

The Library of Henry Oldenburg

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I

Henry Oldenburg (c. 1619–1677) is best known for the work he did as Secretary of the Royal Society – as administrator, editor, and all-round intellectual entrepreneur – and for the huge correspondence he conducted, much of it on the Royal Society’s behalf. Much less attention has been paid, however, to his personal intellectual life. The valuable new biography of him by Marie Boas Hall, for example, mainly concentrates on his role as a facilitator and encourager of other scientists; even his work as a translator (an example of such facilitation, certainly, but one that might be thought to have expressed some special personal interests) still awaits a detailed study.¹ It is true that, where Oldenburg’s activities are concerned, no strict separation can be made between the official and the personal. As his correspondence shows, his private and public business were constantly intermingled, and many of his official contacts were at the same time his friends. Nevertheless, it would not be an illegitimate task to try to distinguish, and characterize, the development of Oldenburg’s own intellectual interests. Any scholars who undertake such a task will of course depend heavily on the evidence of the correspondence. But they should also take note of another resource, which has hitherto remained unpublished and unexamined: the surviving listings of Oldenburg’s private collection of books.

There are three lists. Lists 1 and 2 (as they will be called here) survive among a group of manuscripts gathered by Thomas Birch, either from the Royal Society or, more probably, from the papers of John Pell. List 1, entitled ‘Catalogue of my best books and what they cost me’, is in Oldenburg’s own hand; it is undated, but can be confidently assigned to the early months of 1668.² The latest publication included in it is the third volume of Descartes’s *Lettres*, dated 1667, and it also lists several items which Oldenburg is known to have received during that year, including Lambeck’s *Prodromus*, which he obtained in November.³ The very last item on the list is Steno’s *Elementorum myologiae specimen*, which Oldenburg received in February 1668.⁴ Further evidence for the dating of this document is supplied by the short paragraph of text (heavily deleted, and legible only with difficulty) in Oldenburg’s hand, with which it originally began:

I Henry Oldenburg Secretary to the R. Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, do give unto the President, Councill and Fellows of ye s[ai]d Society, for their Library, to be sett up in their Colledge, intended to be built vpon ye ground near Arundel house given for that use by the Hon[oura]ble Henry Howard of Norfolk: And doe hereby engage myself, my Heires, Executors, Administrators and Assignes, to deliver to whomever ye s[ai]d Pres[ide]nt, Councill and Fellows shall appoint, ye Books following, viz.

Note: I am extremely grateful to Giles Mandelbrote, of the British Library, not only for the valuable help he has given me on a range of matters (as recorded in the notes), but also for his comments on an earlier draft of this article. I should also like to thank Prof. Mordechai Feingold for his comments. I am very grateful to the British Library and the Royal Society for permission to reproduce the texts of manuscripts in their collections.

¹ M. B. Hall, *Henry Oldenburg: Shaping the Royal Society* (Oxford, 2002).

² BL, Add. MS. 4255, ff. 237–238r.

³ H. Oldenburg, *The Correspondence*, ed. A. R. Hall and M. B. Hall, 13 vols (Madison, Wis., and London, 1965–86) [hereafter: *OC*], vol. iii, p. 612 (Lambeck); cf. vol. iii, p. 367 (Fabri, *Tractatus duo*; Castelli, *Della misura*).

⁴ *OC*, vol. iv, pp. 123, 206.

During the winter of 1667–8 the Royal Society was hoping to raise enough money to build its own ‘College’. One of its leading patrons, Henry Howard (the future sixth Duke of Norfolk, son of the fifth Earl of Arundel), had already donated to the Society most of the library of his London residence, Arundel House; now (as Oldenburg informed one of his correspondents on 30 January 1668) he ‘very generously bestows on them a piece of ground in Arundel house, to build such a Colledg upon: ye raising of wch they intend, God willing, to begin this Spring’.⁵ It was evidently during this period that, fired by enthusiasm for the project, Oldenburg drew up this list of his ‘best’ books. But by the late summer of 1668 the plan had more or less fallen through, partly because of problems concerning the legal title to the plot of land; it was probably then that Oldenburg’s prefatory declaration was deleted.⁶ The Royal Society did of course continue to have its own library (containing the Arundel collection, plus some other donated books), so the reason for Oldenburg’s withdrawal of his gift is not entirely clear. Nevertheless, the impulse, while it lasted, had been a generous one: although the total valuation of these seventy books came to less than £30, this must have been a significant sum for Oldenburg, whose entire income was probably less than £100 per annum.⁷

List 2, which was intended as a comprehensive listing of Oldenburg’s library, was drawn up in October 1670.⁸ Both the title and the section-headings (which categorize the books as ‘Theologicici’, ‘Politici’, ‘Philosophici’, ‘Humanistae’, and ‘Historici’, and classify them by size) are in his hand, while the entries themselves are in the hand of a scribe or assistant. After Oldenburg’s death in September 1677, this list was used as the basis for an inventory of his library by his old friend John Pell, who acted as an assistant and advisor to the ‘administratrix’ of his estate, Margaret Lowden.⁹ Pell added many new entries (trying wherever possible to put them in the correct sections); sometimes he seems to have duplicated inadvertently entries that were already present; and in a few cases he also added dates, or other distinguishing remarks, to the existing entries. John Pell was a meticulous man, and his own papers are full of painstaking lists and tables of all kinds, so it is reasonable to assume that he did a thorough job. (In the version of List 2 printed below, all material written by Pell is presented in italics, and deletions by him are annotated ‘deleted by JP’.)

In giving this assistance to Mrs Lowden, Pell found himself placed in an awkward position vis-à-vis the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow. Oldenburg’s house contained, at the time of his death, many of the papers (including journals and register-books) which Oldenburg had written or received in the course of his duties as Secretary of the Royal Society; that body naturally wished to recover them, but lacked the legal authority to search the premises. And one member of the Royal Society had a special reason for wanting to make such a search: Robert Hooke, who had quarrelled bitterly with Oldenburg, was convinced that he would find evidence that Oldenburg had been secretly passing details of Hooke’s own discoveries and inventions to Huygens. Hooke’s angry diary entry of 7 November 1677 reads as follows: ‘At [...] Oldenburgs. The Books denyd, &c., and Dr. Pell noe friend to the Royall

⁵ Ibid., vol. iv, p. 133. On the gift of the Arundel House library see M. B. Hall, *The Library and Archives of the Royal Society, 1660–1990* (London, 1992), pp. 2–3; L. Levy Peck, ‘Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society: Changing Meanings of Science and the Fate of the Norfolk Donation’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, lii (1998), pp. 3–24.

⁶ See Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, pp. 272–3; T. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London*, 4 vols (London, 1756–7), vol. ii, p. 313.

⁷ See the comments on his finances in Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, pp. 276–7. ‘Valuation’ here, of course, does not mean what they would have realized if he had sold them; Oldenburg was recording the prices he had paid.

⁸ BL, Add. MS. 4255, ff. 228–235 (retrograde).

⁹ On Pell and his friendship with Oldenburg see N. Malcolm and J. Stedall, *John Pell (1611–1685) and his Correspondence with Sir Charles Cavendish: The Mental World of an Early Modern Mathematician* (Oxford, 2005), esp. pp. 189, 216–24, 227–8.

Society. Dr. Pell opened the sealed paper from the key hole and unlocked the door. Mrs – and her Solicitor, Dr. Pell, I and H. Hunt entered, we saw the things but she denied delivery without paying money and giving Discharge’. Eventually, on Christmas Eve, he was able to record that he had ‘With much trouble retrieved the books out of Pells hands & Loudens &c.’¹⁰ Oldenburg’s ‘trunk’ was then opened in the presence of a lawyer (Sir John Hoskins, FRS), and during the next few days Hooke was able to search through the papers it contained.¹¹

It was probably at this time that John Collins – friend and mathematical right-hand-man of Oldenburg, and Fellow of the Royal Society – drew up the short list of books which is presented here as List 3.¹² Written on a single leaf of paper (preserved in the archives of the Royal Society), it is prefaced by the following statement:

Before m^{rs} Louden receive any thing from y^e Royall Society, It is desired they may be satisfied what is become of [y^e proposals concerning Chelsey Colledge, And y^e Journall and Register booke of y^e Society and *deleted*] some bookes sent to y^e Society and in his custody formerly w^{ch} are not in the trunke And indeed it were but just that some for y^e Society had y^e perusal of his study and A sufficient assurance and prooffe that no papers or bookes have bin taken thence (besides those in y^e trunke) since his death.

Prompted, perhaps, by Collins’s memorandum, the Royal Society decided on 2 January 1678 to ask some of its members ‘to visit Mr Boyle, and to desire his assistance in recovering the books and papers of the Society yet remaining in Mrs Larden’s [sic] hands’; it also resolved ‘That care be taken to have the oaths of Dr. Pell and the administratrix made in chancery, that all the papers belonging to the Society had been delivered, and that they knew of none else’.¹³

Some uncertainties arise over the interpretation of these documents. What Hooke called ‘the Books’ in November and December may have included some printed volumes; but it is possible that he was referring only to journals and register-books (which Collins must have understood to have been returned, when he cancelled the phrase about them in his statement). The ‘books’ referred to in the resolution of 2 January, on the other hand, are more likely to have been the ones listed here by Collins. Whether the printed books specified in List 3 were ever recovered by the Royal Society is, as we shall see, far from clear. List 3 differs from the other two lists in its evidential status: not only was it compiled from memory, but also we cannot be sure that Collins’s understanding of the legal ownership of the books was in every case correct. (The inclusion of Graunt’s *Natural and Political Observations* in this list must raise some suspicions: this was a work published under the official auspices of the Royal Society, which meant that Oldenburg was entitled to receive a copy personally.)¹⁴ Further uncertainties are created by the fact that Pell, who evidently made a careful survey of Oldenburg’s library, did not include these items; either they were no longer in Oldenburg’s house, or, if they were, they were clearly differentiated from his own books.¹⁵ If we assume that the books were (or had been) there, and that Collins’s

¹⁰ R. Hooke, *The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672–1680*, ed. H. W. Robinson and W. Adams (London, 1935), pp. 326, 336. The draft receipt referred to ‘one trunke of writting papers and other Instruments with some bookes [...] and] fifteen bundles of papers all belonging to the Royal Society’ (Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, p. 306).

¹¹ Hooke, *Diary*, p. 337.

¹² Royal Society, London, MS. Domestic V, item 43.

¹³ Birch, *History*, vol. iii, p. 369

¹⁴ See below, at n. 75. For another case that casts doubt on Collins’s reliability, see below, at n. 68. On the other hand, his claim is confirmed in one instance: see below, at n. 28.

¹⁵ There is a puzzling exception: the work by Dulaurens (no. 95) appears in Lists 2 and 3. Even more puzzlingly, the work by Steno (no. 281) appears in Lists 1 and 3, but not in List 2.

information about them was correct, then we must of course admit that those books did not belong *de jure* to Oldenburg's library. But they would have formed part of it *de facto*, and should therefore not be excluded from any listing of the books in Oldenburg's possession. Following the three lists, below, a consolidated catalogue is presented, in which all the items in those lists are identified (and given numbers, which will be used hereafter as reference numbers; these have also been added, in square brackets, to the entries in the lists). In this consolidated catalogue, the books specified in List 3 are distinguished by an asterisk at the start of the title.

Margaret Lowden appears to have arranged the sale of a major part of Oldenburg's library to the Earl of Anglesey.¹⁶ This was a good choice: not only was the Earl a Fellow of the Royal Society who had known Oldenburg for many years, but he also had a voracious intellectual appetite and deep pockets. When the Earl in turn died in 1686, the sale catalogue of his own library (entitled *Bibliotheca angleseiana*) showed it to be one of the greatest assembled in seventeenth-century England; containing more than 8,500 items, it was particularly strong in natural philosophy and modern English theology. Confirmation that books from Oldenburg's collection had passed to it is easily obtained. One of the volumes specified in List 1 contained three items bound together: Apianus, *De utilitate trientis*; Euclid, *Catoptrica*; and Mästlin, *Observationes et demonstratio cometæ* (nos 11, 99, and 191 in the consolidated catalogue). The same three items, bound together, are listed in the Anglesey catalogue.¹⁷ Another composite volume in List 1 contained von Herberstein's *Comentari della Moscovia* and Anglerius's *Summario de la generale historia de l'Indie Occidentali* (nos 148 and 7); this combination too appears (with a third item, not mentioned by Oldenburg) in Anglesey's library.¹⁸ And although some of the items that appear in both the Oldenburg lists and the Anglesey catalogue were ordinary enough, and might well have been acquired by the Earl independently, there are quite a few unusual titles common to them both: for example, works by Ameline, Bassi, Bilain, Brunn, Casati, Cnopius, Elsholtz, Follinus, Graindorge, Le Court, von Loehneyss, Mengoli (no. 195), Redi, de Rochas d'Aiglun, Rolfinck (nos 248, 249), Rüff, Sachse de Lewenheim, Schefferus, Schwenter, Seneschal, Sinclair, Tagliacozzi, and Tarde. The compiler of the Anglesey catalogue, Thomas Philipps (the Earl's former steward), was more punctilious than Oldenburg's assistant had been in noting the contents of the *Sammelbänder*. Thus, for example, where the compiler of List 2 merely wrote 'Observationes Med. Bootij' (i.e. A. Boate [Bootius], *Observationes medicae*: no. 27), the Anglesey catalogue noted Boate's work as the first in the volume, but added that it was bound with items by Meibom (H. Meibom: nos 192, 193; J. H. Meibom: no. 194), de Raci (no. 241), Rose (no. 250), and Travagani (no. 299). We know from Oldenburg's correspondence that when he received Boate's book from Hamburg in 1670, it was

¹⁶ The editors of *OC* remark that Oldenburg's library was 'included' in the subsequent sale of the Anglesey library (vol. vii, p. 335, n. 3); this, as we shall see, is an exaggeration. Marie Boas Hall similarly writes that Oldenburg's library 'passed to the Earl of Anglesey' (*Henry Oldenburg*, p. 353, n. 9). The origin of these claims was probably a comment in the notes on 'London Libraries' by the eighteenth-century bibliographer William Oldys: 'the Earl of Anglesey [...] bought several whole libraries, particularly that of Mr. Oldenburg' (Anon. [J. Yeowell], *A Literary Antiquary: A Memoir of William Oldys, Esq., Norroy King-at-Arms* (London, 1862), pp. 92-3).

¹⁷ *Bibliotheca angleseiana* [ed. T. Philipps] (London, 1686), part i, p. 58. [This work, which is in two separately paginated parts, will hereafter be referred to as *BA*, followed by the part number.]

¹⁸ *BA*, i, p. 90 (with Gout, *Regiones sveciae*: no. 132).

accompanied by four of those other items (nos 192, 193, 194, 250).¹⁹ Two other items in the same shipment were Elsholtz, *Chysmatica nova* (no. 98), and Grube, *Commentarius* (no. 139); List 2 mentions only the former, but the Anglesey catalogue, in its entry for Elsholtz's work, specifies that the latter was bound with it. Where there are grounds for thinking that a title given in Lists 1 and 2 corresponds to a *Sammelband* listed under that title in the Anglesey catalogue, the other contents of that composite volume have been included in the consolidated catalogue presented here: in such cases the entire entry in the consolidated catalogue is enclosed in square brackets, with a cross-reference to the first item in the bound volume, and a reference to the relevant entry in the *Bibliotheca angleseiana* (abbreviated as 'BA').

The Anglesey catalogue, used in conjunction with these lists, is thus a valuable source of further information about the contents of Oldenburg's library. It is also useful for the dating of the editions referred to in the Oldenburg lists. In some cases, of course, the works referred to had only one edition: here the date cannot be in doubt. In other cases Pell has added the dates to existing entries in list 2, or supplied them as a matter of course in his new ones. In several cases, where the matter is still in doubt, it can be resolved either by the wording of the title (if it changed between editions) or by the descriptions 'in fol.', 'in 4°', and 'in 8°'. (Though it should be borne in mind that these were used not in their technical bibliographical senses, but only as descriptions of size; a small quarto might be described as octavo, and a large octavo as quarto.) But there remain many cases where, even within these limits, the edition referred to might be one of several different dates and/or places of publication. Here the evidence of the Anglesey catalogue (which almost always specifies both date and place) has been adduced, and a reference to the entry for that specific edition in the *Bibliotheca angleseiana* has been included in square brackets, thus: 'Mercurialis, H., *De arte gymnastica libri sex* (Venice, 1601 [BA, i, p. 55])'. If, however, the work in question does not appear in the Anglesey catalogue, then the following rule is applied: the edition listed is the earliest that corresponds to the size-category of the book (for example, if the work is listed as a quarto, earlier folio editions are disregarded); if there was just one subsequent edition prior to the date of the list, the details of both editions are given; but if there was more than one, the phrase 'and later edns' is used.

It must be borne in mind that not all the items mentioned in the Oldenburg lists are in the Anglesey catalogue: more than a third of them are not specified there. Some of the more minor works may in fact have been present; in the last part of the catalogue there are many multiple lots consisting of unbound items, referred to under general descriptions. But some quite distinctive items in the Oldenburg lists, which would surely not have received such cursory treatment, are absent from the *Bibliotheca angleseiana* – for example, the two astrological items by Gadbury, the work by Guarini, *Placita philosophica*, the two treatises by Jousse on carpentry and locks, the *Epistolae* of Reinesius, and Semple's *De mathematicis disciplinis*, all of which were folio volumes. It seems that the Earl selected only what he wanted. In which case it must also seem likely that, although there are multiple copies of quite a few works in the Anglesey catalogue, the Earl (or his librarian) would have made some attempt to avoid duplication. This means that the use of the Anglesey catalogue for dating purposes, as mentioned above, is not infallible; the evidence supplied by that catalogue is the best available in the circumstances, but such identifications may not always be correct.

On the other hand, while many of Oldenburg's books do not appear in the Anglesey catalogue, there are a few items in that catalogue which look as if they might have come from

¹⁹ OC, vol. vi, p. 413. The work by Travagini was known to Oldenburg in 1670 (see the notice of it in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no. lx (20 June 1670), pp. 1084–5). The work by de Raei (an inaugural lecture delivered in Amsterdam in January 1669) is not mentioned in OC, but may perhaps have been sent to him by Samuel Colepresse in Leiden, who sent him an earlier work by de Raei in July 1669: see OC, vol. vi, p. 72.

Oldenburg's collection, even though they do not appear in his lists. One such is the entry for *Assertio libertatis reipublicae Bremensis, das ist der Kayserl. und dess Heil. Röm. Reichs Freyen Stadt Bremen Ehren-, Freyheit- und Standts-Rettung* (Bremen, 1646): this was a polemical work in defence of the rights of Bremen, the city Oldenburg had served as a diplomatic representative.²⁰ Another is the entry for the first edition of Malebranche's *La Recherche de la vérité*.²¹ Oldenburg began an English translation of this work, so one would expect him to have had his own copy of it.²² Indeed, there are indications in his correspondence that he was sent one by Henri Justel.²³ Yet no copy appears in the listings of his library. As the evidence of his correspondence (discussed below) makes clear, Oldenburg was an active manager of his own collection of books, frequently disposing of items he felt he did not need. It is therefore quite possible that some books had passed from his library to Anglesey's (by gift or sale) while Oldenburg was alive, and that the timing of those transactions may have precluded the appearance of those books in Lists 1 and 2.

Finally, what of the items specified by Collins in List 3? The evidence here is quite murky. It is possible that some of these were in fact returned to the Royal Society – but certainly not the majority of them. In 1681 (four years after Oldenburg's death) the Royal Society published its own library catalogue, entitled *Bibliotheca norfolciana*; the bulk of the items listed in it belonged to the Arundel House bequest, but it also contained an additional section entitled 'Books given to the Royal Society by the authors themselves, and by other people'.²⁴ In that section one finds one item which certainly appears in List 3, Lana Terzi's *Prodromo*, and one, Erasmus Bartholinus's *Selecta geometrica* (Copenhagen, 1674), which might possibly correspond to Collins's entry '[A booke of] Bartholin'.²⁵ The British Library possesses an exemplar of the *Bibliotheca norfolciana* with a continuation of the catalogue added in manuscript by Robert Hooke. In this added section one finds another copy of Lana Terzi's book, and two other items specified in List 3: Leibniz's *Hypothesis physica nova*, and Swammerdam's *Miraculum naturae*.²⁶ Also listed are two items by Erasmus Bartholinus, his

²⁰ BA, i, p. 98. I have not been able to locate a copy of this work in any library in Britain; there is one in Basel University Library, pressmark Ne IX 2:1. Anglesey had very few items in German, and it must be doubted whether he could read the language.

²¹ BA, i, p. 85.

²² A fragment of Oldenburg's translation (of book 1, ch. 1 and part of ch. 2), in Oldenburg's hand, is in BL, Add. MS. 4395, ff. 185–90. It begins with a mock title page: 'Of the SEARCH of TRUTH Wherein is treated of the Nature of the Mind of Man, and of the Use to be made thereof for avoyding Error in Sciences. Englished out of French by H. O. Printed by [gap] for Moses Pitt at the Angel in St Pauls Churchyard A. 1675' (f. 185r). Despite this last detail, there is no other evidence that the work was ever ready for publication. This attempted translation seems to be unknown both to previous writers on Oldenburg, and to writers on the reception of Malebranche.

²³ Justel informed Oldenburg of the appearance of the first volume of Malebranche's work in May 1674, adding that 'if it is good, I shall send it to you' ('Sil est bon ie vous l'envoierai': OC, vol. xi, p. 5); in Sept. 1675 he wrote that 'the second part of the *Recherche de la vérité* has been printed [...] one should send you the first' ('la seconde partie dela recherche dela Verite est imprimee [...] On vous doit envoyer le premier': ibid., vol. xi, p. 483). If it was only then that Oldenburg was sent a copy of the first volume, then it would seem that his translation (dated 'A. 1675': see previous note) was undertaken very soon after he received it.

²⁴ *Bibliotheca norfolciana* [ed. W. Perry] (London, 1681), pp. 169–75, 'Libri ab Ipsis Authoribus Et Aliis R. Societati Donati'.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 172. Oldenburg received a copy of Lana Terzi's book from John Doddington in Venice in Jan. 1671 (see OC, vol. vii, p. 289; Birch, *History*, vol. ii, p. 466), and reviewed it in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no. lxxix (25 Mar. 1671), pp. 2114–16.

²⁶ *Bibliotheca norfolciana*, BL pressmark 824.f.52, pp. [177], [179], [188]. Oldenburg had arranged the reprinting of Leibniz's book in London in 1671 (see OC, vol. viii, p. 102); it was reviewed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no. lxxiii (17 July 1671), pp. 2213–14. Swammerdam's book was reviewed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no. lxxxiv (17 June 1672), pp. 4098–5001.

De cometis opusculum (Copenhagen, 1665) and his *Experimenta crystalli islandici*: again, either of these might correspond to the entry on Collins's list.²⁷ But the other items listed by Collins do not seem to have found their way back to the Royal Society.

Did they end up in Anglesey's collection? In just one case it is possible to give a definite answer – and, at the same time, to provide confirmation of Collins's claim about the status of the book. The British Library possesses a copy of Louis Géraud de Cordemoy's *Discours physique de la parole* (no. 79) inscribed by Oldenburg 'Presented to ye R. Society from the Author July 2^d 1668.' (fig. 1); this copy also bears one of Hans Sloane's library pressmarks; and an annotated copy of the *Bibliotheca angleseiana* specifies that it was Sloane who bought (for 2s 7d) the copy included in the Anglesey sale.²⁸ Altogether, of the 23 identifiable items on Collins's list, nine appear in the *Bibliotheca angleseiana*; but several of these were London publications – e.g. the works by Croone, Graunt, Lefevre (no. 178), and Taylor – which Anglesey could easily have acquired through other channels. And although he did have the items by de Cordemoy, Dulaurens, and Fracassati, he lacked the foreign-printed works by Boulliau (no. 35), Bourgoing, Payen, Sorbière, Steno, Stiernhielm (nos 283–6), and Zerilli (no. 327). (Confusingly, he did also have the items by Leibniz and Swammerdam, mentioned above – but the first of these, at least, had been easily available in London.) It seems that no firm conclusion about the fate of the volumes listed by Collins is possible.

The history of those books which did pass into Anglesey's collection can in many cases be taken one step further, thanks to the auctioneer's annotated copy of the *Bibliotheca angleseiana*, which names the purchasers at the sale of the Anglesey library (and specifies the prices paid).²⁹ Once again, it must be emphasized that this evidence is not – for this purpose – entirely reliable: the assumption that items appearing both in the Oldenburg lists and in the Anglesey catalogue were the very same volumes is likely to be correct in many cases, but can be made with certainty only where a small number of items (the ones distinctively bound together in *Sammelbänder*) are concerned. Indeed, there is at least one likely counter-example – a book which is known to have come from Oldenburg's library, but which is probably not to be identified with the one in the Anglesey sale. The British Library possesses a copy of Fabri's *Synopsis optica* (no. 104) bearing Oldenburg's signature on the title page (and the price he paid: '5 sh') (fig. 2); it also has one of Hans Sloane's 'alchemical' inscriptions, which, thanks to the researches of M. A. E. Nickson, can be decoded as '1693 2s 0d'.³⁰ The copy of this work in the Anglesey library was, however, sold to 'Plucknett' (the physician and botanist Leonard Plukenet) for 4s 2d.³¹ It is of course possible that this item

²⁷ *Bibliotheca norfolciana*, BL pressmark 824.f.52, p. [182]. The *Experimenta* listed here could possibly have been Oldenburg's inscribed copy of that book; but in that case, it was probably not the item referred to by Collins in List 3 (see below, nn. 71, 73).

²⁸ BL, pressmark 621.b.7, with Sloane's pressmark 'x:48' and a note in his 'alchemical' code (on which see below, n. 30), standing for '1686 2' (a '7' may have been lost when the page was cut down). This book is listed in Sloane's library catalogue, with the pressmark 'x.48': BL, Sloane MS 3972C, vol. 1, f. 29r. See the entry in Lambeth Palace Library, pressmark Z999. (P4) (annotated copy of BA [hereafter referred to as BA-LPL]), i, p. 87. (I am very grateful to Giles Mandelbrote for drawing my attention to these items.) Cf. Birch, *History*, vol. ii, p. 303, meeting of 2 July 1668: 'Mr. Oldenburg presented from the author, Monsr. de Cordemoy, a small French book, intituled, *Discours physique de la parole*'.

²⁹ See above, n. 28. For a discussion of this annotated copy see T. A. Birrell, 'Books and Buyers in Seventeenth-Century English Auction Sales', in R. Myers, M. Harris, and G. Mandelbrote (eds), *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (New Castle, Del., 2001), pp. 51–64, esp. pp. 60–2.

³⁰ BL, pressmark 537.f.5; the price corresponds to the one given in List 1. For the code see M. A. E. Nickson, 'Sloane's Codes: the Solution to a Mystery', *Factotum: Newsletter of the XVIIIth Century STC, British Library*, no. vii (Dec. 1979), pp. 13–18. (I am very grateful to Giles Mandelbrote for drawing this article to my attention, and kindly supplying a copy of it.)

³¹ BA-LPL, i, p. 57.

passed, directly or indirectly, from Plukenet to Sloane seven years later; but Plukenet was neither short of money, nor friendly towards Sloane, and he lived until 1706.³²

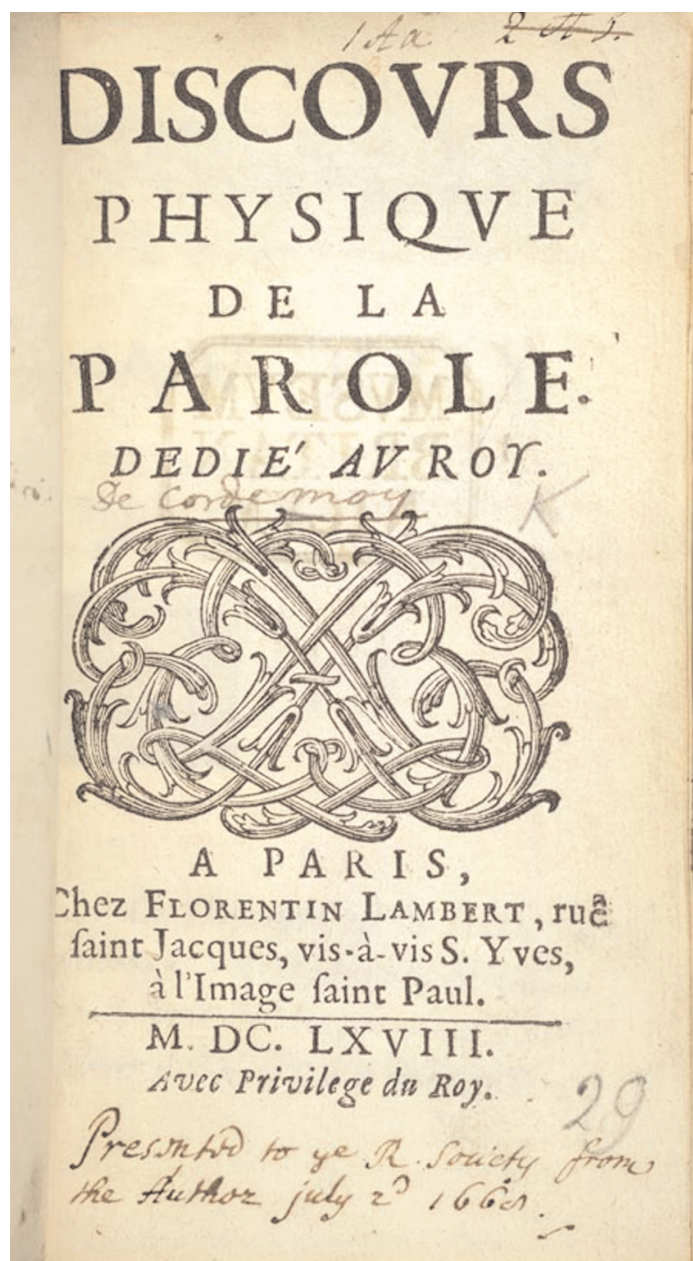


Fig. 1.

³² See the entries on Plukenet in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

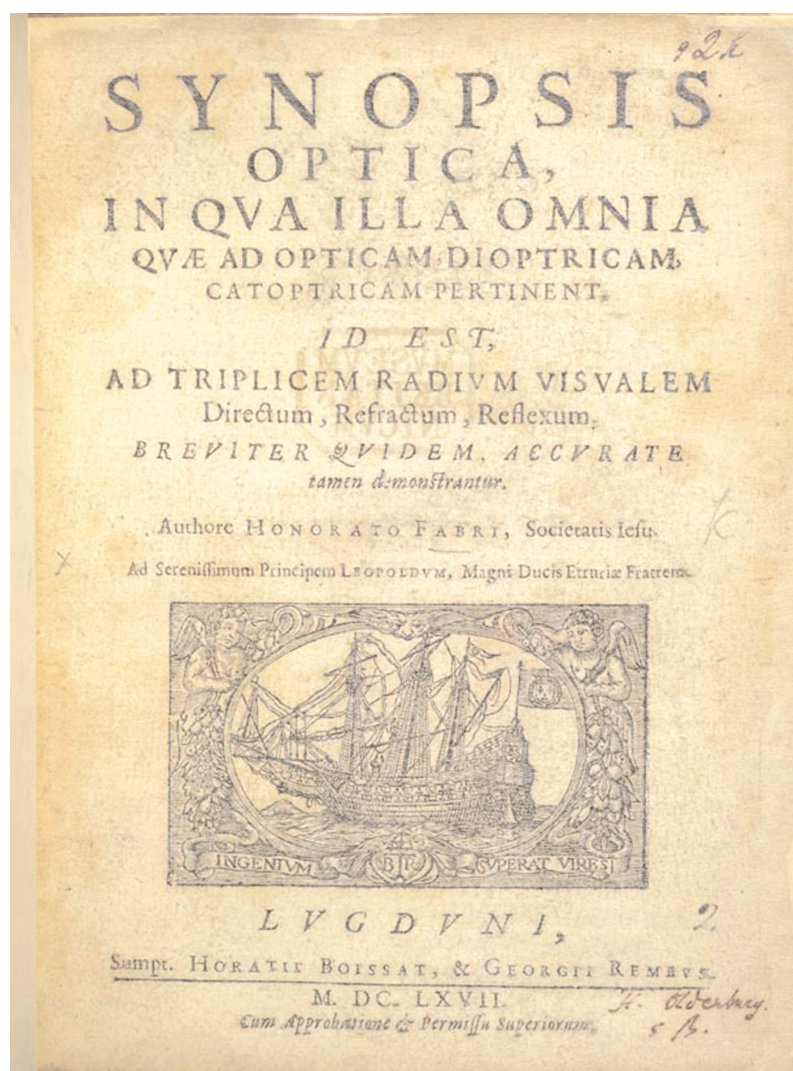


Fig. 2.

Nevertheless, with this proviso in mind, the annotated Anglesey catalogue does make it possible to gain a broadly reliable picture of the way in which many of Oldenburg's books were dispersed among the London intelligentsia of the 1680s. The purchasers included the polymath Isaac Vossius (who bought the item by Baldaeus); the Anglo-Saxonist George Hickes (who bought Lambeck); the Arabist and mathematician Edward Bernard (the Félibien-Perrault-Redi *Sammelband*); the physician and theologian William Coward (Lubieniecki), the mathematics teacher and translator of Hobbes Venterus Mandey (Borelli (nos 31 and 32), Cnopius, the Galilei *Sammelband*); the mathematician and FRS Lord Vaughan (Magalotti, Nonnius, Riccioli, Sprat); the physician Richard Blackburne, friend of Aubrey and Hooke (Naudé), Anthony Carey, fifth Viscount Falkland (Descartes (no. 89), Follinus, Kircher (no. 170), Nostradamus, Wilkins); the botanist and FRS Samuel Doody (at least nine items, including Platt, Tagliacozzi, and Willis (no. 318)); 'Mr Evelyn', probably the son of the writer (Boccalini and Sansovino); and 'Mr Waller' – who may have been either

the elderly poet, or his son (Willis (no. 319)).³³ Robert Hooke was not a buyer at the sale, but one item, the volume containing the two works by Mengoli, appears to have been bought on his behalf by a 'Mr Forster' (possibly the mathematical instrument-maker Clement Forster).³⁴ Less easy to identify are 'Mr Cox' – perhaps the historian Thomas Cox – who bought at least eight items (including Grotius (nos 136–8), Fabri (no. 106), and Gassendi (no. 126), and 'Mr Wheel', who bought three items by Mersenne (nos 199–201), as well as works by Kircher (no. 169) and Scheiner.³⁵ But the two most active purchasers were Leonard Plukenet and Hans Sloane. The former bought at least fourteen items, including the Apianus-Euclid-Mästlin *Sammelband*, Hevelius, and Kircher (no. 168).³⁶ And Sloane acquired at least sixteen, including Ameline, the Boate *Sammelband*, Bruyerinus Campegius, the Anglerius-Gout-von Herberstein *Sammelband*, von Loehneyss, the Moebius-Rolfinck *Sammelband*, Rolfinck (no. 248), and de Vigenère.³⁷ In financial terms, the stars of the sale were the Grotius items, sold together for £2 18s 6d; Riccioli (sold in two lots, totalling £1 10s 8d); Hevelius (£1 10s 2d); Kircher (no. 170: £1 7s 2d); Lubieniecki (£1 5s 6d); the three Mersenne items (nos 199–201, sold as one lot: £1 3s 6d); Kircher again (no. 169: £1 2s 6d); Lambeck (19s); and Gassendi (no. 126: 17s 8d).³⁸ A few items did not sell, including Harrington's *Oceana* (of which the catalogue listed two copies) and two works by Hobbes, *De corpore* and *Leviathan*; it seems that the sale of the political works by Hobbes and Harrington was forbidden by the authorities – though, at the same time, no objection was made to the sale of three copies of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.³⁹

Two items from Oldenburg's library which passed eventually into the British Library have already been mentioned: the works by de Cordemoy (bearing an identifying inscription) and Fabri (no. 104, signed by Oldenburg). To these, a handful of other items bearing Oldenburg's signature on the title page (and, in some cases, a price) may be added: in the British Library we find his signed copies of Ameline, *L'Art de vivre heureux*, priced '1½ shill.' (fig. 3); Rolfinck, *Dissertatio de corde*, priced '3 sh'; and Rolfinck, *Dissertationes chimicae*, also priced '3 sh' (fig. 4).⁴⁰ His signed copy of Casati, *Terra machinis mota*, passed, via William Jones, into the library of the Earls of Macclesfield; his signed copy of Steno, *Elementorum myologiae specimen*, is in the library of the Royal College of Physicians; and his signed copy of Cureau de la Chambre, *Discours sur les causes du desbordement du Nil*, priced

³³ Respectively, BA-LPL, i, pp. 98, 39, 93, 54, 57, 57, 57, 57, 54, 56, 54; ii, p. 32; i, pp. 57, 78, 62, 53, 83; ii, pp. 29, 33; i, pp. 58, 59, 94, 90, 55. Birrell confidently identifies this Evelyn with the son: 'Books and Buyers', p. 62.

³⁴ BA-LPL, i, p. 93, annotated 'Mr. Forster DD Mr Hooke, Forster charged' – meaning, presumably, that Forster agreed to pay for it but arranged for it to be delivered to Hooke. (Birrell notes that 'dd' was the auctioneer's standard abbreviation for 'delivered': 'Books and Buyers', p. 53.) These two items by Mengoli do not figure, however, in the sale catalogue of Hooke's library (reprinted in L. Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke: The Scientific Book Trade of Restoration England* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1989), pp. 143–221). On Forster see E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 262.

³⁵ BA-LPL, i, pp. 1, 64, 53, 57, 54, 58. On Cox see the entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; that he was a serious book collector is suggested by the fact that he had a personal printed bookplate (see B. N. Lee, *Early Printed Book Labels: A Catalogue of Dated Personal Labels printed in Britain prior to the year 1760* (Pinner, 1976), p. 83).

³⁶ BA-LPL, i, pp. 58, 54, 57.

³⁷ Ibid., i, pp. 88, 56, 59, 90, 98, 55, 55, 79.

³⁸ Ibid., i, pp. 1, 54, 54, 53, 54, 57, 54, 39, 53.

³⁹ Ibid., ii, pp. 27, 28 (*Oceana*); i, p. 62 (*De corpore*); ii, p. 27 (*Leviathan*); for the Spinoza items see i, pp. 8 (1670 edn, large-paper copy, for 3s 6d), 15 (1674 edn, for 5s 1d), 20 (1670 edn, for 4s). Birrell notes a contemporary report that at this auction 'a stop was made to the sale of some treasonous and seditious books, by public order': 'Books and Buyers', p. 60.

⁴⁰ Respectively, pressmarks 524.c.30; 783.f.3(3); 1185.f.17. The prices of the Rolfinck items correspond to those given for them in List 1.

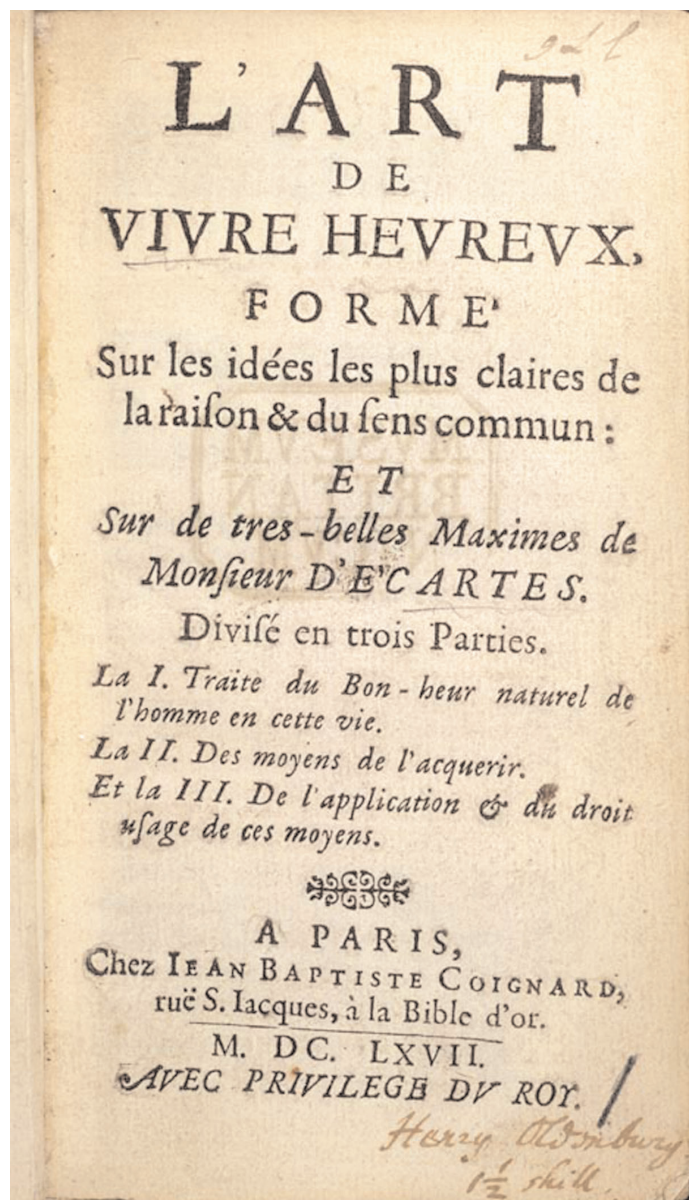


Fig. 3.

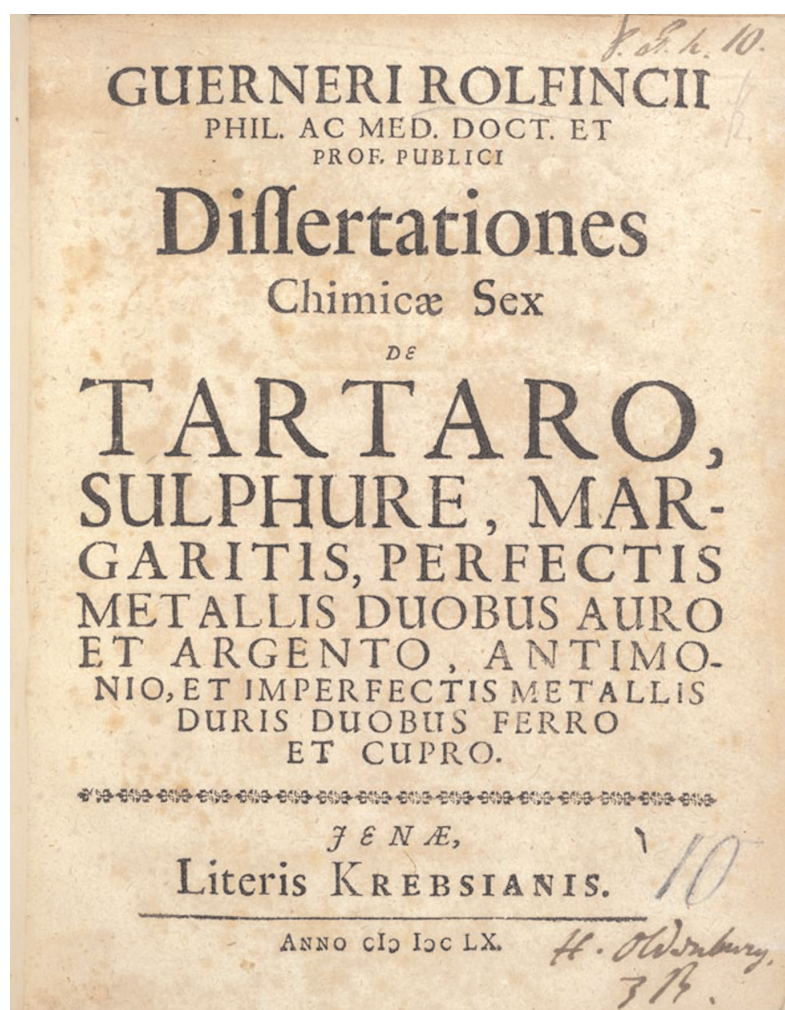


Fig. 4.

‘5 shill.’, is in the National Library of Scotland.⁴¹ But it seems that signing his books in this way was not his habitual practice. The evidence for this (which is necessarily not conclusive) is that, for some of the rarer items in Oldenburg’s lists, the exemplars now held in the British Library appear to be the only exemplars in Britain: for example, works by Cnopius, Dorisi, de Gabriis, Graindorge, Jousse (no. 165), and Schildius.⁴² In such cases we may strongly suspect that these items came from Oldenburg’s library; nevertheless, his signature does not appear in them. (Nor do we find any marginalia in his hand; this is true also of the signed copies mentioned above.) One other unique item in the British Library, Stiernhielm’s *Babel*

⁴¹ Sothebys, London, 10 June 2004, lot 483 (Casati); Royal College of Physicians, London, pressmark (o) 611.73; National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, pressmark RB.m.218. This last item also bears the bookplate of James Bruce of Kinnaid (1730-97), the African explorer, who no doubt had a special interest in the river Nile. (I am very grateful to the Archivist of the RCP, Pamela Forde, and to the Curator of Rare Books at the NLS, Helen Vincent, for supplying information about the latter two items.)

⁴² No other copies are recorded in Copac (www.copac.ac.uk), which combines the catalogues of 24 major university libraries in the United Kingdom, plus the British Library and National Library of Scotland.

destructa (no. 283), was presumably the exemplar of this work mentioned in List 3.⁴³ This too is unsigned by Oldenburg – though, if he did not legally own it, one would not have expected him to write his name in it, even if he had been a habitual signer of his own books.

II

Henry Oldenburg was not, in the fullest sense, a bibliophile – he had little interest in rare editions, fine typography, or fine bindings – but he was passionate about books, because he had a passion for the ideas and information they contained. Evidence of this appears at an early stage in his correspondence. During his stay in Paris in 1659, for example, he not only visited several of the major libraries, but was also an assiduous frequenter of the bookshops.⁴⁴ This was partly in order to gratify his friends: ‘As for ye booke, you name in yr last,’ he told Samuel Hartlib in June 1659, ‘I intend to goe about as soon as I stir abroad, and if I find it, you may make sure of having sent it to you by the first sure opportunity’.⁴⁵ Learning from Hartlib of John Evelyn’s plans for a great treatise on horticulture, he sent back lists of relevant works, and promised to hunt for one item, by Le Court, which Evelyn particularly desired. (A copy of this book would sooner or later find its place in Oldenburg’s own collection.)⁴⁶ But he was evidently also buying on his own account. His copy of one of the works of the Saumur theologian Josué de La Place (no. 175), published in Saumur in 1657, was presumably acquired while Oldenburg and his pupil were living in that city between the summer of 1657 and the spring of 1658. Oldenburg’s letters to Boyle from Paris contained not only offers to buy books on his behalf, but also news of Oldenburg’s own purchases, including ‘3. tomes of philosophy’ by Honoré Fabri (nos 211–13) and a manuscript copy of a poem about transmutation by Johannes Furichius (no. 117).⁴⁷ Such book news became a staple of Oldenburg’s letters to Boyle in following years: ‘There lye ready severall books for me at Paris, and amongst ym some answer to Pascals little book [no. 36]’; ‘I hope, to procure Descartes his new volume of Letters [no. 89, vol. 3], and Honoratius Fabri [no. 103], and Vossius de Nilo etc. to be sent over’; ‘Since my last, I have receaved a paquet of books from Hamborough, vid. the Prodrum Historiae litterariae [...] begun by Dr Lambecius [no. 173] [...] Then, ye Sarepta Mathesii and Jungius his Logick; wch are at yr service, when you shall be returned to London’.⁴⁸ And it is through Oldenburg’s letters to Boyle in September and October 1665 that we can follow the story of his acquisition of the most expensive single volume he ever bought, Athanasius Kircher’s *Mundus subterraneus*: first he told Boyle that the London bookseller Samuel Thompson was expecting a delivery of it (priced at ‘50. sh. at least’), then he described browsing

⁴³ BL, pressmark 628.f.1(3). This also bears an annotation in Sloane’s ‘alchemical’ code, which may be deciphered as ‘1’ – meaning, probably, *1d.* (The work consists of only two quarto leaves.)

⁴⁴ For visits to the libraries of Saint Germain des Prés, Achille de Harlay, and Jacques Auguste de Thou, see (respectively) *OC*, vol. i, pp. 257, 258; vol. xiii, p. 388.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 257; the book, C. d’Arcons, *Le Secret du flux et reflux de la mer et des longitudes* (Rouen, 1655–6), was duly found and purchased (*OC*, vol. i, p. 270).

⁴⁶ *OC*, vol. xiii, pp. 385, 386–7: the work was Le Court’s *Hortorum libri triginta* (no. 176), of which the editors of *OC* incorrectly say that ‘He never apparently acquired’ a copy (vol. xiii, p. 385, n. 3).

⁴⁷ *OC*, vol. i, p. 215.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 207 (25 Aug. 1664); vol. ii, pp. 272 (23 Oct. 1666), 612 (25 Nov. 1667). Note also that the items by Mathesius and Jungius do not feature in the lists of Oldenburg’s library.

through a copy of the book in Thompson's shop (adding that 'I have already offred Mr Thompson ye value of 48. shill. in Books'), and in a subsequent letter he quoted at length from the copy he had just acquired.⁴⁹

In one of those letters, Oldenburg described Thompson as a person 'who uses to acquaint me wth the new Books, yt come abroad'.⁵⁰ Thompson did not only stock English books; he had a long-standing connection with the major printing and bookselling business of the Blaeu family in Amsterdam, and was probably well placed to supply the latest Dutch publications (of which Kircher's book, published by Janssonius, was one).⁵¹ Other booksellers in Restoration London regularly imported new books from the Continent: for example, John Martyn (printer to the Royal Society, and thus someone in frequent contact with Oldenburg) had good business contacts in Paris, and it was from Martyn that Robert Hooke bought his copies of mathematical works by Dulaurens.⁵² Nevertheless, Oldenburg's appetite for new books from all corners of Europe could not be satisfied by such means. As he complained to Huygens in 1669, 'Our booksellers are very lazy and careless in the business of selling books on subjects of special interest, because of the small number of those who take pleasure in these as compared with other sorts of books'.⁵³ Accordingly, Oldenburg's letters to foreign correspondents frequently contained requests for books – either specifying particular items that he wished them to obtain for him, or asking for information about new publications in certain fields. Correspondents who proved particularly useful for these purposes included Henri Justel and Adrien Auzout in Paris, Sir John Finch in Venice, and Stanislaw Lubieniecki and Mathias Paisen in Hamburg. Even René-François de Sluse, in Liège (not a major centre of the book trade), did his best to oblige, reporting in February 1670 that 'I saw to it that the list of books you are looking for was circulated among all the booksellers of this city, yet not one of them was discovered [...] I am in fact sending the list to the Frankfurt Fair and also to Lyon [...]'.⁵⁴

With some of these contacts (Lubieniecki, for example), Oldenburg offered to pay for the items they obtained either in money or in books; a reciprocating system of purchases and deliveries was thus easily established.⁵⁵ From an early stage, in his dealings with Continental scientists, he had become accustomed to using prestigious recent English publications (usually, Latin works by Boyle, Willis, or Wallis) as currency in the larger economy of giving and receiving – where the commodity received in return might be information, or at the very

⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 512 (18 Sept. 1665), 532 (28 Sept. 1665), 555 (10 Oct. 1665). On Thompson (who is not identified by the editors of *OC*) see the entry in H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), and Rostenberg, *Library of Robert Hooke*, pp. 52–4. Oldenburg later recorded the cost of the book as £2 10s (see List 1, below).

⁵⁰ *OC*, vol. ii, p. 556.

⁵¹ See Pieter Blaeu's letter (on behalf of Johan Blaeu) to Hobbes, [29 Nov./] 9 Dec. 1667: 'I have long known Mr Samuel Thompson (a bookseller) to be a very honest and very trustworthy person' ('Je connois de longue main Monsieur Samuel Thomson (marchand Libraire) pour vn fort honneste, et tres fidelle personne': T. Hobbes, *The Correspondence*, ed. N. Malcolm, 2 vols (Oxford, 1994), vol. ii, pp. 693, 695).

⁵² Rostenberg, *Library of Robert Hooke*, p. 22.

⁵³ *OC*, vol. vi, pp. 92, 94: 'Nos libraires sont fort paresseux et nonchalans en matiere du commerce des livres curieux, vû le petit nombre de ceux, qui y prennent plaisir, en comparaison des autres'. (The term 'livres curieux' is hard to translate; I have changed the phrase used by the editors of *OC*, 'scientific books', which seems too narrow.)

⁵⁴ *OC*, vol. vi, pp. 520, 523: 'Catalogum librorum quos petis, per omnia civitatis huius bibliopolia circumferri iussi, nec ex ijs ullus repertus est [...] Verum illum ad Nundinas Francofurtenses mittam, et Lugdunum etiam Gallorum [...]'.
⁵⁵ See *ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 303–4 (Oldenburg to Lubieniecki, 3 Jan. 1667).

least a willingness to perform future favours.⁵⁶ (In the case of his domestic correspondents, Oldenburg could also earn their gratitude by lending, rather than giving, books: recipients of such loans included John Newburgh, John Flamsteed, and John Wallis.)⁵⁷ Some of his foreign correspondents had specific requests of their own: Pierre Petit, for instance, wrote to him in October 1660 requesting items by Bacon, Browne, Hobbes, Oughtred, and Foster (thoughtfully sending the money in advance).⁵⁸ In October 1671 Ignace Gaston Pardies somewhat casually required Oldenburg ‘to send me all the books printed in England in the past six or seven years dealing with mathematics or physics, either in Latin or in English’, specifying the works of Hooke, Barrow, Boyle, Mercator, and Gregory in particular; gamely, Oldenburg promised to fulfil this request, at least where the named items were concerned.⁵⁹

For this sort of business, it seems that Oldenburg’s normal practice was to pass the orders to the bookseller John Martyn, who would try to arrange both delivery and payment through his own commercial channels; a letter from Oldenburg to Leibniz in April 1671, for example, shows that eight requested items would be sent by Martyn, via a trading partner of his in Hamburg, to a bookseller known to Leibniz in Frankfurt.⁶⁰ This was one of several ways in which Oldenburg became involved in the London printing and bookselling business. Marie Boas Hall has written that Oldenburg’s activities as a ‘book agent’ also contributed to his income; given the amount of business generated through his good offices, it would have been only fitting if Martyn had allowed him a commission on it.⁶¹ However, the most time-consuming instance of Oldenburg’s work as a book agent recorded in his correspondence, his sale of a large shipment of books by the Danzig astronomer Johannes Hevelius in 1669, was performed purely as a personal favour to Hevelius himself (who had sent the books, partly to raise money for the purchase of an English telescope), and the detailed accounts submitted by Oldenburg did not include any compensation for the considerable amount of work involved.⁶² Other forms of involvement in the world of printing and bookselling included the editing and publishing of the *Philosophical Transactions* (which did contribute significantly to Oldenburg’s income); a brief and highly uncongenial stint as a licenser of books; the translation of various works from French and Latin into English (and of some of Boyle’s English works into Latin); and seeing through the press several important publications by foreign scientists – notably Malpighi’s treatise on the silk-worm, *De bombyce*, and Boccone’s botanical work *Icones & descriptiones*. In these last cases, and in the case of the translations, it is likely that Oldenburg was paid for his labours in copies of the books; some of these might be sold for cash, but others would be used, once again, as currency in the larger economy of scholarly giving and receiving.

Oldenburg was certainly the recipient of many gifts of books. In November 1668, for example, Jean-Baptiste Lantin sent him, in gratitude for the help Oldenburg had given to

⁵⁶ The practice began with his promise, to various French acquaintances in 1659, of copies of Willis’s *Diatribae duae*; in Sept. 1659 he told Hartlib that the person who had promised to bring the books to Paris had left them behind, ‘wch troubleth me much, because it maketh me appear false to some correspondents of mine in the furthestmost parts of France, to whom I had assured of ym before this time’: *OC*, vol. i, p. 311 (and cf. pp. 225, 230, 343, 349).

⁵⁷ *OC*, vol. vii, pp. 56, 94 (loan to Newburgh of Isnard, *Memoires et instructions* (no. 163)); vol. viii, pp. 47, 65 (loan to Flamsteed of Hevelius, *Selenographia*), 532, 541 (loan to Flamsteed of Huygens, *Systema Saturnium* (no. 161); vol. xiii, p. 424 (loan to Wallis of Fabri, *Dialogi physici* (no. 105)).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 396.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. viii, pp. 281–2 (‘nous envoyer tous les livres qui sont imprimez en Angleterre depuis 6. ou 7. ans qui concernent les mathematiques ou la physique soit en latin soit en anglois’), 284, 413.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. viii, pp. 10–12.

⁶¹ Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, p. 49.

⁶² *OC*, vol. vi, pp. 165–71. The only *quid pro quo*, apparently, was the copy of Hevelius’s *Cometographia* which had been sent to Oldenburg as a gift: *OC*, vol. iv, p. 444.

his nephew, several copies of the posthumously published treatise on ancient terms for medicinal plants by Claude de Saumaise (no. 261) – a handsome volume, which Lantin had helped see through the press. Although this was clearly a personal gift, Lantin was at the same time seeking to make use of Oldenburg’s position in order to attract the interest of the Royal Society in this work: he suggested that Oldenburg give the other copies to some of his ‘illustrious friends’, as a sign of the high esteem in which Lantin held ‘your Society’.⁶³ Similarly, when Erasmus Bartholinus sent (via Mathias Paisen in Hamburg) a copy of his treatise on the refractive properties of Iceland spar, the inscription made it clear that this was a personal gift; but with it came not only another copy inscribed to John Wallis, but also ‘a piece of the crystal, which should be enough for making experiments’ – which suggests that arousing the interest of the Royal Society was the larger goal at which Bartholinus aimed.⁶⁴ Sometimes books were sent to Oldenburg in his capacity as Secretary of the Royal Society: for instance, in May 1668 Comenius sent four copies of his *Via lucis* (no. 78), specifying that one was for Oldenburg ‘as the Society’s Secretary’, one for his colleague John Wilkins, one for Brouncker as President of the Society, ‘and the fourth, finally, for the glorious Society itself’.⁶⁵ In such cases it was at least evident that, even if Oldenburg received the book in a quasi-official capacity, it was meant to become his personal property. In other cases the instructions were less clear: in the spring of 1671, for instance, Giovanni Alfonso Borelli sent Oldenburg one copy of his treatise on the eruption of Mount Etna to be presented to the Royal Society, sixteen further copies ‘to be distributed to the learned Fellows’, and two copies of his *De motionibus*, ‘which I beg you to accept kindly’.⁶⁶ The surviving evidence suggests that Oldenburg gave one of those two copies to the Royal Society (it is listed in the *Bibliotheca norfolciana* as a gift from the author) and kept the other for himself (no. 32); but if he appointed himself as one of the sixteen recipients of the treatise on Mount Etna, he must have disposed of his copy at some later date.⁶⁷

For Oldenburg’s use of books as gifts and as exchange payments was surely not confined either to new books he had bought for that purpose or to books he had edited or helped to publish. Many volumes from his own collection were no doubt put to use in this way; when, for example, he offered Samuel Thompson 48 shillings’ worth of books in payment for Kircher’s *Mundus subterraneus*, this must have involved a considerable selection of items from his own shelves. Such pruning and recycling would help to explain why the lists of Oldenburg’s library do not include various items which he surely possessed at some stage. For example, in 1664 he was sent by a French correspondent (probably Auzout) three works on the Jansenist controversy, one on medicine, and one, by Charles Bourgoing, on Pascal’s barometric experiments; only the last of these (no. 36) is found in the lists of Oldenburg’s library (where, puzzlingly, it is described by Collins as a work belonging to the Royal Society).⁶⁸ In the summer of 1668 Henri Justel sent Oldenburg two mathematical works: a treatise on the cycloid by Antoine de la Loubère (Lalovera), and Fermat’s *De linearum curvarum*: only the latter (no. 111) would remain in Oldenburg’s library.⁶⁹ Similarly, in the winter of 1675–6 Joachim d’Alencé sent him three recent publications by Prestet, Blondel,

⁶³ Ibid., vol. v, pp. 195–7.

⁶⁴ Ibid., vol. vii, pp. 82–3 (mid-July 1670). Iceland spar is a transparent calcite (CaCO₃) which produces a double refraction, splitting unpolarized light into two polarized rays. On Bartholinus’s book see below, at nn. 71, 72.

⁶⁵ Ibid., vol. iv, pp. 388–9 (‘ut Societatis Secretario [...] quantum denique ipsi gloriosae Societati’).

⁶⁶ Ibid., vol. vii, pp. 343–4 (‘doctissimis Sociis tribuenda’; ‘quae recipere digneris opto’).

⁶⁷ *Bibliotheca norfolciana*, p. 171: ‘Johannes Alph. Borellus de Motionibus à Gravitate pendentibus’.

⁶⁸ OC, vol. ii, p. 311, to Boyle, 17 Nov. 1664, where Oldenburg says of the Bourgoing item: ‘I had sent it you by ye next carrier, but yt ye Society yesterday desired their President to peruse it and give ym his sence thereof’. Possibly it remained with the Royal Society thereafter.

⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. v, pp. 12–13.

and Bullet; only one of these, Blondel's treatise on architecture (no. 26) appears to have been retained by Oldenburg.⁷⁰

Oldenburg's recycling habits seem to have extended even to books that had been given to him by their authors. Two items now in the British Library bear inscriptions from their authors, stating that they were personal gifts to Oldenburg: Erasmus Bartholinus's treatise on Iceland spar, *Experimenta crystalli islandici disdiaclastici quibus mira & insolita refractio detegitur* (Copenhagen, 1669) (fig. 5), and Giovanni Querini's *De testaceis fossilibus musaei septalliani* (Venice, 1676) (fig. 6).⁷¹ The book by Bartholinus was sent from Hamburg in July

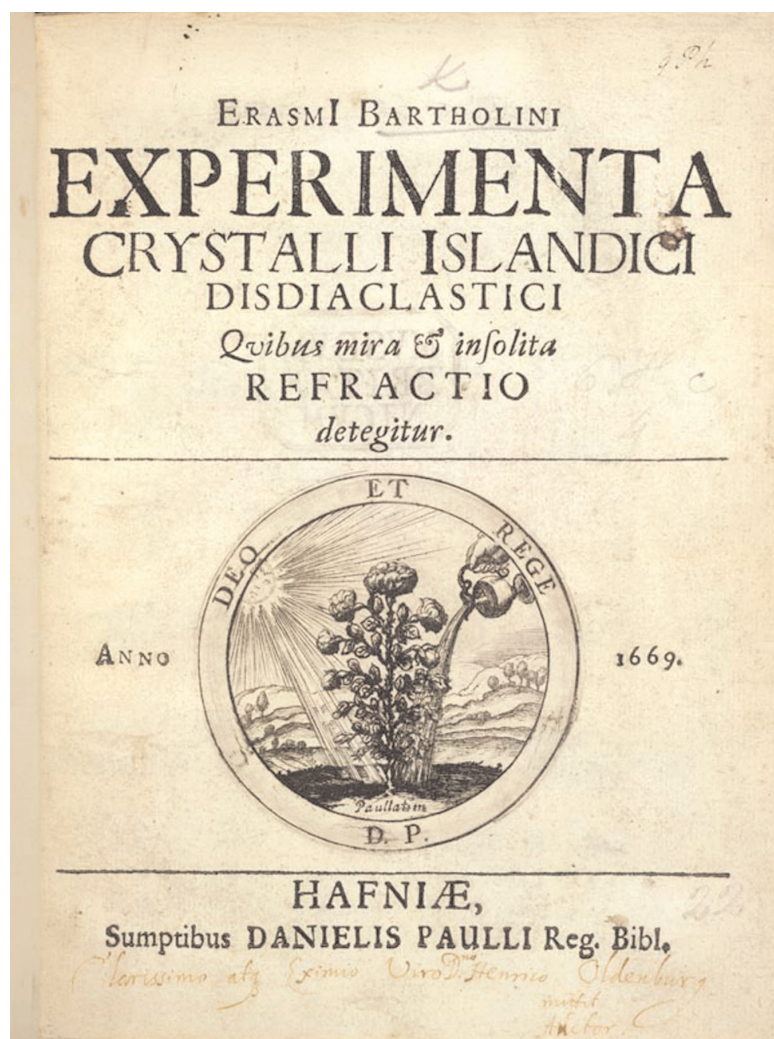


Fig. 5.

⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. xii, pp. 113–15. Cf. also n. 48 above.

⁷¹ The Bartholinus item, pressmark 529.d.6(1), is inscribed on the title page: 'Clarissimo atq[ue] Eximio Viro D.^{mo} Henrico Oldenburg mittit Auctor' ('The Author sends this to the most distinguished and excellent man, Mr Henry Oldenburg'). The Querini item, pressmark 444.c.36, is inscribed on the title page: 'Clariss.^{mo} et Doctissimo Viro D. Henrico Oldenburg Regiae Soc. Secr.' ('To the most distinguished and most learned man, Mr Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society'). (I am very grateful to Giles Mandelbrote for bringing this item to my attention.)

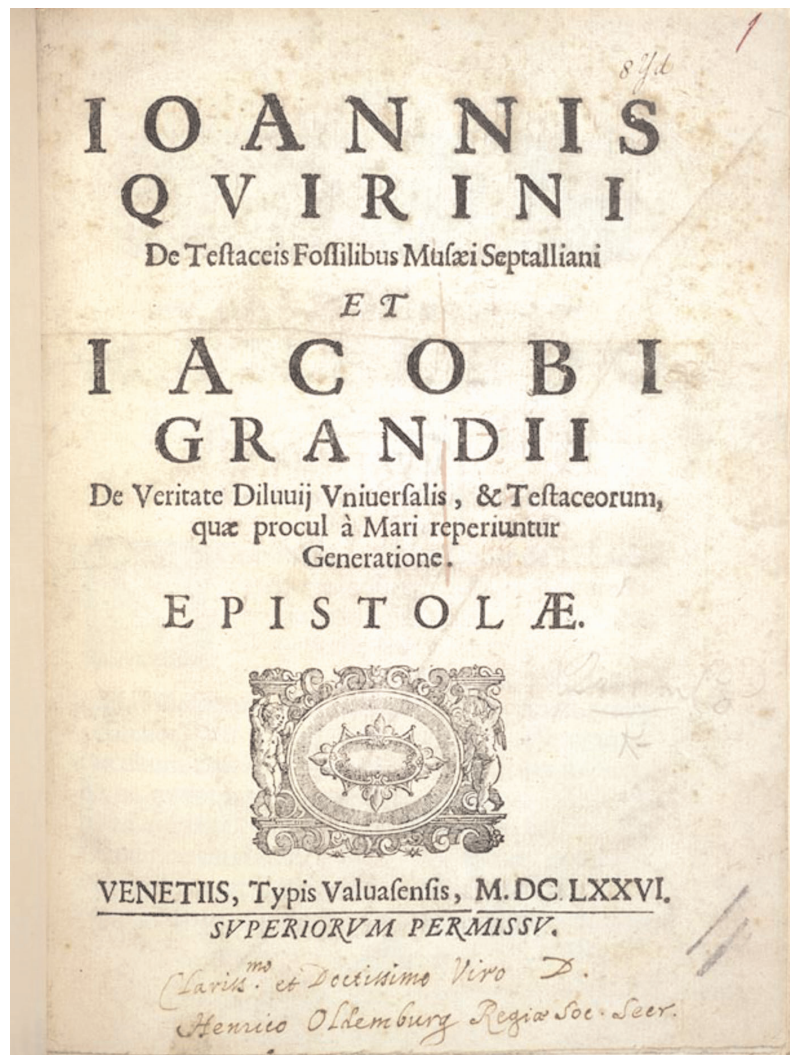


Fig. 6.

1670, and Oldenburg wrote to the author in mid-November, confirming that he had received it.⁷² This latter date falls just after the original compilation of List 2 in October 1670, and thus explains why the work was not mentioned there by Oldenburg's scribe or assistant; but John Pell included neither of these items when he updated that list soon after Oldenburg's death. Querini's work is included, however, in the Anglesey catalogue, which makes it seem likely that Oldenburg had passed his copy of it to Anglesey before he died.⁷³ Two other items with authorial inscriptions – both from Hevelius – passed eventually into the collection of the Earls of Macclesfield: *Prodromus cometicus* (Gdansk, 1665), and

⁷² OC, vol. vii, pp. 82, 261. A long review was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no. lxxvii (16 Jan. 1671), pp. 2039–48.

⁷³ BA, ii, p. 58. The Bartholinus item does not appear in BA. It might conceivably correspond to an entry in List 3, '[A booke of] Bartholin', but this would seem very unlikely; Collins would surely not have regarded a book that was inscribed as a personal gift to Oldenburg as belonging to the Royal Society.

Machinae coelestis pars prior (Gdansk, 1673). Neither appears in the lists of Oldenburg's library.⁷⁴

Other evidence of Oldenburg's recycling of books in his possession can be drawn from the fact that his library did not contain all the works published under the auspices of the Royal Society – works of which he was officially entitled to receive one copy free of charge. Twenty-one such items were produced during Oldenburg's lifetime; some of these were kept by him – for example, Hooke's *Micrographia* (no. 155), Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (no. 280), and Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character* (no. 317) – but others, such as William Holder's *Elements of Speech* (London, 1669), Jerónimo Lobo's *A Short Relation of the River Nile*, translated by Sir Peter Wyche (London, 1669), and Francis Willughby's lavishly illustrated *Ornithologiae libri tres* (London, 1676), were presumably disposed of.⁷⁵ Also possibly explicable on the same basis is the absence from Oldenburg's library of several of the works he translated. The case of Malebranche's *La Recherche de la vérité* (of which the beginnings of a translation survive in manuscript) has already been mentioned; to this must be added several works of which there were published translations acknowledged by (or attributable to) Oldenburg. His library contained, for example, the translation of Moïse Charas's treatise on vipers (no. 69) which is thought to have been by Oldenburg, but not the original French text.⁷⁶ He is also assumed to have been the translator of Pardies's *Discours du mouvement local* (Paris, 1670), which appeared as *A Discourse of Local Motion* (London, 1670); but neither the text nor the translation appears in the listings of his library.⁷⁷ It has also been suggested that he was the translator of de Cordemoy's *Discours physique de la parole* (he informed the Royal Society in July 1668 that 'it was translating into English'); in this case the text was listed (by Collins, as an item belonging to the Royal Society: no. 79) but the translation was not.⁷⁸ In the case of Steno's *De solido intra solidum [...] dissertationis prodromus* (Florence, 1669), translated by Oldenburg as *The Prodromus of a Dissertation* (London, 1671), he retained neither version in his library; and the same is true of his translation of François Bernier's *Histoire de la dernière révolution des états du Grand Mogol* (Paris, 1670), *The History of the late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol* (London, 1671–2). Perhaps, in some of these cases, he kept the manuscript version of his translation, and preferred to use all the copies he received from the printer as currency for other transactions and exchanges.

Henry Oldenburg was, after all, chronically short of money. In his *cri de coeur* to Boyle of December 1667 he wrote that 'no man in England would doe, what I doe, upon the terms, I goe away wth [...] there are persons, who think, the Transactions bring me in a sufficient revenue. But I will make it out to any man, that I never receaved above 40. lb a year upon their account (and that is litle more, than my house-rent:) [...] How strangely therefore I must needs shift for my subsistence, and wth what distraction I must performe my tedious work, let any sober man judge'.⁷⁹ This, more than anything else, must explain the fact that

⁷⁴ Sothebys, London, 4 Nov. 2004, lots 1031 (*Prodromus*, inscribed on title page: 'Clarissimo Doctissimo[ue] Viro Dno Henrico Oldenburg Reg. Soc. Sec. dono mittit autor' ('The author sends this as a gift to that most distinguished and most learned man, Mr Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society')); 1033 (*Machinae coelestis*, inscribed on title page: 'Illustro Viro Dn° Henrico Oldenburgio Illustriss. Reg. Soc. Secret. amico honorando Auctor mi[sit] Ao 1637. [sic – for '1673.'] die 25 August.' ('The author has sent this to that famous man, a friend worthy of honour, Mr Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the most famous Royal Society')). Hevelius described the despatch of the latter item in his letter to Oldenburg of [13/] 23 Aug. 1673: OC, vol. x, pp. 140–1. Cf. also the evidence (above, n. 57) that Oldenburg had a copy of Hevelius's *Selenographia* (not in the lists of his library).

⁷⁵ See C. R. Rivington, 'Early Printers to the Royal Society, 1663–1708', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, xxxix (1984), pp. 1–27, esp. pp. 3 (entitlement), 22–3 (listing).

⁷⁶ See OC, vol. vi, p. 531, where the editors describe it as 'presumably by Oldenburg'.

⁷⁷ For the attribution see Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, pp. 221–2.

⁷⁸ OC, vol. iv, p. 566; Birch, *History*, vol. ii, p. 303. On this item see above, at n. 28.

⁷⁹ OC, vol. iv, pp. 48–9; cf. also Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, pp. 82, 104, 113.

while his colleague Robert Hooke – whose work as a city surveyor and architect generated a large income – amassed a collection of 3,380 books, Oldenburg’s library seems to have comprised less than one tenth of that amount.⁸⁰ It is, one might almost say, a collection as remarkable for its omissions as for what it contains. Not only are most of Oldenburg’s own translations absent from it, but it also has no works by John Wallis (whose publications Oldenburg frequently gave to others), William Petty, or Nehemiah Grew; and it is surprising to find no works by several of his regular foreign correspondents, such as Auzout, Cassini, Kirchmeyer, Ludolf, and Pardies. (The general paucity of works in German, Oldenburg’s native tongue, is also striking. But this is probably to be attributed to two causes: the fact that the bulk of this collection was acquired after he had become a permanent resident in England, and the fact that most works produced by German authors on scientific and other technical subjects were, in any case, in Latin.)

In one sense, however, the value of this library catalogue is increased, rather than diminished, by the fact that it is not a complete listing of all the works that had been in Oldenburg’s possession over the years. For, unlike those voracious and well-funded collectors who could keep on their shelves books that turned out to be of little or no value to them, Henry Oldenburg must have retained, for the most part, only those works that genuinely reflected his interests. (It appears that the decision whether to retain a book was usually made soon after receiving it: List 2 seems to suggest that none of the items held in Oldenburg’s library in 1670 had been jettisoned by 1677 – though it is also possible that Pell was merely checking the books on the shelves against the titles on the list, and failed to note that some of those titles were no longer present.) This catalogue thus provides, if only approximately, a map of Oldenburg’s intellectual concerns. Once again, significant absences form part of the picture. Contemporary literature is hardly present at all (there is just the first volume of Madeleine de Scudéry’s *Le Grand Cyrus*: no. 266); law is almost unrepresented; the only classical texts are the two Delphine editions sent by Huet (no. 331); and humanist scholarship (philology and classical history), so solidly present in the libraries of most educated men of this period, is represented by only a small number of works, by Becmanus, Junius, Naudé, Occo, Sigonio, de Valois and Wagenseil, and G. J. Vossius.⁸¹ Patristic studies are non-existent; biblical studies are almost absent (the major exception being the complete *Annotationes* of Grotius); church history and sacred chronology are represented by only a handful of authors (Hottinger and Ussher, above all); and while several Bibles are listed, their multiplicity seems to be a reflection more of Oldenburg’s linguistic interests than of his theological concerns. That he had real theological and religious interests, on the other hand, cannot be doubted; the list here includes items by Böhme and Tauler, a number of anti-Catholic controversial works, and various prophetic or millenarian texts by Joachim da Fiore, Comenius, and Oldenburg’s Amsterdam correspondent Serrarius. Another area of interest, which must be apparent to any reader of Oldenburg’s correspondence, was – as befitted an international news-gatherer and former diplomat – recent history and current affairs: here the catalogue includes a smattering of works, by writers such as Amelot de la Houssaye, Bilain, Chamberlayne, de Gabriis, Malingre, Nani, d’Ossat, and Sansovino, as well as the ‘History of Holland in Dutch’ (no. 329). But with geography (Apianus, Sanson), voyages (van Linschoten, de Monconys, Thévenot), and accounts of alien lands and cultures (Baldaeus on southern India and Ceylon, de Flacourt on Madagascar, Gout and von Herberstein on Russia, Rycaut on the Ottoman Empire, Schefferus on Lapland, du Tertre on the West Indies), we come closer to

⁸⁰ Stephen Inwood has calculated that Hooke was paid ‘at least £2,820’ for his work on City churches, and that he received a slightly smaller amount in salaries, fees, and gratuities as City Surveyor between 1666 and 1677: *The Man who Knew Too Much: The Strange and Inventive Life of Robert Hooke, 1635-1703* (London, 2002), p. 134. During that period his income was thus roughly five times greater than Oldenburg’s.

⁸¹ The work by John Greaves on Roman measurements might also be added to this list, though it is rather different in character.

the central concerns of this catalogue – those concerns being, to a large extent, the ones pursued in the discussions and publications of the Royal Society. For the bulk of Oldenburg's library was devoted to natural philosophy (in the fullest sense of the term), medicine and anatomy (including some works on psychology), the 'history of trades' (broadly conceived, to include technology, agriculture, and economics), and mathematics (including topics in applied mathematics, such as navigation).

Within this range of subject-matters, some areas appear to have connections with particular periods of Oldenburg's life. Mathematics (a subject which attracted his interest, but in which he never became a highly proficient practitioner) offers one example of this. Scrutiny of the mathematical items in this catalogue suggests that this had been an early interest of Oldenburg's, and that he had made an effort to acquire a basic competence in this field: taken together, Stevin's *L'Arithmétique* (Leiden, 1585), Bachet de Méziriac's *Problèmes* (Lyon, 1612 or 1624), Follinus's *Algebra* (Cologne, 1622), Brunn's *Euclidis elementa practica, oder Auszug aller Problematum* (Nuremberg, 1625), Semple's *De mathematicis disciplinis* (Antwerp, 1635), van Waessenaer's *Aenmerckingen* (Leiden, 1640), and Hérigone's *Cursus mathematicus* (Paris, 1644) look like a small library of mathematical self-tuition accumulated on the Continent while Oldenburg was still a young man.⁸² Similarly, there may be a chronological aspect to the handful of works on alchemy in his library: the work on the philosophers' stone by Wehe (Strasbourg, 1628) and the medical-alchemical treatise by von Mynsicht (Lübeck, 1646) were probably early acquisitions, and the poem in praise of transmutation by Furichius was, as we know, acquired in 1659, but thereafter Oldenburg's interest in this field seems to have waned, and only the English translation of Basil Valentinus (1670) was added to the collection. The growth of his interest in horticulture (and related matters of agriculture and arboriculture) is also datable to the late 1650s, when he not only shared the interests of his friend Samuel Hartlib (who had published a book about the improvement of agriculture: no. 145) but also, through Hartlib, was put in touch with both John Beale and John Evelyn. As we have seen, he was compiling lists of works in this field for John Evelyn, and scouring the bookshops of Paris for rare items, in 1659; his copy of Le Court's treatise on gardens may have been acquired at that time, as may his copy of de la Brosse's botanical work (and, perhaps, the 1655 edition of Morison's botanical catalogue of the gardens of the duc d'Orléans at Blois). Thereafter he maintained an active interest in this area, obtaining works by Lovell (1659 or 1665), 'C. J.' (1663), Evelyn (1664 or 1670), Isnard (1665), Grube (1669), Ray (1670 or 1677), and Cotton (1675) – in addition to the works by Boccone (1674) and Malpighi (1675) which he helped to bring to publication. Medicine and anatomy may also have been a comparatively early interest. When, in 1664, one of Boyle's correspondents, Dr Turberville, cited a minor sixteenth-century work on human reproduction, Rüff's *De conceptu et generatione hominis* (no. 251), Oldenburg was able to comment that 'Having Rueffus among my books, I looked upon him, and found ye allegation'; we may suspect that, if he had taken the trouble of acquiring a copy of this treatise, he probably had a significant number of other items in the same field.⁸³

Once Oldenburg's work as Secretary of the Royal Society was under way in the 1660s, however, his exposure to new scientific publications of all kinds – and to the interests and enthusiasms of colleagues and friends – was unrelenting. It is therefore no surprise to find that the core of his library consists of works by contemporary authors, mostly from the 1660s and 1670s. Pride of place goes to his friend Robert Boyle, represented by no fewer than nineteen volumes; this must be a reflection not only of Oldenburg's involvement in the

⁸² The works on mathematical instruments by Cnapius (1633) and Galilei (1635) may perhaps have been acquired during the same period.

⁸³ *OC*, vol. ii, pp. 277, 280. The anatomical works of Fabricius ab Aquapendente (no. 107, published in Frankfurt, 1648), Guillemeau's treatise on pregnancy and childbirth (no. 141, published in Paris, 1620–1), and Tagliacozzi's surgical treatise (no. 292, published in Frankfurt, 1598) may have been among these early medical acquisitions.

production and/or translation of some of these works, but also, more importantly, of Boyle's generosity in giving him copies of his books. (That Oldenburg retained them in his library, rather than using them as currency in other book transactions, must also reflect both his personal loyalty to their author, and his interest in their contents.) Most of these were on physics rather than chemistry; in this field (including mechanics, hydrostatics, meteorology, optics, mineralogy, and the theory of matter) Oldenburg also obtained new publications by degli Angeli, Borelli, Bourgoing, Casati, Cureau de la Chambre, Fabri, Graindorge, Guarini, du Hamel, de Heer, Hobbes, Kircher, Lana Terzi, Leibniz, Riccioli, Simpson, Sinclair, Travagini, Isaac Vossius, Witty, and Zerilli (no. 327). His acquisitions of new books on chemistry, on the other hand, were limited to the treatise by Lefèvre (no. 178), the essay on camphor by Moebius, and the *Dissertationes chimicae sex* of Rolfinck. New work on astronomy was represented by items written by Boulliau, Gassendi, Hevelius, Huygens, Lubieniecki, Payen, Riccioli, and Sorbière; and in the field of mathematics he acquired new publications by Arnauld, Boulliau, Dulaurens, de Fermat, Rahn (no. 242, partly written by Oldenburg's friend John Pell), and de Sluse. Medicine and anatomy (both human and animal) formed a major category of his library: here his acquisitions of new publications included those by Thomas Bartholinus, Boate, Charas, Charleton, de Cordemoy, Croone, Descartes, Elsholtz, Fabri, Fracassati and Malpighi (no. 115), Glisson, Hooke, Malpighi (no. 188), H. Meibom, Needham, Pecquet, Perrault, Redi, Rolfinck, Rose, Sachse de Lewenheimb, Steno, Swammerdam, Thruston, and Willis. The 'history of trades' (a significant area of interest for the early Royal Society) is less well represented; leaving aside the new works on agriculture mentioned above, this category might include von Loehneyss's book about mining, as well as a number of items on the techniques of architecture, painting, and engraving, by Blondel, Evelyn, and Félibien. Commerce and political economy, which seem to have been an early interest of Oldenburg's (cf. the items by Bornitius and de Saint-Jean), were represented by books by Graunt and Harrington, as well as a new edition of Mun's classic work.⁸⁴ New works of British antiquarianism (a field which attracted the interest of several Fellows of the Royal Society) were limited to those by Sammes, Sheringham, and Taylor. Major new philosophical works acquired by Oldenburg included items by Gassendi, Hobbes, and Spinoza, as well as treatises on theology and ethics by Boyle, More, Parker, and Sharrock; but the overall pattern of philosophical acquisitions here suggests a greater sympathy with Cartesianism, given that Oldenburg's library included not only five books by Descartes but also items by the Cartesians de Cordemoy, de La Forge, Lipstorp, and de Raei – as well as his signed copy of the charming work by Ameline, *L'Art de vivre heureux, formé sur de tres-belles maximes de Monsieur D'Écartes*. And finally, one special category deserves mention: books acquired by Oldenburg either because they were about the Royal Society, or because they represented similar enterprises of discussion or publication elsewhere in Europe (for example, the *Journal des sçavans*, or the proceedings of the Accademia del Cimento): such items were the works by Glanvill, Magalotti, de Sallo, Sprat, and Stubbe – plus, of course, Oldenburg's own copies of his *Philosophical Transactions*.

This is, in the end, a very personal collection. Many of the writers represented in it were known to Oldenburg, either as Fellows of the Royal Society, or as personal friends, or as correspondents. Taken together, these categories would include Erasmus Bartholinus, Boccone, Borelli, Boulliau, Boyle, Browne, Chamberlayne, Charas, Collins, Comenius, Croone, Samuel de Fermat (editor of no. 92), Dulaurens, Dury, Evelyn, Gale, Glanvill, Graunt, du Hamel, Hevelius, Hobbes, Hooke, Huet (general editor of no. 331), Huygens, Lambeck, Lana Terzi, Lantin (editor of no. 261), Leibniz, Lubieniecki, Magalotti, Malpighi, de Monconys, More, Morison, Needham, Parker, Payen, Pell (co-author of no.

⁸⁴ Dudley North's *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (no. 220) is a work of household advice, not of economics in the modern sense of the term.

242),⁸⁵ Pococke, Ray, Redi, Rycaut, Sachse de Lewenheimb, Serrarius, Sharrock, Simpson, de Sluse, Sorbière, Spinoza, Sprat, Steno, Stiernhielm, Swammerdam, Taylor, Thévenot, Thruston, Travagini, Isaac Vossius, Ward, Wilkins, Willis, and Witty. It is an extraordinary roll-call of scientists, mathematicians, and philosophers (and some others), including many of the most brilliant writers of the second half of the seventeenth century; and it is only fitting that so many of their works should feature in the library of one of that period's most energetic correspondents and most effective intellectual impresarios.

LIST 1

BL, Add. MS. 4255, ff. 237- 238r

[In Oldenburg's hand. In this and the following transcriptions from manuscript, expanded contractions are given in square brackets; deleted material is given in square brackets and described as such. Also, in each of these three lists, the numbers given in square brackets after the entries refer to entries in the Consolidated Catalogue, below.]

Catalogue of my best books and what they cost me

	£	sh.
1. Riccioli Opera, 4. vol. in fol. [246]	5	0.
2. Kircheri Mundus Subterranean. fol. [170]	2	10.
3. Kircher de Luce et Umbra fol. [169]	0	12.
4. Kircher de Magnete, 4° [168]	0	8.
5. Agricola de mineralibus, fol. [2]	1	0.
6. Linschotens voyages, fol. [181]	1	0.
7. Voyages de Thevenot 3 vol. fol. [297]	1	10.
8. Mersenni opera 3 vol. 4° [199, 200, 201]	1	5.
9. Lambecii Prodromus Histae Literariae fol. [173]	0	10.
10. L'Art du Serrurier et Charpentier, fol. [165, 166]	0	10.
11. Cartesii Philosophia, 4° [86]	0	6.
12. Voyages de Monconys 4° [204]	0	12.
13. Vigenere des Chiffres, ou secretes manieres d'Ecrire, 4° [307]	0	6.
14. Lettres de M. des Cartes, 3. vol. 4° [89]	0	12.
15. Histoire des Antilles. 4° [296]	0	5.
16. Gilbertus de Magnete, 4° [127]	0	4.
17. Honorati Fabri Philosophia, 3 vol. 4° [211, 212, 213]	0	12.

⁸⁵ Oldenburg did also write a letter to Rahn, the original author of no. 242, but without receiving any reply: see N. Malcolm, 'An Unknown Letter from Henry Oldenburg to Johann Heinrich Rahn', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, lviii (2004), pp. 249-66.

	£	sh.
18. Hon. Fabri de Plantis, Generatione Animalium et de Homine, 4° [103]	0	8.
19. Honor. Fabri Optica 4° [104]	0	5.
20. Du Hamel de Meteoris et Fossilibus, 4° [142]	0	3.
21. Madagascar de Flacourt 4° [112]	0	3.
23. Nonnus de re Cibaria [219]	0	5.
24. Aquapendentis opera, fol. [107]	0	12.
25. Veslingii Syntagma Anatomicum, 4° [306]	0	6.
26. Bartholini Anatomia, 8° [19]	0	6.
27. Brosse de la Nature et vertu des Plantes, 8° [56]	0	4.
28. Commentarii della Moscovia del Barone di Herbertstain, col summario dell'Historia de l'indie occidentali di Petro Martyre, 4° [148, 6]	0	6.
29. De Generatione Hominis, et de Monstris, jacobus Ruff, 4° [251]	0	4.
30. Pecqueti Exper. Anatomica nova 4° [231]	0	2.
31. Rolfincius de Corde, et [Conring <i>deleted</i>] Salmuthi Observa[tion]es Medicae, 4° [248, 256]	0	3.
32. Des Cartes de Homine, 4° [90]	0	3.
33. Cardanus de Astrorum. Judiciis, 8° [64]	0	4.
34. Wright of Naviga[tion], 4° [321]	0	4.
35. Vossius de Motu Marium et Ventoru[m], 4° [312]	0	3.
36. Healths Improvem[en]t by Muffet 4° [210]	0	3.
37. Minsichti Armamentariu[m] Medico-Chymicu[m] 4° [215]	0	6.
38. Historia Philosophica Hornij 4° [157]	0	4.
39. Rolfincij Dissertationes Chymicae 4° [249]	0	3.
40. Hartlibs Legacy of Husbandry, 4° [145]	0	3.
41. Hugh Plats Jewel-house of Art and Nature 4° [234]	0	2.
42. Stevini Algebra, 8° [282]	0	2½.
43. Tagliacotij Chirurgia nova, 8° [292]	0	3.
44. Catalogue de livres d'Etampes, 8° [190]	0	3.
45. Bapt. Portae Magia Naturalis, 8° [236]	0	4.
46. Bapt. Portae Physiognomia 8° [239]	0	2.
47. Bullialdus de Lineis Spiralibus, 4° [34]	0	3.
48. Lettres de Dettonville, 4° [229]	0	4.
49. Mercurialis de Arte Gymnastica, 4° [197]	0	8.
50. Naudaeus de studio militari, 4° [217]	0	8.
51. Castelli della misura de Aque correnti, 4° [66]	0	3.
52. Delitiae Philos. et Mathematicae, Harsdorffer et Swenter, 3. vol. in 4° [265]	0	15.

	£	sh.
53. Casati Terra machinis mota, 4° [65]	0	3.
54. Occo De Numismatibus, 4° [222]	0	5.
55. Tractatus Mathematicus, de Instrumenti Universalis novi fabrica et usu, 4° [74]	0	3.
56. Metij Arithmetica et Geometria practica, 4° [202]	0	3.
57. Cosmographia P. Apiani, 4° [9]	0	4.
58. Apiani Triens Astronomicus: Maestlinus de Cometa A. 1577. et Euclidis Catoptrica, 4° [11, 191, 99]	0	4.
59. Baptistae Portae Phytognomica, 8° [237]	0	3.
60. Bapt. Portae humana physiognomonica, 8° [239]	0	3.
61. Instructions pour le plant des Meuriers, nourriture des vers à soye, et l'Art de filer les soyes, 8° [163]	0.	2½
62. Cursus Mathematicus Herigoni, in Latin and French, 8°. in 6. vol. [149]	1	10.
63. Algebra Follini, 8° [114]	0	2.
64. Clavis Philosophiae Naturalis, 4° [240]	0	3.
65. Circles of Proportion and Horiz. Instrument by W. Oughtred, 8°. [226]	0	3.
66. Problemes de Bachet, 8° [13]	0	2.
67. Fons Spadanus Henrici ab Heer, unâ cum ejusdem Observationibus Medicis, 16° [146]	0	3.
68. Monsr dela Chambre du desbordem[en]t du Nil, in 4° [86]	0	5.
69. La Venerie Royale de Salnoue, 4° [257]	0	6.
70. Stenonis Musculi Descriptio Geometrica, 4° [281]	0	3.
[Total of third page:]	3	6
[Total of second page:]	7	4.
[Total of first page:]	18	6
sum. tot.	28	16.

[Note: f. 237v begins with no. 24; f. 238r with no. 56; the total of the second page should be £7 4s 6d; the total of the third page should be £4 6s 6d; so the sum total should be £29 17s]

LIST 2

BL, Add. MS. 4255, ff. 228–35 (retrograde)

[The title on f. 235v, and the headings of the sections, are in Oldenburg's hand; the rest of the catalogue is in the hand of a scribe, with additions (given here in italics) in the hand of John Pell. Material deleted by the original scribe is presented thus: '[word *deleted*]'; material deleted by Pell is presented thus: '[word *deleted by JP*]'.]

[f. 235v] The Catalogue of my Books. Taken A[nno]. 1670. Octob. 3^d. H. Oldenburg.

[f. 234v] Theologici in fol.

Grotij Annotationes in libris Evangeliorum. 1641. [136]

Grotius in vetus Testamentum [137]

Grotius in Acta Apostolorum *et Epistolas* 1646. *Et Apocalypsin* 1646 [138]

Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Policy [156]

D^r Browns Pseudodoxia Epidemica [57]

A Spanish bible [325]

[f. 233v] Theolog. In 4^o.

Prophetiae Abbatis Joachini [164]

Disputationes Placaei pars tertia [175]

Jacob Behme englished by Sparrow. [30]

Tentamina Physico Theologica Parkeri de Deo [228]

P. Serarij Vox clamantis in Babylo vill [269]

Claude. Defense de la Reformation 1673 [73]

Claude. Reponse au livre de Mr Arnaud 1670 [72]

Johannis Crocij AntiBecanus 1643 [83]

[f. 233r] Theolog. in 4^o.

A Bible in english [322]

A Hebrew Bible [324]

A French Bible [323]

[f. 232v] Theologici in 8^o.

L'Impieté des Deistes, Athees, et Libertins par Mersenne in deux Livres [198]

The Bishop of Sarum against Antiscripturists [315]

R. Boyle of the Excellency of Theology compared with naturall philosophy 1671 [52]

T. E. The Reconcilableness of reason and religion [55]

R. Boyle. An Essay about the Origine and Virtues of Gems. [49]

— *Nova Experimenta Physico-Mechanica de vi aeris Elastica &c Oxoniae* 1661 [38]

— *Experimenta &c de coloribus* 1665 [44]

— *Tracts about hidden qualities* 1677 [54]

[f. 232r] Politici in 12^o

Conclave de Alexandro VII [8]

[f. 231v] Politici in 8^o.

Ragguagli di Parnasso de Boccalini [28]

Reginae Christianiss^{ae} Principatus [24]

Philosophici in folio

- M. Evelyn's Sylva, or discourse of Trees. y^e first & second Edition 1670 [101]
 Almagestum novum Riccioli tribus vol. [246]
 Placita Philosophica Guarini. [140]
 Voyages curieux [premiere partie *deleted by JP*] premiere partie 1663 seconde partie 1664 [297]
 [Hortori libri triginta curtij *deleted by JP*] *infra*
 Cometographia Hevelij [150]
 [Grotij Anno[tatione]s *deleted by JP*]
 Bp of Chester's Essay towards a Reall Character London 1668 [317]
 Kircheri Ars magna [169]
 M. Hook's Micrographia 1665 [155]
 Craighabtaeus de Mathematicis disciplinis [267]
 Tractatus 4 Anatomici Fabritij ab Aquapendente 1648 [107]
 Gassendus de Philosophia Epicuri [126]
 Gadbury concerning ye Doctrine of Nativities [119]
 Ld Bacon's naturall History [14]
 Gadburys Collectio Geniturarum [120]
 Voyages of Linschoten englished [181]
 Hobbs Leviathan [152]
 Harringtons commonwealth of Oceana [144]
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-- *Essays of Effluviu[m]* 1671 [51]
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LIST 3

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A booke of m^r Payen [230]
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[2nd leaf, recto]

[*endorsed:*] R S. Demand from M^{rs} Louden

CONSOLIDATED CATALOGUE

[Note: an asterisk before an item indicates that it belongs to List 3. 'BA' stands for *Bibliotheca anglieseiana*. An entry entirely within square brackets signifies an item which, although not specified in Lists 1–3, is shown by BA to have been bound with one or more items contained in those lists. 'Uncertain' items are listed at the end.]

1 de Acosta, J., *Historia naturale e morale delle Indie, nella quale si trattano le cose notabili del cielo, & de gli elementi, metalli, piante, & animali di quelle, i suoi riti, & ceremonie, leggi, & gouerni, & guerre de gli Indiani*, tr. G. P. Galucci (Venice, 1596).

2 Agricola, G., *De re metallica libri XII [...] quibus accesserunt [...] De animantibus subterraneis. lib. I. De ortu & causis subterraneorum. lib. V. De natura eorum quae effluunt ex terra. lib. IV. De natura fossilium. lib. X. De veteribus & novis metallis. lib. II. Bermannus sive De re metallica, dialogus. lib. I.* (Basel, 1657).⁸⁶

3 Allacci ['Allatius'], L., *Apes urbanae, sive de viris illustribus, qui ab anno MDCXXX. per totum MDCXXXII. Romae adfuerunt, ac typis aliquid evulgarunt* (Rome, 1633).

4 [Ameline, C.,] ['B., N.'], *L'Art de vivre heureux, formé sur de tres-belles maximes de Monsieur D'Écartes* (Paris, 1667).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ BA has Basel, 1561 (i, p. 53) and Basel, 1621 (i, p. 52).

⁸⁷ Oldenburg's signed copy of this book is in the BL, pressmark 524.c.30. See fig. 3.

- 5 Amelot de la Houssaye, A. N., *Histoire du gouvernement de Venise* (Paris, 1676).⁸⁸
- 6 degli Angeli, S., *Considerationi sopra la forza di alcune ragioni fisicomatematiche addotte dal M. R. P. Gio. Battista Riccioli [...] nel suo almagesto nuouo* (Venice, 1667) [followed by *Seconde considerationi; Terze considerationi; Quarte considerationi* (Padua, 1668-9)].
- 7 Anglerius, P. M., *Summario de la generale historia de l'Indie Occidentali* (Venice, 1534; and later edns).
- 8 Anon., *Le Conclave d'Alexandre VII, ou relation véritable de tout ce qui s'est passé et négocié au conclave tenu à Rome depuis le 17 janvier jusqu' au 7 avril 1655* (n.p., 1666; 2nd edn Cologne, 1667).
- 9 Apianus, P., *Cosmographia* (Antwerp, 1539; and later edns).
- 10 —, *Quadrans Apiani astronomicus* (Ingolstadt, 1532; 2nd edn Ingolstadt, 1535).
- 11 — *De utilitate trientis, instrumenti astronomici noui, libellus* (Tübingen, 1586).
- 12 [Arnauld, A.,] *Nouveaux elemens de geometrie* (Paris, 1667).
- 13 Bachet de Méziriac, C. G., *Problèmes plaisans et délectables, qui se font par les nombres, partie recueillis de divers autheurs, et inventez de nouveau, avec leur démonstration* (Lyon, 1612; 2nd edn Lyon, 1624).
- 14 Bacon, F., *Sylva sylvarum: Or, A Naturall Historie*, ed. W. Rawley (London, 1631 [BA, ii, p. 28], or London, 1635 [BA, ii, p. 27]).
- 15 —, *Opuscula varia posthuma, philosophica, civilia, et theologica*, ed. W. Rawley (London, 1658).
- 16 Baldaeus, P., *Naaumkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, der zelve aangrenzende ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam, 1672).
- 17 Baldi, B., *In mechanica Aristotelis problemata exercitationes* (Mainz, 1621).
- 18 [Barnaud, N.,] *Le Cabinet du roy de France, dans lequel il y a trois perles précieuses d'ineestimable valeur* (n.p., 1581; 2nd edn n.p., 1582).
- 19 Bartholinus, T., *Anatomia, ex Caspari Bartholini parentis institutionibus, omniumque recentiorum & propriis observationibus tertium ad sanguinis circulationem reformata* (Leiden, 1651; and later edns).
- 20 —, *Acta medica & philosophica hafniensia*, vols iii, iv [for 1674-6] (Copenhagen, 1677).⁸⁹
- 21 Bassi, M., *Dispareri in materia d'architettura, et perspettiva* (Brescia, 1572).
- 22 Becmanus, C., *Manuductio ad latinam linguam: nec non de originibus latinae linguae* (Hanover, 1629 [BA, i, p. 44]).

⁸⁸ Pell dates this '1677' in List 2; BA has two entries (i, pp. 81, 82) each of which includes both the *Histoire* and the *Supplément à l'histoire du gouvernement de Venise* (Paris, 1677).

⁸⁹ Vol. i [for 1671-2] was published in Copenhagen in 1673; the series ended with vol. v [for 1677-9] (Copenhagen, 1680).

- 23 Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis*, ed. C. L'Empereur (Leiden, 1633).⁹⁰
- 24 Bilain, A., *Reginae christianissimae jura in ducatum Brabantiae, et alios ditionis Hispanicae principatus* (Paris, 1667).
- 25 Blagrave ['B.'], J., *The Epitome of the Art of Husbandry. Comprising all Necessary Directions for the Improvement of it* (London, 1669; and later edns).
- 26 Blondel, F., *Cours d'architecture, enseigné dans l'académie royale d'architecture* (Paris, 1675).
- 27 Boate ['Bootius'], A., *Observationes medicae, de affectibus omissis* (Helmstedt, 1664 [BA, i, p. 56]).
- 28 Boccalini, T., *De' ragguagli di Parnaso* (Venice, 1650 [BA, i, p. 94]).
- 29 Boccone, P., *Icones & descriptiones rariorum plantarum Siciliae, Melitae, Galliae, & Italiae*, etc., ed. R. Morison (Oxford, 1674).
- 30 Böhme, J., *The Fifth Book of the Authour, in Three Parts : the First, Of the Becoming Man or Incarnation of Jesus Christ [...] the Second Part is of Christ's Suffering, Dying, Death, and Resurrection [...] the Third Part is of the Tree of Christian Faith*, tr. J. Sparrow (London, 1659).⁹¹
- 31 Borelli, G. A., *De vi percussione* (Bologna, 1667).
- 32 —, *De motionibus naturalibus a grauitate pendentibus* (Reggio Calabria, 1670).
- 33 Bornitius, J., *Tractatus politicus de rerum sufficientia in rep. & civitate procuranda* (Frankfurt, 1625).
- 34 Boulliau, I., *De lineis spiralibus demonstrationes novae* (Paris, 1657).
- 35 —, **Ad astronomos monita duo* (Paris, 1667).
- 36 Bourgoing, C., **La Vérité du vuide contre le vuide de la vérité* (Paris, 1664).
- 37 Boyle, R., *Certain Physiological Essays* (London, 1661; 2nd edn London, 1669).⁹²
- 38 —, *Nova experimenta physico-mechanica de vi aeris elastica, & eiusdem effectibus* (London, 1661).
- 39 —, *The Sceptical Chymist: or Chymico-physical Doubts & Paradoxes* (London, 1661).⁹³
- 40 —, *Tentamina quaedam physiologica* (London, 1661).

⁹⁰ Editions by other editors were entitled *Itinerarium Beniamini*.

⁹¹ BA, ii, p. 5, lists two works by Böhme: this one, and *Signatura rerum: Or, The Signature of All Things*, tr. J. Ellistone (London, 1651). In List 2 Pell specifies Sparrow as the translator; however, his '1620' there must be a mistake.

⁹² List 2 specifies that Oldenburg had both editions.

⁹³ BA, ii, p. 41 has '1677'; perhaps an error for '1679', which is the date given in the first state of the advertisement leaf to the edition of London, 1680.

- 41 --, *New Experiments Physico-Mechanical, touching the Air. The Second Edition. Whereunto is added, A Defence of the Authors Explication of the Experiments, against the Objections of Franciscus Linus, and Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford, 1662).
- 42 --, *Chymista scepticus, vel dubia et paradoxa chymico-physica circa spagyricorum principia* (London, 1662).
- 43 --, *Some Considerations touching the Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy* (Oxford, 1663; 2nd edn Oxford, 1664; 2nd part published Oxford, 1671).
- 44 --, *Experimenta et considerationes de coloribus* (London, 1665).
- 45 --, *Occasional Reflections upon Several Subjects* (London, 1665 [*BA*, ii, p. 23]).⁹⁴
- 46 --, *Hydrostatical Paradoxes, made out by New Experiments* (Oxford, 1666).
- 47 --, *A Continuation of New Experiments Physico-Mechanical touching the Spring and Weight of the Air and their Effects* (Oxford, 1669).
- 48 --, *Tracts [...] about the Cosmicall Qualities of Things* (Oxford, 1671).
- 49 --, *An Essay about the Origine & Virtues of Gems* (London, 1672).
- 50 --, *Tracts [...] containing New Experiments, touching the Relation betwixt Flame and Air* (Oxford, 1672).
- 51 --, *Essays of the Strange Subtily, Determinate Nature, Great Efficacy of Effluviiums* (London, 1673).⁹⁵
- 52 --, *The Excellency of Theology, compar'd with Natural Philosophy* (London, 1674).⁹⁶
- 53 --, *Tracts consisting of Observations about the Saltness of the Sea* (Oxford, 1674).
- 54 --, *Tracts: containing I. Suspitions about some Hidden Qualities of the Air [...] II. Animadversions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problemata de vacuo. III. A Discourse of the Cause of Attraction by Suction* (London, 1674).⁹⁷
- 55 --, *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion, by T.E. To which is annex'd A Discourse of Mr. Boyle, about the Possibility of the Resurrection* (London, 1675).⁹⁸
- 56 de la Brosse, G., *De la nature, vertu et utilité des plantes* (Paris, 1628).
- 57 Browne, Sir Thomas, *Pseudodoxia epidemica: Or, Enquiries into very many Received Tenents* (London, 1650).

⁹⁴ *BA*, ii, 23 has another entry, dated '1664'; this is presumably a misprint, as the 1st edn was 1665.

⁹⁵ Pell's '1671' in List 2 is a mistake; this work was first published in 1673.

⁹⁶ Pell's '1671' in List 2 is a mistake; this work was first published in 1674.

⁹⁷ Oldenburg wrote the Latin translation of this work, which was published in London in 1676: *Tractatus in quibus continentur i. Suspiciones de latentibus quibusdam qualitatibus aeris...*

⁹⁸ 'T. E.' was Robert Boyle. Oldenburg was probably the publisher of this book: see R. Boyle, *The Works*, ed. M. Hunter and E. B. Davis, 14 vols (London, 1999-2000), viii, p. 235 n.

- 58 de Brune, J., *Weisteen der vernuften, oft bequaem middel, om van alle voorvallende zaken, aardighlik te leeren spreken* (Amsterdam, 1644; or Rotterdam, 1644).
- 59 Brunn, L., *Euclidis elementa practica, oder Auszug aller Problematum und Handarbeiten auss den 15 Büchern dargegeben* (Nuremberg, 1625).
- 60 Bruyerinus Campegius, J. B., *De re cibaria libri XXII omnium ciborum genera, omnium gentium moribus, & usu probata complectentes* (Lyon, 1560 [BA, i, p. 59]).
- 61 Bulwer, J., *Pathomyotomia, Or, A Dissection of the Significant Muscles of the Affections of the Minde* (London, 1649).
- 62 C., J., *De gezeegende Pomona of volmaekte beschryvinge der eygenschappen en voortsetting van alle boomen of der aerd bodem* (Amsterdam, 1663).⁹⁹
- 63 Cappel, J., *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augustum* (Sedan, 1613).
- 64 Cardano, G., *In Cl. Ptolemaei Pelusiensis IIII de astrorum judiciis, aut, ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitae constructionis libros commentaria* (Lyon, 1555 [BA, i, p. 59]).
- 65 Casati, P., *Terra machinis mota. Dissertationes geometricae, mechanicae, physicae, hydrostaticae* (Rome, 1658).¹⁰⁰
- 66 Castelli, B., *Della misura dell'acque correnti* (Bologna, 1660 [BA, i, p. 93]).
- 67 Cato, Marcus Porcius, and Marcus Terentius Varro, et al., *De re rustica* (Cologne, 1536; and later edns).
- 68 Chamberlayne, E., *Angliae notitia, Or, The Present State of England* (London, 1669 [BA, ii, p. 36]).
- 69 Charas, M., *New Experiments upon Vipers*, tr. anon. [H. Oldenburg?] (London 1670 [BA, ii, p. 42], or London, 1673 [BA, ii, p. 43]).
- 70 Charleton, W., **Exercitationes pathologicae, in quibus morborum penè omnium natura, generatio, et caussae ex novis anatomicorum inventis sedulo inquiruntur* (London, 1661).
- 71 —, *Inquisitiones ii. anatomico-physicae: prior de fulmine, altera de proprietatibus cerebri humani* (London, 1665).
- 72 Claude, J., *Reponse au livre de M. Arnaud, intitulé La Perpetuité de la foi de l'église catholique touchant l'eucharistie* (Quévilly, 1670).
- 73 — *Défense de la réformation contre le livre intitulé Préjugez légitimes contre les calvinistes* (Quévilly and Rouen, 1673).

⁹⁹ The second title page in this book has the following title: *De natuerlijcke beschryvingh der boomen, vertoonende de gronden en landschappen daer de selve groeyen*.

¹⁰⁰ Oldenburg's copy of this book passed, via William Jones, to the library of the Earls of Macclesfield, and was sold at Sotheby's, London, on 10 June 2004 (lot 483).

- 74 Cnopus, A. E., *Tractatus mathematicus, in quo instrumenti universalis novi fabrica et usus ostenditur, quo rerum altitudines, latitudines, longitudines [...] indagantur* (Herborn, 1633).
- 75 [Coignet, M., *Instruction nouvelle des poincts plus excellents & necessaires, touchant l'art de naviguer* (Antwerp, 1581); bound with Bassi, *Dispareri*: BA, i, p. 93.]
- 76 Collins, J., *The Mariner's Plain Scale new Plain'd: Or, a Treatise of Geometrical and Arithmetical Navigation* (London, 1659).
- 77 Comenius, J. A., *Janua linguarum reserata quinque-linguis: sive compendiosa methodus latinam, gallicam, italicam, hispanicam & germanicam linguam perdiscendi*, ed. N. Duesius (Amsterdam, 1661).
- 78 —, *Via lucis, vestigata & vestiganda* (Amsterdam, 1668).
- 79 de Cordemoy, L. G., **Discours physique de la parole* (Paris, 1668 [BA, i, p. 87]). [See fig. 1.]
- 80 Corvinus, J. A., *Enchiridium seu institutiones imperiales, insertis latioribus materijs, theoricè ac practicè digestae, et explicatae per erotemata* (Amsterdam, 1640; and later edns).
- 81 Cotgrave, R., *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1650 [BA, i, p. 39; ii, p. 27]).
- 82 Cotton, C., *The Planters Manual: Being Instructions for the Raising, Planting, and Cultivating all sorts of Fruit-Trees* (London, 1675).¹⁰¹
- 83 Crocius, J. G., *Anti-Becanus, id est controversiarum communium* (Kassel, 1643).
- 84 Croone, W., **De ratione motus musculorum* (London, 1664; 2nd edn Amsterdam, 1667).
- 85 Culpeper, N., *The English Physitian enlarged: with three hundred, sixty, and nine Medicines made of English Herbs that were not in any Impression until this* (London, 1653; or London, 1656 [BA, ii, p. 42 has '1655']).
- 86 Cureau de la Chambre, M., *Discours sur les causes du desbordement du Nil* (Paris, 1665).¹⁰²
- 87 Descartes, R., *Principia philosophiae* (Amsterdam, 1644; and later edns).
- 88 — *Opera philosophica* (Amsterdam, 1656).
- 89 —, *Lettres*, ed. C. Clerselier, 3 vols (Paris, 1657–67).¹⁰³
- 90 —, *De homine* (Leiden, 1662 [BA, i, p. 56]).
- 91 —, *L'Homme de René Descartes, et un traité de la formation du fœtus du mesme auteur*, ed. L. de La Forge (Paris, 1664).

¹⁰¹ This work, although described on the title page as by Cotton and attributed to him in most reference works, is in fact a translation of R. Triquet, *Instruction pour les arbres fruitiers* (Paris, 1653).

¹⁰² Oldenburg's signed copy of this item is in the National Library of Scotland, pressmark RB.m.218.

¹⁰³ List 1 specifies 3 vols; List 2 has two entries, the first specifying vols 1 and 2, the second presumably standing for vol. 3.

- 92 Diophantus of Alexandria, *Arithmeticon libri sex*, ed. C. G. Bachet de Méziriac, with notes by P. de Fermat, ed. S. de Fermat (Toulouse, 1670).
 - 93 Dorisi, J., *Curiosae quaestiones de ventorum origine, et de accessu maris ad littora et portus nostros et ab iisdem recessu* (Paris, 1646).
 - 94 Downname, G., *Antichristus, sive diatriba de Antichristo* (London, 1620).
 - 95 Dulaurens, F., **Specimina mathematica* (Paris, 1667).¹⁰⁴
 - 96 Dury, J., *A Seasonable Discourse [...] 1. What the Grounds and Method of our Reformation ought to be in Religion and Learning. 2. How, even in these Times of Distraction, the Work may be Advanced: by the Knowledge of Orientall tongues and Jewish mysteries; by an Agency for Advancement of Universall learning* (London, 1649).
 - 97 —, *Irenicorum tractatum prodromus* (Amsterdam, 1662).
 - 98 Elsholtz ['Elsholtius'], J. S., *Clysmatica nova: sive ratio qua in venam sectam medicamenta immitti possint [...] addita etiam sanguinis transfusione* (Cölln an der Spree, 1667).
 - 99 Euclid, *Catoptrica [...] id est elementa eius scientiae, qua universa speculorum vis atque natura explicatur*, tr. C. Dasypodius (Strasbourg, 1557 [BA, i, p. 58]). [Bound with Apianus, *De utilitate*.]
 - 100 Evelyn, J., *Sculptura: Or, The History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper* (London, 1662).
 - 101 —, *Sylva, or A Discourse of Forest-Trees [...] To which is annexed Pomona; Or, an Appendix concerning Fruit-Trees [...] Also Kalendarium hortense* (London, 1664; 2nd edn London, 1670).¹⁰⁵
 - 102 von Eytzinger ['Aitsingerus'], M., *Pentaplys regnorum mundi* (Antwerp, 1579).
 - 103 Fabri, H., *Tractatus duo: quorum prior est de plantis et de generatione animalium, posterior de homine*, 2 parts (Paris, 1666).
 - 104 —, *Synopsis optica, in qua illa omnia quae ad opticam, dioptricam, catoptricam pertinent [...] demonstrantur* (Lyon, 1667).¹⁰⁶
 - 105 —, *Dialogi physici, quorum primus est de lumine, secundus et tertius de vi percussione et motu, quartus de humoris elevatione per canaliculum, quintus et sextus de variis selectis* (Lyon, 1669).
 - 106 —, *Synopsis geometrica: cui accessere tria opuscula, nimirum, De linea sinuum & cycloide, De maximis & minimis, centuria, et Synopsis trigonometriae planae* (Lyon, 1669).
- see also Mousnerius.

¹⁰⁴ In lists 2 and 3.

¹⁰⁵ List 2 specifies both edns.

¹⁰⁶ Oldenburg's signed copy of this book is in the BL, pressmark 537.f.5. See fig. 2.

- 107 Fabricius ab Aquapendente, H., *Tractatus quatuor. I. De formato fœtu. II. De locutione et ejus instrumentis. III. De loquela brutorum. IV. De venarum ostiolis* (Frankfurt, 1648).
- 108 Fauchet, C., *Les Antiquitez et histoires gauloises et françoises* (Paris, 1599; 2nd edn Geneva, 1611).¹⁰⁷
- 109 [Félibien, A., *Conferences de l'Academie royale de peinture et de sculpture, pendant l'année 1667* (Paris, 1669): bound with Redi, *Esperienze*: BA, i, p. 93.]
- 110 —, *Des principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture et des autres arts qui en dépendent* (Paris, 1676).
- 111 [de Fermat, P.,] ['M. P. E. A. S.']. *De linearum curvarum cum lineis rectis comparatione dissertatio geometrica* (Toulouse, 1660).
- 112 de Flacourt, É., *Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar* (Paris, 1658 [BA, i, p. 78]).
- 113 Florio, J., *A World of Wordes: Or, Most Copious, and Exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (London, 1611 [BA, i, p. 39]).
- 114 Follinus, H., *Algebra, sive liber de rebus occultis, quem praecedat arithmetica synthetica* (Cologne, 1622).
- 115 Fracassati, C., and M. Malpighi, **Epistolae anatomicae* (Amsterdam, 1669).
- 116 Fuller, T., *The History of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge, 1639 [BA, ii, p. 2], or Cambridge, 1651 [BA, ii, p. 25]).
- 117 [Furichius, J. N., *Chryseidos libri IIII, sive poema de lapide philosophorum* (Strasbourg, 1631): bound with Hobbes, *Elementorum [...] de homine*: BA, i, p. 56.]¹⁰⁸
- 118 de Gabriis, L., *Injustitia armorum Suecicorum in Polonos: responsione apologetica ad epistolam Cyriaci Thrasymachi ad Andream Nicanorem datam* (n.p., 1656; 2nd edn Warsaw, 1657).
- 119 Gadbury, J., *Γενεθλιαλογία; Or, the Doctrine of Nativities* (London, 1658).
- 120 —, *Collectio Geniturarum; Or, a Collection of Nativities, in CL Genitures* (London, 1662).
- 121 Gale, T., *The Court of the Gentiles; Or, A Discourse touching the Original of Human Literature, both Philologic and Philosophic, from the Scriptures and Jewish Churches*, parts 1 and 2, 2nd edn (Oxford and London, 1671).
- 122 Galilei, G., *Tractatus de instrumento proportionum*, tr. M. Bernegger (Strasbourg, 1635 [BA, i, p. 57]).

¹⁰⁷ BA, i, p. 78 lists *Les Oeuvres de [feu] M. Cl. Fauchet* (Paris, 1610); this collection began with *Les Antiquitez gauloises ou françoises*. However, the entry in List 2 specifies 'Les Antiquitez et Hist. Francois', and the wording 'et histoires' does not occur in the 1610 edn.

¹⁰⁸ Although the entry in BA gives the publication details ('Arg. 1631'), this may have been a MS copy of the book. Cf. OC, vol. i, p. 215: 'I have lately caused to be copied out a piece of poesy made by one Furichius a German, yt seems to me to speake handsomly of ye great worke [sc. transmutation into gold]'.

123 [—, *Nov-antiqua sanctissimorum patrum, & probatorum theologorum doctrina, de Sacrae Scripturae testimoniis*, ed. M. Bernegger (Strasbourg, 1636): bound with Galilei, *Tractatus de instrumento*: BA, i, p. 57.]

124 Garter, B., [‘B. G.’] **A Newyeares Gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse, with A Letter written by Cuthbert Tunstall [...] and John Stokesley [...] to Reginald Pole, Cardinall* (London, 1579).

125 Gassendi, P., *Institutio astronomica: juxta hypotheses tam veterum quàm recentiorum. Cui accesserunt Galilei Galilei Nuntius sidereus; et Johannis Kepleri Dioptrice* (London, 1653; and later edns).¹⁰⁹

126 —, *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii: qui est de vita, moribus, placitisque Epicuri* (Lyon, 1649 [BA, i, p. 53]).

127 Gilbert, W., *Tractatus, sive Physiologia nova de magnete, magneticisque corporibus et magno magnete tellure sex libris comprehensus* (Sedan, 1628 [BA, i, p. 57]).

128 Glanvill, J., *Scepsis scientifica: Or, Confest Ignorance, the Way to Science, in an Essay on the Vanity of Dogmatizing, and Confident Opinion* (London, 1665).

129 Glisson, F., *De rachitide, sive morbo puerili qui vulgo The Rickets dicitur tractatus*, ed. G. Bate and A. Regemorter (London, 1650 [BA, i, p. 59]).

130 —, *Anatomia hepatis; cui praemittuntur quaedam ad rem anatomicam universè spectantia* (London, 1654).

131 Godefroy [‘Gothofredus’], D., *Historia universalis*, ed. M. Hesenthaler (Stuttgart, 1668).

132 [Gout [Goeteeris], A., *Regiones Sveciae, Ruslandiae, et Moscoviae* (The Hague, 1639), bound with von Herberstein, *Comentari*: BA, i, p. 90.]¹¹⁰

133 Graindorge, A., *De natura ignis, lucis et colorum dissertatio* (Caen, 1664).

134 Graunt, J., **Natural and Political Observations mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London, 1665 [BA, ii, pp. 38, 44], or another edn, date not specified [BA, ii, p. 67]).

135 Greaves, J., *A Discourse of the Romane Foot and Denarius, from whence the Measures and Weights used by the Ancients may be Deduced* (London, 1647).

136 Grotius, H., *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (Amsterdam, 1641).

137 —, *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum* (Paris and Amsterdam, 1644).

138 —, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum tomus secundus* (Paris, 1646).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ The 1st edn (Paris, 1647), which did not include the works by Galilei and Kepler, was 4°.

¹¹⁰ This is the title given on the engraved title page, and in BA; the printed title page has *Journael vande legatie ghedaen in de iaren 1615 ende 1616 [...] aen de groot-machtigste koningen van Sweden ende Denemarcken*.

¹¹¹ All three volumes of Grotius, presumably with the Old Testament volume placed first and the date taken from it, were listed in BA, i, p. 1 as ‘Grotii Comment. Omnia in Vetus & Novum Test. in 3 Vol. – Paris & Amst. 1644’.

- 139 [Grube, H., *Commentarius de modo simplicium medicamentorum facultates cognoscendi* (Copenhagen and Frankfurt, 1669); bound with Elsholtz, *Clismaticae*: BA, i, p. 59.]
- 140 Guarini, C. G., *Placita philosophica R. P. D. Guarini Guarini mutinensis, physicis rationibus, experientiis, mathematicisque figuris ostensa* (Paris, 1665).
- 141 Guillemeau, J., *De la grossesse et accouchement des femmes*, 2 parts (Paris, 1620–1 [BA, i, p. 84: ‘1620’]).
- 142 du Hamel, J. B., *De meteoris et fossilibus libri duo* (Paris, 1660).
- 143 — *De consensu veteris et novae philosophiae libri quatuor* (Oxford, 1669).¹¹²
- 144 Harrington, J., *The Common-Wealth of Oceana* (London, 1656).
- 145 Hartlib, S., *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie: Or, An Enlargement of the Discourse of Husbandry used in Brabant and Flaunders* (London, 1651 [BA, ii, p. 33]).¹¹³
- 146 de Heer, H., *Spadacrene, hoc est fons spadanus, accuratissime descriptus [...] et observationum medicarum oppido rararum liber unicus* (Leiden, 1645 [BA, i, p. 63]).
- 147 Heliodorus of Larissa, *De optici libri ii*, ed. E. Bartholinus (Paris, 1657).
- 148 von Herberstein, S., *Comentari della Moscovia et parimente della Russia*, tr. F. Corvino (Venice, 1550).
- 149 Hérigone, P., *Cursus mathematicus, nova, brevi et clara methodo demonstratus*, 6 vols (Paris, 1644 [BA, i, p. 62]).
- 150 Hevelius, J., *Cometographia totam naturam cometarum [...] exhibens* (Gdansk, 1668).
- 151 Heydon, Sir Christopher, *An Astrological Discourse with Mathematical Demonstrations [...] in Justification of the Validity of Astrology* (London, 1650).
- 152 Hobbes, T., *Leviathan* (London, 1651).
- 153 —, *Elementorum philosophiae sectio prima de corpore* (London, 1655).
- 154 —, *Elementorum philosophiae sectio secunda de homine* (London, 1658).
- 155 Hooke, R., *Micrographia* (London, 1665).
- 156 Hooker, R., *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (London, 1593; and later edns).¹¹⁴

¹¹² BA, i, 63 lists the Rouen, 1675 edn; but the inclusion of this title in the original version of List 2 (made in 1670) shows that Oldenburg’s copy must have been the Oxford edn.

¹¹³ There were later, enlarged, edns; BA, ii, pp. 68 and 70 have entries with the date not specified.

¹¹⁴ BA, ii, p. 2 has an entry ‘Ecclesiastical Polity, in 5 Books, with his Miscellanies’, with the date not specified: this might refer to any of the edns of London, 1622, 1632 (reissued 1636), and 1639, entitled *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie, Eight Bookes*, which contain only books 1–5, followed by ‘Certayne Divine Tractates, and Godly Sermons’; BA, ii, p. 2 has two entries for the ‘Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity, in 8 books’, also with the date not specified; this phrasing might refer to any edn from 1593 to 1639.

- 157 Horn, G., *Historiae philosophicae libri septem* (Leiden, 1655).
- 158 Hottinger, J. H., *Historiae ecclesiasticae, Novi Testamenti, enneas, seu pars prima*, 9 tomes in 11 parts [bound here as 6 vols] (Hanover, 1651–67 [BA, i, p. 13]).¹¹⁵
- 159 Howe, O., *The Pagan Preacher Silenced: or an Answer to a Treatise of Mr J. Goodwin, entituled The Pagans Debt and Dowry* (London, 1655).
- 160 Huarte, J., *The Examination of Mens Wits*, tr. R. Carew (London, 1594; and later edns).
- 161 [Huygens, C., *Systema Saturnium sive de causis mirandorum Saturni phaenomenon et comite ejus planeta novo* (The Hague, 1659): bound with Graindorge, *De natura ignis*: BA, i, p. 58.]
- 162 —, *Horologium oscillatorium, sive de motu pendulorum ad horologia aptato demonstrationes geometricae* (Paris, 1673).¹¹⁶
- 163 Isnard, C., *Memoires et instructions pour le plant des meuriers blancs, nourriture des vers a soye et l'art de filer* (Paris, 1665).
- 164 Joachim da Fiore, *Vaticinia, sive prophetiae abbatis Joachimi et Anselmi episcopi marsicani [...] quibus rota et oraculum turcicum maxime considerationis adjecta sunt* (Venice, 1589; 2nd edn Venice, 1600).
- 165 Jousse, M., *La Fidelle Ouverture de l'art de serrurier, où l'on void les principaulx préceptes, desseings et figures touchant les expériences et opérations manuelles dudict art* (La Flèche, 1627).
- 166 — *Le Théâtre de l'art de carpentier, enrichi de diverses figures* (La Flèche, 1627).
- 167 Junius, H., *Animadversorum libri sex, omnigenae lectionis thesaurus* (Basel, 1556).
- 168 Kircher, A., *Magnes; sive de arte magnetica opus tripartitum* (Rome, 1641 [BA, i, p. 57]).
- 169 — *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* (Rome, 1646).
- 170 — *Mundus subterraneus, in XII. libros digestus*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1665 [BA, i, p. 53]).
- 171 Labbé, P., *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, curis secundis auctior. Accedit bibliotheca nummaria* (Paris, 1664).
- 172 de La Forge, L., *Tractatus de mente humana, ejus facultatibus, necnon de ejusdem unione cum corpore; secundum principia Renati Descartes* (Amsterdam, 1669).
- 173 Lambeck ['Lambecius'], P., *Liber primus prodromi historiae literariae; nec non libri secundi capita quatuor priora* (Hamburg, 1659).
- 174 Lana Terzi, F., **Prodromo, ovvero saggio di alcune inventioni nuove* (Brescia, 1670).
- 175 de La Place, J., *Disputationum pro divina Dom. Nostri Jesu Christi essentia. Pars tertia et ultima* (Saumur, 1657).

¹¹⁵ BA specifies 'in 5 vols Hanover 1655'; possibly one vol. had gone missing. The first vol. is dated 1655; others are dated from various years between 1651 and 1667.

¹¹⁶ List 2 specifies '1672'; this is presumably a mistake.

- 176 Le Court, B., *Hortorum libri triginta autore Benedicto Curtio Symphoriano* (Lyon, 1560).
- 177 Lefèvre, N., **A Discourse upon Sir W. Rawleigh's Great Cordial*, tr. P. Belon (London, 1664); or *Discours sur le grand cordial de Sr. W. Rawleigh* (London, 1665).
- 178 —, **A Compleat Body of Chymistry [...] with Additions*, tr. 'P. D. C.' [P. de Cardonnel?] (London, 1670).
- 179 Leibniz, G. W., **Hypothesis physica nova* (London, 1671 [BA, i, p. 63]).
- 180 Leybourn, W., *A Platform [for] Purchasers, Guide for Builders, Mate [for] Measurers* (London, 1668).
- 181 van Linschoten, J. H., *Discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies*, tr. W. Phillip (London, 1598).
- 182 Lipstorp, D., *Specimina philosophiae cartesianae, quibus accedit ejusdem authoris Copernicus redivivus* (Leiden, 1653).¹¹⁷
- 183 von Loehneyss, G. E., *Bericht vom Bergwerk, wie man dieselben bawen und in guten Wolstande bringen sol* (n.p., n.d. [c. 1660]).¹¹⁸
- 184 Lovell, R., *Παμβοτανολογία; sive enchiridion botanicum. Or a compleat Herball* (Oxford, 1659; 2nd edn Oxford, 1665).
- 185 Lubieniecki, S., *Theatrum cometicum, duabus partibus constans [...] et theatri cometici exitus, sive de significatione cometarum*, 3 parts (Amsterdam, 1666–8).
- 186 Magalotti, L., *Saggi di naturali esperienze fatte nell'Accademia del Cimento* (Florence, '1666' [1667]).
- 187 Malingre, C., *Histoire generale des guerres et mouvemens arrives en divers estats du monde sous le regne de Louis XIII* (Paris, 1638; 2nd edn Rouen, 1647).
- 188 Malpighi, M., *Dissertatio epistolica de bombyce*, ed. H. Oldenburg (London, 1669).
- 189 —, *Anatome plantarum* (London, 1675).
- 190 de Marolles, M., *Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille douce, avec un dénombrement des pieces qui y sont contenuës, fait à Paris en l'année 1666* (Paris, 1666).
- 191 Mästlin ['Maestlinus'], M., *Observatio et demonstratio cometae aetherei, qui anno 1577 et 1578 constitutus in sphaera Veneris apparuit* (Tübingen, 1578). [Bound with Apianus, *De utilitate*: BA, i, p. 58.]
- 192 [Meibom, H., *De vasis palpebrarum novis epistola* (Helmstedt, 1666); bound with Boate, *Observationes*: BA, i, p. 56.]
- 193 [—, *De medicorum historia scribenda epistola* (Helmstedt, 1669); bound with Boate, *Observationes*: BA, i, p. 56.]

¹¹⁷ BA, i, p. 56 has '1652' – apparently a misprint.

¹¹⁸ BA, i, p. 98 has '1672'.

- 194 [Meibom, J. H., *De cervisiis potibusque et ebriaminibus extra vinum aliis commentarius*, ed. H. Meibom (Helmstedt, 1668; 2nd edn Helmstedt, 1671); bound with Boate, *Observationes*: *BA*, i, p. 56.]
- 195 [Mengoli, P., *Speculationi di musica* (Bologna, 1670); bound with Mengoli, *Anno*: *BA*, i, p. 93.]
- 196 —, *Anno* (Bologna, 1673).
- 197 Mercurialis, H., *De arte gymnastica libri sex* (Venice, 1601 [*BA*, i, p. 55]).
- 198 Mersenne, M., *L'Impiété des deistes, athées et libertins de ce temps* (Paris, 1624).
- 199 — *Cogitata physico-mathematica* (Paris, 1644).
- 200 — *Universae geometriae synopsis* (Paris, 1644).
- 201 — *Novarum observationum physico-mathematicarum tomus III* (Paris, 1647).¹¹⁹
- 202 Metius, A., *Arithmeticae et geometriae practica* (Franeker, 1611 [*BA*, i, p. 57]).¹²⁰
- 203 [Moebius, G., *Anatomia camphorae: ejus originem, qualitates, praeparationes chemicas, ac vires* (Jena, 1660); bound with Rolfinck, *Dissertationes*: *BA*, i, p. 55.]
- 204 de Monconys, B., *Journal des voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, 3 parts (Lyon, 1665–6) [list 2 specifies only part 1].
- 205 de Moncy, J. ['I. D. M.'], *Dialogues rustiques d'un prestre de village, d'un berger, le censier et sa femme* (Leiden, 1608).
- 206 More, H. ['Franciscus Palaeopolitanus'], *Divine Dialogues, containing Sundry Disquisitions & Instructions concerning the Attributes and Providence of God* (London, 1668).
- 207 Morison, R., either *Hortus regius blesensis* (Paris, 1655 [*BA*, i, p. 52]), or *Hortus regius blesensis auctus, cum notulis durationis et charactismis plantarum tam additarum quam non scriptarum* (London, 1669 [*BA*, i, p. 59]).
- 208 de Mornay, P., *A Woorke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, tr. Sir Philip Sidney and A. Golding (London, 1587 [*BA*, ii, p. 8]).
- 209 Moufet, T., *Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum* (London, 1634).
- 210 —, *Health's Improvement: Or, Rules Comprising and Discovering the Nature, Method, and Manner of Preparing all sorts of Food used in this Nation* (London, 1655).

¹¹⁹ The foregoing three works are listed in *BA*, i, p. 57, as follows: 'Opera Mathematica, viz. Ballistica, Geometrica: Mechanica, optica, Hydraulica, Physico-mathematica in 3 vol.'. The entries in List 2 might imply that Oldenburg had only the *Cogitata* and the *Universae geometriae*, the latter in two volumes; but the inclusion of 'Physico-mathematica' in the *BA* entry suggests that the second of those two volumes was in fact *Novarum observationum*.

¹²⁰ The author is referred to in List 2 as 'Alcmar.' because he is described on the title page as Professor of Mathematics at Alkmaar.

- 211 Mousnerius, P. [in fact H. Fabri, ed. P. Mousnerius], *Philosophiae tomus primus, qui complectitur scientiarum methodum sex libris explicatam, logicam analyticam, duodecim libris demonstratam, et aliquot controversias logicas, breviter disputatas auctore Petro Mosnerio [...]* *Cuncta excerpta ex praelectionibus R. P. Hon. Fabry* (Lyon, 1646).¹²¹
- 212 —, *Tractatus physicus de motu locali, in quo effectus omnes, qui ad impetum, motum naturalem, violentum, et mixtum pertinent, explicantur, et ex principiis physicis demonstrantur. Auctore Petro Mousnerio, cuncta excerpta ex praelectionibus honorati Fabry* (Lyon, 1646).¹²²
- 213 —, *Metaphysica demonstrativa, sive scientia rationum universalium, auctore Petro Mousnerio, cuncta excerpta ex praelectionibus Honorati Fabri* (Lyon, 1648).¹²³
- 214 Mun, T., *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, ed. J. Mun (London, 1664 [BA, ii, pp. 34, 36]).
- 215 von Mynsicht, A., *Thesaurus et armamentarium medico-chymicum [...] cui in fine adiunctum est testamentum hadrianeum de aureo philosophorum lapide* (Lübeck, 1646).
- 216 Nani, G. B. F. G., *The History of the Affairs of Europe in this Present Age, but more particularly of the Republick of Venice*, tr. Sir Richard Honywood (London, 1673).
- 217 Naudé, G., *Syntagma de studio militari* (Rome, 1637).
- 218 Needham, W., *Disquisitio anatomica de formato foetu* (London, 1667 [BA, i, p. 59: 2 entries]).
- 219 Nonnius, L., *Diaeteticon sive de re cibaria libri IV* (Antwerp, 1645 [BA, i, p. 56]).
- 220 [North, Dudley, Lord North,] *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669).
- 221 Nostradamus, M., *Les Propheties* (Lyon, 1568 [BA, i, p. 83]).
- 222 Occo, A., *Impp. Romanorum numismata a Pompeo Magno ad Heraclium* (Antwerp, 1579 [BA, i, p. 44]).
- 223 [Oldenburg, H., ed.,] *Philosophical Transactions*, vols i-iv (London, 1667-70).¹²⁴
- 224 Olina, G. P., *Uccelliera, ovvero, discorso della natura, e proprietà di diuersi uccelli* (Rome, 1622).
- 225 d'Ossat, A., *Lettres de l'illustrissime et reverendissime Cardinal d'Ossat* (Paris, 1627 [BA, i, p. 83], or Rouen, 1643 [BA, i, pp. 78, 79]).
- 226 Oughtred, W., *The Circles of Proportion and the Horizontal Instrument*, tr. W. Forster (Oxford, 1660).

¹²¹ This and the following two items were bought in Paris in Apr. 1659: 'Of ye Jesuite Fabry I have bought his 3. tomes of philosophy, the two first being but Scholastical about Logick and metaphysick, but ye third de Motu locali' (OC, vol. i, p. 215).

¹²² See the previous note.

¹²³ See the preceding notes.

¹²⁴ BA, ii, p. 32 has an entry: 'A Compleat Collect. of the Philosophic. Transact. from March 6. 1684/5 [*sic*: a misprint for 1664/5] to Feb 26. 1676/7 11 vol. with the Titles and Pref. to each, bound Turkey Leath'.

227 Owen, J., *Truth and Innocence Vindicated, in a Survey of a Discourse concerning Ecclesiastical Polity* (London, 1669).

228 Parker, S., *Tentamina physico-theologica de Deo: sive theologia scholastica ad normam novæ et reformatæ philosophiæ concinnata* (London, 1665).

229 Pascal, B., *Lettres de A. Dettonville contenant quelques-unes de ses inventions de geometrie* (Paris, 1659).

230 Payen, A. F., **Aenigma astronomicum adulterium solis & lunæ visibile in hemispherio parisiensi a 1666* (Paris, 1666); or *Extrait d'une lettre [...] contenant l'observation de l'eclipse de soleil arrivée le 2 juillet 1666* (Paris, 1666); or *Selenelion, ou apparition luni-solaire en l'isle de Gorgone* (Paris, 1666).¹²⁵

231 Pecquet, J., *Experimenta nova anatomica* (Paris, 1651).¹²⁶

232 Percyvall ['Percivale'], R., *A Dictionary in Spanish and English*, revd. J. Minsheu (London, 1623 [BA, i, p. 39]).

233 [Perrault, C. (attrib.)], *Description anatomique d'un cameleon, d'un castor, d'un dromadaire, d'un ours, et d'une gazelle* (Paris, 1669); bound with Redi, *Esperienze*: BA, i, p. 93.]

234 Platt, Sir Hugh, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature: containing diuers Rare and Profitable Inuentions* (London, 1653 [BA, ii, p. 33]).

235 Pococke, E., *Philosophus autodidactus, sive epistola Abi Jaafar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan [...] ex arabica in linguam latinam versa* (Oxford, 1671).

236 della Porta, G. B., *Magiæ naturalis libri viginti* (Frankfurt, 1607 [BA, i, p. 58], or Hanover, 1619 [BA, i, p. 59]).

237 —, *Phytognomonica [...] octo libris contenta* (Frankfurt, 1608 [BA, i, p. 58]).

238 —, *Villae [...] libri XII., in quibus [...] plantarum cultus [...] et [...] ad frugum, vini ad fructuum multiplicationem experimenta [...] exhibentur* (Frankfurt, 1592).

239 —, *De Humana Physiognomonica [...] libri IIII* (Hanover, 1593; and later edns).¹²⁷

240 de Ræi, J., *Clavis philosophiæ naturalis, seu introductio ad naturæ contemplationem aristotelico-cartesiana* (Leiden, 1654 [BA, i, p. 57]).

241 [—], *Dissertatio philosophica de sapientia veterum* (Amsterdam, 1669); bound with Boate, *Observationes*: BA, i, p. 56.]

242 Rahn, J. H., *An Introduction to Algebra*, tr. T. Brancker, with additional material by J. Pell (London, 1668).

¹²⁵ See OC, vol. iii, pp. 287–9, showing that Payen sent these three works to Oldenburg in 1666.

¹²⁶ BA, i, p. 55 has 'Paris, 1659'. This is probably a misprint for 1651; the only printing of this work in 1659 was in Heidelberg, as part of a compilation by Siebold Hemsterhuis entitled *Messis aurea exhibens anatomica novissima experimenta*.

¹²⁷ List I has two entries, with different prices. One of these may have been the edition listed in BA, i, p. 58 (Frankfurt, 1618).

243 Ray, J., *Catalogus plantarum Angliae et insularum adjacentium* (London, 1670 [BA, i, p. 59], or London, 1677 [BA, i, p. 60]).

244 Redi, F., *Esperienze intorno alla generazione degl'insetti* (Florence, 1668).

245 Reinesius, T., *Epistolae ad [...] C. Daumium [...] accedunt alia ejusdem et ipsius Daumii epistolae ad Reinesium [...] omnia nunc primum prodeunt e museo J. A. Bosii* (Jena, 1670).

246 Riccioli, G. B., 'Opera' in 4 vols, probably consisting of: (i) *Almagestum novum, astronomiam veterem novamque complectens* (Bologna, 1651); (ii) *Geographiae et hydrographiae reformatae libri duodecim* (Bologna, 1661); (iii) *Astronomiae reformatae tomi duo* (Bologna, 1665). [BA, i, p. 54 has *Almagestum novum* in 2 vols, and *Geographiae et hydrographiae*.]

247 de Rochas d'Aiglun, H., *Physique reformée, contenant la refutation des erreurs populaires, et le triomphe des veritez philosophiques* (Paris, 1647; 2nd issue Paris, 1648).¹²⁸

248 Rolfinck ['Rolfincius'], G., *Dissertatio de corde ex veterum et recentiorum, propriisque observationibus concinnata* (Jena, 1654).¹²⁹

249 -- *Dissertationes chimicae sex* (Jena, 1660).¹³⁰

250 [Rose, L. G., *Disputatio [...] de motu sanguinis naturali et praeternaturali* (praes.: H. Meibom) (Helmstedt, 1668); bound with Boate, *Observationes*: BA, i, p. 56.]

251 Rüff, J., *De conceptu et generatione hominis*, tr. W. Haller (Zurich, 1554 [BA, i, p. 56]).

252 Rycaut, Sir Paul, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1670) [1st edn London, 1668].

253 Sachse de Lewenheim, P. J., *Γαμμαρολογία, sive gammarorum, vulgo cancrorum consideratio physico-philologico-historico-medico-chymica* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1665).

254 de Saint-Jean, Frère Mathias ['F. M.'], *Le Commerce honorable, ou considerations politiques; contenant les motifs de nécessité, d'honneur, et de profit, qui se trouvent à former des compagnies [...] pour l'entretien du negoce de mer en France* (Nantes, 1646).

255 [de Sallo, J. D., ed.,] *Le Journal des sçavans, hoc est: ephemerides eruditorum anni M.DC.LXV*, tr. F. Nitzsche (Leipzig, 1667).¹³¹

256 Salmuthius, P., *Observationum medicarum centuriae tres posthumae, cum H. Conringii praefatione de doctrina pathologica* (Braunschweig, 1648).

257 de Salnove, R., *La Vénerie royale divisée en IV parties; qui contiennent les chasses du cerf, du lièvre, du chevreuil, du sanglier, du loup, et du renard* (Paris, 1665 [BA, i, p. 79]).

¹²⁸ BA, i, p. 79 has '1649', which is apparently a misprint.

¹²⁹ Oldenburg's signed copy of this book is in the BL, pressmark 783.f.3(3).

¹³⁰ Oldenburg's signed copy of this book is in the BL, pressmark 1185.f.17(1). See fig. 4.

¹³¹ List 2 has two entries: for 'Ephemeris eruditorum' and for 'Le Journal des Scavans'. Probably these are for the same item. If the latter referred to original issues of the *Journal*, this could correspond to any quantity of the eighty-nine issues which appeared between 1665 and 1670; however, the entry seems to refer to only one volume.

258 Sammes, A., *Britannia antiqua illustrata: Or, The Antiquities of Ancient Britain* (London, 1676).¹³²

259 Sanson, N., any three of the following: *L'Europe* (Paris, n.d. [1651]); *L'Asie en plusieurs cartes & en divers traitez de geographie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1652); *L'Afrique en plusieurs cartes nouvelles et exactes & en divers traitez de geographie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1656); *L'Amerique en plusieurs cartes et en divers traittés de géographie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1657).¹³³

260 Sansovino, F., *Del governo de i regni e delle republiche cosi antiche come moderne libri XVIII* (Venice, 1607 [*BA*, i, p. 90]).

261 de Saumaise, C. ['Salmasius'], *Praefatio in librum de homonymis hyles iatricæ, ejusdem de Plinio judicium* (Dijon, 1668).¹³⁴

262 Schefferus, J., *Lapponia; id est, regionis Lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio* (Frankfurt, 1673).

263 Scheiner, C., *Oculus; hoc est, fundamentum opticum* (London, 1652 [*BA*, i, p. 58]).

264 Schildius, J., *De caucis, nobilissimo veteris Germaniae populo, libri duo* (Leiden, 1649).

265 Schwenter, D., *Deliciae physico-mathematicae oder mathematische und philosophische Erquickstunden*, ed. G. P. Harsdörffer, 3 vols (Nuremberg, 1651-3).¹³⁵

266 de Scudéry, M. ['G.'], *Artamene, ou le Grand Cyrus*, 10 vols (Paris, 1650-4; and later edns), vol. i only.¹³⁶

267 Semple, H. ['Hugo Sempilius Craigbaitaeus'], *De mathematicis disciplinis libri duodecim* (Antwerp, 1635).

268 Seneschal, M., *Trias evangelica, sive, quaestio triplex de anno, mense et die Christi nati* (Liège, 1670).

269 Serrarius ['Serarius'; Serrurier], P., *Vox clamantis in Babylone praeparate viam Domino, i.e. brevis dissertatio de fatali et admiranda illa planetarum in uno eodemque signo, igneae triplicitatis ultimo, conjunctione* (Amsterdam, 1663).

¹³² *BA* has two entries: ii, p. 26, dated '1675', and ii, p. 28, dated '1676'. The former is a misprint; there was only one edn of this work.

¹³³ These were all 4° publications, and the second, third, and fourth were companion works; other pre-1670 works by Sanson with 'géographie' in the title were in folio. *BA* has the following entry in a list of 4° volumes: 'L'Europe, l'Asie, l'Afrique; en Plusieurs Cartes illuminé [*sic*] par N. Sanson, 4 vol. A Paris 1652'. This would suggest that, to the three items in Oldenburg's collection, the fourth had been added.

¹³⁴ This is a folio, not 4° as specified in List 2.

¹³⁵ This 3-volume edition is specified in list 1, and recorded in *BA*, i, p. 98; the title given here is that given in the title page of the first volume. The title page of vol. ii has *Deliciae mathematicae et physicae*; that of vol. iii has *Delitiae philosophicae et mathematicae*. List 2 gives three separate titles, of which the second and third correspond to those of vols ii and iii, while the first, 'Delitiae Physico-Mechanicae', was probably just a misreading of the title of vol. i.

¹³⁶ The French edns were 8°; the English *Artamenes, Or, The Grand Cyrus, an Excellent New Romance*, tr. F. Gifford, 5 vols (London, 1653; 2nd edn London, 1655) was in folio; List 2 specifies a 4°.

- 270 Sharrock, R., *Ὑπόθεσις ἠθικὴ de officiis secundum naturæ jus; seu de moribus ad rationis normam conformandis doctrina* (Oxford, 1660).
- 271 Sheringham, R., *De Anglorum gentis origine disceptatio* (Cambridge, 1670).
- 272 Sigonio, C., *De antiquo jure civium romanorum, Italice, provinciarum, ac romane jurisprudentiæ judiciis, libri XI* (Hanover, 1609).
- 273 —, *Fasti consulares, ac triumpho acti a Romulo Rege usque ad Ti. Caesarem* (Hanover, 1609).
- 274 Simpson, W., *Hydrological Essayes: Or, a Vindication of Hydrologia Chymica, being a Further Discovery of the Scarborough Spaw* (London, 1670).
- 275 Sinclair, G., *Ars nova et magna gravitatis et levitatis: sive dialogorum philosophicorum libri sex de aeris vera ac reali gravitate, &c* (Rotterdam, 1669).
- 276 de Sluse, R. F., *Mesolabum, seu duæ mediae proportionales inter extremas datas per circulum et ellipsim vel hyperbolam infinitis modis exhibitæ* (Liège, 1659; 2nd edn Liège, 1668).
- 277 Sorbière, S., **Discours de Mr de Sorbière sur la comete* (Paris, 1665).
- 278 Spencer, J., *A Discourse concerning Prodigies, etc. Second edition, corrected [...] To which is added a Short Treatise concerning Vulgar Prophecies* (London, 1665 [BA, ii, p. 11]).
- 279 [de Spinoza, B.], *Tractatus theologico-politicus; continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi* ('Hamburg' [Amsterdam], 1670; also n.p. [Amsterdam], 1674).¹³⁷
- 280 Sprat, T., *The History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, 1667).¹³⁸
- 281 Steno, N., **Elementorum myologiae specimen, seu musculi descriptio geometrica* (Florence, 1667; 2nd edn Amsterdam, 1669).¹³⁹
- 282 Stevin, S., *L'Arithmétique [...] contenant les computations des nombres arithmétiques ou vulgaires; aussi l'algèbre, ensemble les quatre premiers livres d'algèbre de Diophante d'Alexandrie* (Leiden, 1585 [BA, i, p. 85]).
- 283 Stiernhielm, G., **Babel destructa, seu runa suethica duobus systematibus comprehensa* ([Stockholm,] 1669).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ BA has three copies: i, pp. 8 (1670: a large-paper copy), 15 (1674), and 20 (1670). The first specific mention of this work in Oldenburg's correspondence is in his letter to Spinoza of 8 June 1675, in which he mentions both that Spinoza previously sent him a copy which was never delivered, and that he has now read the work; but the date at which he read it is not clear (see OC, vol. xi, pp. 339–41).

¹³⁸ BA, ii, p. 32 specifies a large-paper copy.

¹³⁹ This work is in Lists 1 and 3. It is known that Oldenburg received a copy (from Adrien Auzout in Paris, who had received it from Leopoldo de' Medici) in Feb. 1668: see OC, vol. iv, pp. 78, 87, 123, 206. A copy of the 1667 edn, bearing Oldenburg's signature on the title page, is in the library of the Royal College of Physicians, London, pressmark (o) 611.73.

¹⁴⁰ On 18 Nov. 1669 the Royal Society received from Stiernhielm this 'printed half sheet [...] being a breviat of two volumes designed by the author for the press' (Birch, *History*, vol. ii, p. 402). This is probably to be identified with the only surviving exemplar in a British library today: BL, pressmark 628.f.1(3).

- 284 —, **Monile minervae* ([Stockholm, c. 1669]).¹⁴¹
- 285 —, *MS. paper describing the use of Stiernhielm's instrument 'linea Carolina'.¹⁴²
- 286 —, *'A printed table of the measures of liquids and dry things, and for surveying' ([Stockholm, c. 1669]).¹⁴³
- 287 Stow, J., *The Survey of London: Contayning the Originall, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Government of that City* (London, 1633).
- 288 Stubbe, H., *Legends no Histories: Or, a Specimen of some Animadversions upon the History of the Royal Society* (London, 1670).
- 289 —, *The Plus ultra Reduced to a Non plus: Or, A Specimen of some Animadversions upon the Plus ultra of Mr. Glanvill* (London, 1670).
- 290 Swammerdam, J., *Historia insectorum generalis, ofte algemeene verhandeling van de bloedeloose dierkens* (Utrecht, 1669).
- 291 —, **Miraculum naturae sive uteri muliebris fabrica* (Leiden, 1672).
- 292 Tagliacozzi, G., *Cheirurgia nova Gasparis Taliacotii [...] de aurium labiorumque defectu, per insitionem cutis ex humero, arte hactenus omnibus ignota, sarciendo* (Frankfurt, 1598 [BA, i, p. 58]).
- 293 Tarde, J., *Usages du quadrant à l'aiguille aimantée* (Paris, 1621; 2nd edn Paris, 1638).¹⁴⁴
- 294 Tauler, J., *Medulla animae, das ist von Vollkommenheit aller Tugenden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1644).
- 295 Taylor, S., **The History of Gavel-kind, with the Etymology thereof* (London, 1663).
- 296 du Tertre, J.-B., *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1658; 2nd edn Rotterdam, 1665).

¹⁴¹ On 18 Nov. 1669 the Royal Society received from Stiernhielm this 'printed scheme [...] the design of which did not appear to the members present' (Birch, *History*, vol. ii, p. 402). No exemplar appears to have survived; but it was evidently a prospectus for the planned publication (which never took place) of Stiernhielm's major work on physics, physiology, and psychology, 'Monile Minervae', which survives in the Royal Library, Stockholm, MS. F.d.9**. See B. Swartling, *Georg Stiernhielm: hans lif och verksamhet* (Uppsala, 1909), pp. 66–9, and G. Stiernhielm, *Filosofiska fragment*, ed. J. Nordström, 2 vols (Stockholm, 1924), vol. i, pp. cclvi–cclvii; vol. ii, pp. 210–11.

¹⁴² On 18 Nov. 1669 the Royal Society received from Stiernhielm 'An instrument called [...] *linea Carolina*, together with a written paper explaining the design and use of that line, viz., that, supposing common water to be alike all over the world, and taking a Batavian grain for the least common measure, it would teach to know all other measures both of liquids and dry things': Birch, *History*, vol. ii, p. 402. For a description of this measuring device see L. B. Falkman, *Om måkt och vikt i Sverige: historisk framställing*, 2 vols (Stockholm, 1884–5), vol. ii, p. 44. Falkman states that there is an example of the 'linea Carolina' in the mathematical instruments collection of Lund University. He mentions several MSS. by Stiernhielm (now in the Royal Library, Stockholm) relating to it; possibly the text sent to the Royal Society was a copy of one of these, 'Archimedes Practicus per Lineam Carolinam', which was written on 27 Apr. 1669.

¹⁴³ The description given here is that supplied by Birch, *History*, vol. ii, p. 402. No exemplar of this work appears to have survived.

¹⁴⁴ BA, i, p. 78 has '1637', probably a misprint or a hasty misreading of the title page's 'MDCXXXVIII'.

297 Thévenot, M., ed., *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hachuyt, de Purchas et d'autres voyageurs anglois, hollandois, etc.*, 4 vols (Paris, 1663–72).¹⁴⁵

298 Thruston, M., *De respirationis usu primario, diatriba* (London, 1670).

299 [Travagini, F., *Super observationibus a se factis tempore ultimorum terraemotuum, ac potissimum Ragusiani, physica disquisitio* (Leiden, 1669; 2nd edn Frankfurt, 1673); bound with Boate, *Observationes*.]

300 [Trichet du Fresne, R.,] *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Raphaelis Tricheti du Fresne* (Paris, 1662).

301 Trithemius, J., *Steganographia: hoc est, ars per occultam scripturam animi sui voluntatem absentibus aperiendi certa* (Darmstadt, 1621 [BA, i, p. 56]).

302 Ussher, J., *Annales Veteris Testamenti, a prima mundi origine deducti: una cum rerum Asiaticarum et Aegyptiacarum chronico, a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producto* (London, 1650).

303 —, *Annalium pars posterior: in qua, praeter Maccabaicam et Novi Testamenti historiam, imperii Romanorum Caesarum sub C. Julio & Octaviano ortus, rerumque in Asia & Aegypto gestarum continetur chronicon* (London, 1654).

304 'Valentinus, B.' [J. Thölde?], *Of Natural & Supernatural Things. Also, of the First Tincture, Root, and Spirit of Metals and Minerals*, tr. D. Cable (London, 1670).

305 de Valois, A. ['H. Valesius'], and J. C. Wagenseil, *De cena Trimalcionis nuper sub Petronii nomine vulgata dissertationes* (Paris, 1666).

306 Veslingius, J., *Syntagma anatomicum* (Padua, 1647; and later edns).

307 de Vigenère, B., *Traicté des chiffres, ou secrètes manières d'écrire* (Paris, 1586 [BA, i, p. 79]).

308 Vigier, F.-A., *Discours [...] sur le livre de M. Arnaud, docteur de Sorbonne, intitulé La perpétuité de la foy de l'église catholique touchant l'eucharistie défenduë* (Amsterdam, 1670).

309 —, *A discourse [...] concerning the Book of Monsr. Arnaud [...] entituled, The perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholick Church, touching the Eucharist*, tr. anon. (London, 1670).

310 Vossius, G. J., *De arte grammatica libri septem* (Amsterdam, 1635).

311 —, *Liber de philologia sermonis & historiarum*, ed. J. Craus (Leipzig, 1670).¹⁴⁶

312 Vossius, I., *De septuaginta interpretibus, eorumque tralatione & chronologia dissertationes*, 2 vols (The Hague, 1661–3).

313 —, *De motu marium et ventorum liber* (The Hague, 1663).

¹⁴⁵ Oldenburg's copy in three volumes was either incomplete, or containing two vols bound as one; in List 2 Pell specifies only vols i and ii (1663–4).

¹⁴⁶ This was previously published as part of his *De quatuor artibus popularibus*, of which BA lists the 1st edn (Amsterdam, 1650 [i, p. 37]) and the 2nd issue of that edition (Amsterdam, 1660 [i, p. 44]).

314 van Waessenaer, J., *Aenmerckingen op den nieuwen Stel-Regel van J. Stampioen* (Leiden, 1640).

315 Ward, S., *A Sermon against the Anti-Scripturists. Also Another concerning the Sinfulness, Danger, and Remedies of Infidelity* (London, 1670).

316 Wehe, S. ['Hisaias sub Cruce'], *Tripus chemicus sendivogianus, dreyfaches chimisches Kleinod. Das ist, zwölff Tractätlin von dem philosophischen Stain* (Strasbourg, 1628).

317 Wilkins, J., *An Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (London, 1668).

318 Willis, T., *Diatribae duae medico-philosophicae, quarum prior agit de fermentatione [...] altera de febribus* (London, 1659 [BA, i, p. 59]).

319 —, *Cerebri anatome, cui accessit nervorum descriptio et usus* (London, 1664 [BA, i, p. 55]).

320 Witty, R., *Pyrologia Mimica; Or, an Answer to Hydrologia Chymica of W. Sympson; in Defence of Scarbrough Spam* (London, 1669).

321 Wright, E., *Certaine Errors in Navigation* (London, 1657 [BA, ii, p. 33]).

Uncertain: (i) Bibles

322 'A Bible in English': if this corresponds to the entry in BA, it was probably *The Bible: That is, The Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament. Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages* (London, 1609 [BA, i, p. 14]), an edn of the 'Geneva' Bible. The other 4° Bible listed in BA (ibid.) was an edn of the Authorized Version (London, 1648) interleaved, with MS. annotations, bound in 5 vols; the entry in List 2 makes no mention of multiple vols.

323 'A French Bible': probably *La Bible, qui est toute la sainte Esriture du Vieil et du Nouveau Testament ... Le tout reveu et conferé sur les textes hebrieux et grecs par les pasteurs et professuers de l'Eglise de Genève* (Geneva, 1608 [BA, i, p. 80]). This is 4°; other French Bibles mentioned in BA, i, p. 80, were 8°.

324 'A Hebrew Bible': unidentified. BA lists several edns, but only two as 4°: 'Biblia Hebraica cum punctis' (Geneva, n.d.), and 'Idem Hebraica cum punctis Ex officina Christoph. Plantini' (n.d.). The former was probably the 4° edn of the Old Testament issued by de la Rouvière (Geneva, 1618); Plantin issued a 4° edn (Antwerp, 1566), but it was without vowel-points.

325 'A Spanish bible': probably *La Biblia: que es, los sacros libros del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento*, tr. Casiodoro de Reina, ed. Cipriano de Valera (Amsterdam, 1602 [BA, i, p. 96]).

Uncertain: (ii) other works

326 *'A booke of Bartholin': BA has many items by Thomas and Erasmus Bartholinus, who were both prolific authors. This is unlikely to be a reference to the copy of Erasmus Bartholinus's *Experimenta crystalli islandici* which was inscribed personally to Oldenburg: see above, n. 71.

327 *‘[A booke of] Gerilli’: probably D. Zerilli, *Confermazione d’una sentenza del Signor G. A. Borelli [...] di nuovo contradetta dal M. R. P. Fra Stefano de gl’Angeli [...] nelle sue terze considerazioni* (Naples, 1668). This was one of sixteen books sent to Oldenburg by Malpighi in 1670 (OC, vol. vi, pp. 627–8); the majority of them (but not the Zerilli) were presented by Oldenburg to the Royal Society (Birch, *History*, vol. ii, pp. 449–51). Collins appears to have misremembered the name; no author called ‘Gerilli’ is known, nor does anyone of that name feature in OC. (It is conceivable that the reference was to a work by G. Girelli [‘H. Girellus’]: either *In prohemium physicorum Aristotelis* (Padua, 1553), or *Tractatus [...] adversus quaestionem Marci Antonii Zimarae de speciebus intelligibilibus ad mentem antiquorum Averrois praesertim* (Venice, 1561; 2nd edn Naples, 1576). But such a work would be out of character with almost all the other items in List 3.)

328 ‘Declarations des Roys Francois’: possibly Anon., *Les Edicts, ordonnances et déclarations des roys François Ier, Henry II, Charles IX, Henry IV et Louis XII à présent régnant sur les privilèges, franchises et exemptions des thrésoriers et payeurs de la gendarmerie de France* (Paris, 1611).

329 ‘History of Holland in Dutch’: probably G. Brandt, *Verhaal van de reformatie, in en ontrent de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1663) (title on engraved title page: *Historie der reformatie in Nederlandt*). Oldenburg’s notes on this book are in BL, Add. MS. 4255, f. 66. Or possibly P. de la Court, *Historie der gravelike regering in Holland* (n.p., n.d. [Amsterdam, c. 1662]). Both these books were 8° volumes, as specified in List 2. BA does not include them; it has only one historical work about Holland in Dutch, L. van Aitzema’s *Vermeerdert verhael vande vrede-handelingh der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, 15 vols (The Hague, 1655–71), which it describes as ‘13 Vol. Graven-Hague 1657’. But that was a 4° publication; and, in any case, it is very unlikely that the compiler of List 2 would not have mentioned the large number of volumes.

330 ‘Latin and English dictio[na]ry’: probably either T. Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae romanae & britannicae* (London, 1584 [BA, i, p. 38]) or T. Thomas, *Dictionarium* (Cambridge, 1592 [BA, i, p. 39]).

331 *‘Two of y^e Classicke Authors printed for y^e Daulphin’: this refers to two of the editions of classical authors printed in the series ‘ad usum Delphini’ under the general editorship of Pierre-Daniel Huet, who sent seven of them to be shared between Oldenburg and Isaac Vossius in February / March 1676 (OC, vol. xii, pp. 200, 266–8, 365–6). Seven such volumes had been published (all in Paris) by that date: Florus, *Historia romana*, ed. A. Le Fevre (1674); Sallust, *Opera*, ed. D. Crespian (1674); Terence, *Comoediae*, ed. N. Camus (1675); Virgil, *Opera*, ed. C. de La Rue (1675); Cornelius Nepos, *Vitae excellentium imperatorum*, ed. N. Courtin (1675); Phaedrus, *Fabulae*, ed. P. Danet (1675); and Velleius Paterculus, *Historia romana*, ed. R. Rigueux (1675).

