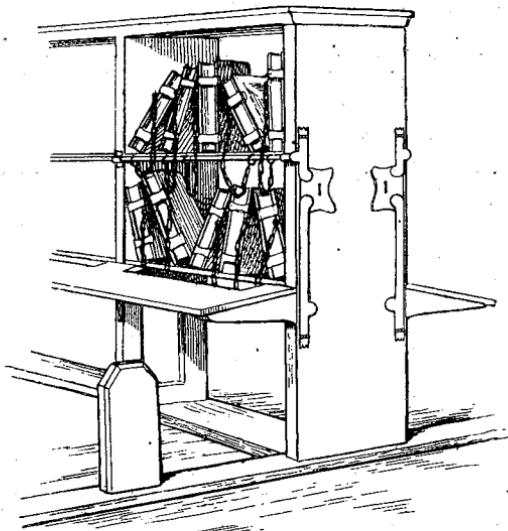


FIG. 3. Sketch of the probable appearance of a bookcase, and reader's seat, in the Library at Christ Church, Canterbury.

Each bookcase, being 7 feet long, would contain 28 feet of shelving, and the 16 cases a total of 448 feet. The catalogue of 1331 enumerates, as mentioned above, 698 volumes, or, let us say for convenience of calculation, 700; but the number would of course have been largely increased between 1331 and 1508, especially after the invention of printing. Let us assume that it had been doubled, and that Brother Ingram had to look through 1400 volumes. The books were evidently thick, because, as I have stated already, each volume in Estria's catalogue consisted of several tracts bound together. It does

¹ *Arch. Hist.* iii. 409, 440—442.

not, however, follow that the later volumes would be as thick as the older ones, and an average of three inches will, I should imagine, be amply sufficient. On this computation the 1400 volumes would occupy only 350 feet of shelving, and three cases and a half would be left empty; but, as Brother Ingram's notes shew that this was not the case, I have evidently either understated the number of books in the library, or not allowed a sufficient thickness for those of the older collection. It is evident, however, that there would have been room and to spare for the whole number.

I hope that my readers will feel that I have presented to them a fairly clear idea of the appearance which a large conventional library at the beginning of the sixteenth century probably presented.

II. *The Cistercian Monasteries of Citeaux and Clairvaux.*

The Cistercian Order was founded at the close of the eleventh century with a view to the stricter observance of the Rule of S. Benedict. The brethren, as is well known, made a special point of devoting themselves to the cultivation of the waste places of the earth, as directed in the 48th chapter of the Rule; "for then are they truly Monks, when they live by the labour of their hands, as did our fathers and the Apostles." This chapter, however, though it contains the above words, and is headed *De opere manuum quotidiano*, is mainly concerned with directions for daily study. It is probable, therefore, that a supply of books was provided in Cistercian Houses from the earliest times; and it is evident, from the particulars I have been able to collect respecting the two parent houses of Citeaux and Clairvaux, that in the course of the fifteenth century it was found necessary to set apart a special room to contain the books of the convent.

The storm of the Revolution fell with more than usual violence on Citeaux. The house was destroyed, the materials carried off or sold, the books and muniments dispersed. A few

of the latter have found their way into the Archives of the neighbouring town of Dijon; while the public library there can boast of the possession of 312 MSS, together with the catalogue¹ drawn up by John de Cirey, abbot at the end of the fifteenth century.

This manuscript, written on vellum, in double columns, with initial letters in red and blue alternately, records the titles of 1200 MSS and printed books; but the number of the latter is not great. It is headed:

Inventory of the books at Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons, made by us, brother John, abbot of the said House, in the year of our Lord 1480, after we had caused the said books to be set to rights, bound, and covered, at a vast expense, by the labour of two and often three binders, employed continuously during two years².

This heading is succeeded by the following statement:

And first of the books now standing (*existencium*) in the library of the dörper, which we have arranged as it is, because the room had been for a long time useless, and formerly served as a tailory and vestry, but for two years or nearly so nothing or very little had been put there³.

A bird's-eye view of Citeaux, dated 1674, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, shews a small building between the Frater and the Dörper, which M. Viollet Le Duc, who has reproduced⁴ part of it, letters "staircase to the dörper." The

¹ Printed in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, v. 339—452.

² Inventarium librorum monasterij Cisterci, Cabilonensis diocesis, factum per nos, fratrem Johannem, abbatem eiusdem loci, anno Domini millesimo cccc octuagesimo, postquam per duos annos continuos labore duorum et sepius trium ligatorum eosdem libros aptari, ligari, et cooperiri, cum magnis sumptibus et expensis fecimus.

³ Et primo librorum existencium in libraria dormitorii, quam ut est disposuimus, cum locus ipse prius diu fuisse inutilis et dudum arti sutorie et vestiarie serviebat, sicut per aliquas annexas armariorumque dispositiones apparebat, sed a 1^o annis vel circa nichil aut parum ibi fuerat.

⁴ *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture*, i. 271. He does not give the date, but, when I examined the original in the Bibliothèque, I found it plainly dated 1674. It is a most valuable record, as it shews the monastic buildings, which were greatly altered at the beginning of the last century, in their primitive state.

room in question was probably at the top of this staircase, and the catalogue which I am about to discuss shews beyond all question that the Dörper was at one end of it and the Frater at the other.

There were six bookcases, called benches (*bance*), evidently corresponding to the *sedilia* of the Canterbury catalogue. As there, the writer takes the bookcases in order, but they are by no means so easy to explain. He begins as follows:

- De prima banca inferius versus refectorium (13 vols.)
- In 2^a linea prime banche superius (17 vols.)
- In 2^a banca inferius de latere dormitorii (18 vols.)
- " " superius " " (14 vols.)
- In 2^a banca inferius de latere refectorii (15 vols.)
- " " superius " " (18 vols.)

The third and fifth *bance*, containing respectively 75 volumes and 68 volumes, are described in precisely similar language; but the descriptions of the 4th and 6th differ sufficiently to make quotation necessary :

- In quarta banca de latere dormitorii (24 vols.)
- " " " refectorii (16 vols.)
- In sexta banca de latere dormitorii (25 vols.)
- Libri sequentes sunt in dicta sexta banca de latere dormitorii
inferius sub analogio (38 vols.)

It seems to me that the first *banca* was set against the Dörper wall, so that it faced the Frater; and that it consisted of two shelves only, which are spoken of as lines (*linee*)¹. The second, third, and fifth closely resemble the "seats" of the Canterbury list, and seem to have been made on the same model, which I have fully described above. I cannot explain why the fourth is described in such different language. It is just possible that only one shelf on each side may have been occupied by books when the catalogue was compiled. I conjecture that the sixth stood against the Frater wall, thus facing the Dörper, and that it consisted of a shelf, with a desk below it, and a second shelf of books below that again. Not a

¹ With this use of the word *linea* may be compared the word *rayon*, now usually used in France for a shelf, especially a book-shelf.

word is said about chaining. Perhaps the books were not chained, and when taken out for use were laid on the desk at the end of the room.

Besides these cases there were other receptacles for books called cupboards (*armaria*) and also some chests. These are noted in the following terms:

Secuntur libri existentes in armariis librarie

In primo armario de latere versus refectorium (36 vols.)

In secundo armario (53 vols.)

In tertio armario (24 vols.)

Sequuntur libri existentes in cofro seu archa juxta gradus ascensus ad vestiarium in libraria (46 vols.)

In quadam cista juxta analogium de latere refectorii (9 vols.)

Our information about this library is so scanty that I have not attempted a reconstruction of it. In fact I have only cited the above passages relating to it for the sake of the words they contain, and as shewing at what period this important house had set apart a special room for a portion of its books.

The catalogue next enumerates "Books of the choir, church, and cloister (53 vols.); Books taken out of the library for the daily use of the convent (29 vols.); Books chained on desks (*super analogiis*) before the Chapter-house (5 vols.); on the second desk (5 vols.); on the third desk (4 vols.); on the fifth desk (4 vols.); Books taken out of the library partly to be placed in the cloister, partly to be divided among the brethren (27 vols.); Books on the small desks in the cloister (5 vols.); Books to be read publicly in convent or to be divided among the brethren for private reading (99 vols.)."

I quote these headings because they throw so much light on the life of the convent, and further, prove that while there was a library of reference, the daily reading of the brethren was still prosecuted in the cloister, as at Durham.

I now pass to the second and more important library of Citeaux. This is shewn in the bird's-eye view dated 1674, and also in a second similar view, dated 1718, which is preserved in the Archives of the town of Dijon¹, where I had the good fortune

¹ I have to thank M. Joseph Garnier, Archiviste du Département, for

to discover it since this paper was read. It is accompanied by a plan of the whole monastery, and also by a special plan of the library. The buildings had by this time been a good deal altered, and partly rebuilt in the classical style of the late renaissance; but in these changes the library had been respected. I reproduce (fig. 4) the portion of the view containing

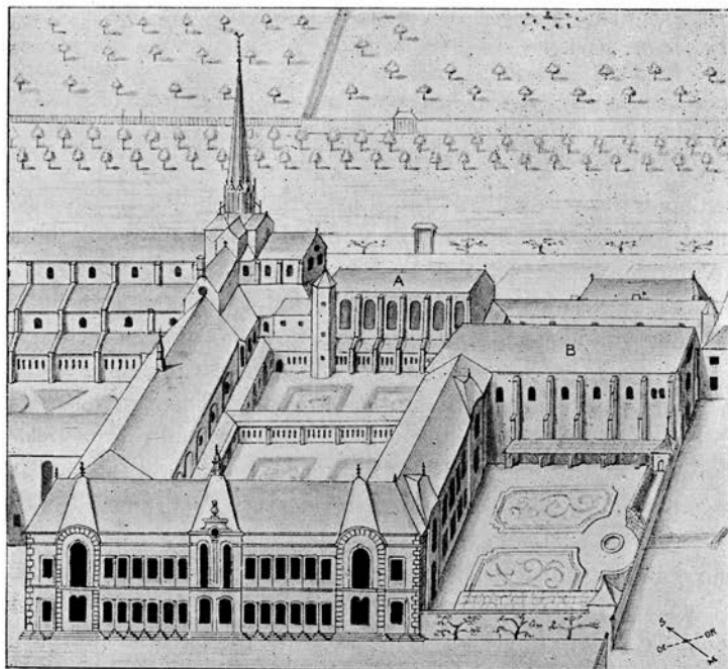


FIG. 4. Bird's-eye view of part of the monastery of Citeaux,
from a drawing dated 1718.

it and the adjoining structures, together with the corresponding ground-plan (fig. 5).

The authors of the *Voyage Littéraire*, Fathers Martene and his great kindness, not only in allowing me to examine these precious relics, but in having them conveyed to a photographer, and personally superintending a reproduction of them for my use.

Durand, who visited Citeaux in 1710, thus describe this library¹:

Citeaux sent sa grande maison et son chef d'ordre. Tout y est grand, beau et magnifique, mais d'une magnificence qui ne blesse point la simplicité religieuse....

Les trois cloîtres sont proportionnez au reste des bâtimens. Dans l'un de ces cloîtres on voit de petites cellules comme à Clervaux, qu'on appelle les écritoirs, parce que les anciens moines y écrivoient des livres. La bibliothèque est au dessus; le vaisseau est grand, voûté, et bien percé. Il y a un bon fonds de livres imprimez sur toutes sortes de matières, et sept ou huit cent manuscrits, dont la plupart sont des ouvrages des pères de l'église.

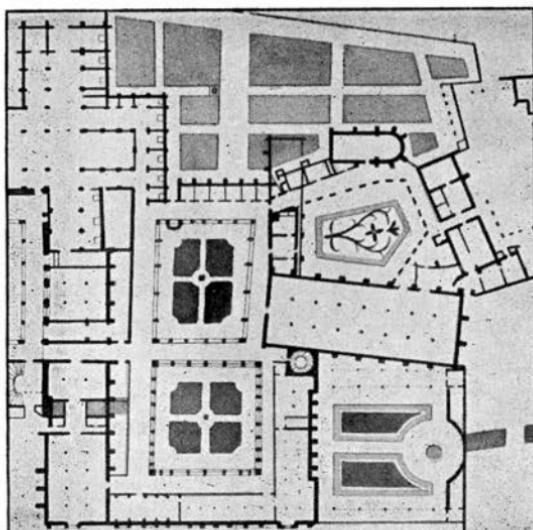


FIG. 5. Ground-plan of part of the monastery of Citeaux, from a plan dated 1718.

The ground-plan (fig. 5) shews the writing-rooms or *scriptoria*, eastward of the church; and the bird's-eye view (fig. 4)

¹ *Voyage Littéraire de deux Religieux Benedictins*, 4to, Paris, 1717, i. 198, 221.

the library built over them (A). Unfortunately we know nothing of the date of its construction. It occupied the greater part of the north side of a cloister called "petit cloître"—or Infirmary Cloister, from the large building on the east side originally built for an Infirmary (B). It was approached by a newel-stair at its south-west corner. This stair gave access to a vestibule (fig. 6), in which, on the west, was a door leading into a room called small library (*petite bibliothèque*) apparently built over one of the chapels at the east end of the church (fig. 5). The destination of this room is not known. The library proper was 80

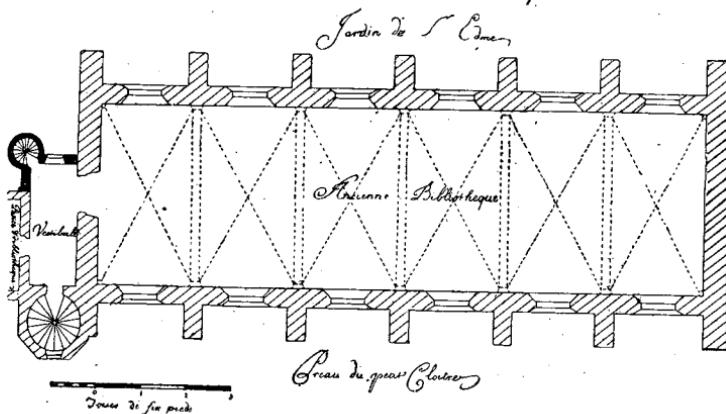


FIG. 6. Ground-plan of the Library at Citeaux.

feet long by 24 feet broad, vaulted, and lighted by six windows on each side¹. There was probably a west window also, so that the epithet "bien percé" was thoroughly justified.

Unfortunately we get no hint, either from the catalogue, or from the description in the *Voyage Littéraire*, from which we can deduce either the number, or the plan, of the bookcases. The room was much larger than that at Canterbury; but, as

¹ This plan is not dated, but, from internal evidence, it forms part of the set to which the bird's-eye view and the general ground-plan belong. They were taken when "des projets," as the heading calls them, were being discussed. One of these was an increase of the library by the addition of a long gallery at the east end at right angles to the original construction.

the plan shews that there were only ten spaces between the windows, there could hardly have been more than ten bookcases, namely, five on each side, so that the number of volumes contained in it was probably less.

I will next give a sketch of the library at Clairvaux, a house which may be called the eldest daughter of Citeaux, having been founded by S. Bernard in 1115. The first catalogue I have been able to find was made in 1472. It is headed :

Inventaire et declaracion des volumes et livres de l'église et abbaye de Clervaulx de l'ordre de Cisteaux ou dyocese de Lengres, faict en mois de may l'an mil III^e LXXII. par nous frère Pierre, nouvel abbé dudit lieu, en la présence des notaire apostolique et testmoings cy dessoubz escripts en la forme, manière, désignacion, et spécification qui s'ensuit.

I have not seen this catalogue, which, so far as I know, has not been printed; but I gather that the books are divided in it into 24 groups, designated by the letters of the alphabet, each containing from 80 to 100 volumes¹. These groups probably refer to the cases; but, as no hint is given of the position or arrangement of the library, I will pass on to the newer library, about which we have fuller information.

This library was built in a position precisely similar to that at Citeaux, namely, eastward of the church, on the north side of the second cloister, over the *Scriptoria*. It was begun in 1495, and completed in 1503, as recorded in the following verses written on the first leaf of a catalogue of it made between 1496 and 1509, and now preserved, like the former, in the Library at Troyes²:

La construction de cette librairie
Jadis se fist cette construction
Par bons ouvriers subtilz et plains de sens
L'an qu'on disoit de l'incarnation
Nonante cinq avec mil quatre cens.

¹ This Catalogue is in the Library at Troyes, mss No. 521. *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements*, 4to, Paris, 1855, ii. 227. It is described in *Études sur l'état intérieur des Abbayes Cisterciennes*, by M. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, 8vo, Paris, 1858, p. 75.

² I have to thank my friend M. Léon Dorez, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for kindly allowing me to use his transcript of this catalogue.

Et tant y fut besongnié de courage
En pierre, en bois, et autre fourniture
Qu'après peu d'ans achevé fut louvrage
Murs et piliers et voulte et couverture.

Puis en après l'an mil v° et trois
Y furent mis les livres des docteurs
Le doux Jésus qui pendit en la croix
Doint paradis aux dévotz fondateurs.

Amen.

This is succeeded by the following introductory note, which is of great interest and value, not merely for the information it gives about the bookcases, but as shewing the pains bestowed in one of the larger monasteries on the arrangement of the books, and the means adopted for readily finding any particular volume.

Repertorium omnium librorum in hac Clarevallis biblioteca existentium
a fratre Mathurino de cangeyo eiusdem loci monacho non sine magno
labore editum.

Legē

Pro intelligentia presentis tabule seu Repertorii, sciendum est quod a parte aquilonari collocantur libri quorum litere capitales nigre sunt, quorum vero rubre a parte australi. Et omnes in ea ordine alphabeticō scribuntur.

Utriusque autem partis primum analogium per litteram A signatur, secundum per litteram B, tertium per litteram C, quartum per litteram D, quintum per litteram E. Et consequenter cetera analogia per sequentes litteras alphabeticas.

Quodlibet autem analogium quatuor habet partes, quarum prima signatur per litteram A, secunda per B, tercia per C, quarta per D.

Prime partis primi analogii primus liber signatur per A. a. 1, secundus per A. a. 2, tertius per A. a. 3, et consequenter.

Secunde partis primus liber signatur per A. b. 1, secundus per A. b. 2; et de consequentibus similis est ordinatio.

Tercie partis primus liber signatur per A. c. 1, secundus per A. c. 2; et consequenter.

Quarte partis primus liber signatur per A. d. 1, secundus per A. d. 2; et consequenter.

[In this way five "analogia" are enumerated.]

Et eadem est disciplina et ordinacio de ceteris analogiis prout habetur in novissimo quaternione eiusdem tabule, immo et in fronte cuiuslibet analogii in tabella eidem appendente.

Hanc tabulam seu repertorium scripsit quondam frater Petrus mauray de Arecis oriundus. Vivus vel defunctus requiescat in bona semper pace. Amen.

We fortunately possess a minute description of Clairvaux, written, soon after the completion of the new library, by the secretary to the Queen of Sicily, who came there 13 July 1517, and was taken, apparently, through every part of the monastery¹. The account of the library is as follows:

Et de ce même costé [dudit cloistre] sont xiiii estudes où les religieulx escripvent et estudent, lesquelles sont très belles, et au dessus d'icelles estudes est la neufve librairie, à laquelle l'on va par une vis large et haulte estant audist cloistre, laquelle librairie contient de longeur lxiii passées, et de largeur xvii passées.

En icelle y a quarante huict banctz, et en chacun banc quatre poulpitres fournys de livres de toutes sciences, et principally en théologie, dont la pluspart desdicts livres sont en parchemin et escript à la main, richement historiez et enluminez.

L'éddifice de ladict librairie est magnificque et massonnée, et bien esclairé de deux costez de belles grandes fenestres, bien vitrés, ayant regard sur ledict cloistre et cimitière des Abbez. La couverture est de plomb et semblablement de ladite église et cloistre, et tous les pilliers boutans d'iceulx éddifices couverts de plonib.

Le devant d'icelle librairie est moult richement orné et entaillé par le bas de collunnes d'estranges façons, et par le hault de riches feuillages, pinacles et tabernacles, garnis de grandes ymaiges, qui décorent et embelissent ledict éddifice. La vis, par laquelle on y monte, est à six pans, large pour y monter trois hommes de front, et couronné à l'entour de cleres voyes de massonerie. Ladict librairie est toute pavée de petits carreaux à diverses figures.

It will be interesting to place by the side of this description a second, written nearly two hundred years later, by the authors of the *Voyage Littéraire*, who visited Clairvaux in the spring of 1709 :

Le grand cloître...est voûté et vitré. Les religieux y doivent garder un perpétuel silence. Dans le côté du chapitre il y a des livres enchaînez

¹ Printed in Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, 1845, iii. 228. The article is entitled: *Un grand monastère au XVI^e siècle*. I owe this reference to my friend Mr W. H. St John Hope, Assistant Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries.

sur des pupitres de bois, dans lesquels les religieux peuvent venir faire des lectures lorsqu'ils veulent....

Du grand cloître on entre dans le cloître du colloque, ainsi appellé, parce qu'il est permis aux religieux d'y parler. Il y a dans ce cloître douze ou quinze petites cellules tout d'un rang, où les religieux écrivoient autrefois des livres : c'est pourquoy on les appelle encore aujourd'hui les écritoirs. Au-dessus de ces cellules est la bibliothèque, dont le vaisseau est grand, voûté, bien percé, et rempli d'un grand nombre de manuscrits, attachez avec des chaînes sur des pulpites, mais il y a peu de livres imprimez¹.

I will next attempt to deduce the probable arrangement of this library from the above evidence.

The plan of the substruction of the new library, as shewn on the ground-plan of Clairvaux given by Viollet-Le-Duc², is exactly the same as that of Citeaux (fig. 5) but on a larger scale. The library itself, as there, was approached by a newel stair at its south-west corner. This stair was hexagonal, and of a diameter sufficient to allow three men to ascend at the same time. The library was of great extent—being nearly 206 feet long by 56 feet broad—if the dimensions given in the above account be correct, and if I am right in supposing a pace (*passée*) to be equivalent to a modern *mètre*; vaulted, and well lighted. The Queen's secretary seems to have been specially struck by the beauty, the size, and the decoration of the windows. The floor was paved with encaustic tiles.

There were 48 *bancs* or bookcases, set against the north and south walls, each of which had four shelves (*poulpitres*). The signification of this word is placed beyond doubt by the statement quoted above from the catalogue, which says distinctly that each *analogium*, or desk—here evidently used for a bookcase, as the word desk or *descus* was in England—had four divisions, marked with the four first letters of the alphabet. As the authors of the *Voyage Littéraire* tell us that the books were chained, each case must have had a shelf in front for the readers to lay their books on, and between each pair of cases

¹ *Voy. Litt.* i, 101, 102.

² *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, i. 267.

there must have been the usual bench. On the whole, therefore, the arrangement closely resembled that at Canterbury (fig. 3).

III. *Libraries at Zutphen and Enkhuizen.*

When I was writing the essay on *The Library*, which appears in the third volume of the *Architectural History*, I heard of a chained library at Zutphen; and through the kindness of my friend Mr Vines, then Fellow of Christ's College, who visited it on my behalf, I was able to give some account of it. In April of this year I examined it personally.

The historical facts relating to it, for which I have to thank my friend Mr Gimberg, *Archivarius* at Zutphen, are soon told. The Library is attached to the Church of SS. Peter and Walburga, the principal church of the town. A library of some kind is said to have existed there from very early times¹; but the place where the books were kept is not known. In 1555 it was suggested, by whom is not stated, that it would be well to get together a really good collection of books for the use of the public. The first stone of the present building was laid in 1561, and it was completed in 1563. The author of the *Theatrum Urbium Belgicæ*, John Blaeu, whose work was completed in 1649, describes it as "the public library poorly furnished with books, but being daily increased by the liberality of the Senate and Deputies"².

The room is built against the south choir-aisle of the Church, out of which a door opens into it. In consequence of this position the shape is irregular, for the Church is apsidal, and the choir-aisle is continued round the apse. It is about 60 feet long, by 26 feet broad at the west end. In the centre are four octagonal columns on square bases, supporting a plain quadripartite vault. The room is thus divided longitudinally into two aisles, with a small irregular space at the east end.

¹ The existing Library is still called the New Library.

² *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium Belgicæ*, fol. Amsterdam, 1649, s. v. Zutphania.

I regret to say that I had no time to make more than a rough sketch of the principal features of the room, from which, assisted by my recollection, my friend Mr T. D. Atkinson has kindly drawn a plan (fig. 7), which, however, makes no pretence

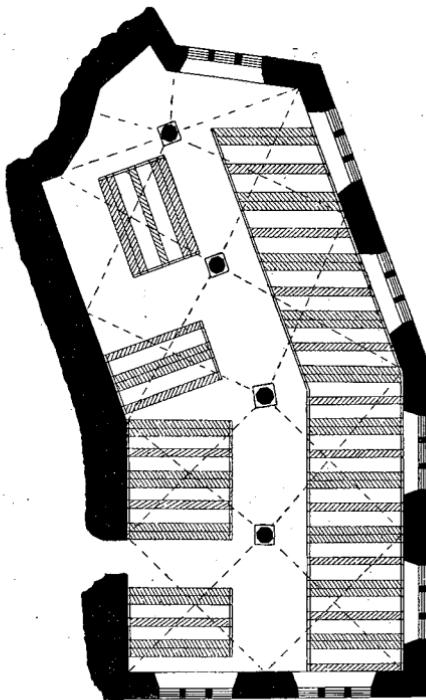


FIG. 7. Ground-plan of Library at Zutphen.

to minute accuracy. There are two windows, each of three lights, at the west end, and four similar windows on the south side, one to each bay. There is a fifth window, now blocked, at the south-east corner. Some of these windows contain fragments of richly coloured stained glass—among which the figure of a large green parrot is conspicuous—; but whether they were brought from the Church, or are part of the glass originally supplied to the Library, there is no evidence to shew. Most of these windows are partially blocked up, having been damaged,



General view of part of the Library attached to the Church of S. Walberga
at Zutphen.

it is said, in one of the numerous sieges from which Zutphen has suffered. The position of the Church, close to the fortifications, as Blaeu's bird's-eye view shews, makes this story probable. The floor is paved with red tiles. The general appearance of the room will be understood from the view of the north aisle (Plate XIX), reduced from a photograph which Mr Gimberg was so good as to have taken for me—a work of no small difficulty owing to the imperfect light.

There are eighteen bookcases, or desks; namely, ten on the south side of the room, and eight on the north side, as the plan shews (fig. 7). The material is oak; the workmanship very rude and rough. I will describe those on the south side first. Each is 9 feet long by 5 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, measured from

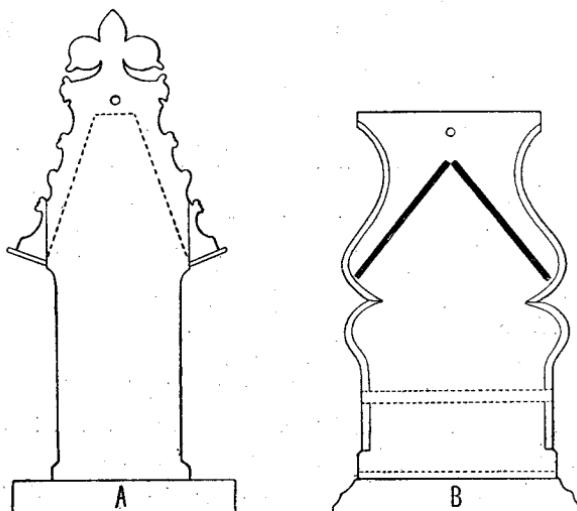


FIG. 8. Elevation of (A) one of the bookcases in the library at Zutphen :
(B) one of those in the library at Queens' College, Cambridge.

the floor to the top of the finial on the end, and the lower edge of the desk on which the books lie is 2 feet $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches above the floor; but the general plan, and the relative dimensions of the different parts, will be best understood from the illustration (Pl. XX, fig. 1), and from the elevation of one of the

ends (fig. 8, A). The former shews that in fixing the height of the desk above the ground the convenience of readers has been carefully considered. The iron bar that carries the chains is locked into the ornamental upright, passes through a staple in the middle of the desk, and into the upright at the opposite end, which is left plain. This bar is half an inch in diameter, and one inch above the level of the top of the desk. A piece of ornamental iron-work is fixed to the upright. It is made to represent a lock; but is in reality a mere plate of metal,

and the tongue, which looks as though it was intended to move, is only an ornament, and is pierced by the keyhole. The lock is sunk in the thickness of the wood, behind this plate, and the bar, which terminates in a knob, is provided with two nicks, into which the bolts of the lock are shot when the key

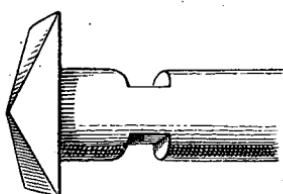


FIG. 9. End of iron bar,
Zutphen.

is turned (fig. 9). Between each pair of desks there is a seat for the reader.

The desks on the north side of the room differ slightly from those on the south side. They are rather larger, the ends are of a different shape and devoid of ornament (fig. 10), and there is a wider interval between the bar and the top of the desk. It seems to me probable that the more highly ornamented desks are those which were put in when the room was first fitted up, and that the others were added from time to time as new books had to be accommodated.

The chains are, speaking generally, 12 inches long—but some are longer, some shorter. They are attached to the bar and to each book in the usual manner. The swivel to prevent twisting forms part of the ring that passes round the bar (fig. 11); the links are of hammered iron, in shape and size like those of Guildford (fig. 12), which were probably made, as I have shewn in a former paper¹, about 1586—or only twenty-three years later than the date of the building of the

¹ *Camb. Ant. Soc. Proc. and Comm.* viii. 17.

library at Zutphen. Further, as we do not know how many years may have elapsed between the building of the room and the provision of the fittings, the two sets of chains may be safely referred to the same date.

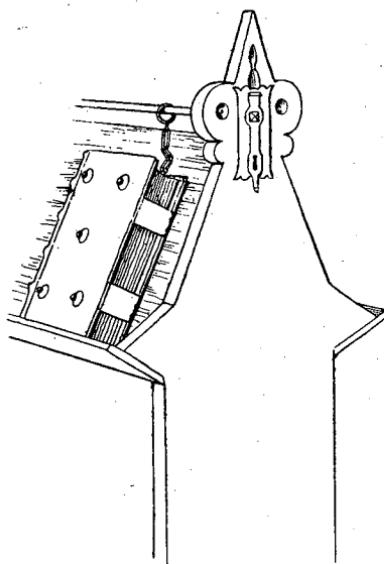


FIG. 10. End of one of the desks on the north side of the library, Zutphen.

In this system of chaining no provision is made for removing any book from the desk, as in the libraries of Florence or

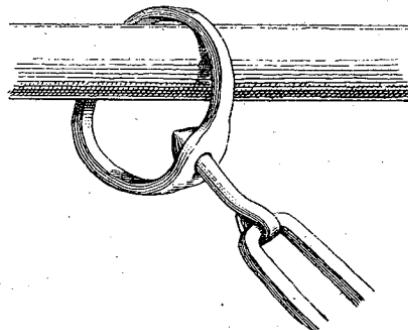


FIG. 11. Piece of the iron bar, with chain, Zutphen.

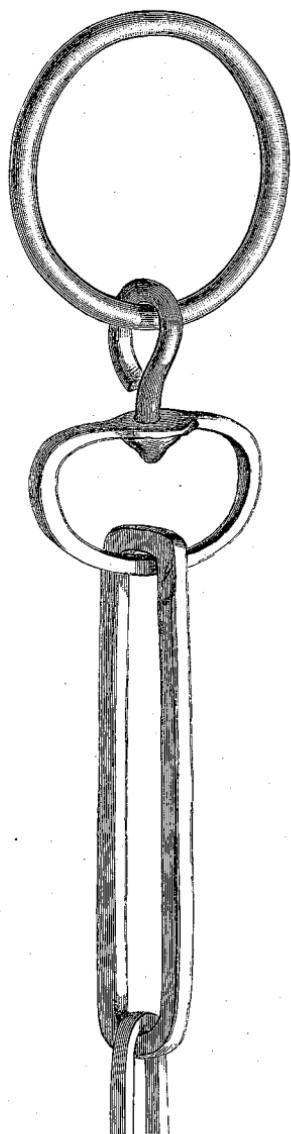


FIG. 12. Piece of chain, shewing the ring attached to the bar, the swivel, and one of the links, actual size. Guildford.

Cesena (fig. 13), where the desks have a shelf beneath the sloping part, and the chains are long enough to allow of books being laid upon it. It lies there, attached by its chain, like a Bible on a church-lectern. The smallest number of volumes on any desk at Zutphen is six; the largest, eleven; in all, 316. Most of those on the south side of the room were printed during the first half of the sixteenth century; those on the north side are much later, some as late as 1630. I did not see any MSS.

The fittings in this library are, in my opinion, of very great interest and value, for I consider them to be a survival of an early form of bookcase which was once generally adopted. It is manifest that such a design would be abandoned as books increased, because it was so wasteful as regards space. The room at Zutphen is rather larger than the room at Canterbury, and yet holds little more than 300 volumes. The desks at Zutphen are probably the only specimens now left of this peculiar form.

I base my assertion that we find here an early form of bookcase on the following considerations. In the first place it is probable that when a library of reference was first planned, the design of a

church-lectern would obviously suggest itself for the disposal of the books. Secondly, there is evidence that such cases were used in several places. For instance, there is a description of the library at the Sorbonne, founded in 1289, which might have been written after an inspection of that at Zutphen.

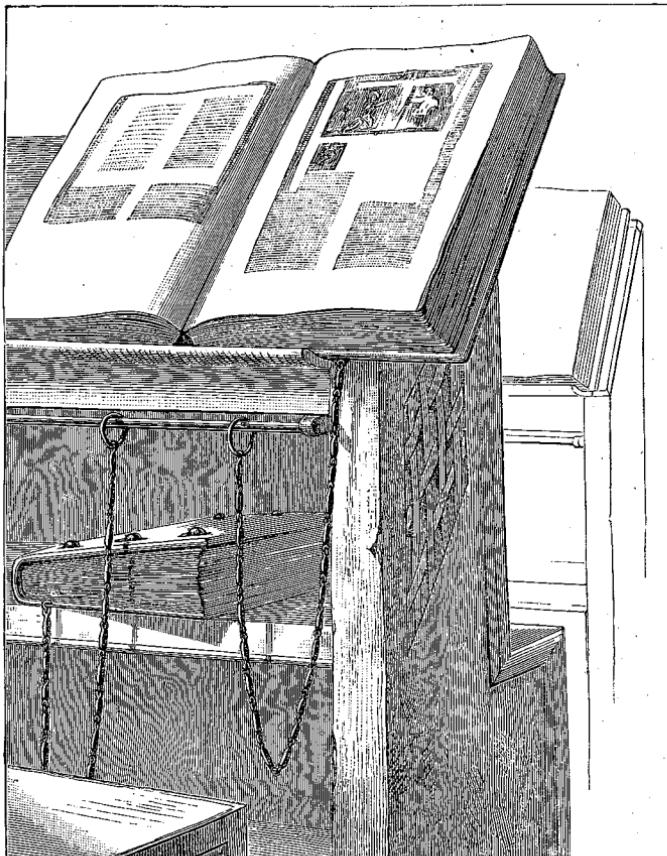


FIG. 13. Part of a bookcase, to shew the system of chaining, Cesena.

The writer, Claude Héméré (Librarian 1638-39), is no doubt quoting an ancient record now lost.

There were 28 desks, five feet high, and so arranged that they were separated by a moderate interval. They were loaded with books, all

of which were chained....A reader who sat down in the space between two desks, inasmuch as they rose, as I said, to a height of five feet, neither saw nor disturbed any one else who might be reading or writing in another place¹.

Again, I have lately found, in the British Museum², an illustration (Plate xx, fig. 2) to a French translation of the first book of the *Consolations of Philosophy* by Boethius, drawn in France towards the end of the fifteenth century, which represents just such a library. A reader, presumably Boethius himself, is seated at a desk like one of those at Zutphen. Beyond, two similar desks are shewn, with books lying on them. So far as I have studied the illustrations to MSS, I think that we are safe in concluding that the artists did not draw on their imagination for their surroundings; but represented objects with which they were familiar in their daily life. In this picture some library which the artist was in the habit of using was taken as a model.

There were bookcases on this plan in at least two collegiate libraries in Cambridge; namely at Queens' College, and at Pembroke College. At the former the lower portion of each case still remains, as the base on which a more modern superstructure rests; so that I have been able to make an accurate elevation of one of these (fig. 8, B), which I have placed side by side with that of a case at Zutphen. This shews, almost without description, how closely the one resembled the other in all essential points. The bookcases, or desks, at Queens' College were six feet long. I have not been able to find out when they were originally put up, but that they were in existence before 1529-30 is proved by a payment in that year "for a key

¹ Franklin, *Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, i. 229. There are three MSS of the work of Claude Héméré, *Sorbonæ Origines*, two in the Bibl. Nat. MSS Latin, 5493, 16, 574, and another in the Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MSS 1166. Both of these are late copies, executed by an inaccurate hand. I have collated them with M. Franklin's extracts, and have been enabled to arrive at a fairly satisfactory text for the most important part of the description.

² MSS Harl. 4335. The picture on the wall represents Philosophy offering her Consolations to a sick man, who is vainly trying to amuse himself with some other work.

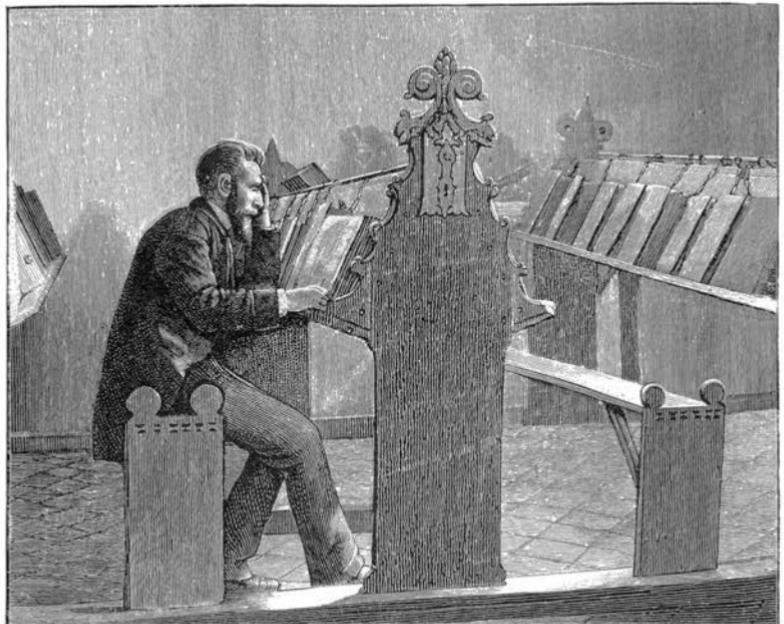


FIG. 1. Desk in the Library at Zutphen; from a photograph.

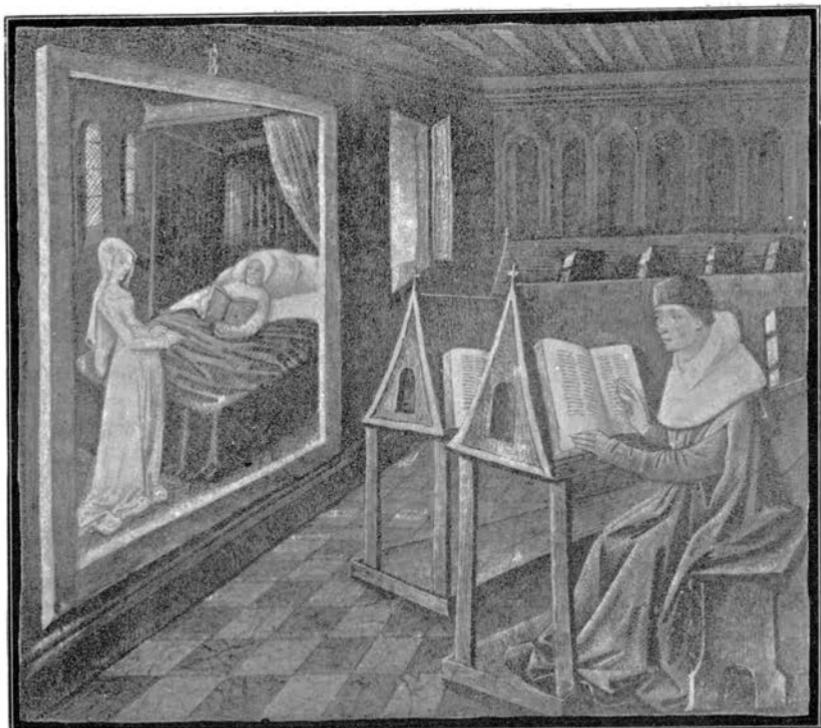


FIG. 2. Interior of a library: from a XVth Cent. MS. of a French translation of the first book of the *Consolations of Philosophy* of Boethius.

to the desks (*pluteorum*) in our library on which books are placed¹."

At Pembroke College no remains of the cases which Laurence Booth (Master 1450-80) provided for the library in 1452 exist. But that they must have been of some such form as those at Zutphen is rendered almost certain by a passage in Dr Matthew Wren's account of the library, in which he records a complete alteration of the internal fittings in 1617 :

This alteration was rendered necessary by the serious damage which, to our great sorrow, we found the books had suffered—a damage which was increasing daily—partly from the sloping form of the desks, partly from the inconvenient weight of the chains (*tum ex declivi pluteorum fabricā, tum ex ineptā mole catenarum*)².

It will be observed that the same word (*pluteus*) is used here for the desks as at Queens' College. Is it possible that this word was used to denote sloping desks, as opposed to cases on which books stood upright, the word for which was usually seat (*sedile*) or stall (*stallum*)?

The reference to the part played by the chains in the damage done to the books is curious. It shews that they could not have been attached to a bar above the desk, as at Zutphen; but to one below it, as otherwise their weight would not have dragged the books out of shape. Such a method of attaching the chain is still to be seen in the library of Cesena in North Italy, and it will be readily understood from the accompanying illustration (fig. 13) how easily a heavy chain would distort the book to which it was attached.

At Enkhuizen—a town in the north of Holland, on the east side of the Zuider Zee—there is a small library attached to the principal church, dedicated to S. Gomar, but commonly called Westkerk. The room is about 20 feet long by 17 feet broad. The bookcases, of which there are two in the centre of the room, and one against the wall, are of deal, made on the same plan as those at Merton College, Oxford (fig. 2), but with three

¹ *Architectural History*, ii. 50.

² *Ibid.* iii. 429.

shelves instead of two above the desk. This arrangement seems to be original. The workmanship is coarse and rough, but a slight attempt at ornamentation has been made by adding carved brackets to support the desk, and small scrolls along the vertical edges of the uprights that carry the shelves. I doubt whether this library was ever chained throughout. There are traces of a bar on two shelves only; and very few volumes have an actual chain, or marks that a chain had once been affixed to them. The chains that still exist are of brass, about 13 inches long. Each link, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, is made of a piece of twisted wire. It is attached to the book by a plate nailed to the board near the top—not slipped over the edge in the usual way; and to the bar by a padlock.

I was not able to ascertain any particulars of the history of this library. A catalogue was printed in 1693. It records the titles of 388 works, the oldest of which is a *Celsus*, printed at Florence in 1478. It is not improbable that the bookcases were made in that year, for the little ornamentation that there is is of the late renaissance.

I was told that the chains had been taken off the books through fear of fire, the church in the neighbouring town of Hoorn, together with its library, having been burnt a few years since. There is said to be a similar library at Edam, a little town between Enkhuizen and Amsterdam; but I regret to say that I had no time to visit it.

FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING, 16 May, 1894.

F. J. H. JENKINSON, M.A., President, in the chair.

The election of the following new members was announced:

Arthur Everett Shipley, M.A., Christ's College.

Miss Elizabeth Philipps Hughes, Cambridge Training College.

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