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WITH

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

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1898—1900.

Monday, November 14, 1898.

Professor RIDGEWAY, President, in the Chair.

Mrs GIBSON made the following communication:

ON TWO HEBREW DOCUMENTS OF THE 11TH AND
12TH CENTURIES.

THE two pieces of written Hebrew paper which I have the honour to exhibit to-night came from Cairo, and there is hardly any doubt that they have lain for centuries in the lumber room of the Synagogue, the "Genizah," which Dr Schechter cleared out last year with so much tact and zeal. Dr Schechter got the whole of its contents as a present

from the Grand Rabbi, and he had them tied up in sacks on the spot for transportation to Cambridge. Before as well as during this operation their bulk had a tendency to diminish, so that Mrs Lewis and I were able to buy a portmanteau full, piecemeal, from various Cairo dealers. We have no doubt whatever that these, as well as the similar fragments we had purchased in the same quarter the two previous years, including the first identified leaf of Ecclesiasticus, had come from this Genizah without the cognizance of the Grand Rabbi. Dr Schechter has got much older vellum leaves than these two; possibly he or we have got older bits of paper, but these two, so far as I know, have the supreme value of being dated.

The date of the larger one is A.D. 1038. We read this in the last four lines, and in two different forms. The first is:

ארבעה אלפים שבע מאות תשעים ושמונה אלצירה

that is, 4798 years since the Creation. To turn this into Anno Domini, you have first to take off the thousands, and then add 240. This makes 1038.

The second date is given as an explanation of the first:

היא שנה אלף שלש מאות ארבעים ותשעה למנין שטרות

that is 1349 from the Contract = Seleucid era. We must subtract 311 from this figure, and we then get again 1038. In the last line we have the words **בפסטאט מצרים**, Fostat of Egypt. Also immediately before the first date we have **עשרין ואחד יום בחדש אלול** the 21st day of the month of Elul, nearly corresponding to September.

The document itself is not without interest. A great part of it has baffled even Dr Schechter's ingenuity to decipher. Not only is the penmanship crabbed, but the language is a mongrel of Hebrew and Arabic.

It is a deed executed by a young woman named Zacchæa, the daughter of Isaac son of Ephraim, niece of Shalmoh the Elder, son of Musappir. She had deposited 80 gold pieces with the Elder Japhet, son of Habôsher (the flesh), son of Al-Mufulful (the Peppery), against the time when a husband should fall to her lot. The husband had fallen to her lot, but

she had lost the receipt. Japhet evidently was an honest man, for he paid her the 80 gold pieces, and this is the deed which she executes, declaring that no document which may hereafter purport to come from her against Japhet is to be held as of any value, as anything better than a כֶּרֶשׁ הַנֶּשֶׁבֶר a broken potsherd, even if it is sanctioned by a Court of law. This deed is binding on herself and on her heirs after her.

The smaller document, which is even more mutilated, reads thus: "In the presence of us witnesses signed under this bill on.....of the month Tammuz (nearly corresponding to July) in the year 1460 אֶלְפָּה וְאַרְבַּעָה מָאָה וְשֵׁתַּיִן שָׁנַיִן = 1460 from the Contract era (by subtracting 311, we get A.D. 1149) in Fostat, situate on the river Nile, under the authority of Master Samuel the prince וְנָנִיר, may his name last for ever! have we the undersigned bought from the Sheikh.....Master Tamim the youth or the bachelor, the Elder, for ever, the properties.....and a receipt from the Sheikh Ibn el Fursu, Son of the Oven (perhaps a baker)... Master Joshua the bachelor, son of Shalmoh the Elder" (we had a Shalmoh the Elder in the first document). The other words I have been able to make out are "gold," "at the full moon," "in the land of Anher the little, the distant and the near," "at the price," "the whole of the house and the place," "between the merchant." Some of the words are misspelt, and I have obtained them by transliterating the Hebrew letters into Arabic.

The art of paper-making was learned by the Arabs from the Chinese, who are known to have practised it in the second century of our era. I am informed by Professor Giles that the first substance the Chinese used for the purpose was old fishing-nets, then flax, and afterwards mulberry bark as well as bamboo. I have learnt from another source, "Notes on Chinese Literature" by A. Wylie, that anciently Chinese documents were mostly written on bamboo tablets. When close-wove silk came into use it was called paper; but the cumbrous character of the tablets and the expense of the

¹ 1 Sam. ix. 16; Daniel ix. 25.

silk rendered both unfit for general use, and it was Tsa'é Lûn who invented the manufacture of paper from the inner bark of trees, ends of hemp, old rags and fishing nets. In A.D. 105 he laid his project before the Emperor, who commended his ability and from that time it came into general use under the name of Marquis Tsa'é's paper.

Professor Karabaçek of Vienna, in his preface to the Catalogue of the Archduke Rainer's collection of Oriental MSS., relates that a great battle took place between the Arabs, who were allied to the Turks, and the Chinese in A.D. 751 at a place which he describes as "im fernen Transoxanien," that is, beyond the Oxus, on the eastern boundary of the empire, by which he means the empire of the Arabs. This statement has been confirmed from Chinese sources by the researches of Friedrich Hirth, who found in the annals of Táng-shu, that the general Kao-Hsien-fa, a Korean by birth, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Arabs in July, 751, at a place called Kang-li, a town in the territory of the Tharez river. I am sorry to say that I have been unable to identify the spot.

Professor Giles has kindly enquired into the subject, and has found that in A.D. 751, a Korean by birth named Kao-Hsien-chih, who was a general in the Chinese army, led his forces to Tashkend. The King of Tashkend at once submitted, and was put to death. His son fled to the Ta-shih Arabs, and with their aid attacked Kao, but was defeated. The place is given in the History as Hāng-lo-ssu, a city; but on looking into the biography of Kao-Hsien-chih, Professor Giles found the place called Ta-lo-ssu. Though Kao is said by Arab historians to have been defeated, and by one Chinese authority to have been victorious, we need not doubt that he is one and the same man. It appears to me that Kang-li and Hāng-lo-ssu are sufficiently alike to justify our accepting them as the same name, if we may judge from the analogy of Arabic names with the strong guttural *h*. Such words as Khan, Khartoum, for example, are pronounced by some as Han, Hartoum, while others give them a hard *k*. We have a familiar example of the same thing in the New Testament name Kleophas or Alpheus, in the latter of which the guttural

has been dropped; both of them being from the Aramaic **ܚܠܦܝ**
= Halfai.

According to Karabaçek, a number of Chinese were taken prisoners at the battle, amongst them some paper-makers, who were obliged by their captors to set up a factory at Samarcand. The Arabs proved themselves apt pupils. Forty years afterwards, in A.D. 794 or 795, a second factory was established by Haroun al Raschid at Bagdad. Others soon followed in Persia, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, and in particular at Brombadsch (Hierapolis), in Northern Syria, from whose name, by a slight change of letters, the material came to be called Bambycin. We know how *m* and *b* are frequently confused with each other by the modern Greeks, and an erroneous idea got abroad that the silkworm, **βόμβυξ**, had something to do with the matter. The Arabs first used new cotton, but as the result was not very satisfactory, they next tried new flax; flax in the form of rags coming in at a later time. A doctor of Bagdad, named Abd-el-lateef, who visited Egypt in A.D. 1200, found paper so common in Cairo, that a particular kind was used in the bazaars, to wrap groceries in, which was made of mummy-cloth, after the said mummy-cloth had been used to supplement the clothing of the inhabitants. You will observe that our specimens are prior to this time.

We get our word "ream" and the Germans their "Riess," French "rame," from the Arabic word **رزمة**, a bundle. The Arabs understood how to give their paper a brown or yellow tint by using saffron or the sap of the sycamore. Violet and red were got from aloe-sap mixed with gum secreted by insects on the cocoa-tree. The use of red paper was a high privilege of exalted persons. Green was also got from aloes. Indigo gave them blue, which they used for paper to roll up medicines in and to write death-sentences upon.

I enquired at the British Museum for the oldest Oriental MS. there, and I saw the only one for which an earlier date is claimed, an Arabic codex in much better preservation than these are; it seems to be of the previous century, A.D. 960.

Professor MARSHALL WARD made the following explanatory communication :

The materials of which papers are made, and which receive the general name of fibres, are principally of three kinds, botanically considered.

(1) The long cellular *external* hairy coverings of parts of plants, especially those found attached to the seeds of the cotton-plant and known as *cotton*. A common example is well known in the form of cotton-wool, and sewing-cotton consists of these long flexible hairs twisted and spun into thread. This type is termed by botanists the vegetable *hair*, and is not technically a fibre proper.

(2) The elongated flexible fibres obtained from the *inside* of the bark or cortical covering of various plants, especially Dicotyledons, by soaking them in water until the fibres separate by rotting, or *retting*, as it is technically termed. These are best known in the form of flax and hemp. The principal point of agreement in all these is that they are simple, long, pointed hollow prisms, all alike, and separated by the process of preparation, however closely they were stuck together in the living plant. It is these structures especially which are termed *fibrés* by the botanist.

(3) The long and complex strands which can be obtained by tearing asunder the leaves and stems of Monocotyledonous plants, especially such as palms, *Phormium tenax* (the so-called New Zealand flax, but a very different plant from true flax, and quite different in structure), grasses, rushes, &c. These strands are well known in coir or cocoa-nut matting, and contain vessels, cells, woody fibres, &c., mingled in various ways according to the plant they come from. We thus see they are not simple *fibrés*, and indeed they do not necessarily contain true fibres at all. Botanically these are known as *vascular bundles* or *strands* and we may term them *strands*.

These are not the only vegetable materials which have been used for making paper—using the term in the broad sense as something to write or draw on—for the so-called

“rice paper” of China consists of thin slices of the pith of an ivy, and the papyrus of Egypt was made of slices of a sedge, and so on; while straw-paper, wood-pulp, &c., also consist of other parts of plants than those named. But the list given embraces the three chief sources of all woven filamentous papers, and we may leave the others out of account.

Now it is an extremely easy matter to decide, by mere microscopic examination of a piece of paper, whether it consists of the more complex *strands* mentioned above, under heading no. 3, or not; and this method of analysis of the ancient papers referred to me by Mrs Gibson at once showed that we were concerned with a woven paper composed of *fibres* or of *hairs*. To decide whether the filamentous elements of the paper were true *hairs* (heading no. 1), or true *fibres* (heading no. 2), requires more care; but since true *fibres* possess certain minute characteristic marks, discernible under high powers of the microscope, which are not exhibited by *hairs*, it is possible to approach certainty with the microscope alone.

In the case in question, these indications were observed, and not only so, but here and there the fibres of the paper showed certain bits of adjacent plant-tissues still sticking to them, which at once betrayed their origin from the *inside* of the cortical tissues of some plant from which they were imperfectly freed.

Moreover, some hairs such as cotton have characteristic features of their own not present in these fibres, and the conclusion was arrived at that the fibres are true *fibres*, and come under heading no. 2.

Here the real difficulties of the examination begin, for there are many kinds of such fibres which could possibly be used for paper-making. Broadly speaking these can be put into two categories, according to certain peculiarities which depend on the prominent chemical composition of the solid substance of their walls. We must remember that a fibre is a hollow prism with pointed ends. In the most valuable tough and pliable fibres such as flax, these walls are composed of practically unaltered *cellulose*, a substance which turns *blue* in a certain well-known reagent consisting of iodine dissolved

in chloride of zinc (and shortly termed chlor-zinc-iodine), and which *dissolves* in another much used reagent, made by adding copper sulphate and ammonia together (and shortly termed Schweizer's reagent). In certain other fibres, however, the walls of the fibres have been so altered as to be stiffer and more brittle, and more woody in character (lignified) and do not turn blue in chlor-zinc-iodine, or dissolve in Schweizer's reagent. Jute affords an example.

Several other micro-chemical reactions are also available in determining whether a fibre consists entirely or principally of cellulose only, or has been altered and lignified.

The fibres in question are undoubtedly not lignified, and this reduced the field of investigation considerably.

It then remained to compare the lengths and diameters, microscopic markings, exact process of swelling and dissolving, and other reactions of the fibres of these papers with known fibres selected from the plants themselves, and the results, worked out in detail by Miss Dawson, left practically no doubt that the fibre used was flax. Moreover, as shewn in her paper in the *Annals of Botany*, there is historical evidence, according to De Candolle and Karabaçek, that the Chaldaeans, Egyptians, Hebrews and Arabs knew and used flax for such purposes long prior to the date attributed to these papers.

It may be added that among the flax-fibres of the paper were found traces of starch-granules, possibly used in the manufacture of the paper, and fungus-hyphae and bacteria-like organisms abounded. Whether the latter could be regarded as other than recent saprophytic forms—moulds, &c.—is doubtful, but they seemed to have partially destroyed the starch and fibres in places.

Monday, November 28, 1898.

R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A. (introduced by Professor RIDGEWAY, President), delivered a Lecture, illustrated by lantern slides;

ON THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT THE CAMP AT BORGOVICUS (HOUSESTEADS) ON THE ROMAN WALL.

Mr A. DICKIE exhibited a number of drawings, mouldings, and a quantity of pottery.

The members of the Philological Society were invited.

Monday, February 13, 1899.

Professor RIDGEWAY, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following members was announced :

Mr ARTHUR GARDNER, King's College.

Mr W. A. MACFARLANE-GRIEVE, Clare College.

Mr JOHN JENNINGS, Lagrange House, Newmarket.

Mr GEORGE OWEN MEAD, High Street, Newmarket.

The Rev. J. G. CLARK made the following communication :

ON A DENARIUS OF THE EMPRESS PLOTINA.

The coin now exhibited to the Society is a denarius, struck by the Emperor Trajan in honour of his wife Plotina. It was recently found at Lode in this county, and is in a fine state of preservation. The obverse of the coin bears the head of Plotina to the right, with the legend PLOTINA AVG IMP TRAJANI (Plotina Augusta Imperatoris Trajani), and on the reverse is an altar, on the front of which is a small draped figure standing upon a curule chair, below the altar are the words ARA PVDIC (Ara Pudicitiae). The altar is no doubt a representation of

that dedicated to Pudicitia Patricia in the Forum Boarium at Rome. The inscription on this side of the coin continues the titles of the Emperor from the obverse, CAES AVG GERMA DAC COS VI P P (Cæsaris Augusti Germanici Dacici Consulis Sextum Patris Patriæ). The date of it is thus fixed, since Trajan's sixth consulship was in the year A.D. 112 or 113. The coin is one of great rarity; Stevenson in his Dictionary of Roman Coins gives an engraving of a similar denarius of Plotina found at Caston in Norfolk in the year 1820, and described in *Archæologia*, Vol. 20, as being "perhaps the only denarius of that Empress with the legend ARA PVDIC which has been found in England." There is however apparently a slight difference between this coin and that described and illustrated in Stevenson's Dictionary, for whereas the reverse of this denarius has clearly depicted on the front of the altar a draped figure standing on a curule chair, there is shewn in Stevenson's illustration, to use his own words, "sculptured on the altar a stolated figure, standing on an oval base, which rests on three feet." Either therefore the reverse of this denarius differs somewhat from the one described by Stevenson, or he was not able, owing to the condition of the coin found at Caston, to describe it very accurately in its minute details; and this latter supposition is confirmed by the fact that Cohen, in his exhaustive work on the Roman Imperial Coinage, describes a denarius of Plotina in the French National Collection having exactly the same reverse as this coin, but does not mention any piece of the Empress Plotina with a reverse as above described by Stevenson.

Mr SEARLE exhibited some coins struck at Omdurman by the Khalifa; and also some rubbings of monumental brasses, specimens of a collection of about 300 which he presented to the Society.

Professor HUGHES made a communication on some ancient ditches near Cambridge, and exhibited a large number of examples of local ware collected by himself and Mr Freeman, and photographs of a kiln, now destroyed, near Chesterford.

Saturday, February 18, 1899.

Professor RIDGEWAY, President, in the Chair.

Mr A. FORBES SIEVEKING, F.S.A., introduced by Mr J. W. CLARK, gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on *some old gardens*.

Mr SIEVEKING also exhibited several old books on the subject of gardens, and a MS. "the feats of gardening" lent by Trinity College.

Monday, March 6, 1899.

Professor RIDGEWAY, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following member was announced:

Mr MICHAEL SHEARD, Sutton House, Cambridgeshire.

Mr J. W. CLARK, Registry, made the following communication:

ON THE VATICAN LIBRARY OF SIXTUS IV.

I. *Introduction.*

BEFORE entering on the subject of this paper, I feel it necessary to make a short personal explanation.

In the course of my work on Libraries, I naturally paid a good deal of attention to the splendid room which Sixtus V. constructed for the Vatican collection in 1588; and I often wondered whether it would be possible to find out anything about the libraries of his predecessors. I knew that there was a Library attached to the old Basilica of Constantine, but I did

not feel sure whether it belonged to the Pope or to the Chapter of S. Peter's; and as for any Library private to the Pope, I conceived that it would be impossible to disinter its history from the secret archives of the papacy. One day, however, while working in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, my friend M. Léon Dorez told me that he had seen in Rome some volumes of Accounts dealing with these earlier libraries—that the books were chained to the desks—and that he had made a few extracts for his own use. Subsequently, with his usual kindness, he gave me some of these, and referred me, for fuller information, to the work of M. Eugène Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*. I there read, with the greatest interest, minute details of what the French call the *installation* of the Library by Sixtus IV., drawn up by Platina, the Librarian; and it was evident that if I could find the room or rooms to which these payments referred, I should be able to reconstruct the Library. With this object in view, I went to Rome in March, 1898, with letters of introduction to Father Ehrle, Librarian of the Vatican, and to others, in the hope of obtaining permission to examine parts of the palace not usually accessible to strangers. I was received with the greatest kindness and courtesy, and was about to begin the examination of the rooms once occupied by the Library of Sixtus IV., when Father Ehrle put into my hands an essay by M. Paul Fabre¹, *La Vaticane de Sixte IV.*, which had appeared in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* of the *École Française de Rome* for December 1895, but of the existence of which I had never heard. On reading it, I found that M. Fabre had completely anticipated me; he had done exactly what I had come to Rome to do, and in such a masterly fashion that I could not hope to improve upon his work. After some consideration I determined to verify his conclusions by carefully examining the locality, and to make a fresh ground plan of it for my own use. I have also studied the authorities quoted by Müntz from my own

¹ I had hoped to have made the acquaintance of M. Fabre, and discussed this interesting subject with him; but, by a sad coincidence, on the day after I had read this paper I received a formal intimation of his premature death, 20 February, 1899, at the age of thirty-nine.

point of view, and I venture to differ from M. Fabre as to the probable arrangement of the bookcases in some of the rooms. In general, however, I wish it to be clearly and distinctly understood that I have based my paper on that of M. Fabre; and I esteem myself fortunate in being the first to draw the attention of English readers to this brilliant piece of work¹.

In what I have written I have followed the usual plan of an Architectural History. I have collected in the first place all the entries in the Account-books that refer to the fabric, and then compared them with the building in its present state; secondly, I have collected the entries that refer to the fittings, and, by their help, and that of the catalogues, I have attempted to shew what the probable arrangement of the Library was.

II. *History.*

A few years ago the idea prevailed that the Library of the Vatican had been founded, in a remote and mysterious period, by the immediate successors of S. Peter; and that its contents therefore represented the accumulated literary treasures of the Christian world from the very beginning to the present time.

Modern research has scattered this notion to the winds, and has shewn that until the fifteenth century the Library of the Vatican cannot be said to have been a substantial reality. On the other hand it would be erroneous to suppose that the Popes anterior to this period had been destitute of books. Examination of the manuscripts now in the library shews that many of those which were brought back to Rome from Avignon had belonged to Gregory XI. (1370-78), while some may be assigned to even a remoter date².

¹ There are two works to which I shall frequently refer: *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le xv^e et le xvi^e siècle*; par Eugène Müntz: Part III. 1882 (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 28); and *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au xv^e Siècle*, par Eugène Müntz et Paul Fabre; Paris, 1887 (Ibid. Fasc. 48). The former will be cited as "Müntz"; the latter as "Müntz et Fabre."

² See the essay of De Rossi "De Origine Historia Indicibus scrinii et bibliothecæ Sedis Apostolicæ commentatio," prefixed to "Codices Palatini Latini Bibl. Vat." 4to. Romæ, 1886.

This being the case, it is not easy to fix the exact period at which the present collection of books may be said to have been begun, and, as the history of their acquisition, apart from that of the room intended to contain them, is quite beside my present purpose, I will pass over this portion of the subject very rapidly. Those who wish to claim as great an antiquity as possible for the library would probably date its beginning from 1420, when Pope Martin V. entered Rome on the termination of the schism; but he was compelled by circumstances to put his literary tastes aside, and to leave to his successor, Eugenius IV. (1431-47), the restoration of most of the books which their predecessors had used at Avignon¹; and a catalogue drawn up in November, 1443², enumerates about 340 volumes. Nicholas V. (1447-55) was a real lover of books, and increased his collection with so much energy and discretion, that he may well claim the title of founder of the Vatican Library. It was his intention, says one of his biographers, to build "a spacious library lighted by a range of windows on each side (*ingens et ampla transversalibus utrimque fenestris*)"³ which he proposed to throw open to the public⁴. In the letter of commendation which he furnished to one of his collectors, he says expressly: "we are trying by every means in our power to obtain a library of Greek and Latin books such as the Pope and the Holy See ought to possess, for the general use of learned men"⁵.

The library which Nicholas V. succeeded in accumulating was more than respectable, the Latin MSS. alone amounting to 824 volumes⁶, as shewn by the catalogue made 16 April, 1455, for the use of his successor Calixtus III. This collection was arranged in eight presses, set against the wall of a room

¹ Müntz et Fabre, *Bibliothèque du Vatican*, pp. 1-6.

² *Ibid.*: p. 6. The catalogue is printed, from the original in the Vatican, pp. 9-32.

³ Manetti, in Muratori, *S. R. I.* III. Pt. 2, col. 933 D. I owe this quotation to M. Fabre.

⁴ Müntz et Fabre, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 47.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 42. The catalogue is printed pp. 48-112.

lighted by a single window, six on the right, and two on the left¹, but the position of the room is unknown.

During the sixteen years that intervened between the death of Nicholas V. and the election of Sixtus IV. little or nothing seems to have been done for the increase of the Library; but with the accession of Francesco della Rovere a new era begins. The new Pope had studied, as a young man, at the Universities of Paris and Bologna; and subsequently, had been a successful Professor not only at those Universities, but at Padua, Siena, Florence, and Perugia. He was distinguished, moreover, as a writer on theology and philosophy. No man, therefore, could have been better able to judge of the value of a library, or of the importance of establishing one in a prominent position, to which all who wanted knowledge might resort, as to a fountain-head. The need of such a library in Rome had probably been long in his mind, for in December, 1471, only four months after his election, his chamberlain commissioned five architects to quarry and convey to the palace a supply of building-stone "for use in a certain building there to be constructed for library-purposes"²; but the scheme for an independent building, as indicated by the terms here employed, was soon abandoned, and nothing was done for rather more than three years. In the beginning of 1475, however, a new impulse was given to the work by the appointment of Bartolommeo Platina as Librarian (28 February)³; and from that date until Platina's death in 1481 it went forward without let or hindrance. This distinguished man of letters seems to have enjoyed the full confidence of the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 44. The catalogue begins with: "libri repositi in primo armario a dextera versus fenestram," and so on.

² This document, dated 17 December, 1471, has been printed by Müntz, p. 120. It begins as follows: Cum pro oportunitatibus certi edificii bibliothecarum in palatio apostolico Sancti Petri construendarum necessarium sit ex diversis locis habere magnam quantitatem petrarum ad id necessarium: Iocircó...universis et singulis...mandamus quatenus...dummodo ad privatas personas non pertineant, effodere ac exportare ad præfatum palatium permittant. I am afraid that this order can have but one meaning: viz. the excavation and destruction of ancient buildings.

³ This is the date assigned by Platina himself. See below, p. 56. Messrs Müntz and Fabre (p. 137) adopt 18 June 1475, the day on which he signed the catalogue of the books he was to take charge of (*Ib.* p. 249).

Pope, to have been liberally supplied with funds, and to have had a free hand in the employment of craftsmen and artists to furnish and decorate his Library. It is pleasant to be able to record that he lived to see his work completed, and all the books under his charge catalogued. The enumeration of the volumes contained in the different stalls, closets, and coffer, with which the catalogue of 1481 concludes, is headed by a rubric, which records, with pathetic simplicity, the fact that it was drawn up "by Platina, librarian, and Demetrius of Lucca his pupil, keeper, on the 14th day of September, 1481, only eight days before his death¹."

It is evident that the Library had suffered considerably from the negligence of those in whose charge it had been. Many volumes were missing, and those that remained were in bad condition. Platina and his master set to work energetically to remedy these defects. The former engaged a binder, and bought materials for his use²; the latter issued a Bull (30 June) of exceptional severity³. After stating that "certain ecclesiastical and secular persons, having no fear of God before their eyes, have taken sundry volumes in theology and other faculties from the library, which volumes they still presume rashly and maliciously to hide and secretly to detain"; such persons are warned to return the books in question within forty days. If they disobey they are *ipso facto* excommunicated. If they are clerics they shall be incapable of holding livings, and if laymen, of holding any office. Those who have knowledge of such persons are to inform against them. The effect produced by this document has not been recorded; nor are we told what the extent of the loss was. It could hardly have been very extensive, for a catalogue which Platina prepared, or perhaps only signed, on the day of his election,

¹ MS. Vat. Lat. 3947, fol. 118 b. *Notatio omnium librorum Bibliothecæ palatinæ Sixti quarti Pont. Max. tam qui in banchis quam qui in Armariis et capsis sunt a Platyna Bibliothecario et Demetrio Lucense eius alumno custode die xiiii. mensis Septemb. m.cccc.lxxxii facta. Ante vero eius decessum dierum octo tantummodo.* This *Notatio* has been printed, Müntz et Fabre, p. 250, but without the catalogue to which it forms an appendix. This, so far as I know, still remains unprinted.

² Müntz et Fabre, pp. 148—150, *passim*.

³ *Ibid.* p. 32.

enumerates 2527 volumes, of which 770 were Greek and 1757 Latin¹. The number of the latter had more than doubled in the twenty years that had elapsed since the death of Nicholas V., an augmentation due, in all probability, to the activity of Sixtus himself.

The place selected to contain this extensive collection was the ground-floor of a building which had been erected by Nicholas V. The position of it, and its relations to neighbouring structures will be understood from the accompanying plan (fig. 1), which I borrow from M. Fabre's paper. In the present arrangement of the Vatican the building with which we are concerned extends across the south end of the court of the Belvedere (*Cortile basso del Belvedere*) for about three-quarters of the distance from east to west; but in the fifteenth century, before the galleries connecting the palace with the Belvedere were built, the site of this court was laid out as a garden, and neither the Torre Borgia at the west end of the building of which I am speaking, nor certain other constructions at the opposite end, between it and what is now the Cortile di San Damaso, had been erected; so that the north façade was much more free and better lighted than it is at present. M. Fabre draws attention to the interesting historical and artistic associations of this building. The ground-floor became celebrated as the Library of the Vatican; the first-floor as the Appartamento Borgia, decorated by Pinturicchio; and the second floor as the Stanze of Raphael.

The entrance to the rooms on the ground-floor is on the south side, from the small back court called *Cortile del Papagallo*². In the fifteenth century this court was of larger extent, and was used, as the *Cortile di San Damaso* is at present, to provide access to the different parts of the palace. On the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 141. The catalogue is printed pp. 159—250.

² The name is derived from the frescoes with which its external walls were decorated during the reign of Pius IV. (1559—1565). They represented palm trees, on which parrots (*papagalli*) and other birds were perching. Fragments of these frescoes are still to be seen. The court beyond this "del Portoncin di Ferro" was so called from an iron gate by which the passage into it from the Cortile del Papagallo could be closed.

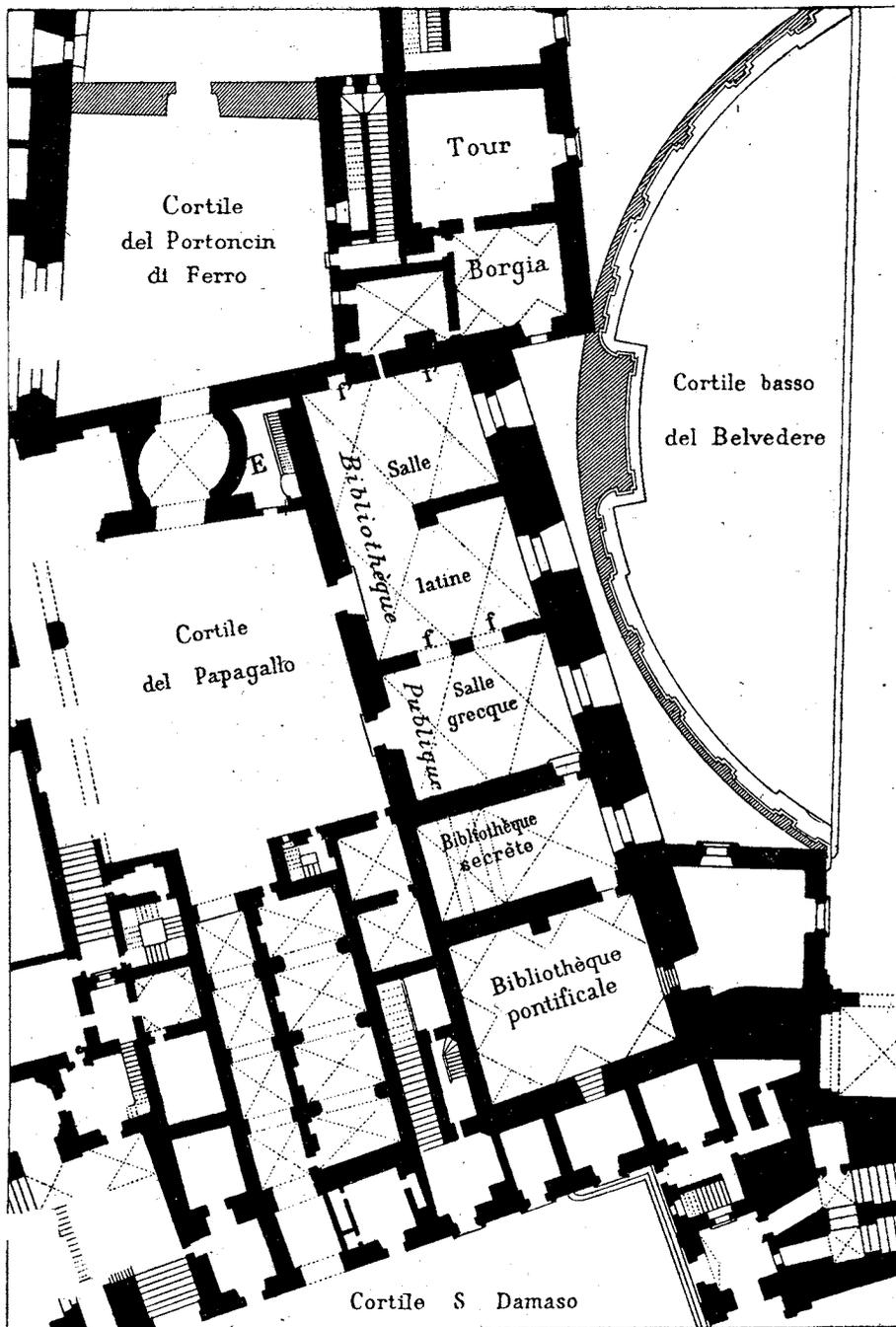


FIG. 1. Ground-plan of part of the Vatican Palace, shewing the building of Nicholas V., as arranged for library purposes by Sixtus IV., and its relation to the surrounding structures. From Letarouilly, *Le Vatican*, fol. Paris, 1882, as reproduced by M. Fabre.

south side the floor of the building is on the same level, or nearly so, as the court, but on the opposite or north side the ground falls away abruptly, and the general level of the ground-floor is more than thirty feet above that of the *Cortile del Belvedere*. On this side therefore there is a basement, once used as a kitchen, or perhaps a cellar.

The former destination of the rooms fitted up for library-purposes by Sixtus IV. is indicated in the following epigram by Aurelio Brandolini :

De bibliotheca ex poenu facta. Epygramma XIII.
 Que fuerat quondam cereri madidoque lyeo
 Nunc phoebo est Sixti munere sacra domus.
 Sic versat fortuna vices hominumque deumque
 Omnia sic fiunt Hoc meliora Duce¹.

I presume that these classical allusions mean that the rooms had been used as a provision-store, and that corn and wine had been laid up in them.

The floor is divided into four rooms by party-walls which are probably older than 1475, but which are proved, by the catalogue of 1481, to have been in existence at that period. The first of these rooms, entered directly from the court, contained the Latin Library; the second, the Greek Library. These two, taken together, formed the Common, or Public, Library (*Bibliotheca communis; B. publica*, or merely *Bibliotheca*). Next to this room, or these rooms, was the *Bibliotheca secreta* or Reserved Library, in which the more precious MSS. were kept apart from the others. The fourth room, which was not fitted up till 1480 or 1481, was called *Bibliotheca pontificia*. In addition to MSS. it contained the papal archives and registers (*Regesta*). In the catalogue dated 1512 this library is called the *Intima et ultima secretior bibliotheca*, and seems to have contained the most valued treasures. This quadripartite division is also commemorated by Brandolini (Epigram XII.). After alluding to the founders of some of the famous libraries of antiquity, he says in conclusion :

¹ MS. Vat. 5008, fol. 60. b., quoted by Müntz, p. 118. My transcript has been collated with the original.

Bibliotheca fuit, fateor, sua cuique, sed vna.
 Sixte pater vincis: quatuor vnus habes.

Thanks to the care with which Platina set down his expenditure, we are able to follow step by step the gradual transformation of the rooms. His account-books¹, begun 30 June 1475, record, with a minuteness as rare as it is valuable, his transactions with the different artists and workmen whom he thought proper to employ. It was evidently intended that the Library should be beautiful as well as useful, and some of the most celebrated artists of the day were set to work upon it.

These precious volumes—now in the State Archives at Rome—are unique documents for the history of libraries. We can gather from them the whole process of fitting up a library in the fifteenth century; and further, the sort of establishment required for its proper maintenance and organisation.

The Librarian prudently began by ordering the bookcases, being evidently well aware that many months would elapse before any of them could be delivered. A carpenter (*faber lignarius*) signed a contract for the first part of the work 15 July, 1475; but in this place I shall say no more about the furniture. Soon afterwards (9 August) masons were set to work on the fabric; but unfortunately no particulars of the work are given. The most important item is the insertion of a window "on the side next the court." The name of an architect, Donatus, is mentioned once in the course of the work, but whether he was acting professionally, or merely lent one of his workmen, does not appear².

¹ These accounts have been printed with great accuracy (so far as I was able to judge from a somewhat hasty collation) by Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, Vol. iii. 1882, p. 121 sq.; and by Müntz and Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au xv^e Siècle*, 1887, p. 148 sq. The former work contains the entries having reference to art (in its widest sense); the latter those having reference to the organisation of the Library. It is to be regretted that an arbitrary division of the accounts should have been made, for in documents of this nature much depends upon the order in which expenditure is set down.

² Dedi ducatum unum muratoribus ob tectorium opus dealbationemque parietum ipsius bibliothecæ, die nona Augusti, 1475. Item dedi carlenos duos fabro quem Donatus architectus ad hanc operam conduxerat...die xiiii Augusti,

The glazing of the windows was entrusted to a German, who is called simply Hormannus, i.e. Hermann. It may be concluded from the first of the following extracts (which is also the first in the Accounts referring to glass) that the work was actually done in the Library, with glass bought partly in Rome, partly in Venice.

I gave on the 16th September 1475 3 papal carlini to Hermann the German who is making the glass windows in the Library, to buy coals for melting lead.

I gave to [the same] one gold ducat for glass of various colours bought for the use of the Library.

I gave to Hermann the German, Master of the Windows, 15 carlini for 50 lb. of lead, and 6 lb. of sawder, 13 October.

I gave to Hermann the German 90 lb. of wrought iron.

I gave to the aforesaid Hermann 4 ducats for his journey to Venice to buy glass for the use of the Library, it being understood that this money is for his expenses on the road, 1 November, 1475¹.

The exact number of windows provided in the Latin and Greek Libraries is specified in a memorandum dated 7 June, 1476, which records an arrangement made with Francis of Milan, the carpenter who supplied the fittings, as we shall see presently:

“Moreover I make myself the debtor of the said Francis in a sum of one hundred and twenty-two ducats for five large windows and two of smaller size; for eight planks of chesnut-wood, (*talariis nucis*), for a grille for the door, for the piercing of four doors, and for a bench for the

1475. Dedi ducatum unum muratoribus qui fenestram camerae bibliothecae fecere quae ad curiam vergit. 21 Sept. 1475.

¹ Dedi die xvi Septembris 1475 carlenos tres papales Hormanno Theutonico qui vitreas fenestras in bibliotheca facit ad carbones emendos ut liquefaciat plumbum.

Dedi Hormanno Theutonico qui fenestras vitreas fabricat in bibliotheca ducatum unum aureum pro vitro varii coloris empto ad vsum bibliothecae, die supradicta et millesimo.

Dedi Hormanno Theutonico magistro fenestrarum car. xv. pro quinquaginta libris plumbi et sex stamni die xiii 1475.

Dedi Hormanno Theutonico libras nonaginta ferri fabrefacti.

Dedi dicto Hormanno ducatos iiii. ituro Venetias ad emenda vitra pro usu bibliothecae, has autem pecunias datas esse pro expensis itineris intelligendum est, die primo Novembris 1475. Müntz, p. 122.

keepers: the actual value of all which things shall be set out when they are paid for¹."

When the account was discharged it is set out as follows:

For 150 boards (<i>tabulis</i>)	6 ducats
For 5 large windows	21 "
For 8 planks of chesnut-wood (<i>talaria nucis</i>) also large	28 "
For 2 windows (also large) which look into the court	4 "
For the grille of the great door	30 "
For the great door	16 "
For the keepers' bench and settle	10 "
For piercing four doors	7 "
	122 ducats

This is the actual value I promised to set out, together with that of the boards which I had omitted².

The glass and the *stamnum*, a word which I have ventured to translate sawder, arrived 15 December, 1475, when a carlino was paid to the porters who carried the boxes from the custom-house to the Vatican³, and 77 ducats for carriage to the merchantman who brought them by sea from Venice. Between this date and 11 April 1476, 1100 pounds of lead were bought at different times; and there is a single payment for coals (15 January). The work was completed by the beginning of May, 1476, when the last payment was made to Hermann, ending with the significant words "there is no more for him to have (*nil amplius restat habere*)."⁴ His own wages, from September 1475 to May 1476, exclusive of the purchase of materials, had amounted to 56 ducats.

The door at the principal entrance to the Library from the *Cortile del Papagallo* was decorated with special care. Marble was bought for the doorcase, and the door itself was studded with 95 bronze nails, which were gilt, as were also the ring and

¹ Müntz, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³ Dedi his qui portarunt cassas vitri et stamnum e dovana [dogana?] ad palatium car. un. die xv decembris 1475. Expendi ducatos xv et b. [bononens] LXIII pro vectura et expensis factis ab urbe Veneta huus pro vitro et stamno ad vsu[m] fenestrarum conducto die xv decembris 1475. *Ibid.*, p. 123. Solutum est xxii Januarii 1476 Dominico Petri mercatori veneto pro vitris emptis et stamno ad usum bibliothecæ ducatos LXII, bl. III. ut superius apparet. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

knocker, and the frame of trellised ironwork (*cancellus*), which hung within the outer door. The following entries refer to this work, which was begun in April or May 1476, and not concluded till the following November.

Dedi Paulino Albertino pro clavis æneis quos factururus est pro magna porta bibliothecæ ducatos duos ad emendum æs, die secunda maii.

Dedi m^o. Andreæ mediolanensi qui inauraturus est clavos portæ magnæ bibliothecæ ducatos IIII pro parte solutionis die x Aprilis 1476.

Dedi m^o. Ioanni lapicidæ ducatos duos pro marmore fabrefacto ad portam Bibliothecæ die xvii maii 1476.

Dedi eidem Paulino ducatos duos pro clavis æneis die xviii maii 1476.

Dedi Paulo et Dionysio pictoribus cancelli et portæ bibliothecæ ducatos II, die xxii maii 1476.

Dedi Paulo et Dionysio pictoribus ducatum vnum die xxvi maii 1476.

Dedi eidem magistro Andreæ aurario ducatos septem die xxvii maii 1476.

Dedi eidem Paulo et Dionysio ducatum vnum die xxviii maii.

Dedi Paulo et Dionysio ducatum vnum pro pictura die v Junii 1476.

Dedi pictoribus videlicet Dionysio et Paulo ducatos x pro pictura cancelli et portæ magnæ die octava Junii 1476.

Dedi Paulino suprascripto pro clavis nonaginta quinque æneis magnis, pro annulo eiusdem portæ, cum rosa, scuto, clavo ad percutiendum hostium, ducatos XIII cum dimidio die vii novembris 1476. Nil amplius restat habere.

Dedi carlenos quinque magistro Andreæ aurario pro reliquo inauraturæ clavorum æneorum portæ majoris. Summa est xi ducatorum et quinque carlenorum, nil amplius restat habere, die vii novembris 1476.

Dedi Paulo et Dionysio pictoribus pro reliquo picturæ factæ in cancello et auro ibi posito, pro restaurata pictura bibliothecæ [? grecæ], ducatos x; nil amplius restat habere. Omnino sunt d. xxv, die vii novembris 1476.

Dedi magistro Andreæ aurario ducatos tres cum dimidio pro inauratura annuli portæ magnæ, pro clavo ad percutiendum, scuto et rosa, nil restat habere, die xiii novembris 1476¹.

If these payments be analysed it will be seen that the bronze nails, ring, and knocker cost 18 ducats and a half; that Andrew of Milan was paid 11 ducats and 5 carlini for gilding the said nails, with 3 ducats and a half more for gilding the knocker and its appurtenances; and that Paul and Dionysius received 25 ducats for painting the door and the grille behind

¹ Müntz, pp. 125—127.

it: total, 58 ducats—only 7 ducats less than the sum paid to the brothers Ghirlandajo for decorating the whole of the Common Library.

The floor, at any rate in the Latin and Greek Libraries, seems originally to have been paved, from the terms in which the repair of it is recorded, 21 August, 1475¹. But not long afterwards, before the end of the century according to M. Fabre, it was replaced by encaustic tiles, singularly beautiful both in design and colour. In the Latin Library, this pavement is so much worn by long use, that the design can hardly be made out; but in the Greek Library, and in the *Bibliotheca secreta* beyond, the tiles are nearly as fresh as when they were laid down². The pattern is worked in pale blue or pale green upon a ground which has become, by lapse of time, of a yellowish colour, like ivory. The tone of the whole is deliciously soft. The purchase of these tiles is not mentioned in the Accounts of Sixtus IV., and it most probably took place after his death. They are precisely the same as those used in the Borgia apartment on the first floor over the Library, and were doubtless laid down at the same time (1492—1503). M. Fabre records the opinion of Professor Tesorone, director of the *Museo artistico-industriale* at Naples, under whose direction the pavement of the Borgia apartment has been admirably restored, that these tiles were probably made in Umbria, either at Perugia or at Deruta³.

The decoration of the walls and roof was begun in November, 1475. The artists selected were Domenico and David Ghirlandajo, of Florence; a mason and his mate (*murator et socius ejus*) were engaged to build two scaffolds, apparently one for each artist, and move them as required (28 November); and it is distinctly stated that Domenico began to work on the same day⁴. His brother David is not mentioned until

¹ Dedi muratori qui pavimentum ex brevioribus lapillis restituit in bibliotheca ducatum unum...die xxi Augusti. Müntz, p. 122. These small pieces of stone used for paving are called *mattonelli*.

² M. Fabre, *La Vaticane*, p. 462, gives a drawing of a small piece of this pavement.

³ Fabre, *La Vaticane*, pp. 461, 462.

⁴ Dedi ducatos x auri Dominico Thomasii pictori florentino pro pictura

14 December. The last payment is made 4 May, 1476, by which time the decoration of the Latin Library was probably complete. Up to that date the sums paid had amounted to 65 ducats.

A still more important entry in the accounts referring to artistic work is the following:

I gave to Maestro Melozzo, painter, six ducats to buy gold for the painting in the Library, 15 January, 1477¹.

The painter thus designated is Melozzo dà Forli, an eminent artist who had come to Rome in 1472, through the influence, in all probability, of Girolamo Riario, one of the nephews of Sixtus IV., on whom the town of Forli had been conferred as a fief.

The entries which I have collected from the Accounts up to this point show that the Common Library and the Greek Library were practically finished by the end of 1477. The Inner Library or *Bibliotheca secreta* was undertaken next; and, before it was finished, the *Bibliotheca pontificia* and the rooms for the Librarian and his assistants were begun. The whole was finished by the end of 1481, but in that year and the previous one, the three separate pieces of work above mentioned were proceeding together, and it is often difficult, if not impossible, to be certain to which a special entry refers.

The furniture for the *Bibliotheca secreta* was ordered in January, 1477, of a workman who is described as John the Florentine (*Joannes florentinus*), and at a later date as Joanninus; but the consideration of these important entries, as of those referring to the furniture of the rooms previously considered, must be postponed for the present.

In December, 1477, a German glass painter, called simply

bibliothecæ quam inchoavit die xxviii novembris 1475. Dedi Xanthino muratori pro lignis et funibus ad pontes faciendos ducatos tres et car. iiii, ii pontes pro pictura fiunt in bibliotheca, die xxviii, 1475. Dedi Santino (*sic*) et Joanni ejus socio die ultima Novembris 1475 ducatos quatuor pro ponte confecto mutatove ubi oportuit. Dedi ducatos quinque David pictori fratri Dominici supradicti xiiii decembris 1475. Müntz, p. 123.

¹ Dedi magistro Melotio pictori pro auro emendo pro pictura quam pingit in bibliotheca ducatos sex die xv Januarii 1477. Müntz, p. 127; see also p. 95.

Cónrad, is employed upon the windows, and in May, 1478, he, or his workmen, make a wooden trellis to protect the glass:

Habuit Conradus Theutonicus qui restituit fenestras vitreas et tres denuo [de novo] fecit ducatos duos et carlenos quinque die xi decembris 1477.

Item dedi ducatum unum his qui fecerunt fenestras ex ramo pro tutela fenestrarum vitrearum die viiii maii 1478.

Item dedi ducatos duos his qui fecere prædictas ramatas¹ die xviii maii 1478².

At this juncture the work seems to have been interrupted for two years or more; for the next entries concerning the glass and other matters belong to the latter half of 1480; by which time the new library ordered by the Pope (*Bibliotheca pontificia*) had been begun.

Emi libras xii vitri albi pro armis faciendis in fenestra vitrea bibliothecæ novæ à vi b. [bononenos] la libra.

Item uncias iiii smalti à b. iiii l' onza, et xxx filcete (filzette?) de paternostri pro eisdem fenestris b. vi, die qua supra [27 August, 1480] d. i. b. xviii³.

In this year a second German glass-painter, Geórgius theutonicus, is employed. In October he was paid four ducats for working up into a window for the new library the glass bought in the previous August:

Item habuit Geórgius theutonicus pro factura fenestræ vitreæ magnæ in bibliotheca nova factæ ducatos iiii auri, die xviii octobris 1480⁴.

While this work was going forward, considerable changes were effected in the fabric, such as the blocking of windows and doors, and the repairs of the walls. It is evident that the room destined for the "new library" had previously been put to some other use⁵. At about the same date the same workmen set up a scaffold in the *Bibliotheca secreta* for the painters, and openings were made in the wall between the Greek and

¹ Ducange, s. v. *Ramata*, says that it is equivalent to the modern French *treille*.

² Müntz, p. 131.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁵ Habuit m. Gratiadeus murator pro claudendis fenestris, hostiis (?), foraminibus, pro reficiendis muris, calce puteolanaque emenda in bibliotheca nova. ducatos vii et b. xxv die xxv Augusti 1480. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

Latin Libraries. With reference to the latter work the following important entry occurs under the date 27 August, 1480 :

Item pro purganda bibliotheca veteri et asportandis calcinaciis duarum fenestrarum factarum inter græcam et latinam b. xx die qua supra¹.

The painters employed in the *Bibliotheca secreta* and *Bibliotheca pontificia* were Melozzo dà Forli and another called simply Antonazzo. It is evident, from the way in which the first entry concerning them is expressed, that the fourth room of the series was an afterthought :

Habuere Melotius et Antonatius pictores pro pictura facta in bibliotheca secreta et in illâ additione quam nuper fecit d. n. ducatos decem die xxv Junii 1480².

They received in all 89 ducats and a half for their work, about which hardly any details are given. In the centre of the ceiling of the *Libraria secreta* was a coat of arms, probably those of the Pope, carved in wood. These were gilt and painted, as shewn by a subsequent entry for the purchase of colours ; and coloured lines seem to have been drawn round the doors and windows. This last payment marks the conclusion of the whole work.

Habit magister Antonatius per un arma de legno intagliata per mettere nel sopracelo della libreria secreta ducati doa die xvi augusti 1480.

Item habit magister Antonatius ducatos duos cum dimidio pro liniamentis hostiorum et fenestrarum pictarum in ipsa bibliotheca die x aprilis 1481, nil amplius restat habere².

Rooms for the librarian and keepers were fitted up in 1480 and 1481. The only detail of interest is a payment to Francis of Milan for a door of inlaid wood between the Library and the librarian's room. Further, it appears that this latter room was wisely provided with a window looking into the Library, so that the librarian could see what was going forward there.

Habit Gratiadeus pro fabrica quæ fit apud Bibliothecam pro duabus cameris ad usum bibliothecarii et custodum, ubi erat coquina vetus³.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³ Müntz, pp. 133, 134. This payment and several that follow were made 18 October, 1480.

Item habuit magister Franciscus de Mediolano faber lignarius pro una porta de pino intarsiata che va de la camera a la libreria ducati tre. Item per una porta de pino [che] va nela corte ducati doa. [8 January, 1481.]

Item habuit magister Ioannes de Caravagio faber lignarius pro duabus portis duplicibus studii et cameræ ducatos tres, pro fenestra studii et ea quæ respicit in librariam ducatos duos. [Same day.]

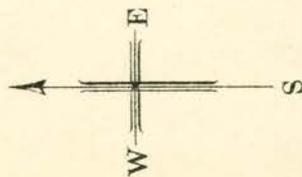
III. *Comparison of the building with the Accounts.*

We will next compare the various extracts from the Accounts which I have collected together with the building, assisted by the accompanying plan (fig. 2), drawn from measurements taken by myself during my visit to Rome in March last.

The building is entered from the *Cortile del Papagallo* through a marble doorway (fig. 2, A) in the classical style surmounted by the arms of Sixtus IV. On the frieze are the words SIXTUS PAPA IIII. The doorcase is doubtless that made in 1476; but the door, with its gilt nails and other adornments, has disappeared. Within the doorway there has been a descent of three steps at least to the floor of the Library¹. The four rooms of which it was once composed are now used as the *Floreria* or *Gardemeuble* of the Vatican Palace; a use to which they have probably been put ever since the new Library was built at the end of the sixteenth century. My plan shews the building as it was when first built, before other structures abutted against it. To understand its present condition the plan of Letarouilly (fig. 1), must be studied.

The rooms at the east end, by which one of the windows (H, fig. 2) of the *Bibliotheca pontificia* is blocked, are part of the substructions of the gallery which extends along the greater part of three sides of the *Cortile di San Damaso*, and were added by Julius II. (1503—1513); the small building which blocks the other window (*ibid.*, G) is connected with the *Galleria del Belvedere*; and at the west end the *Torre Borgia*, built by Alexander VI. (1492—1503), takes away some of the light from the Latin Library.

¹ The difference of level between the floor of the court and the floor of the library is eighteen inches. An inclined plane of wood now replaces the steps.



COURT OF BELVEDERE

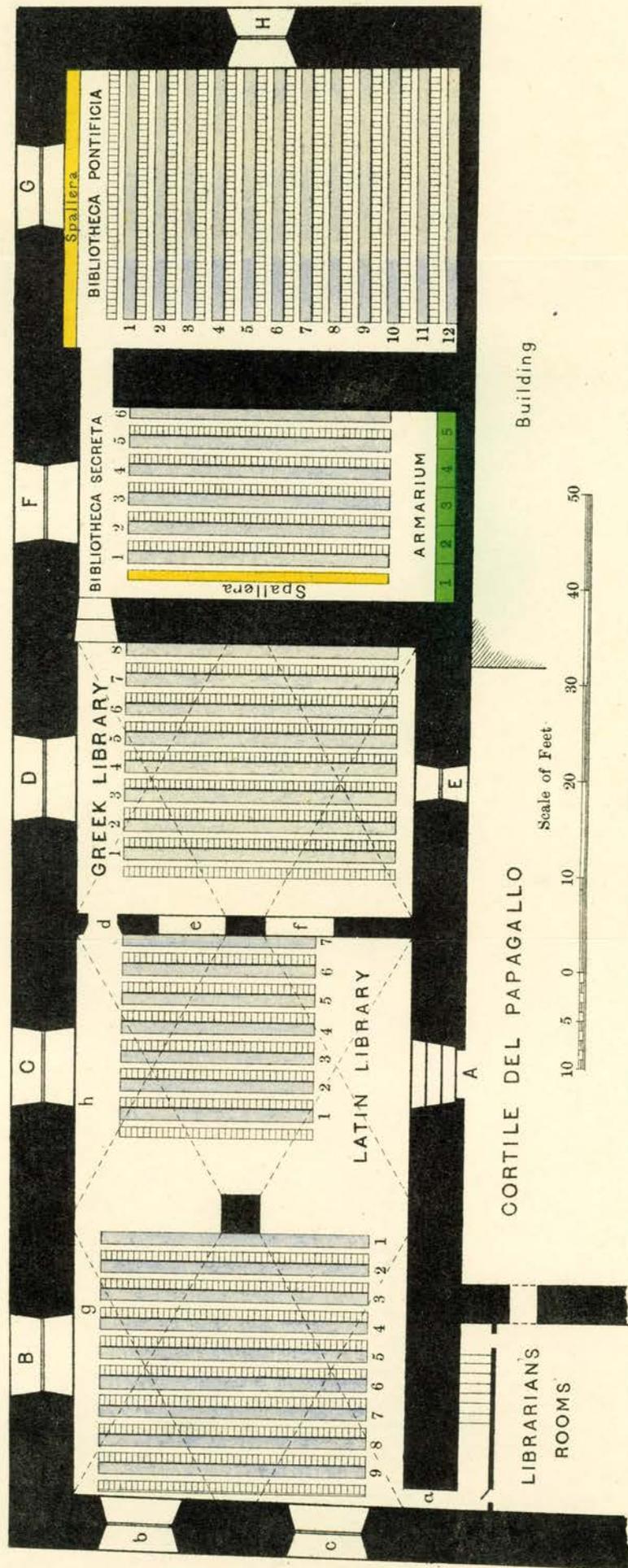


FIG. 2. Ground-plan of the four rooms fitted up for library-purposes by Sixtus IV.

The Latin Library, into which the door from the court opens directly, is a noble room, 58 ft. 9 in. long, 34 ft. 8 in. wide, and about 16 ft. high to the spring of the vault. In the centre is a square pier, which carries the four plain quadripartite vaults, probably of brick, covered with plaster. The room is at present lighted by two windows (B, C) in the north wall, and by another, of smaller size, above the door of entrance (A). That this latter window was inserted by Sixtus IV., is proved by the presence of his arms above it on a stone shield. This is probably the window "next the court" made in 1475. The windows in the north wall are about 8 ft. high by 5 ft. broad, and their cills are 7 ft. above the floor of the room. Further, there were two windows in the west wall (*b, c*) a little smaller than those in the north wall, and placed at a much lower level, only a few feet above the floor. These were blocked when the Torre Borgia was built, but their position can still be easily made out¹. This room must have been admirably lighted in former days.

The room next to this, the Greek Library, is 28 ft. broad by 34 ft. 6 in. long. It is lighted by a window (fig. 2, D) in the north wall, of the same size as those of the Latin Library, and by another (*ibid.*, E) a good deal smaller, opposite to it. This room was originally entered from the Latin Library by a door close to the north wall (*d*). But, in 1480, two large openings (*e, f*) were made in the partition-wall, either because the light was found to be deficient, or because it was thought best to throw the two rooms into one as far as possible. At some subsequent date the door (*d*) was blocked up, and the opening next to it (*e*) was carried down to the ground, so as to do duty as a door. The other opening (*f*), about 7 ft. 6 in. square, remains as constructed.

In one of Platina's memoranda quoted above, under date

¹ M. Fabre (without whose help I probably should not have observed these windows) says of them: "L'amorce de l'une d'elles (celle de gauche) est encore apparente; quant à la seconde les barreaux (*inferriata*) en étaient encore visibles du côté de la Torre Borgia (je le tiens d'un employé de la *Floreria*) avant qu'on eût construit, à l'intérieur de la Tour, le pilastre qui la cache, et qui fut établi sous Pie IX pour soutenir la salle de l'Immaculée Conception créée au second étage." Fabre, p. 460.

7 June, 1476, "five large windows and two of smaller size" are mentioned; and, in the more detailed account which follows, the cost of the latter is set down as "pro duabus fenestris etiam magnis quæ vergunt ad curiam." I conceive that in this memorandum Platina is referring to the Latin and Greek Libraries taken together. The "five large windows" are the three in the north wall (B, C, D), and the two in the west wall (*b*, *c*); the "two of smaller size looking into the court" are the window at the south end of the Greek Library (E), and that over the door of entrance (A). Four doors are mentioned in the same memorandum. It is not easy to identify these. The door of entrance (A) and the door into the Greek Library (*d*) are certainly two of them; the other two may be the door between the Greek Library and the Bibliotheca Secreta, and the door into the Librarian's room (*a*); or that door and the door into his room from the court.

The decorative work of the brothers Ghirlandajo can still be made out, at least in part, though time has made sad havoc with it. The edges of the vaulting were made prominent by classical moldings coarsely drawn in a dark colour; and at the key of each vault is a large architectural ornament, or coat of arms, surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves and acorns, to commemorate the Della Rovere family. They are tied together on each side with long flaunting ribbons, which, with their shadows, extend for a considerable distance over the vaults. The semi-circular lunettes in the upper part of the wall under the vaults, are all treated alike, except that those on the sides of the room, being larger than those at the ends (fig. 2), contain two subjects instead of one. The lower part, for about 3 feet in height, is painted to represent a solid marble balcony, behind which a Doctor or Prophet is supposed to be standing. He is visible from rather below the waist upwards, and holds in his hand a scroll bearing an appropriate text. On each side of the figure in the smaller lunettes, resting on the balcony, is a large vase of flowers; and behind it a clear sky. Round the upper edge of the lunette is a broad band of oak-leaves, and fruits of various kinds. The figures, of which there were evidently twelve originally, are the following, beginning with the one at

the north-east corner over the door leading into the Greek Library, and proceeding to the right :

1. HIERONYMUS. *Scientiam scripturarum ama, et vitia carnis non amabis.*
2. GREGORIUS. *Dei sapientiam sardonio et zaphyro non confer.*
3. THOMAS. *Text illegible.*
4. BONAVENTURA. *Fructus scripturæ est plenitudo æternæ felicitatis.*
5. ARISTOTELES.
6. DIOGENES.
7. CLEOBULUS.
8. ANTISTHENES.
9. SOCRATES.
10. PLATO.
11. AUGUSTINUS. *Nihil beatius est quam semper aliquid legere aut scribere.*
12. AMBROSIUS. *Diligentiam circa scripturas sanctorum posui.*

} *Legends illegible.*

Jerome and Gregory occupy the east wall; Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura the first lunette on the south wall, over the door of entrance; Aristotle and Diogenes the next¹, succeeded by Cleobulus and Antisthenes on the west wall; on the first lunette on the north wall are Socrates and Plato; in the second Augustine and Ambrose, facing Aquinas and Bonaventura. Thus the east half of the library is presided over by doctors of the Christian Church, the western by pagan philosophers.

The space on the north wall (*gh*) nearly opposite to the door of entrance, was occupied by the fresco on which Melozzo da Forli was working in 1477. It was intended to commemorate the establishment of the Library in a permanent home by Sixtus the Fourth. The Pope is seated on the right of the spectator. On his right stands his nephew Cardinal Pietro Riario, and before him, his head turned towards the Pope, to whom he seems to be speaking, another nephew, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius the Second. At the feet of the Pope kneels Bartolommeo Platina, the newly appointed Librarian, who is pointing with the fore-finger of his

¹ There was evidently a window in this wall before the frescoes were executed, corresponding to that over the door of entrance. This was blocked by the building which contained the Librarian's room. Its existence shews that the library-building is the older of the two.

right hand to the inscription below the fresco. Behind Platina are two young men with chains of office round their necks. They have been identified with Girolamo Riario and Giovanni della Rovere.

The inscription, said to have been written by Platina himself, is as follows:

TEMPLA, DOMUM EXPOSITIS¹, VICOS, FORA, MÆNIA, PONTES,
 VIRGINEAM TRIVII QUOD REPARARIS AQUAM,
 PRISCA LICET NAUTIS STATUAS DARE MUNERA PORTÛS,
 ET VATICANUM CINGERE, SIXTE, JUGUM,
 PLUS TAMEN URBS DEBET; NAM QUÆ SQUALORE LATEBAT
 CERNITUR IN CELEBRI BIBLIOTHECA LOCO.

The fresco is now in the Vatican picture-gallery. It was transferred to canvas soon after 1815, when the present gallery was formed, and has suffered a good deal from what is called restoration².

The decoration of the Greek Library is not alluded to in the Accounts³; but an interesting note of it, with an account of the other rooms also, is to be found in the description of the Vatican by Pietro Chattard, written in 1766:

Il primo stanzone...fa vedere nelle sue lunette che le girano attorno dipinte a buon fresco, molte mezze figure rappresentanti alcuni Profeti Dottori di Santa Chiesa e Filosofi antichi col nome di ciascuno. Il campo di queste lunette è ricoperto da diverse architetture e paesi...Nella facciata incontro la porta esiste un quadro dipinto a fresco dell' altezza palmi venti e largo dieci rappresentante Sisto IV, assiso in una sedia con avanti a se un cardinale genuflesso ed un altro in piedi con diversi prelati che le fan corona ed alcuni versi latini al di sotto indicanti l' elogio delle gesta di tal pontefice...

Le quattro facciate della seconda stanza vedonsi da meravigliosa architettura d' ordine corintio ricoperte, con colonne parte verdi e parte gialle, architrave, fregio, cornice, e capitelli gialli da alcuni festoni interrotte⁴.

¹ A Foundling Hospital: see below, p. 59.

² Fabre, *La Vaticane*, p. 464. Bunsen, *Die Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, ed. 1832, Vol. ii. Part 2, p. 418.

³ The following entry is curious: Habuere Paulus et Dionysius pictores duos ducatos pro duobus paribus caligarum quas petiere a domino nostro dum pingerent cancellos bibliothecæ et restituerent picturam bibliothecæ græcæ, ita n. Sanctitas sua mandavit, die xviii martii 1478. Müntz, p. 131.

⁴ Nuova descrizione del Vaticano, t. ii. Roma, 1766, p. 455: quoted by Fabre. *ut supra*, p. 466.

The lunettes have been ornamented on the same system as those of the Latin Library, but without figures; and their decoration still exists, though much damaged by time and damp. Below the lunettes the walls are covered with whitewash, under which some decoration is evidently concealed. The whitewash has peeled off in some places, and colour is beginning to make its appearance.

The *Bibliotheca secreta* is 20 ft. wide by 38 ft. 6 in. long. This additional length is due to the thinness of the south wall, observable in this room and the next. It is evident that this wall is not an outside wall. In all probability the building containing the Library was always returned along the east side of the *Cortile del Papagallo*; but I am not able to say for how great a distance. The room is lighted by a single window in the north wall (fig. 2, F), of the same size and shape as the rest. The light is sufficient, even under present conditions.

The Accounts tell us nothing about the decoration. Pietro Chattard, the author quoted above, reports on it as follows:

Segue la terza ed ultima stanza tutta foderata di tavole, come anchè la volta nel mezzo della quale scorgesi un' armetta di Giulio II ornata all' intorno nella guisa stessa che le pareti da diversi rabeschi, vasi, e fiorami con somma maestria a chiaroscuro dipinti.

The arms here mentioned are those of which the arrival in 1480 is recorded above. M. Fabre points out that Julius II. had the same arms as his uncle Sixtus IV.

The expression of Chattard, "foderata di tavole," meaning "panelled," adds a new fact to our knowledge of the fittings of the Library. If we may believe Pansa, whose work on the Library of Sixtus V. was published in 1590, all the rooms in the old Library were similarly treated. After mentioning the care bestowed upon the MSS. in the way of binding, he proceeds:

Acciochè l' humidità non vi potesse far danno alcuno, fece Sisto VIII. foderare le stanze tutte (perchè erano un poco terrene, e humide) di tavole sì di sotto e di sopra come da lato, nelle quali fece per ornamento far diverse pitture di fiori e altre cose come pur oggi si vedono¹.

¹ Della Libreria Vaticana Ragionamenti di Mutio Pansa. 4to. Roma, 1590, p. 320.

This writer cannot be accurate when he states that the rooms were panelled above, i.e. on their ceilings. We know by the remains still existing in the Latin and Greek Libraries, that the vaults there were treated in quite a different manner, but I see no reason for doubting his accuracy respecting the walls, and I beg leave to suggest that by "panels whereon he caused divers pictures of flowers and other objects to be made," inlaid work with which the panels were decorated may be meant. We shall see presently that there was some beautiful inlaid work in the Library, part of which still exists.

The fourth and last room—spoken of in 1480 as "that addition which our Master lately made"—is 29 ft. wide by 40 ft. 6 in. long. It is at present lighted by only a single window in the north wall (fig. 2, G), and is very gloomy. But in former days, as explained above, it had another window in the middle of the east wall (*ibid.*, H), where there is now a door. Nothing certain can be made out about its decoration.

It is much to be regretted that so little is said about the glazing of the windows throughout the Library. Great care was evidently bestowed upon them, and the engagement of foreign artists, with the purchase of glass at Venice, because, apparently, none good enough could be found in Rome, are proofs that something specially beautiful was intended. Coloured glass is mentioned, which may have been used either for coats of arms—and we know that the Papal Arms were to be set up in the *Bibliotheca secreta*—or for subjects. But, in forming conjectures as to the treatment of these windows, it should be remembered that the transmission of light must always have been the first consideration, and that white glass must have preponderated. I am not aware that any Library-glass (properly so called) has survived in Italy; so that we cannot obtain help from any contemporary example, or from any windows in a similar position. The windows of the *Bibliotheca Laurenziana* at Florence were glazed, in or about 1558, with singularly beautiful glass by Giovanni da Udine, which still, I am glad to say, exists, to the delight of all beholders; but, when the design is analysed, it will be seen that these windows are, practically, all alike, and that the design adopted has no special reference

to books. The arms of the Medici are repeated in the centre of each light, surrounded by wreaths, arabesques, and other devices—infinately graceful and varied, but not distinctive. They would have been as suitable for a palace as for a library.

The rooms for the Librarian and his assistants were in a small building which abutted on the Library at its S.W. corner, and stood between the two courts, obtaining light from each. Over the door of entrance was the inscription:

SIXTUS . IIII . PONT . MAX.

BIBLIOTECARIO . ET . CVSTODIBVS . LOCVM . ADDIXIT¹.

The accommodation provided was not magnificent, two rooms only being mentioned. A door (fig. 2, *a*), now blocked, gave access to the Library from this building. It is interesting to note, as a proof of the richness of all the work, that it was of inlaid wood (*pino intarsiata*). The window mentioned in the accounts cannot now be discovered. It is probably concealed by some of the contents of the Floreria.

The work of fitting up this Library occupied about six years. It began in September 1475, and proceeded continuously to January 1477, when Melozzo's fresco was in progress. In December of that year the windows of the *Bibliotheca secreta* were begun; but during 1478 and 1479 nothing was done. In 1480 work was resumed, and the last payment to painters was made in 1481.

IV. *The furniture.*

Let us now consider how these rooms were fitted up for the reception of books. I will first collect the notices in the Accounts respecting desks, or *banchi*, as they are called, and then compare them with the rooms themselves, and with the descriptions in the catalogues, which are fortunately extremely full; and I think that it will be possible to give a clear and consistent picture of the arrangements. As mentioned above,

¹ Fabre, *La Vaticane*, p. 465, citing Bandini, *Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurentiana catalogus*, i. p. xxxviii.

Platina's first care on entering office was to order the desks for the Latin Library. This is set down in the following terms :

I have counted out, in the presence of Clement, steward of the household of His Holiness our Master, Salvatus the library-keeper (*librarius*), and Demetrius the reader (*lector*), 45 ducats to Francis the carpenter of Milan, now dwelling in the fishmarket of the city of Rome; towards making the desks in the library; and especially ten desks which stand on the left hand, the length of which is 38 palms or thereabouts; and so having received a part of the money, the total of which is 130 ducats, he promises and binds himself to do that which it is his duty to do, this 15th day of July, 1475¹.

The full name of this carpenter is known, from his receipts, to have been Francesco de Gyovane di Boxi da Milano. He received in all 300 ducats instead of the 130 mentioned in the first agreement, and when the last payment was made to him, 7 June, 1476, the following explanatory note is given :

Moreover I have paid to the same [Francis the carpenter] 30 ducats for what remains due on 25 desks for the Library: for the longer ones, which are 10 in number, there were paid, as entered above, 130 ducats; for the rest there were paid 170 ducats, making a total of 300 ducats, and so he has been paid in full for all the desks, this 7th day of June, 1476².

We shall see presently that these twenty-five desks make up the number required, on the evidence of the catalogues, for the Greek and Latin Libraries taken together; for, as has been already mentioned, these two rooms are often described in the Accounts as one room, and are called simply the Library.

¹ Enumeravi, presente Clemente synescalcho familiæ s. d. n., Salvato librario, et Demetrio lectore, ducatos xlv Francischo fabro lignario mediolanensi habitatori piscinæ urbis Romæ pro banchis Bibliothecæ conficiendis, maxime vero decem quæ ad sinistram jacent, quorum longitudo est xxxviii palmorum, vel circa, et ita accepta parte pecuniarum, cujus summa est centum et xxx ducatorum, facturum se debitum promittit et obligat, die xv Julii 1475. Müntz, p. 121.

² Item solvi eidem ducatos xxx pro reliquo xxv banchorum bibliothecæ: pro longioribus autem qui sunt x solvebantur centum et triginta, ut supra scriptum est; pro reliquis solvebantur centum et septuaginta; quæ summa est tricentorum ducatorum: atque ita pro banchis omnibus ei satisfactum est, die vii Junii 1476. Müntz, p. 126. The rest of the money had been paid to him by instalments between 15 July, 1475, and this date.

In 1477 the furniture for the next room, the *Bibliotheca secreta* or Inner Library, was begun. The work was entrusted to a Florentine, called in the Accounts merely *Magister Joanninus faber lignarius de Florentia*, but identified by M. Fabre with Giovannino dei Dolci, one of the builders of the Sistine chapel. The most important entry referring to him is the following:

Master Giovannino, carpenter of Florence, had from me Platyna, librarian of His Holiness our Master, for making the desks in the inner library, for the great press, and the settle, in the said room—all of which were estimated by Master Francis of Milan at one hundred and eighty ducats—he had, as aforesaid, sixty-five ducats and sixty groats on the 7th May, 1477¹.

The last payment on this account was made 18 March, 1478; on which day he also received eight ducats for three frames "to contain the names of the books," and for some repairs to old desks². These frames were painted by one of Melozzo da Forli's workmen³.

The desks for the fourth room or *Bibliotheca pontificia* were ordered in 1480–81. The workmen employed were Giovannino and his brother Marco.

Master Giovannino of Florence and Master Marco his brother, a carpenter, received xxv ducats in part payment for the desks which are being made in the library now added by His Holiness our Master, 18 July, 1480⁴.

¹ Magister Joanninus faber lignarius de Florentia habuit a me Platyna s. d. n. bibliothecario pro fabrica banchorum Bibliothecæ secretæ, pro Armario magno et Spalera ejusdem loci, quæ omnia extimata fuerunt centum et octuaginta ducat' a magistro Francisco de Mediolano; habuit, ut præfertur, ducatos sexaginta quinque et bononenos sexaginta die vii maii 1477. Müntz, p. 130. There were 100 bononeni in each ducat.

² Habuit ultimo ducatos octo pro tribus tabulis ex nuce cornisate (?) ad continenda nomina librorum e per le cornise de tre banchi vechi ex nuce die supradicta; nil omnino restat habere ut ipse sua manu affirmat, computatis in his illis lx bononenis qui superius scribuntur. Müntz, p. 130.

³ Dedi Joanni pictori famulo m. Melotii pro pictura trium tabularum ubi descripta sunt librorum nomina carlenos xviii die x Octobris 1477. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴ Magister Joanninus de Florentia et m. Marcus ejus frater faber lignarius habuere ducatos xxv pro parte solucionis banchorum quæ fiunt in bibliotheca addita nunc a S^{mo}. d. nostro, die xviii Julii 1480. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

These workmen received 100 ducats up to 7 April, 1481, but the account was not then settled. Up to this period the bookcases had cost the large sum of 580 ducats or, if the value of the ducat be taken at six shillings and sixpence, £188 10s. of our money.

I will next notice some of the other purchases belonging to this part of my subject.

The purchase of chains began in January 1476.

Item solutum est banco de Medicis in Mediolano eadem die [22 Jan. 1476] LI ducatum (*sic*) pro cathenis emptis ad usum bibliothecæ et b. xxv.

Item solvi pro vectura octo balletorum catenarum ad usum Bibliothecæ ex Mediolano Romam avectarum ducatos x et b[ononens] xxiii, computatis etiam gabellis quas solvit in multis locis, maxime vero in terris Ducis Mediolani, die secunda Aprilis, 1476.

Dedi calonibus qui portarunt catenas et reportarunt a magistro Joanne fabro carlenos quinque, reficere n[am] anulos oportuit (*sic*) qui parvi erant die III maii.

Item dedi eisdem carlenos IIII qui portarunt ferramenta quibus catenæ innituntur, eadem die.

Dedi eidem Francisco fabro lignario pro catenis librorum ꝑ Mediolano avectis ducatos XXI, erant autem docenæ centum xxxxiIII, dedi autem dimidium ducatum pro qualibet docena, adduntur superiores soluti medio, et erit integra solutio catenarum omnium die VII Junii 1476¹.

It is worth notice that so simple an article as a chain for a book could not be bought in Rome; but had to be sent for from Milan; where, by the way, the dues exacted by the government made the purchase irksome and costly. The total number of chains bought was 1728, and the total cost 102 ducats, or rather more than £33. The rings were found to be too small, and were altered in Rome. Nothing is said about the place from which the rods came (*ferramenta quibus catenæ innituntur*).

In 1477 (14 April) "John the chain-maker (*Joannes fabricator catenarum*)," doubtless the workman who is called simply *magister Joannes* in the previous account, supplies "48 iron rods on which the books are strung on the seats"² and also

¹ Müntz, pp. 124—126.

² Magister Joannes fabricator catenarum habuit a me die xiiii aprilis 1477 ducatos decem, ad summam centum et quinque ducatorum quos ei debebam pro

48 locks, evidently connected with the same number of rods supplied before. In the same year a key-maker (*magister clavium*) supplies 22 locks for the seats and cupboards in the *Bibliotheca secreta*¹; and in 1480, when the *Bibliotheca pontificia* was being fitted up, keys, locks, chains, and other ironwork were supplied by Bernardino, nephew of John of Milan². There are many other payments for iron, which was often bought in the gross and worked up as required; but enough has been quoted to shew that ironwork, such as was required elsewhere by the medieval system of chaining, was in use here also.

For further information we must turn to the Catalogues. For my present purpose the first of these³ is that by Platina, of which I have already spoken, dated 14 September, 1481. It is a small folio volume, written on vellum, with gilt edges, and in plain binding that may be original. The first page has a lovely border of an enlaced pattern with the arms of Sixtus IV. in a circle at the bottom.

The compiler of the catalogue goes through the Library case by case, noting (at least in the Latin Library) the position of the case, the subjects of the books contained in it, and their titles. This is succeeded by an enumeration of the number of volumes, so as to shew, in a couple of pages, how many the whole Library contained. MM. Müntz and Fabre print this enumeration, but, so far as I know, the catalogue itself has not as yet been printed by any one. For my present purpose I shall combine the headings of the catalogue, the subjects, and the number of the volumes, as follows:

Inventarium Bibliothecæ Palatinæ Divi Sexti Quarti Pont. Max.

[I. LATIN LIBRARY.]

Ad sinistram ingredientibus

In primo banco

[*Bibles and Commentaries*]

51

tribus miliaribus et libris octingentis ferri fabrefacti ad usum bibliothecæ, videlicet pro quadraginta octo virgis ferreis ad quas in banchis libri connectuntur [etc.]. Müntz, p. 128.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ MSS. Vat. 3947.

In secundo banco		
<i>Hieronymus. Augustinus</i>		55
In tertio banco		
<i>Augustinus. Ambrosius. Gregorius</i>		47
In quarto banco		
<i>Ioannes Chrysostomus</i>		50
In quinto banco		
<i>Thomas</i>		47
In sexto banco		
<i>In Theologia. In divino officio</i>		54
In septimo banco		
<i>Ius canonicum</i>		43
In octavo banco		
<i>Ius canonicum</i>		41
In nono banco		
<i>Ius civile</i>		42
		<hr/> 430
In primo banco ad dextram ingredientibus		
<i>Philosophi</i>		53
In secundo banco		
<i>Astrologi. In Medicina</i>		48
In tertio banco		
<i>Poetæ</i>		41
In quarto banco		
<i>Oratores</i>		43
In quinto banco		
<i>Historici</i>		33
In sexto banco		
<i>Historici ecclesiastici</i>		48
In septimo banco		
<i>Grammatici</i>		47
		<hr/> 313

[II. GREEK LIBRARY.]

In primo banco Bibliothecæ Græcæ		
<i>Testamentum vetus et novum</i>		42
In secundo banco		
<i>Auctores clariores [Fathers]</i>		31
In tertio banco		
<i>Auctores clariores</i>		46
In quarto banco		
<i>Auctores clariores</i>		49
In quinto banco		
<i>Ius civile et canonicum</i>		58
In sexto banco		
<i>In Philosophia</i>		59

In septimo banco	
<i>Oratores et Rhetores</i>	57
In octavo banco	
<i>Historici. Poetæ et Grammatici</i>	58
	— 400

[III. INNER LIBRARY.]

[A. BANCHL.]

In primo banco Bibliothecæ Secretæ	
<i>[Bibles, Fathers, etc.]</i>	29
In secundo banco	
<i>In Theologia</i>	37
In tertio banco	
<i>In Philosophia</i>	41
In quarto banco	
<i>Ius canonicum</i>	20
In quinto banco	
<i>Concilia</i>	34
In sexto banco	
<i>In Astrologia. In Hebraico. In Dalmatico</i> }	29
<i>In Arabico</i> }	
	— 190

[B. ARMARIUM.]

In primo armario Bibliothecæ Secretæ	
<i>Libri sacri et in divino officio</i>	173
In secundo armario	
<i>Ius canonicum. Ius civile</i>	148
In tertio armario	
<i>Expositiones. In sententiis. Poetæ</i> }	242
<i>Grammatici et Historici Greci</i> }	
In quarto armario	
<i>In medicina. Mathematici et Astrologi</i>	186
<i>Ius canonicum et civile. Oratores et Rhetores</i> }	
<i>Platonis Opera. In Philosophia</i> }	
In quinto armario	
<i>Auctores clariores</i>	189
	— 938

[C. CAPSÆ.]

In prima capsâ primi banchi Bibliothecæ Secretæ	
<i>In Theologia</i>	107
In secunda capsâ primi banchi	
<i>Diversâ facultas [Miscellanea]</i>	66

In prima capsâ secundi banchi <i>[Privileges and Royal Letters in 3 volumes]</i>	3
In secunda capsâ secundi banchi <i>[Miscellanea]</i>	124
In prima capsâ tertii banchi <i>Philosophi</i>	90
In secunda capsâ tertii banchi	[00]
In prima capsâ quarti banchi <i>Historici</i>	65
In secunda capsâ quarti banchi	[00]
In prima capsâ quinti banchi <i>[Official forms]</i>	43
In secunda capsâ quinti banchi <i>In Arabico</i>	23
In prima capsâ sexti banchi <i>In Historia ecclesiastica. Ceremonialia</i>	67
In secunda capsâ sexti banchi <i>Libri sine nomine ad quinquaginta parvi</i> <i>et modici quidem valoris</i> }	50
	— 638

[D. SPALERA.]

In prima capsâ spaleræ Bibliothecæ secretæ <i>In Poesi. Oratores Rhetores</i>	69
In secunda capsâ <i>In divino officio et sermones</i>	59
In tertia capsâ <i>Concilia et Canon. De potestate ecclesiastica</i>	54
In quarta et ultima capsâ <i>In Medicina. In Astrologia</i>	34
	— 216

[IV. BIBLIOTHECA PONTIFICIA.]

[A. BANCHI.]

In primo banco Bibliothecæ Pontificiæ <i>Testamentum vetus et novum</i>	19
In secundo banco <i>Expositores</i>	22
In tertio banco <i>Augustinus</i>	14
In quarto banco <i>Hieronymus</i>	23

In quinto banco		
<i>In Theologia</i>		22
In sexto banco		
<i>In Theologia</i>		18
In septimo banco		
<i>Thomas</i>		23
In octavo banco		
<i>In Philosophia</i>		29
In nono banco		
[<i>Greek and Latin Classics</i>]		25
In decimo banco		
<i>Ius canonicum</i>		28
In undecimo banco		
[<i>Civil Law</i>]		17
In duodecimo banco		
[<i>New Testament. Fathers</i>]		19
		— 259

[B. SPALERA.]

Regestra Pontificum hic descripta in capsis Spalerae Bibliothecae Pontificiae per Platinam Bibliothecarium ex ordine recondita et in capsula prima		21
<i>Gregorius.</i>		
<i>Innocentius III.</i>		
<i>Honorius III.</i>		
<i>Gregorius VIII.</i>		
In secunda capsula Spalerae Bibliothecae Pontificiae		47
<i>Innocentius III.</i>	<i>Nicolaus III.</i>	
<i>Alexander III.</i>	<i>Martinus III.</i>	
<i>Clemens IV.</i>	<i>Honorius III.</i>	
<i>Gregorius X.</i>	<i>Nicolaus III.</i>	
<i>Innocentius V.</i>	<i>Bonifacius VIII.</i>	
<i>Ioannes XXI.</i>	<i>Clemens V.</i>	
In tertia capsula Bibliothecae Pont. Regestra recondita per Platinam Bibliothecarium		16
<i>Ioannes XXII.</i>		
<i>Benedictus XII.</i>		
In quarta capsula Spalerae Bibliothecae Pontificiae Regestra recondita		16
<i>Clemens VI.</i>		
<i>Innocentius VI.</i>		
In quinta capsula Spalerae Bibliothecae Pontificiae Regestra recondita		15
<i>Vrbanus V.</i>		
<i>Gregorius XI.</i>		

These lists give the following results:

Latin Library, left hand, 9 seats		430	
" " right " 7 "		313	
		<hr/>	743
Greek Library	8 "		400
Inner "	6 "	190	
	Armara	938	
	Capsæ	638	
	Spalera	216	
		<hr/>	1982
Bibliotheca Pontificia	12 seats	259	
	5 Capsæ (Regestra)	115	
		<hr/>	374
	Total		3499

Before proceeding farther, it should be noticed that, on a rough average, each seat in the Latin Library, left hand, contained 47 volumes, and in the same Library, right hand, 43 volumes. In the Greek Library, each seat contained 50 volumes; in the Inner Library, 31 volumes; in the *Bibliotheca pontificia*, 21 volumes.

In the next place I will give the results of the examination of a catalogue¹ of the Library, which M. Fabre, with much probability, assigns to the year 1512². It begins as follows with the Latin Library:

Ad sinistra' Pontificis bibliothecam introeuntibus	
In primo scanno supra	[27]
" " infra	[27]
Finis primi scanni sub et supra	[54]

The nine seats (*banchi*) of the left side of the Latin Library are gone through in the same way as the first, with the result that each is shewn to have two shelves. The total number of books is 457, or 27 more than in 1481.

On the opposite, or right hand side of the Library, the first two seats have three shelves, and are described as follows:

In primò scanno supra	[22]
" " infra	[27]
,, eodem scanno inferius siue sub infra	[26]
Finis primi scanni sub et subter	[75]

¹ MSS. Vat. 7135.

² *La Vaticane*, etc., p. 475.

On this side of the Latin Library the number of books has risen to 360 as against 313 of the previous catalogue.

In the Greek Library there are similarly two shelves to each seat, and the total number of volumes is 407 as against 400.

The account of the Inner Library begins as follows :

In secretiori bibliotheca	
In iij ^o . scanno supra	[16]
" " infra	[17]
" " inferius siue sub infra	[21]

Three of the seats have three shelves; the rest two; and the total number of volumes has become 222 as against 190: or, an average of 37 to each seat.

The *Bibliotheca pontificia* is introduced with the following heading :

In intima et ultima secretiori bibliotheca ubi libri sunt pretiosiores.

Each seat has two shelves, and the total number of volumes is 277 as against 259 in 1481. Among the MSS. occurs "Virgilius antiquus litteris maiusculis"—no doubt the Vatican Virgil (*Codex romanus*), a volume which fully justifies its place among those termed *libri pretiosiores*.

This catalogue closes with the following sentence :

Finis totius Bibliothecae Pontificiae: viz. omnium scannorum tam Latinorum quam Grecorum in prima, secunda, tertia, et quarta eius distinctione et omnium omnino librorum: exceptis armariis et capsis: et iis libris, qui Graeci ex maxima parte, in scabellis parieti adherentibus in intima ac penitissima Bibliotheca parte sunt positi. Deo Laudes et Gratias.

The increase between 1481 and 1512 in the number of volumes in the parts of the Library defined in the above catalogue will be best understood from the following table, which shews that 131 volumes had been added in 31 years.

	1481	1512
Latin Library	743	817
Greek "	400	407
Bibliotheca secreta	190	222
" pontificia	259	277
Total	1592	1723

Another catalogue, unfortunately without date¹, but which has every appearance of belonging to the same period, notes the rooms as *Bibliotheca magna publica*, i.e. the Latin and Greek Libraries taken together, the *Bibliotheca parva secreta*, and the *Bibliotheca magna secreta*.

The catalogue drawn up by Zenobio Acciaioli, 12 October, 1518², offers no peculiarity except that in the Inner Library each seat is noted as having three rows of books, thus :

In primo banco bibliothecae parve secretae
 Infra in secundo ordine
 „ tertio „

We may now proceed to arrange the Library in accordance with the information derived from the Accounts and the catalogues, compared with the ground-plan (fig. 2).

The authorities shew that in each of the rooms the books were arranged on what are called 'banchi,' or, as they would have been termed in England, 'desks' or 'seats,' which were fitted with bars, locks, and chains. These fittings prove that the Library must have been intended as a place to read in, not merely as a receptacle for books. A further proof of this is afforded by the lavish decoration of the ceiling and the windows.

At this point I must explain what is meant by the word *banchus* or seat. In England in the 15th century it meant a piece of furniture consisting of three stout planks set on end, and connected together by two or more shelves, to which the books were chained. A desk on which the reader could lay his book was attached to each side of this piece of furniture, and a bench on which he could sit stood between each pair of desks. Such bookcases are still to be seen in various places, as, for instance, at Corpus Christi College, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Their general arrangement will be understood from the sketch here appended (fig. 3).

South of the Alps a slightly different arrangement was adopted. The shelf for the books, and the desk and seat for the reader, were combined, and pieces of furniture were

¹ MS. Vat. 3946.

² MS. Vat. 3948.

produced such as we can still see at Cesena where the library was fitted up by Malatesta in 1452, and at Florence, where the bookcases were designed by Michael Angelo about 1530. No one, however, can study the two sets carefully, without being convinced that the older served as a model for the more modern. Moreover, as I have often urged when speaking on this subject, no forms are so persistent as those of pieces of furniture, and I feel sure that in these libraries we have survivals of what was once in general use. Again, it must be remembered that Sixtus IV. was General of the

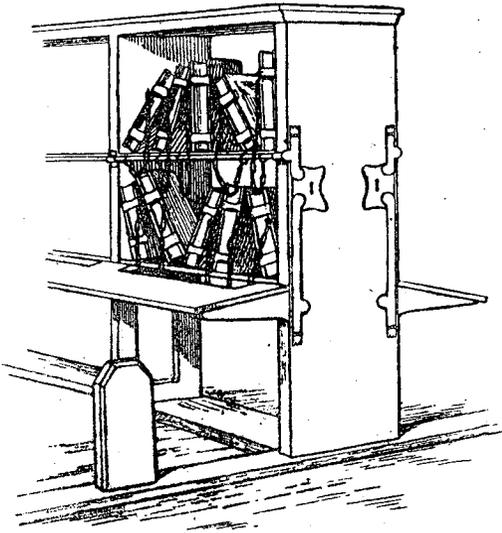


FIG. 3. Diagrammatic sketch of a bookcase with reader's desk and seat, in an English Library of the fifteenth century.

Franciscans when elected Pope, and would of course be familiar with the houses of his Order, and, as the Library of the Malatestas was attached to a Franciscan convent, it is most probable that he had visited it. We shall not be far wrong, I feel sure, in taking the general design of the seats at Cesena as a model for those of the Vatican.

I need not, for my present purpose, describe the desks at

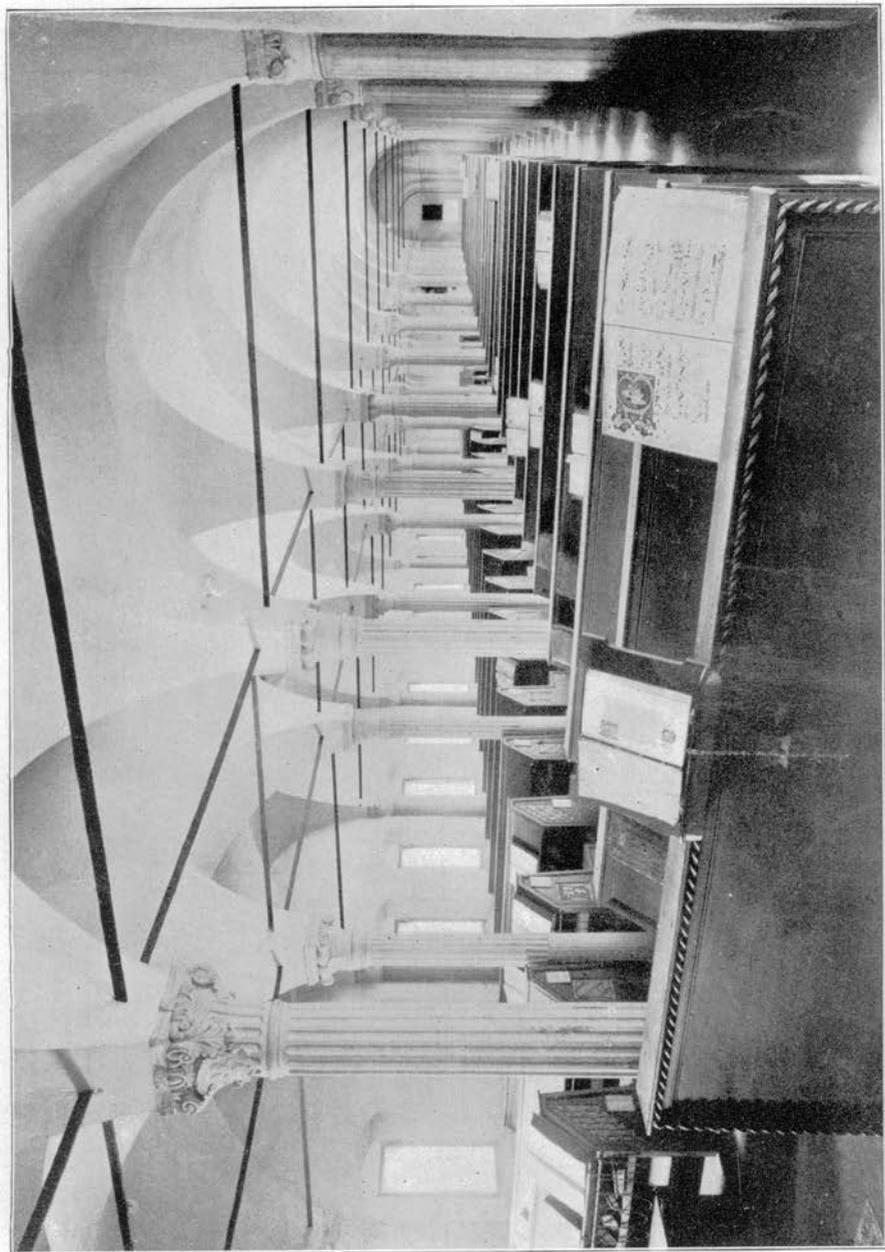


FIG. 4. General view of the Library at Cesena.

either Cesena or Florence minutely¹. Their general scheme will be understood from the illustrations (figs. 4, 5), and from the elevations (figs. 6, 7). It will be sufficient to mention that at the former place the width of one desk and seat with the

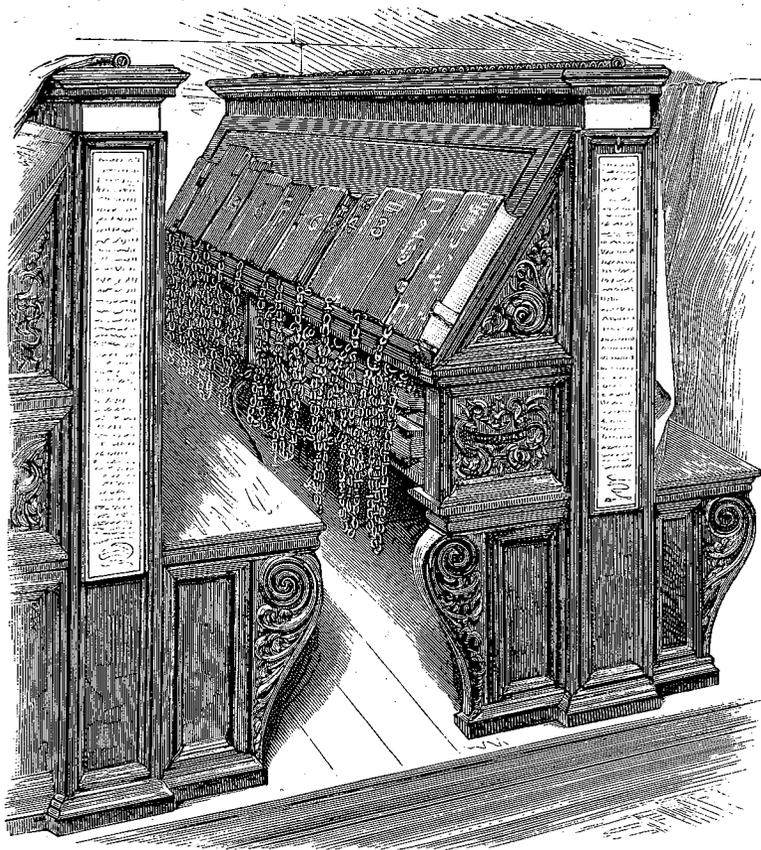


FIG. 5. Book-desks and reader's seats in the Biblioteca Laurentiana, Florence.

interval between it and the next is 4 ft., and at the latter 3 ft. 4 in. In the Vatican Library I have allowed 3 ft. only, as it was evidently necessary to pack the desks as close

¹ I have given an account of the library at Cesena in *Camb. Ant. Soc. Proc. and Comm.* VIII. 2-6.

together as possible. The height of both sets of desks is about 4 ft.

As a proof that the desks in the Vatican Library could not have been much higher than this, I will quote the following curious rule, copied, as it would appear, in the Library itself, by Claude Bellièvre of Lyons, who visited Rome about 1513:

Nonnulla quæ collegi in bibliotheca Vaticani. Edictum S. D. N. Ne quis in bibliotheca cum altero contentiose loquatur et obstrepat, neve de loco ad locum iturus scamna transcendat et pedibus conterat, atque libros claudat et in locum percommode reponat. Ubique volet perlegerit. Secus qui faxit foras cum ignominia mittetur atque hujusce loci aditu deinceps arcebitur¹.

Another point is worth notice as bearing on the question of the style of desk used. At Cesena and at Florence the bar of iron along which the rings of the chains play, is under the edge of the desk; and the opposite end of the chain is fastened to the middle of the lower edge of the right hand board. I have examined a good many manuscripts now in the Vatican Library which formed part of the older collection; and wherever the mark of the chain has not been obliterated by rebinding, it is in the precise position required for the above system.

The arrangement of each room is not quite so simple as it might appear at first sight; and, besides the desks, there are other pieces of furniture to be accounted for. We will therefore go through the rooms in order with the ground plan (fig. 2). On this plan the cases are coloured gray, the reader's seats are indicated by transverse lines, and the intervals are left white.

Latin Library. The Accounts tell us that there were 10 seats on the left hand of the Latin Library, and that these were longer than the rest, measuring 38 palms each, or about 27 ft. 9 in. English².

As the distance from the central pier to the west wall is just 27 ft. 6 in., it is obvious that the cases must have stood north and south—an arrangement which is also convenient

¹ Bibl. Nat. Paris, MSS. Lat. 13123, fol. 220, quoted by Müntz et Fabre, p. 140.

² I have taken 1 palm = mètre 0·223; and 1 mètre = 39·37 in.

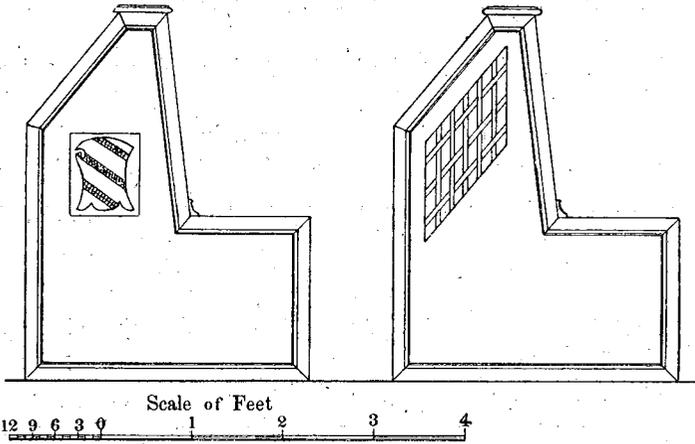


FIG. 6. Elevation of book-desks and reader's seats, Cesena.

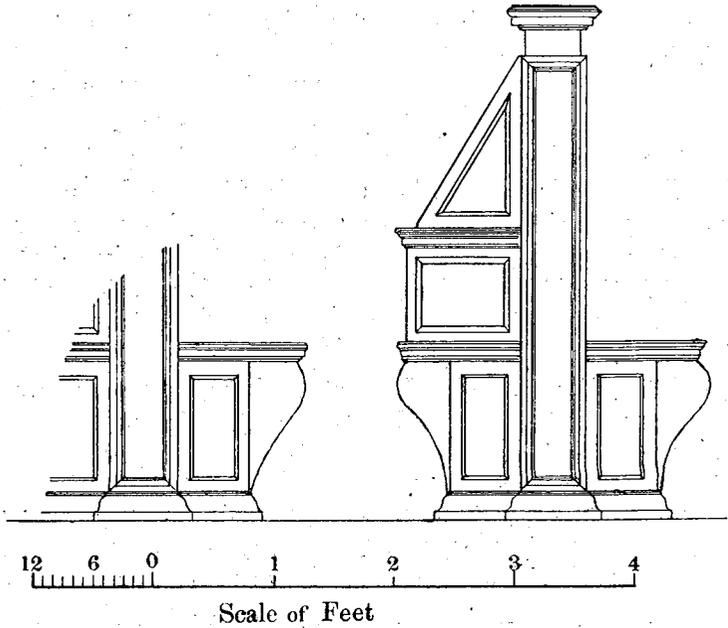


FIG. 7. Elevation of book-desks and reader's seats, Biblioteca Laurentiana, Florence.

for readers, as the light would fall on them from the left hand. For this reason I have placed the first desk against the pier, the reader's seat being westward of it. A difficulty now arises. It is stated in the Accounts that *ten banchi* are paid for, but all the catalogues mention only *nine*. I suggest that the explanation is to be found in the fact that ten pieces of furniture do occur between the pier and the wall, the first of which is a shelf and desk, and the last a seat only. This arrangement is to be seen in the Medicean Library at Florence. The room being 32 ft. 6 in. wide, space is left for a passage along the south wall to the door (*a*) of the Librarian's room, and also for another along the opposite ends of the desks.

For the arrangement of the rest of the Library, the Accounts give a most important piece of information. They tell us that the whole of the seats for the Common Library, i.e. the Latin and Greek Libraries taken together, 25 in number, cost 300 ducats, of which sum the 10 long seats above-mentioned absorbed 130 ducats, leaving 170 to pay for the remaining 15¹. From these data it is not difficult to calculate the cost of each palm, and from that the number of palms that 170 ducats would buy. I make this to be 510 palms, or about 373 feet².

It is, I think, obvious that there must have been some sort of vestibule just inside the door of entrance, where students could be received, and where they could consult the catalogue or the Librarian. Further, the catalogues shew that the seven desks arranged in this part of the Library were in all probability shorter than those of the opposite side, for they contained fewer volumes. If we allow each of them 21 ft. 4 in. in length³,

¹ See above, pp. 36, 37.

² My calculation works out as follows. Each of 10 seats was 38 palms long: total length, 380 palms. As these 10 seats cost 130 ducats, each palm cost $\frac{13}{38}$ ducats = $\frac{1}{3}$ of a ducat nearly.

As the total paid was 300 ducats, this first payment, viz. 130 ducats, left 170 ducats still due for the 15 remaining seats. As each palm cost a third of a ducat, 170 ducats would buy 510 palms = 113.73 metres = 4477 inches (nearly) = 373 feet.

³ By an unfortunate error, for which I alone am responsible, these desks have been drawn too short.

we shall dispose of 149 ft., which leaves 224 ft. for the 8 desks of the Greek Library, or, 28 ft. for each, with one foot over.

Greek Library. In this room there were eight seats, and, as explained above, each was about 28 ft. long. The room being 28 ft. wide, this number, with a width of 3 ft. for each, is very convenient, and leaves a passage 4 ft. wide along the west wall. The length, moreover, does not interfere with the passage from door to door, and leaves a short interval between the ends of the desks and the opposite wall.

Inner Library. In this room space has to be provided for (1) six seats, each holding on an average about 30 volumes; (2) a press (*armarium*) with five divisions, and holding 938 volumes; (3) a settle (*spalera*). This piece of furniture, in modern Italian *spalliera*, French, *épaulière*, is common in large houses at the present day. It usually stands in an ante-room or on a landing of one of the long staircases. A portion at least of the *spallière* used in this Library are still in existence. They stood in the vestibule of the present Vatican Library until a short time ago, when the present Pope had them removed to the Appartamento Borgia, where they stand against the wall round one of the rooms. There are two distinct designs of different heights and ornamentation. The photograph here reproduced (fig. 8) was taken specially for my use. The *spalliere* have evidently been a good deal altered in the process of fitting up, and moreover, as it is impossible to discover whether we have the whole or only a part of what once existed, it is useless to make any suggestion, from the length of the portions that remain, as to which room they may once have fitted. They are excellent specimens of inlaid work. That on the right, with the row of crosses along the cornice, is 6 ft. 2 in. high, and 66 ft. long. That on the left is 5 ft. 10 in. high, and 24 ft. 7 in. long. The *capsæ* project from the wall 1 ft. 4 in., and are 2 ft high. Their lids vary a little in length, from 3 ft. 11 in. to 4 ft. 10 in.

I have placed the *armarium* at the end of the room, opposite the window. It was 20 ft. wide, and had 5 divisions, each, we will suppose, about 4 ft. wide. Let us suppose further that it was 7 ft. high, and had 6 shelves. If we allow 8 volumes

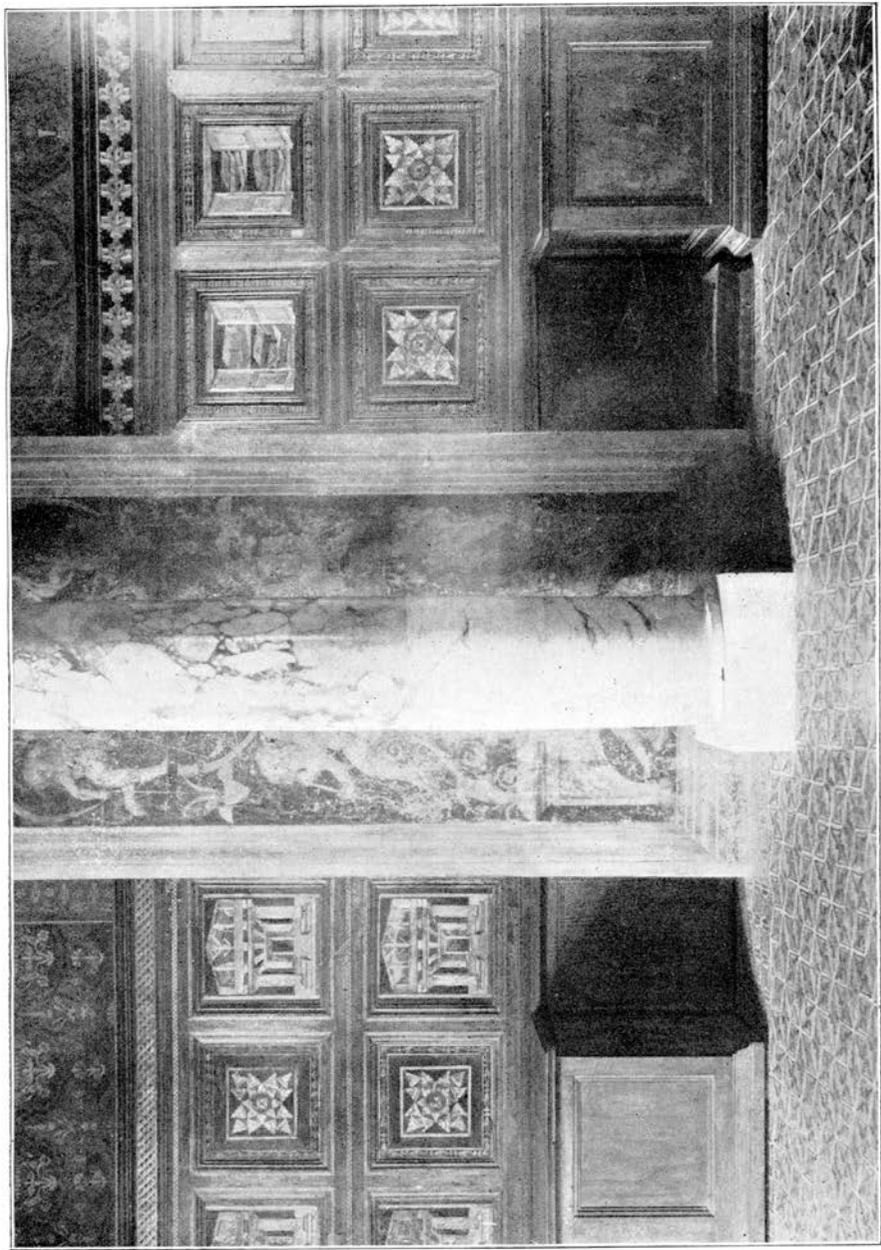


FIG. 8. The library-settles (*spalliere*) once used in the Vatican Library of Sixtus IV.

to each foot, each shelf would hold 32 volumes, and each division six times that number, or 192. This estimate for each division will give a total of 960 volumes for the five divisions, a number slightly in excess of that mentioned in Platina's catalogue.

After allowing a space 5 ft. wide in front of the press, there is plenty of room left for 6 desks, each 27 ft. long. The last seat, that on the west side next the passage leading to the end of the room, might be the *spalliera*, with its four coffers (*capsæ*) under the seat.

But the presence of a *spalliera* is not the only peculiarity in the furniture of this room. Platina's catalogue shews that, connected in some manner with each seat, were two coffers (*capsæ*). What are we to understand by this? M. Fabre considers that these *capsæ* were independent chests, placed at the end of each seat. I feel disposed to think that they formed part of the desks. They are described in the catalogue in precisely the same language as those of the *spalliera*, viz.

In prima capsæ spalera
In prima capsæ primi banchi,

and I am inclined to place them under the seats of the desks, which are left open both at Cesena and at Florence, but would have been equally convenient to readers had they been closed. I do not mean to suggest that two chests extended over the full length of each seat, but that chests were contrived under the seat, perhaps at each end of it, of the same length as those of the *spalliera*, each of which was 7 ft. long.

In favour of the other view I have to admit that room was evidently scarce in this part of the Library, for it has been shewn that a second, and in some cases a third, shelf was added to the desks as the number of volumes increased. It is possible, therefore, that they were shorter than I have drawn them, in order to leave room for a chest to stand at their ends. Further, there is a note at the end of the catalogue of 1512 which records the position and contents of some of the *capsæ*. I confess that I do not understand it, though I have bestowed much time and thought upon it, but I print it, in the hope

that some one else may be more fortunate. It will be observed that the fifth bench or seat (*scamnum*, a word which I take to be equivalent to *banchus*) has two *capsæ* attached to it; and that the sixth seat has three.

In prima capsæ	1-105
In secunda sequenti capsæ	106-179
In tertia capsæ per ordinem sequente	180-251
In quarta capsæ: non que statim sequitur nam ea est libris vacua ad vsum custodum: sed pone sequenti: et v ^o . scamno adherenti	252-301
In quinta capsæ immediate sequenti	302-384
In sexta capsæ immediate sequenti et sexto scamno adherenti: que prima se offert	385-447
In septima capsæ, videlicet sexte coniuncta	448-559
In octava capsæ muro adherenti que post septimam ad in- gressum sexti scamni prima offertur	560-606

Lastly, there is an entry which escaped my notice when I first wrote this paper, recording the arrival of twelve *capsæ*, as though they were independent pieces of furniture¹.

Innermost Library, or, Bibliotheca pontificia. This Library contained 12 desks. These, from their number, must have stood east and west. There was also a *spalliera*, which held the Papal Registers. I have placed it in the recess on the north side of the room, which looks as though made for it.

It should be noted that there was a map of the world in the Library, for which a frame was bought in 1478²; and a couple of globes—the one celestial the other terrestrial. Covers made of sheepskin were bought for them in 1477³. Globes

¹ Item pro xii capsis latis in bibliothecam secretam. Müntz et Fabre, p. 158.

² Per lo tellaro del mappamondo b. 52. Müntz, p. 129. Habuere pictores armorum quæ sunt facta in duabus sphaeris solidis et pro pictura mappemundi ducatos III, die XII decembris 1477. Müntz et Fabre, p. 151. This map had probably been provided by Pius II. (1458-1464), who kept in his service Girolamo Bellavista, a Venetian maker of maps. Müntz et Fabre, 126.

³ Expendi pro cohoptura facta duobus sphaeris solidis quarum in altera est ratio signorum, in altera cosmographia, ducatos IIII videlicet cartenos XVI in octo pellibus montoninis, cartenos XXV in manufactura: sunt nunc ornata graphio cum armis s. d. n., die XX decembris 1477. Müntz et Fabre, p. 152. M. Fabre quotes an extract in praise of the map and globes from a letter written from Rome in 1505, *La Vaticane de Sixte IV*, p. 471 note.

with and without such covers are shewn in the view of the Library of the University of Leiden taken in 1610; and M. Fabre reminds us that globes still form part of the furniture of the Library of the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, fitted up by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, 1630-40¹.

Comfort was considered by the provision of a brazier on wheels "that it may be moved from place to place in the Library²."

Before concluding, I must quote two important descriptions of this Library. The first is by Francesco Albertini, who, in 1510, only nineteen years after Platina's death, published the description of Rome known as *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*.

De Bibliotecis novæ Urbis

In Palatio apostolico in Vaticano est illa præclara bibliotheca a Syxto IIII constructa cum eius imagine, ac pulcherrimis picturis exornata cum his carminibus:

Templa [etc.] as quoted above.

Sunt picturæ Doctorum et alia carmina: ut dicam in opusculo epitaphiorum.

Est et alia bibliotheca apud prædictam quæ græca dicitur ab eodem Syxto constructa cum camera custodum.

Est et tertia bibliotheca pulcherrima, in qua sunt codices auro et argento sericinisque tegminibus exornati, a prædicto Syxto constructa in quo loco Vergilii opera vidi litteris maiusculis conscripta.

Omitto strumenta geometriæ et astronomiæ et alia quæ in liberalibus disciplinis pertinent auro et argento picturis exornata³.

The following description is by Montaigne:

Le 6 de Mars [1581] je fus voir la librerie du Vatican qui est en cinq ou six salles tout de suite. Il y a un grand nombre de livres atachés sur plusieurs rangs de pupitres; il y en a aussi dans des coffres, qui me furent tous ouverts; force livres écrits à main et notamment un Senèque et les Opuscules de Plutarque. J'y vis de remarquable la statue du bon Aristide⁴ à tout une belle teste chauve, la barbe épaisse, grand front, le

¹ *Ibid.*

² Müntz, p. 130.

³ Francisci Albertini Opusculum de Mirabilibus novæ Urbis Romæ: ed. Schmarow. 8vo. Heilbronn, 1886, p. 33. Albertini never published the promised "Opusculum epitaphiorum."

⁴ This statue, found in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century, represents Aristides Smyræus, a Greek rhetorician of the second century after Christ. It is still in the Vatican Library, at the entrance to the Museo Christiano.

regard plein de douceur et de magesté: son nom est escrit en sa base très antique...¹

Je la vis [la Bibliothèque] sans nulle difficulté; chacun la voit einsin et en extrait ce qu'il veut; et est ouverte quasi tous les matins, et si fus conduit partout, et convié par un jantilhomme d'en user quand je voudrois².

The statue of Aristides was placed by Pope Pius IV. (1559-65) in the Common Library, on one side of the door of entrance, opposite to the statue of S. Hippolytus, found in 1551 near the church of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura³.

V. Administration.

Sixtus IV., like his predecessor Nicholas V., intended the library attached to the Holy See to be of the widest possible use. In the document appointing Demetrius of Lucca librarian, after Platina's death, he says distinctly that the library has been got together, "for the use of all men of letters, both of our own age, or of subsequent time⁴;" and that these are not rhetorical expressions, to round a phrase in a formal letter of appointment, is proved by the way in which manuscripts were lent out of the library, during the whole time that Platina was in office. The Register of Loans, beginning with his own appointment and ending in 1485, has been printed by Müntz and Fabre, from the original in the Vatican Library⁵; and a most interesting record it is. It is headed by a few words of warning, of which I give the general sense rather than a literal translation.

Whoever writes his name here in acknowledgment of books received on loan out of the Pope's library, will incur his anger and his curse unless he return them uninjured within a very brief period.

This statement is made by Platina, librarian to his Holiness, who entered upon his duties on the last day of February, 1475⁶.

¹ In the omitted passage Montaigne describes a number of books shewn to him.

² *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie*, éd. Prof. Alessandro d' Ancona. 8vo. Città di Castello, 1895, p. 269. I owe this quotation to M. Fabre.

³ Fabre, *La Vaticane*, p. 481.

⁴ Müntz et Fabre, p. 299.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 269—298. MSS. Vat. Lat. 3964.

⁶ Quisquis es qui tuum nomen hic inscribis ob acceptos commodo libros e bibliotheca pontificis, scito te indignationem ejus et execrationem incursum nisi peropportune integros reddideris. Hoc tibi denuntiat Platyna, S. suæ bibliothecarius, qui tantæ rei curam suscepit pridie Kal. Martii 1475.

Each entry records the title of the book lent, with the name of the borrower. This entry is sometimes made by the librarian, but more frequently by the borrower himself. When the book is returned, Platina or his assistant notes the fact, with the date. The following entry, taken almost at random, will serve as a specimen :

Ego Gaspar de Ozino sapientissimi domini nostri cubicularius anno salutis MCCCCLXXV die vero XXI Aprilis confiteor habuisse nomine mutui a domino Platina Lecturam sive commentum in pergameno super libris x Etticorum Aristotelis, et in fidem omnium mea propria manu scripsi et supscripsi. Liber autem pavonatio copertus est in magno volumine.—Idem Gaspar manu propria.—Restituit fideliter librum ipsum et repositus est inter philosophos die XVIII April 1475.

It is occasionally noted that a book is lent with its chain, as for instance :

Christoforus prior S. Balbine habuit Agathium Historicum ex banco VIII^o cum cathena...Restituit die xx Octobris post mortem Platyne.

When no chain is mentioned are we to understand that the book was not so protected, and that there were in the library a number of books without chains, perhaps for the purpose of being more conveniently borrowed?

A few words should be added on the staff of the library. At first—that is during the year 1475—Platina had under his orders three subordinates, Demetrius, Salvatus, and John. These are called writers (*scriptores*) or keepers (*custodes*); and Salvatus is once called librarian (*librarius*), but it will be shewn below that this word means a writer rather than a librarian, as we understand the word. The position of these persons was extremely humble; and Salvatus was so indigent that his shoes were mended at the Pope's expense, and a decent suit of clothes provided for him at the cost of eight ducats¹. Besides these there was a book-binder, also called John. In the following year two keepers only are mentioned, Demetrius and Josias. The latter died of the plague in

¹ Dedi die XIII Septembris 1475 ducatum unum Salvato scriptori pro emendis calligis. Item expendi pro veste una Salvati scriptoris seminudi et argenti ducatos VIII de mandato sancti domini nostri. Müntz et Fabre, p. 148.

1478. The salary of the librarian was at the rate of ten ducats a month, and that of each of his subordinates at the rate of one ducat for the same period. This arrangement appears to have been confirmed by a Bull of Sixtus IV. before the end of 1477¹; and it subsisted till 1480, when the Pope formally appointed Demetrius keeper, with a salary of three gold ducats a month, and other emoluments, the amount of which is not specified². Shortly afterwards (28 April, 1481) the Pope appointed a second keeper, Jean de Chadel of Lyons³.

These officers and Platyna appear to have lived together in the rooms adjoining the Latin Library, as shewn by the accounts for the purchase of beds, furniture, and the like⁴; and when Josias falls ill of the plague, Platina sends away Demetrius and John, the book-binder, "for fear they should die or infect others⁵."

Besides the regular staff, we meet with special engagements to do certain definite pieces of work. For instance, in 1476 a person called Cassius of Parma—but whose real name, as appears by his receipt when the final payment was made to him, was Johannes Antonii de Sasso de Parma—is engaged to write a Register of Bulls and other documents in three volumes. He is usually described as *librarius*—a word which evidently at that date meant a maker of books—a writer⁶—as Cassius is in fact called in the last entry relating to him. Another writer, Simon of Cologne, is engaged in 1478 to transcribe the works of Celsus; and two others, whose names are not given, to transcribe certain treatises of Jerome and Augustine.

All articles required for the due maintenance of the library

¹ Habui ego Platyna sanctissimi domini nostri bibliothecarius ducatos triginta pro salario meo, quod est decem ducatorum in mense, ab idibus Julii usque ad idus Octobris 1477, quemadmodum apparet in bulla de facultatibus officiis et muneribus a sanctissimo domino nostro papa Sixto IIII facta. *Ibid.* p. 150.

² *Ibid.* p. 299.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Müntz, pp. 129, 133.

⁵ Item dedi ducatos quinque pro quolibet Demetrio et Johanni ligatori librorum quos ex mandato domini nostri foras misi, mortuo ex peste eorum socio, ne ipsi quoque eo loci interirent vel alios inficerent, die VIII junii 1478. Müntz et Fabre, p. 153.

⁶ This is the signification of the word in Ducange.

were provided by Platina. The charges for binding and lettering are the most numerous. Skins were bought in the gross—on one occasion as many as 600—and then prepared for use. All other materials, as gold, colours, varnish, nails, horn, clasps, &c., were bought in detail, when required; and probably used in some room adjoining the library. Platina also saw to the illumination (*miniatio*) of such MSS. as required it.

Comfort and cleanliness were not forgotten. There are numerous charges for coals, with an amusing apology for their use in winter "because the place was so cold"; and for juniper to fumigate (*ad suffumigandum*). Brooms are bought to clean the library, and fox-tails to dust the books (*ad tergendos libros*¹).

It should further be mentioned that Sixtus assigned an annual income to the library by a brief dated 15th July, 1477. It is therein stipulated that the fees, paid according to custom by all officials appointed to any office vacated by resignation, should thenceforward be transferred to the account of the library².

POSTSCRIPT.

After reading this paper I paid a second visit to Rome, in April of the present year, in order to re-examine the *Floreria*, and also to talk over what I had written with Father Ehrle, whose interest in my researches has been throughout of the greatest value to me. I can never be sufficiently grateful to him for the help which he has ungrudgingly given me on all occasions; and I am glad of this opportunity of publicly stating how much I am indebted to him.

Father Ehrle had already informed me by letter of the existence of a fresco in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito, which he had not had an opportunity of examining himself, but which was said to give a view of the interior of the library of Sixtus IV., with the books and furniture.

This vast Hospital, situated on the right bank of the Tiber,

¹ The entries alluded to in this account will all be found in Müntz and Fabre, pp. 148—158.

² The document is printed by Müntz and Fabre, p. 300.

a short distance below the Ponte S. Angelo, was rebuilt by Sixtus IV. on an enlarged scale, and after its completion in 1482, one of the halls on the ground floor was decorated with a series of frescoes representing the improvements which he had carried out in the city of Rome¹. This hall is of great height, and lighted by a row of large windows just beneath the roof. The frescoes decorate the spaces between these windows, one between each pair. In such a position the light is not good, and the paintings have suffered somewhat from the effects of time; but the subjects and even the details can be readily made out.

It is curious that notwithstanding the attention bestowed of late years on Italian art, and the interest that has always been taken in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito itself as a specimen of the architecture of the early Renaissance, no one should have thought these frescoes worth studying before 1884, just five hundred years after the more important pictures of the series were painted. The criticism to which they have been submitted since the above date has failed to discover the name of the artist; but it has shewn that the tradition which attributes to Platina the choice of the subjects, and the wording of their inscriptions, is probably true; and further, that the earlier pictures in the series, of which the Library is one, were executed before his death in 1481². I am now able to append a photographic reproduction of the fresco representing the interior of the Library (fig. 9), which Signor Danesi has executed for me, under the superintendence of Father Ehrle, with even more than his usual success.

Those who have been engaged in researches similar to mine will readily understand my feelings of satisfaction as I stood in front of this fresco, and saw that my suggestion as to the probable style of the desks in the Library of Sixtus IV. had been correct. Though not so massive as those at Cesena, they are on precisely the same plan.

¹ For an account of what Sixtus accomplished at Santo Spirito see Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Engl. Tran. iv. 460—462.

² Brockhaus, *Janitschek's Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaften*, Band vii. (1884); Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì* (1886), pp. 202—207.

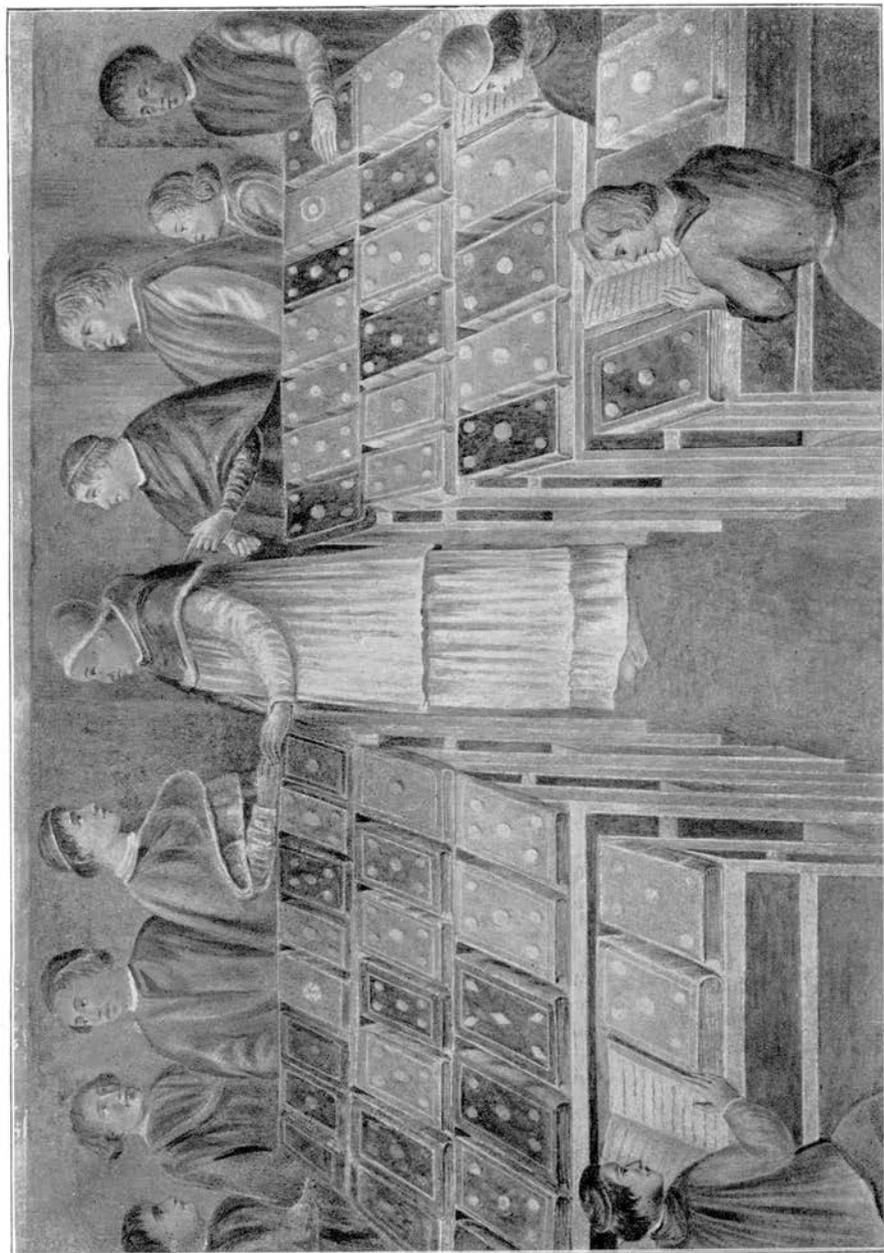


FIG. 9. Interior of the Library of Sixtus IV, as shewn in a fresco in the Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome.

The artistic merit of such a work as this may not be great ; but I feel certain that the man who painted it, faithfully reproduced what he saw without drawing on his imagination ; and that we may therefore trust the picture as a true record of what once existed.

The desks are of a convenient height for a reader to use, as shewn by the three students at work in different parts of the Library. The books lie on sloping desks with a ledge in front to prevent them from slipping off. Each desk has a single shelf, and the seat is attached to the desk as at Cesena and Florence, instead of being a separate piece of furniture, as would have been the case in England. The chains have unfortunately been omitted, probably from a wish to avoid detail. It will be noticed that each desk is fully furnished with volumes laid out upon it, and that these vary in number and size, and have different bindings. It may be argued that the artist wished to compliment his patrons by making the most of their property ; but I should be inclined to maintain that this was the normal condition of the Library, and that the books, handsomely bound and protected by numerous bosses of metal, usually lay upon the desks ready for use.

If this fresco be compared with the earlier work of Melozzo da Forli, it is not difficult to identify four of the persons present in the Library (other than the readers). The central figure is obviously Sixtus IV., and the Cardinal to whom he is speaking is, I think, meant for Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II. The figure immediately behind the Pope may be intended for Pietro Riario, and the figure behind him is certainly Platina. The others, I take it, are simply attendants.

Nor must it be forgotten that, important as this fresco is in connexion with the Library of the Vatican, it is of even greater interest as a contemporary representation of a large fifteenth century library.

12 September, 1899.

Monday, May 8, 1899.

Professor RIDGEWAY, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following member was announced :

Mr A. S. CAMPBELL.

Mr WILLIAM CORNER made a communication :

ON THE RUINS AND REMAINS AT MITLA, STATE
OF OAXACA, MEXICO.

The greater part of the communication was devoted to an exposition of the architectural remains at Mitla, the lecturer reviewing in detail a complete survey of the Ruins made by him in 1891. Ground plans, drawings and sections on a large scale were produced to explain peculiar construction. The lecture was illustrated by many photographic lantern slides, not only of views from various points of observation but of each detail which makes Mitla an interesting mark to students of Archaeology and Anthropology. The rather complex and very beautiful ornamentation of primitive mosaics or grecques was fully described and most of the numerous patterns were thrown upon the screen. This friction-dressed stone-work, constructed without cement in the joints of the surface patterns, seems to be the most interesting and distinguishing characteristic of the Mitla remains. The principal factor that has kept intact for many centuries these beautiful framed plates of mosaics is the superincumbent courses of heavy dressed stone. A concise description was given of the foundation mounds and their retaining facings, the frame or band-like courses of finely dressed stone encircling the "Palacio" groups' walls, the individual stones of the mosaic patterns, the monolithic pillars, lintels and jambs. Specimens of red plaster cement, the building stone,—(a quartz trachyte),—and other materials were exhibited.

Mr Corner made an endeavour, also, to place these remains in their correct ethnological perspective, and to trace their relationship to other Mexican and Central American remains. He described them as being a sort of half-way house between the NAHUA and MAYA QUICHÉ cultures. Referring to Mr A. P. MAUDSLAY'S splendid work on the latter remains,—many of whose casts are in the Museum of Archaeology,—Mr Corner pointed out that the wall picture-paintings of MITLA indicated a marked Aztec influence, on the one hand, and that the mosaics on the other hand, apparently, drew their inspiration from MAYA sources, that this connection was curious and mysterious, because not a vestige of the well-known MAYA glyphs is found at Mitla.

In additional illustration of the paper there was a collection of antiquities from Mitla and the valley of OAXACA such as jadeite and other stone deities, figures, charms, many pierced for suspension round the neck, tools, clay masks, pottery, copper half-moon or celt shape currency, specimens of polished plasters and materials of the TEOCALLIS or pyramidal mounds. Chipping, flaking and lapidary work was represented by obsidian arrow and spear heads, cores, knives, saws, etc. Life effigies found in ancient graves in Oaxaca were illustrated by lantern slides.

Some interesting analogies were suggested by a subsidiary collection of North American Indian ornaments and implements. A representative collection of WAMPUM and other beads of shell and stone was exhibited. The fine photographs of individuals of many tribes of Indians of the North American continent were taken in the autumn of 1898 at the U. S. Indian Congress at Omaha, Nebraska, by the official photographer.

After the paper, Baron VON HÜGEL made a number of similar exhibits, and comments were made by Mr DUCKWORTH of Jesus College, and by the PRESIDENT. There was a large attendance.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Wednesday, May 24, 1899.

Professor RIDGEWAY, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following member was announced :

P. GILES, M.A., Emmanuel College.

The following officers were elected :

President : J. W. L. GLAISHER, Sc.D., Trinity College.

Vice-President : ARTHUR GRAY, M.A., Jesus College.

Treasurer : ROBERT BOWES, Esq.

Secretary : T. D. ATKINSON, Esq.

Members of Council : W. RIDGEWAY, M.A., Disney Professor ;
J. B. MULLINGER, M.A., St John's College ; J. W. CLARK, M.A.,
F.S.A., Registrar.

Auditors : Alderman GEORGE KETT ; JAMES BENNETT
PEACE, M.A., Emmanuel College.

Dr GLAISHER made a communication on

ASTBURY THE POTTER AND VOYEZ THE MODELLER

of which the following is an abstract.

The character of the fine hard red earthenware made by the brothers Elers in Staffordshire is well known, although there exists no piece which can be ascribed to them with certainty. The body of the ware is very dense ; the pieces after being thrown were turned on a lathe, and the decoration, in relief, was impressed upon the ware by small intaglio metal stamps. It is probable that the brothers confined themselves to tea ware, and that they only made small articles. They arrived in Staffordshire from Holland about 1690 and left about 1710. John Astbury, it is believed, obtained employment at their works in order to learn surreptitiously their

processes, and having done so he commenced business upon his own account. The brothers Elers were the introducers of a much higher kind of pottery than had ever been known before in Staffordshire, but they kept their methods secret, and it is to Astbury that we owe their development and popularisation. Although the manner in which he obtained his knowledge of the Elers' processes cannot be justified, he stands out as the first English potter of note, and heads the long series of practical potters who by their ability, originality, and invention, gave to Staffordshire its well deserved celebrity. The author is not aware that any pieces have hitherto been recorded which bear Astbury's name: but some years ago he met with a set of four pieces of a red ware tea-service, viz. (1) teapot, (2) milk-jug, (3) smaller milk-jug, (4) sugar basin, of which the first two have the name 'Astbury' impressed underneath, the third has a Chinese mark, and the fourth is unmarked. They all belong to the same set, and are almost completely covered with wavy engine turning: there is no stamped ornament. The body is very hard and dense, superior to any later red wares, the shapes are pretty and dainty, and the lathe-work is beautifully executed. It is believed that the Elers never moulded their spouts or handles. In these Astbury pieces the spout of the teapot is turned on the lathe, but the handles are moulded. Taking these pieces as a starting-point the author traced the same form of handle and style of decoration through various specimens of glazed ware, made by Astbury or his successors, which were exhibited.

Voyez was a modeller who was employed by Wedgwood in 1769: but the engagement did not last long and then Voyez worked for others and on his own account. His best known work is the 'Voyez jug' with figures in high relief representing on one side a lad offering a bird's nest to a girl seated on a log, and, on the other side, a huntsman with a glass in his hand. Copies of this jug, as figured on p. 89 of vol. II. of Miss Meteyard's *Life of Wedgwood*, are not very scarce. The one exhibited was a peculiarly fine specimen, on which the modelling was clear and the colours soft and harmonious, suggesting Whieldon's work; but the point of interest which connected it

with the main subject of the paper was that besides the usual 'J. Voyez, 1788' on the log, it bore also, on the side, the letters R. M. A. and on the bottom the name 'Astbury' impressed in two places. We know that John Astbury died in 1743, and that his son Thomas commenced business about 1725, so that this jug would point to some hitherto unknown Astbury being in business in, or after, 1788. Last year the author met with a specimen of this jug with the name 'Astbury' underneath, and without Voyez's name or other mark. It was therefore satisfactory to obtain this specimen, proving that the jug, in spite of Astbury's name, was at least as late as 1788, so that it could not introduce confusion into the nature of the work executed by the early Astburys.

Monday, November 13, 1899.

Dr GLAISHER, President, in the Chair.

Dr PEILE, Master of Christ's, was elected a member of the Council.

The Annual Report for 1898—9 was read.

The Council record with regret the deaths of several members: Mr Francis William Balls, Mr Marshall Fisher, Mr William Crabb Hall, Lady Paget, the Reverend William Graham Foster Pigott, M.A., Osbert Salvin, M.A., F.R.S., the Reverend Charles Stopford Frere Warren, M.A., and Mr Frederic Warren; of Colonel Harry Frost, one of the Local Secretaries of the Society, though not a member; and of the last of the original members of the Society, Sir Henry Edward Leigh Dryden, Bart., M.A., which has taken place since the Annual General Meeting of 1899.

The members of the Society now number 255, and the honorary members 14.

During the past session seven meetings have been held: two in the afternoon and five in the evening. The average attendance in the afternoon has been twenty-eight and in the evening fifty-three.

Seven communications have been made, namely: By the Rev. J. G. Clark: *Exhibition and description of (a) a coin of Plotina; (b) a bronze celt recently found at Reach.* By Mr J. W. Clark: *On the architectural history and arrangement of the Library established in the Vatican by Pope Sixtus the Fourth.* By Mr W. Corner: *On the ruins and remains at Mitla (State of Oaxaca), Mexico.* By Mrs Gibson: *On two Hebrew Documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.* By Dr Glaisher: *On Astbury the potter and Voyez the modeller.* By Professor Hughes: *On some ancient kilns near Cambridge.* By the Rev. W. G. Searle: *Exhibition of (a) coins struck at Omdurman by the Khalifa; (b) two rubbings of monumental brasses (specimens of a collection numbering about 300 which he presented to the Society).*

Two lectures have been given, namely: By Mr R. C. Bosanquet: *On the recent excavations at the camp at Borgovicus (Housesteads) on the Roman Wall.* By Mr A. F. Sieveking: *On some old gardens.*

Four publications have been issued, namely:

The Proceedings for the year 1897—1898 (No. XL).

Index to the Reports and Abstracts of Proceedings, 1840—1897.

The Priory of Saint Radegund, Cambridge, by Mr Arthur Gray.

The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of MSS., at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Dr James.

The following works are in the press and will be issued shortly:

A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Huntingdonshire, edited by Mr J. C. Tingey and Mr G. I. Turner.

The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge, edited by Dr Maitland; published jointly by the Town Council and the Society.

The Council have also undertaken the publication of the following:

Records of the University (Luard Memorial), Volume II., containing the first half of *Grace Book B*, edited by Mr W. A. J. Archbold and Mr J. F. Leaf.

The Books of Matthew Stokys and John Buck, Esquire Bedels, edited by Mr J. W. Clark.

Documents relating to the Gilds of Corpus Christi College, edited by Dr Cunningham and Miss Ruth Anderson.

A new *History of the County of Cambridge*, on the lines of Lysons' *History of Cambridgeshire*.

The Accounts of the Churchwardens of Saint Mary the Great, edited by Mr J. E. Foster.

The Liber Memorandum of Barnwell Priory, edited by Mr J. W. Clark.

Cole's *History of Fen Ditton*, edited by Professor Ridgeway.

A Memoir of Professor Vigani, edited by Professor Ferguson.

The Sacrist Rolls of the Convent of Ely, relating to the building of the Lantern.

Two excursions were proposed during the summer of 1898, namely a two days excursion to Norwich, and a one day excursion to Lynn. Both were, however, abandoned on account of the small number of persons who announced their intention of joining. The Council decided not to propose any excursion during the year 1899.

The University has allotted an excellent site for a new Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology on the land lately acquired from Downing College, with a frontage towards Tennis Court Road.

Mr W. H. BULLOCK-HALL made the following communication :

ON THE ICKNIELD WAY.

THE Icknield Way, which is probably the oldest thoroughfare in Britain, being a kind of natural high and dry chalk bridge, crossing England diagonally from Norfolk to Dorset, is that by which successive waves of early invaders passed from East to West. It was never paved or gravelled like a Roman *via*, and seems to have been carried in a course apart from Roman lines of communication.

Seeing that the Icknield Way passes my front gate and runs through, or along, my property for about three miles of its course between Newmarket and Royston, I cannot be charged with going out of my way in selecting the subject of my paper. Having been familiar with a portion of this road for more than half a century, I have in the last two or three months, for the first time, endeavoured to trace its course in both a south-westerly and north-easterly direction beyond the limits of our own county.

The labours of the late Dr Guest, Professor Babington and others having dealt in considerable detail with the subject of the Icknield Way in Cambridgeshire, I think that the most useful contribution in my paper will be the light I may throw on the Icknield Way as a whole. I will at the outset state that I was quite unprepared to find that its features would prove, as they do, far more distinct and interesting as one proceeds westwards, through Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire.

But before I attempt to lay before you the result of my explorations of the Way itself, I will sketch briefly the early history of the British tribe, with whose name it is connected.

I will next proceed to glance at the written evidence throwing light upon the course of the Icknield Way.

That the first syllable of the word "Icknield" is derived from the root 'Ic' in the name of the British tribe "Iceni,"

who occupied the greater portion of the East Anglian peninsula at the date of the Roman Conquest, there is a practical consensus of opinion. As to the second syllable, Dr Guest¹ suggests that it is the Saxon word 'hild' meaning war, making the whole name read 'Icen-hild-weg,' or war path of the Iceni. Horsley, however, connects the second syllable with the Saxon word 'elde' (old). Nearly all the authorities, including Dr Guest, hold that the Icknield Way was originally an ancient British track. I am inclined to go even farther than this in doubting whether it ever became a Roman road. It does not fit in with any Iter mentioned in the Antonine or any other ancient Itinerary. Although the Romans planted garrisons at some few points on the Icknield Way, most of the vestiges of them which have been discovered in its vicinity, must be rather attributed to the Roman road, of which several sections still exist, parallel to, and at no great distance from, the Icknield Way.

Almost all we know about the Iceni is derived from the *Annals* of Tacitus, the son-in-law of Agricola and contemporary with the incidents I am about to touch upon. Referred to incidentally in Book v. c. 21 of Caesar's commentaries under the name of "Cenimagni" as joining their neighbours the Trinobantes in making terms with the Romans, without taking up arms, the Iceni are first mentioned under their proper name by Tacitus.

Taking advantage of the facilities for breeding and rearing horses afforded by the plains they inhabited, the Iceni became famous amongst the British tribes for their war chariots—a taste probably brought with them from Belgium. The Iceni were thus the fitting progenitors of the horse-loving inhabitants of Newmarket.

That the Iceni were a Celtic tribe may be inferred from the names of their King Prasutagus and his Queen Boadicea, both of which are held to be Celtic. From the position we find them occupying in East Anglia, it is probable that they entered Britain by the mouth of the Yare, up the estuary of which they sailed to Norwich, which became their central stronghold, and

¹ Guest, "The Four Roman Roads," *Archaeological Journ.* pt. 54.

was called by the Romans "Venta Icenorum." Had the Iceni come up the Thames valley they would hardly have found their way into Norfolk.

Remaining true to the cause of Rome during the period of the invasion conducted in person by Claudius, the Iceni revolted a few years later against his lieutenant Ostorius Scapula.

As soon as this rising in East Anglia was put down, the Romans saw the necessity of planting a colony at Camalodunum (Colchester) to hold the Iceni and the Trinobantes, their allies, in check for the future.

A few years later the Iceni, taking advantage of the absence of the bulk of the Roman forces on the western side of the island, made another effort to throw off the Roman yoke. For the exactions of the procurator Catus and the excesses of the colonists of Camalodunum had become quite intolerable. That this revolt was fully justified is clearly shown by the statement of Tacitus¹.

Prasutagus, King of the Iceni (famed for his long and prosperous reign), in hopes of securing after his death a portion to his widow Boadicea and his daughters, had by his will made the Emperor Nero co-heir with them of his fortune. But this precaution proved of less than no avail. For it drew attention to the wealth he had amassed, and exposed his family to every form of insult and pillage.

Nor were the Roman depredations confined to the family of the late King. For Tacitus adds that all the chief men of the Iceni were stripped of their ancestral possessions, as if Rome had received the whole country as a gift. With Boadicea and her daughters at their head, the Iceni, their ranks swollen by contingents of the Trinobantes and other neighbouring tribes, swept down in irresistible numbers on the devoted colony of Camalodunum; not yet defended by those walls, which have defied the ravages of time down to our own day.

How Colchester fell, and then London—not yet dignified by the title of colony—and then St Albans, and how in all three hardly a Roman life was spared, is circumstantially related in the fourteenth book of the *Annals* of Tacitus. This

¹ *Annals*, Book xiv. 31.

rising was in some respects a counterpart of the Indian Mutiny in our day, as the Romans were thereby all but swept out of Britain.

But the triumph of Boadicea and the Iceni was short-lived. For, hurrying across the island from Chester by a line of march, which subsequently became the Via Devana, Suetonius Paulinus lost no time in hurling his legions upon the entrenchments, behind which the revolted Iceni were drawn up. That the decisive battle, which finally imposed the Roman yoke on our Iceni ancestors, took place on the slopes of one or other of the Dykes, drawn across the invadable chalk bridge into Icenia, has been shown by my friend Professor Ridgeway to be highly probable.

As the colony of Camalodunum (Colchester) had proved too distant to hold the Iceni effectually in check, the Romans planted an entrenched camp at Caistor, four miles south of Norwich, on the river Taes, over against the native stronghold "Venta Icenorum."

The vallum of this camp still exists on all four sides, of which the longer measures about 430 yards and the shorter 360. It was composed of square-faced flints, bonded with courses of Roman bricks, still existing intermittently along the northern side. The vallum is not less than 20 feet high. A portion of the masonry of what is believed to have been the Porta Decumana may still be seen near the centre of the western side which rests on the river Taes. The Camp at Caistor is the best specimen of a Roman camp I have ever seen, in Britain or elsewhere, and should be acquired as a national monument.

Of the numerous writers—mediaeval and modern—who have treated of the Icknield Way, not one, as far as I know, has devoted a separate treatise to it. Almost all refer to it as one of a group of four ancient roads, mentioned in the Laws of Edward the Confessor as enjoying the high privilege of the King's Peace, and as exempt from the jurisdiction of the local courts. Henry of Huntingdon, who composed his *Historiae Anglorum* in the first half of the twelfth century, places the Icknield Way at the head of his list. On page 12 of the

Rolls Edition we read (I quote from Dr Guest's translation, which I have compared with the original Latin):—

“In such estimation was Britain held by its inhabitants that they made in it four roads from end to end, which were placed under the King's protection, to the intent that no one should dare to make an attack on his enemy on these roads.

“The *first* passes from East to West and is called Ichenild, the *second* runs from South to North and is called Erminge Strete, the *third* crosswise from Dover to Chester, i.e. from South East to North West, and is called Watlinge Strete; the *fourth*, the greatest of all, begins at Toteness and ends in ‘Catnes’ (Caithness). It is called ‘Fossa’ and passes through Lincoln.”

I have selected this extract from Henry of Huntingdon—himself an Icenian—as constituting the clearest and most authoritative statement of the case for the four great roads of Britain.

It is interesting to observe that Henry of Huntingdon and successive chroniclers ignore completely any connection of these British roads with the Romans. According to an authority of no great weight, Geoffrey of Monmouth, King Belinus, son of King Molmutius, constructed these roads some four centuries before Christ. Elton (p. 326 of his *Origins of English History*) thinks that each of them represents a combination of portions of Roman roads. With this opinion, as far as the other three roads are concerned, I am much inclined to agree. But I do not think it holds good of the Icknield Way, or at all events not of its eastern half, with which we are mainly concerned this afternoon.

As my purpose is to be above all things clear, rather than exhaustive, I will not introduce an element of confusion by laying before you all the variations of the names of these roads. I shall limit myself to the single prose extract from the early chroniclers which I have just quoted, and to one in a kind of verse from Song XVI. of Michael Drayton's *Polyolbion* (composed in the reign of Elizabeth), which corroborates the enumeration of roads by Henry of Huntingdon. I should

premise that in Drayton's poem, the Watling Street is the imaginary spokesman:

“My song is of myself and of my sister streets,
 Which way each of us ranne, where each her fellow meets.
 From the South into the North taketh the Erning Street;
 From the Est into the West goeth Ickenelde Street.
 From South Est to North West, that is somdel grete
 From Dover unto Chester goeth Watlyng street.
 From the South-West to North-Est into England's End
 'Fosse' man calleth thilke way, that by many town doth wend.
 As Icing that set out from Yarmouth in the East,
 By the Iceni then being generally possesst,
 Was of that people first termed Icing in her race.”

I shall content myself here with the bare mention of such authorities as Higden of Chester, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Robert of Gloucester, Leland, Stukeley, Spellman, Camden, Horsley and Lysons, all of whom I have consulted.

While all these writers indicate the general course of the Icknield Way and its relation to the other great British and Roman roads, none of them affords much assistance to the identification of its course between the German Ocean and the Thames.

For this purpose, as far as Cambridgeshire is concerned, Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, and Guest's *Essay on the Four Roman Ways*, are much more helpful. But I have depended mainly on my own observation and on the sheets of the Ordnance Survey, where all the generally accepted sections of the Icknield Way are clearly laid down.

Although there can be no doubt that the Icknield Way started from the banks of the Yare, on which the chief stronghold of the Iceni—*Venta Icenorum*—rested, no distinct trace of its course through Norfolk can be discovered. Only so much can be made out of its general direction that it followed a south-westerly course towards Thetford, where it crossed into Suffolk by a ford over the Little Ouse just below its junction with the Thet. It is proved by an ancient deed (quoted at p. 55 of Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*) apparently dated in the reign of Henry III. that the Icknield Way passed

through Newmarket. To reach Newmarket, it could not have diverged materially from the course indicated above.

While the Icknield Way started from Venta Icenorum on the south-westerly course, which it maintained right across the breadth of England, the later Roman road—No. IX. of the Antonine Itinerary—was carried due south up the valley of the Taes through Caistor to Colchester and London. As I have already observed, the Icknield Way never served to connect any of the important Roman stations, and if the Romans used parts of it, they never adopted it as a whole.

Between the Yare and the Thames, no Roman post-stations, mile-stones, temples, nor wayside tombs, nor other distinctive features of Roman roads are to be found along its course. The only conspicuous tomb of any kind as far as I could ascertain, is that of the British King Cunebolinus (Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*) in the village of Kimble (in Buckinghamshire) said to be called after him.

That the Romans occupied settlements on various points of the Icknield Way is proved by the remains of villas, forts, cemeteries and coins found near or upon it, as at Thetford, Icklingham, Mutlock Hill (part of the Balsham Dyke) and other places.

Parallel to the Icknield Way and on a lower level, at an average distance of about a mile and a half from it, another grass road, believed to be Roman, runs on the right hand of the traveller from east to west, appearing intermittently in the plain below.

This road is called variously the Street or Peddar Way by Professor Babington, who brings it into the Icknield Way (I believe erroneously), at Worsted Lodge. For it is of the essence of the Street Way—its proper appellation—to run parallel with the Icknield Way—a fact proved by the direction of its sections still existing, which I have lately explored.

The Icknield Way gave Cambridge and London the go-by altogether, keeping to the northern slope of the Chiltern Hills, which it struck first at Dunstable, after crossing the river Lea, near its source. It crossed the chief Roman roads at more or

less of a right angle, just as it does now all the main railway lines, leading northwards from London.

For the reason that it avoided London and all other busy haunts of men, the Icknield Way has remained an almost untrodden and ignored road. It is a paradise of drovers, rovers and all lovers of solitude, fine air and short-cropped turf. Speaking broadly, its habit is to leave all villages and the places through which it might be expected to pass, at least 1000 yards away. This is what it does, for instance, with Chesterford—the chief Roman centre in our neighbourhood—with Tring, Bledlow, Watlington and Ewelme, in its course through Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire.

The Icknield Way, as I have already observed, hugs the chalk range, keeping much nearer the base than the ridge, but is always sufficiently elevated to be high and dry, and to command a view over some twenty or thirty miles of the blue plain stretched out like the sea at its feet.

The Icknield Way seems to have dispensed altogether with the use of bridges, invariably crossing the few streams it encounters, in its passage along the chalk, by means of fords. It even makes no exception to this rule in the case of the Thames between Goring and Streatley, at which point I am informed that waggons occasionally still cross the river in very dry seasons by the ford.

The Icknield Way, which probably began as a mere track along the chalk downs, developed later into a green road from 30 to 40 ft. broad. Where it has not been converted into a modern stoned road, that is to say, for about one-sixth of its course between the sea and the Thames, it presents the attractive feature of a broad gently curving green band, bordered by high hedgerows—sometimes overshadowed by trees, giving it the appearance of a grassy avenue.

The hedges and trees are most conspicuous, where the Way is carried through the property of some great landowner, as for instance near Watlington in Oxfordshire. It would be difficult to find in any part of Great Britain, a more charming ride or walk of eight or ten miles than that section of the Icknield Way which runs along the northern face of the Chilterns,

commanding the branch line of railway from Princes Risborough to Watlington.

It is at a point about half a mile to the north of the village of Icklingham in Suffolk that the first trace of the Icknield Way as a broad grass thoroughfare presents itself to the explorer proceeding from east to west. In spite of the statement in Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, that the Icknield Way can be easily traced between Thetford and Icklingham, I found it quite impossible to detect it anywhere nearer Thetford. It may be that the blowing sands of Icklingham Heath have quite obliterated it at the present day. At the point where it emerges from the sandy desert on to the arable zone, within the fertilizing influence of the river Lark along the north bank of which the village of Icklingham straggles, the Icknield Way presents the familiar features described above as characterizing its course onwards intermittently to the Thames.

Were the Icknield Way traceable near Thetford either to the north or south of the Little Ouse, which divides Norfolk from Suffolk at that point, Mr Russel, the active Board Schoolmaster, who with his sons scours the neighbourhood in search of objects of interest connected with the ancient history of the place, must have discovered some trace of it. When I called upon him recently, Mr Russel informed me that not even the tradition of the passage of the Icknield Way is kept alive at Thetford.

The total absence of any earlier trace of the Way between the German Ocean and Icklingham is probably the reason why the late Dr Guest adopted Icklingham as its starting point. Dr Guest considers Icklingham to have been the principal home of the Iceni, to the prejudice of their more generally recognized centre "Venta Icenorum" or Norwich.

Icklingham, which can still boast of its two parish churches, has doubtless been an important centre from the earliest times. It has even been preferred by so considerable an authority as Horsley to Cambridge, as the site of the ancient Camboritum.

Its name plainly connects Icklingham with the history of the Iceni, and Roman remains of all kinds, including hundreds of Roman coins, abundantly prove its subsequent occupation by

the Romans. Two very ancient stone coffins, with lids in perfect preservation, now exposed in the grounds of the Rectory, are of great antiquarian interest.

The adjoining and almost disused church of All Saints, with its old tower and thatched roof, overshadowed by the ancient trees which shut in the churchyard, contains features of the greatest interest, pointing to its early Saxon origin. The quaint half dislocated tiles, let into the altar steps, are well worth inspection, but cannot be attributed to the Romans.

It is probable that the Roman Icklingham like the modern village rested immediately on the river Lark, which is nowhere fordable there. The ford, by which the Icknield Way crossed the Lark, is about two miles higher up the stream at 'Lack-,' or, as it should be called, 'Lark-ford,' where I observed that its bed is gravelly. The site of the British Icklingham was probably on higher ground on the edge of the sandy plateau stretching northward to Thetford.

From Lackford onwards through Kentford to Newmarket the Icknield Way is identical with the modern road, as is clearly indicated by the Ordnance Survey. That the Way passed through Newmarket is proved by the deed of Henry III. referred to by Professor Babington, to which I have already alluded.

From Newmarket the Icknield Way proceeds across the Heath to Six-Mile Bottom, and thence in a south-westerly direction through Ickleton to Royston, leaving Chesterford to the left. During the portion of its course between Newmarket and Ickleton—a distance of 15 miles—the Icknield Way mostly presents the appearance of a wide and straight road. I believe however that this appearance is attributable not to the Romans, but to the engineering of the road in the reign of the Stuart Kings to facilitate their access to their favourite sporting headquarters at Newmarket.

The habitually winding course of the ancient British Way would have brought it alternately to the right or left of the rectified modern highway. It is probable that it did not invariably pass through the dykes by the same gaps as the modern road. For it is in this section of 15 miles that the

Icknield Way crosses the Cambridgeshire Dykes of which my friend, Professor Ridgeway, has treated so ably in a pamphlet, which ought to be known to all of you, that it seems quite unnecessary for me to touch upon them this afternoon in any detail.

I must however observe that I cannot accept the theory of my friend Professor Hughes that the line of the Via Devana is really that of a fifth dyke, and not of a Roman road. At certain points, for a short distance on either side of Worsted Lodge, where the Icknield Way cuts it at a right angle, the Via Devana might perhaps pass for a dyke. But no one who has followed it, as I have done, beyond Horseheath into the woodlands where the chalk leaves off, and where our dykes lose their *raison d'être*, can have any doubt that he is on the track of the Roman road from Colchester to Chester.

Diverging from the Newmarket-Chesterford road to the right at a point called "Stumps Cross," the Icknield Way, now a green road, crosses the Cam at the entrance of the village of Ickleton—like Icklingham, once an important centre of the Iceni.

Between Ickleton and Royston the Icknield Way pursues a course independent of any highway, maintaining for the greater part of the distance (about ten miles) the character of a grass or field road. It crosses the Brent Dyke below Heydon.

At Royston the Icknield Way crosses the Ermine Street at a right angle, the point of intersection being undermined by the famous Royston cave, which is curiously carved with quaint designs from profane and sacred history, offering an interesting puzzle to the antiquarian.

Immediately beyond Royston, the Icknield Way mounts on to the breezy common, where the dry exhilarating air of the golf links—now much frequented by Cambridge students—offers a refreshing contrast to the depressing atmosphere of the valley of the Cam.

Identical with the modern highway as far as Baldock, the Icknield Way at that point severs its connection with the modern Hitchin road, making for Ickleford, past the camp of Wilbury Hill, by a grassy track, which my friend Mr Allix,

to whom I am much indebted for assistance, followed throughout.

Crossing the insignificant streamlet the "Hiz," about two miles to the north of Hitchin, the Icknield Way makes nearly due west from Ickleford for Dunstable, by high chalk downs, the most striking of which is known as "Ravensburg Castle" (on the maps) or more generally as the "Beacon Hill." From the summit of this very striking eminence, which bears signs of having been an important British "oppidum" in pre-Roman times, the view over the Bedfordshire plains would alone amply repay the trouble of a journey from Cambridge expressly to enjoy it. It is within six miles of Hitchin by the Hexton road, which should be followed up to the point where the Icknield Way, in its full width, and showing its most attractive features, crosses the Hexton road to mount the down as a grass road. Hitchin should be regained by "Lilly Hoo," a two-mile ridge of crisp turf, the neck of which is cut by the Icknield Way at a right angle, at the point of connection of the Hoo with the headland of Ravensburg Castle. I am sure I can appeal to Professor Ridgeway, who was my companion, to endorse my recommendation of this excursion.

Between Ravensburg Castle and Dunstable the exact track of the Icknield Way is lost in the low-lying bays of clay of the Bedfordshire plain, which run up into the chalk downs. It is known to have passed through Limbury, adjoining Lea-grave, the source (I believe) of the river Lea.

At Dunstable, in the centre of the town, the Icknield Way crosses the Watling Street at a right angle, and continuing on its south-westerly course immediately outside the town, strikes the chalk downs again, never to leave them till it reaches the Thames.

It can hardly fail to interest a Cambridge audience to learn that the Icknield Way was in former days the recognised line of pilgrimages between Oxford and Cambridge. Although not the shortest, it was the surest way of getting from one University to the other, because of its distinctive merit of offering a high and dry thoroughfare, well raised above the swamps of the Ouse and its tributaries.

At a point about six miles to the east of Dunstable, the Icknield Way branches into an Upper and Lower Way. The Upper—a grassy track—scales the chalk down to the south, while the Lower is identical with the modern road to Ivingho, a place which gave its name to Scott's novel *Ivanhoe*, which was suggested by an old rhyme

Tring Wing and Ivinghoe (Ivanhoe)
 For striking of a blow,
 Hampden did forgoe
 And glad he could escape so.

The blow in question is said to have been dealt, during a game of tennis, by an ancestor of the famous Hampden to the Black Prince, whose name is associated with Princes Risborough, where he had a palace.

My friend Mr Allix and I did not hesitate a moment about giving the preference to the Upper road, which culminates in a beacon hill, overlooking the rolling plains of Buckinghamshire, the towers of Mentmore standing out in the distance.

Avoiding Tring, which it leaves a mile to the southward, the Icknield Way passes through Wendover to Princes Risborough—mostly in the guise of a modern road. It is between the two last-named places that a striking chalk mound is pointed out as the tomb of Cymbeline at the village of Kimble, as I have already mentioned.

I have already suggested to you a short excursion from Cambridge by Hitchin to Ravensburg Castle. I would now strongly recommend to your more active members a longer one, necessitating sleeping out two nights. It is that via Dunstable, Wendover, and Princes Risborough to Watlington, embracing most of the best preserved and beautiful features of the Icknield Way.

The Hare and Hounds Inn at Watlington provides excellent food and fair sleeping accommodation.

Onwards from Watlington to Goring, a distance of about fourteen miles, through Ipsden, the Icknield Way presents features for the most part much less striking. As it approaches Goring, it goes by the name of the "Hackney road," which becomes elsewhere "Hackneld Way." A roadside farm is

however marked as "Icknield Farm," and at Goring you find an "Icknield Villa."

Crossing the Thames by the ford to Streatley, the Icknield Way continued through Berkshire and Wiltshire, reaching the sea in Dorsetshire. But to-day we take leave of it at Goring, its course onward beyond the Thames presenting almost hopeless difficulties of identification.

Wednesday, November 29, 1899.

Dr GLAISHER, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following members was announced :

FRANCIS HENRY HILL GUILLEMARD, M.D., Gonville and Caius College.

WILLIAM HENRY BULLOCK-HALL, Six Mile Bottom.

J. W. CLARK, M.A., gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides :

- (1) ON THE VATICAN LIBRARY OF SIXTUS IV.
- (2) ON THE LIBRARY OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Monday, February 12, 1900.

Dr GLAISHER, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following member was announced :

E. H. MINNS, B.A., Pembroke College.

Dr JAMES read a paper :

ON THE MANUSCRIPTS AT LAMBETH,
which has been published as a separate octavo publication.

Wednesday, March 7, 1900.

Dr GLAISHER, President, in the Chair.

Professor HADDON gave a lecture:

ON POTTERY MAKING AND OTHER INDUSTRIES
IN NEW GUINEA.

Monday, May 14, 1900.

Dr GLAISHER, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following members was announced:

GEORGE BRIMLEY BOWES, M.A., Emmanuel College.

WALTER AMBROSE HEATH HARDING, Peterhouse.

LOUIS TEBBUTT, Esq., 4, Salisbury Villas.

RONALD LIVETT, Esq., 14, Blomfield Street, London, E.C.

WILLIAM WARBURTON WINGATE, M.B., Jesus College.

Professor Hughes read a paper:

A COMPARISON OF THE *Soros* AT MARATHON
WITH BARTLOW HILLS.

This paper has been published in the *Classical Review*,
Vol. xv., No. cxxx.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Wednesday, May 23, 1900.

The following officers were elected:

President: JAMES WHITBREAD LEE GLAISHER, Esq.,
Sc.D., F.R.S., Trinity College.

Vice-President: JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A.,
Trinity College.

Treasurer: ROBERT BOWES, Esq.

Secretary: THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON, Esq.

New ordinary Members of Council: JOHN PEILE, Esq.,
Litt.D., Master of Christ's College; ALFRED CORT HADDON,
Esq., Sc.D., F.R.S., Christ's College; The Rev. WILLIAM
GEORGE SEARLE, M.A., Queens' College; STANLEY MORDAUNT
LEATHES, M.A., Trinity College.

Auditors: Alderman GEORGE KETT; JAMES BENNETT
PEACE, M.A., Emmanuel College.

The Annual Report was read.

The Council record with regret the deaths of several members: Mr ARCHIBALD SAMUEL CAMPBELL, Mr THOMAS JOHN PROCTOR CARTER, Mr GEORGE WILLIAM FITCH, the Reverend ROBERT GOODWIN, Mr RICHARD REYNOLDS ROWE, F.S.A., the Reverend Canon UNDERWOOD, and of an honorary member, Lieutenant-general PITT-RIVERS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

The members of the Society now number 259 and the honorary members 13.

During the past session six meetings have been held; four in the afternoon and two in the evening. The average attendance in the afternoon has been 31, and in the evening 20.

Seven communications have been made, namely: By Mr J. W. Clark: (a) *Supplementary note on the Vatican Library of Sixtus IV.*; (b) *On the Library of Merton College, Oxford.* By Mr J. E. Foster and Mr F. Baldrey: *Exhibition of objects from the Transvaal.* By Mr W. H. Hall: *The Icknield Way,*

from the Yare to the Thames. By Professor T. M^cK. Hughes :
*On some points of comparison between the Soros at Marathon
 and the Bartlow Hills.* By Colonel W. H. Hurrell : *Exhibition
 of objects found at Hawton.* By Dr M. R. James : *On the
 Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace.*

One lecture has been given, namely : By Dr A. C. Haddon :
Pottery-making and other industries in New Guinea.

The following works are in the press and will, it is hoped,
 be issued shortly :

The *Proceedings* for the year 1898—1899 (No. XLI.).

A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Huntingdonshire, by
 Mr J. C. Tingey and Mr G. I. Turner.

The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge, edited by Dr
 Maitland and Miss Bateson ; published jointly by the Town
 Council and the Society.

The Accounts of the Churchwardens of Saint Mary the Great,
 edited by Mr J. E. Foster.

A Calendar of the Episcopal Registers at Ely, by the
 Rev. J. H. Crosby.

Progress has also been made with the following works, to
 which reference was made in the last Annual Report :

Records of the University (Luard Memorial), Volume II.

*The Books of Matthew Stokys and John Buck, Esquire
 Bedels.*

*Documents relating to the Gilds of Corpus Christi and
 St Mary.*

A History of the County of Cambridge.

The Liber Memorandorum of Barnwell Priory.

Cole's History of Fen Ditton.

A Memoir of Professor Vigani.

*The Sacrist Rolls of the Convent of Ely relating to the
 building of the Lantern.*

The following new works have been undertaken:

Liber de obitibus et aliis memorabilibus istius cenobii [Christ Church, Canterbury] *autore Joh. Stone* [1415—1472], edited by the Rev. W. G. Searle.

An Illustrated Catalogue of the Murray Collection of Irish Antiquities, by Professor Ridgeway.

The Council has received from Mr J. W. Clark a generous offer of £50 a year for three years, towards the cost of obtaining copies of the University Wills removed in 1860 to the Diocesan Registry at Peterborough.

The Council is glad to be able to state that the University has appointed a Syndicate to consider the question of a new Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, and that Mr T. G. Jackson, R.A., has been instructed to prepare sketch plans.

Colonel HURRELL exhibited objects found at Hauxton.

Mr J. E. FOSTER and Mr F. BALDREY exhibited objects found in the Transvaal.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY

RECEIVED FROM

MAY 1898 TO MAY 1900.

A. FROM VARIOUS DONORS:

From the Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania:

Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology: Bulletin, No. 1, 1897;
Nos. 3, 4, 1898; Nos. 1, 2, 1899.

The Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania. Ser. A.,
Cuneiform Texts. Ed. by H. V. HILPRECHT. Vol. ix. 1898.

From A. N. Disney, Esq., M.A.:

Fouilles faites à Carnac (Morbihan). Les Bossenno et le Mont-Saint-
Michel. Par JAMES MILN. Paris, 1877.

From the Secretary of the Royal Societies' Club:

Rules, List of Members, etc. London, 1897.

From the Corporation of the City of Norwich:

Revised Catalogue of the Records. 1898.

From Felix Klein, Esq.:

Mathematische Annalen. Generalregister zu den Bdn 1—50. Leipzig,
1898.

From the Author:

Was middle America peopled from Asia? (Reprint.) By E. S. MORSE.
1898.

From the Society:

The Journal of the Society of Architects. Vol. vi, Nos. 5—12, 1899;
Vol. vii, Nos. 1—6, 1900; The Year Book, 1900.

From the Authors:

Étude d'éthnographie préhistorique, V. (Extrait.) Par E. PIETTE et
J. DE LAPORTERIE.

From the Author :

Address to the Numismatic Society of London. By Sir J. EVANS.
June 16, 1898.

From the Author :

Address by F. W. PUTNAM, the retiring President of the American
Association for the advancement of Science, Aug. 1899.

From the Agent-General for Queensland :

Guide to Queensland. Compiled by C. S. RUTLIDGE. London.

From the Monumental Brass Society :

Transactions, Nos. XXI—XXIV, 1898—99.

Portfolio, Parts 5, 7—10, 12. 1896—99.

From the Author :

Excavations in Cranborne Chase near Rushmore. By Lt.-Gen. PITT-
RIVERS. Vols. I, II, IV, 1887—8.

Excavations in Bokerly and Wansdyke. Vol. III, 1892.

King John's House, Tollard Royal, 1890.

From the Author :

Les temps préhistoriques en Norvège. Par S. PETERSEN. 8vo,
Kristiania, 1900.

From the Editor :

The Antiquary.

From W. M. Fawcett, Esq. :

Fenland Notes and Queries.

Ely Diocesan Remembrancer.

B. PURCHASED BY THE SOCIETY :

The Church Bells of Huntingdonshire. By Rev. T. M. N. OWEN.
8vo, London, 1899.

Index of Archaeological Papers for 1898.

By Subscription :

An Archaeological Survey of Lancashire. By WM. HARRISON. 1896.

Cartae Antiquae of Ld. Willoughby de Broke. Pt. 1. Ed. by Rev.
J. H. BLOOM.

The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist.

The East Anglian.

- C. FROM SOCIETIES, ETC. IN UNION FOR THE EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS:
1. Society of Antiquaries of London (*Assistant Secretary*, W. H. ST J. HOPE, M.A., Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.):
Proceedings, Vol. xvii, Nos. 1, 2.
 2. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (*Curator*, J. ANDERSON, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh):
Proceedings, Vol. xxxii.
 3. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, R. COCHRANE, Esq., F.S.A., 6, St Stephen's Green, Dublin):
Journal, Fifth Series, Vols. II, III; Vol. VII, No. 1; Vol. VIII, Nos. 2, 3, 4; Vol. IX; Vol. X, No. 1.
 4. Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Secretary*, Rev. Canon R. TREVOR OWEN, M.A., F.S.A., Llangedwyn, Oswestry):
Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fifth Series), Nos. 59—66.
 5. Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (*Secretary*, A. H. LYELL, Esq., M.A., 20, Hanover Square, W.):
Journal, Nos. 218—224.
 6. British Archaeological Association (*Hon. Secretary*, G. PATRICK, Esq., 32, Sackville Street, W.):
Journal, New Series, Vol. iv, Parts 2—4; Vol. v; Vol. vi, Part 1.
 7. Folk-lore Society (*Secretary*, F. A. MILNE, Esq., M.A., 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.):
Publications: Vols. 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41.
Folk Lore Record: Vols. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10.
Folk Lore Journal: Vols. 18, 19, 21, 24.
Folk Lore: Vols. 42—44.
 8. Society of Architects (*Secretary*, A. MONTEFIORE, Esq., St James's Hall, Piccadilly, W.):
Journal, New Series, Vol. v, Part 8; Vol. vi, Parts 3, 4.
Year Book, 1899.
 9. Guildhall Library, London (*Librarian*, CHARLES WELCH, Esq., F.S.A., Guildhall, Gresham Street, E.C.):
Nothing received this year.
 10. Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society of Chester (*Hon. Secretary*, T. J. POWELL, Esq., 14, Newgate Street, Chester):
Journal, Vol. vi, Parts 2, 3.
Catalogue of Roman Inscribed Stones in the Grosvenor Museum.

11. Clifton Antiquarian Club (*Hon. Secretary*, A. E. HUDD, Esq., F.S.A.,
94, Pembroke Road, Clifton):
Proceedings, Vol. iv, Parts 1, 2.
12. Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon.
Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):
Journal, Vols. xx—xxii.
13. East Riding Antiquarian Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. A. N. COOPER,
The Vicarage, Filey):
Transactions, Vols. III, VI.
14. Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, G. F. BEAUMONT, Esq.,
F.S.A., The Lawn, Coggeshall, Kelvedon):
Transactions, Vol. VII; Vol. VIII, Part 1. Index to Transactions,
Vols. I—V, and Vols. I—V New Series.
Register of Admissions to the Grammar School, Colchester,
pp. 75—108, +i—ix, and title-page.
15. Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, J. JERMAN, Esq.,
5, Bedford Circus, Exeter):
Nothing received this year.
16. Glasgow Archaeological Society (*Secretary*, W. E. BLACK, Esq., 88,
West Regent Street, Glasgow):
Nothing received this year.
17. Hampshire Field Club (*Hon. Secretary*, W. DALE, Esq., 5, Sussex
Place, Southampton):
Papers and Proceedings, Vol. IV, Part 1.
18. Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGENE DUPREY, Queen Street,
St Helier, Jersey):
Bulletin Annuel, 1882, 1892, 1899.
Actes des Etats de l'Île de Jersey (Pubⁿ. 14^e).
19. Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, G. PAYNE, Esq., F.S.A.,
The Precinct, Rochester):
Archæologia Cantiana, Vol. xxiii.
20. Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society (*Secretary*, G. C. YATES,
Esq., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester):
Transactions, Vols. xv, xvi.
21. Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Curator*, Rev.
J. MANSELL, 12, Kremlin Drove, Liverpool):
Nothing received this year.
22. Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secre-
tary*, Colonel G. C. BELLAIRS, The Newarke, Leicester):
Transactions, VIII, Parts 2, 3, 5, 6.

23. Architectural Society of the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham and the Associated Societies (*General Secretary*, Rev. A. F. SUTTON, Brant Broughton, Newark):
Reports and Papers, Vol. xxvi, Part 1.
24. London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, CHARLES WELCH, Esq., F.S.A., London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.):
Archaeological Album, 1899.
25. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (*Secretary*, R. BLAIR, Esq., The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):
Archaeologia-Aeliana, Vols. xx, xxi; Vol. xxii, Part 1.
Proceedings, Vol. viii, Nos. 18—31, and pp. i—viii; Vol. ix, Nos. 1—22, and pp. xxi—xxviii.
Parish Registers of Warkworth, Parts ii—v, and pp. i—xxxvi.
Parish Registers of Elsdon, pp. 125—148. Parish Registers of Dinsdale, pp. 1—4, 29—56.
26. Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, L. BOLINGBROKE, Esq., The Library, Guildhall Hill, Norwich):
Original Papers, Vol. x, Part 3; Vol. xiii; Vol. xiv, Part 1.
Norfolk Records, Vol. i.
27. Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Librarian*, Capt. the Hon. B. J. STAPLETON, 30, Leckford Road, Oxford):
Nothing received this year.
28. Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, T. SIMPSON JONES, M.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):
Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. xxix, Parts 1, 3; Vol. xxx, Parts 2, 3; Vol. xxxi, Part 1.
29. Architectural and Archaeological Society of St Albans (*Hon. Secretary*, the Rev. H. FOWLER, M.A., Lensfield Road, St Albans):
Transactions, New Series, Vol. i, Part 2 (1897—8); Index to 1895.
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Manadsblad, 1895.
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Annuaire, Vols. x, XI.
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Proceedings, Vol. XII, Parts 2, 3 and Index; Vol. XIII, Parts 1, 2.

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Part 6 (1898).
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The Peabody Museum; by F. W. PUTNAM.
Guide to the Peabody Museum. 1898.
Reports, 21—24, 28.
59. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (*Secretary*, P. LANGLEY,
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1896, 1899.
Revista do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. I. 1896.
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Parts 2, 3. 1897—1898: Vol. I, Part 1; Vol. II, Parts 2, 3.
60. Congress of Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries:
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SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DECEMBER, 1899.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Expenses.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance brought forward 1 Jan. 1899	200 1 8	<i>Proceedings and Communications:</i>	
Annual Subscriptions:		No. XL, Printing	14 9 10
Current (170)	178 10 0	Octavo Publication, No. XXXII, Printing	29 12 10
Arrears	28 7 0	List of Members, &c., Printing	8 19 6
Paid in Advance	2 2 0	History of Cambridgeshire, Printing Prospectus	5 2 2
		List of Publications, Printing	4 3 8
Life Member	208 19 0	Miscellaneous Printing	12 8 4
Interest on £700 G. F. R. 4 p.c.	5 5 0	Grant to Archaeological Museum Accessions Fund	30 0 0
Debtenture Stock, 1 Jan.	13 10 8	do. (Freeman Collection)	31 0 0
" " 1 July	13 10 8	Murray Collection of Irish Antiquities, per Professor Ridgway	115 0 0
Sales of Publications:	27 1 4	Books, Stationery and Binding	7 14 4
Deighton, Bell, & Co.	1 1 6	Stamping 1500 envelopes with postage heads	6 8 6
Macmillan and Bowes	21 3 11	Congress of Archaeological Associations, 2 years	2 0 0
		St Mary's Parish Book, revising transcript	8 10 0
Sales of Luard Memorial, Vol. A.	22 5 5	Report on Indexes to Cole MSS.	3 12 0
	109 8 9	Lantern for four Lectures	3 15 0
		Attendance	3 10 0
		Small payments by Secretary	1 15 6
		Clerical Assistance	1 16 11
		Typewriting	0 4 5
		Balance: In Bank	282 6 3
		In Treasurer's hands	11 11
			282 18 2
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