

XI.—*Notes on the Buildings, Books, and Benefactors of the Library of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Wells. By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-Dean and Sub-Librarian of Wells.*

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Read 6th December, 1900.

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I.—THE LIBRARY IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

In the thirteenth century Wells was a place of some educational equipment in connection with the cathedral church of secular canons, an academic town of the times. There was a school for choristers, there was also a *schola grammaticalis* of a higher grade under the chancellor's authority. Since bishop Jocelin's time in 1240, the chancellor, by the terms of his office, was required to give lectures on theology at stated times. There were many boys and many vicars choral and younger canons more or less under some education of the time. There were books for worship and for use of the canons, which required safe keeping. Records, registers, etc. were kept of the acts and statutes of the chapter, and copies were made of the charters and important documents, the originals of which were kept in the treasury, all which required a *scriptorium*.

Mr. J. Willis Clark tells us: "For the most part the books were kept in chests, or locked up in presses, which were usually in the cloister, or in the church,—in the church *first*, in the cloister afterwards."

So it was at Wells, not a monastic but a secular church. What was the site of the place in the church where the books were first kept?

In the church of the thirteenth century the screen which separated choir from nave was carried across the first bay west of the piers of the central tower. The choir was under the tower. The central door into the choir was under the *pulpitum*, on which stood the rood, and there were the two doors of the screens in the aisles, *ostia de la carole*: (a) the door on the south led into the south transept; (b) the

door in the north aisle is called "the door towards the library," *ostium versus librarium*, in an act of chapter of the date of 1297, "about the opening of doors."<sup>a</sup>

That act regulates the opening and shutting of the choir doors in the aisles. The door towards the library on the north side was only to be opened for a short time before matins, and then to be closed for the whole of the day. The reasons given for keeping it closed were twofold: (1) because of the injury to the books by the handling of outsiders, *propter conculcationem librorum ecclesie que fit per extraneos*; (2) that the lay people might not hear the secrets of the chapter.

These words point to the site of the library (1) as on the north side of the church, (2) near the door of the aisle into the choir, (3) near the place where the chapter was wont to meet.

Another passage in the register, under date 1298, bears upon the proximity of the library to the place of meeting of the chapter at that time. A statute directs that on certain days, feasts of nine lessons, the Psalms which were said at the meeting of the chapter in commemoration of the departed, *Placebo et Dirige*, might be said either in the library or *in capitulo*, the place of meeting of the chapter; or, if there should be no chapter meeting, the Psalms at any rate should be said in the library.<sup>b</sup>

We know that in 1298 the chapter house, *domus capitularis*, was in building. It was not finished or entered until 1319, and before that time the place of meeting of the chapter varied; it was not always the same place,<sup>c</sup> but was generally in the north transept in the northern part.

These notices lead to the conclusion that the library in the church of the thirteenth century was in the western aisle of the north transept; the place where in later times, enclosed by a screen, was the official court of the sub-dean, and where now are the two vestries of the priest vicars and of the lay vicars of the church. Here in presses, or perhaps oftener on the floor, were kept the service books of the church and other books for the use of the chancellor and the canons, which might have suffered from rude treatment if the door into the choir had been left open to the people in the nave, and the lay people might have wandered in and intruded into the chapter meetings in the north transept. Here was the first library in the church. Here the library remained until a new library was built over the cloister by money left under bishop Bubwith's will, dated 11th October, 1424, and carried out by his executors.

<sup>a</sup> R. 1, f. 126. "*De hostiis aperiendis.*"

<sup>b</sup> R. 1, f. 216 in dors.

<sup>c</sup> R. 1, f. 97. On one occasion "*in capella B.M. juxta claustrum,*" in 1244.

II.—THE LIBRARY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the cultivation of general learning in Italy was making its way into England. Books were being accumulated, and a library became more generally part of the collegiate establishments of the time; as at Oxford, in Merton College, 1378-1385, and in Wykeham's New College, where a library about 70 feet long was planned in the upper floor of the east side of the new quadrangle. Libraries were also being built at Canterbury and at Durham at the beginning of the fifteenth century. At Wells, neither a monastic nor a collegiate church, but a church of secular canons, a building for a library of yet larger dimensions than any in England at the time was begun in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

Dean Milman in his *Annals of St. Paul's* is unnecessarily contemptuous over "the obscure and ignoble name of Bubwith."<sup>a</sup> The name is not euphonious, it has a rustic sound in comparison with Courtenay and Stafford. But what is in a name? Just what the man makes of it. Bubwith did not stay long at St. Paul's, and has left no great deeds in the Annals. He actually descended from the throne of London to the provincial bishopstools of Salisbury and of Bath and Wells! Dean Milman says, "He exchanged London for Salisbury, which seems unusual."

This seems strange in modern days, when promotion goeth rather from the West to the East; but it is less wonderful when we bear in mind that down to 1536, before the Protector Somerset had despoiled the see,<sup>b</sup> the first-fruits of the see of Bath and Wells were nearly twice as much in money value as those of London.

Nicolas of Bubwith, so called from a village in the East Riding of Yorkshire, about 15 miles south of York, where he was brought up, was one of the state officials of his time. He was a signal instance of the rapidity with which favoured ecclesiastics could pass from one preferment to another.<sup>c</sup>

In about fifteen years, between his first preferment and his last, he had passed through as many prebends and benefices in the several dioceses of Exeter, Lichfield, York, Ripon, Lincoln, and Salisbury, and through the two bishoprics

<sup>a</sup> *Annals of S. Paul's*, 88-90.

<sup>b</sup> In 1536 the first-fruits of London were £1,000, Salisbury £1,385, Bath and Wells £1,843.

<sup>c</sup> Lord High Treasurer 1401, Feb. 27. Archdeacon of Dorset 1401, June. King's Secretary 1402, May 14. Keeper of Privy Seal, Master of the Rolls 1402. Bishop of London 1406, Sept. 26. Lord High Treasurer, second time, 1406. Bishop of Salisbury 1407, August. Bishop of Bath and Wells 1408, April 1. Rymer, *Fœdera*, viii. 451, 496, 512.

of London and Salisbury before he came to Wells as bishop in 1408. Most of these higher preferments were the payment for his services to the Crown, as King's Secretary 1402, twice Lord High Treasurer, Master of the Rolls, and Chaplain to the King. He passed to the see of London in the autumn of 1406, in the next year to Salisbury, and on the advancement of Henry Bowet from Wells to York, Bubwith succeeded him at Wells in 1408. Each of these three appointments was made by Papal provision,<sup>a</sup> which shows Bubwith's influence alike in the Roman Curia and in the King's Court in those uneasy days of Henry IV., when it was hard to please two masters. Wells was his final resting place for seventeen years, though within that time he was employed as one of the king's representatives at the Council of Constance in 1414-1417, and was one of the thirty electors by whom a Colonna was elected pope Martin V., in hopes of closing the shameful period of the papal schism.

We have in our library, among the charters, the copy of certain constitutions agreed upon by pope Martin V. for the reformation of the English Church at this time, 1419, and also another in favour of the privileges of the church of Wells, 1422, both following upon the Council of Constance.<sup>b</sup>

At Wells at least, the name of Bubwith lives in honour unto this day, *clarum et venerabile nomen*.

At his death, in October, 1424, bishop Bubwith was buried, according to his desire, "in the sepulchre made underneath the chapel which he had constructed for the chantries of the chaplains whom he had endowed in his life," at the altar of the Cross and before "the image of the Holy Saviour, near the library," and dedicated "to the honour of the Holy Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and all the Elect of God." It was on the site of an earlier altar to the Holy Saviour, built and endowed by Henry Tessun, precentor 1254, in intercession for his friend Walter de St. Quintin, archdeacon of Taunton. Here also in 1340 was an "image of the Holy Saviour near the library," before which a votive light was burning perpetually. In the communar's account for 1400 there is a charge for the "emendation of the great cross, and for the new gilding of the image of the Holy Saviour on the said Cross, 6s. 8d." Here again in 1406, an "altar of the Holy Cross in the north part of the great tower" was built and endowed by Walter of Wincanton. At this altar before "the image of the Holy Saviour, near the library," bishop Bubwith endowed three chantries for himself, by appropriating Buckland Abbas to the Dean and Chapter, and there he was buried under the chapel which he had

<sup>a</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix, 167.

<sup>b</sup> Charter 556, date 1419; Charter 565, date 1422.



built.<sup>a</sup> He had appointed executors of his will certain of the canons of his church, and Cardinal Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and Sir Walter Hungerford, overseers of its execution. Sumptuous and various were the bakemeats at his funeral feast, of which the bill of fare in the several courses has been preserved, as if the great men of the county had been invited. Great must have been the excitement caused by his will among the gilds of workmen in stone and wood at the disposition of his wealth in various channels at Wells. He had not been forgetful of the poor parishioners of the Yorkshire village of Menthorp, his birthplace, nor of Bubbewith where he had been brought up, and where the western walls and tower of its church were to be completed by his gifts. He left 1,000 marks for the repair of the rotten and deep-sunk lanes of Somerset<sup>b</sup> where doubtless his palfrey had often stumbled, and rich vestments to the high altar of the church of Wells, and also to the church of Olney in Bucks.

But especially he set on foot by his bequests three great building works in Wells:

1. A new library over the eastern cloister.
2. The raising of the north-western tower similar to the south-western or Harewell's Tower, to be called the Bubwith Tower.
3. A noble almshouse for men and women, and a gildhall adjacent, in the city.

The clause in his will with which we are more concerned prescribed the site and dimensions of the new library which was to be built by his executors:

Also I bequeath one thousand marks to be faithfully applied and disposed for the construction and new building of a certain library to be newly erected upon the eastern space of the cloister of the church of Wells, situate between the southern door of the church next the chamber of the escheator of the church, and the gate which leads directly from the church by the cloister into the palace of the bishop.<sup>c</sup>

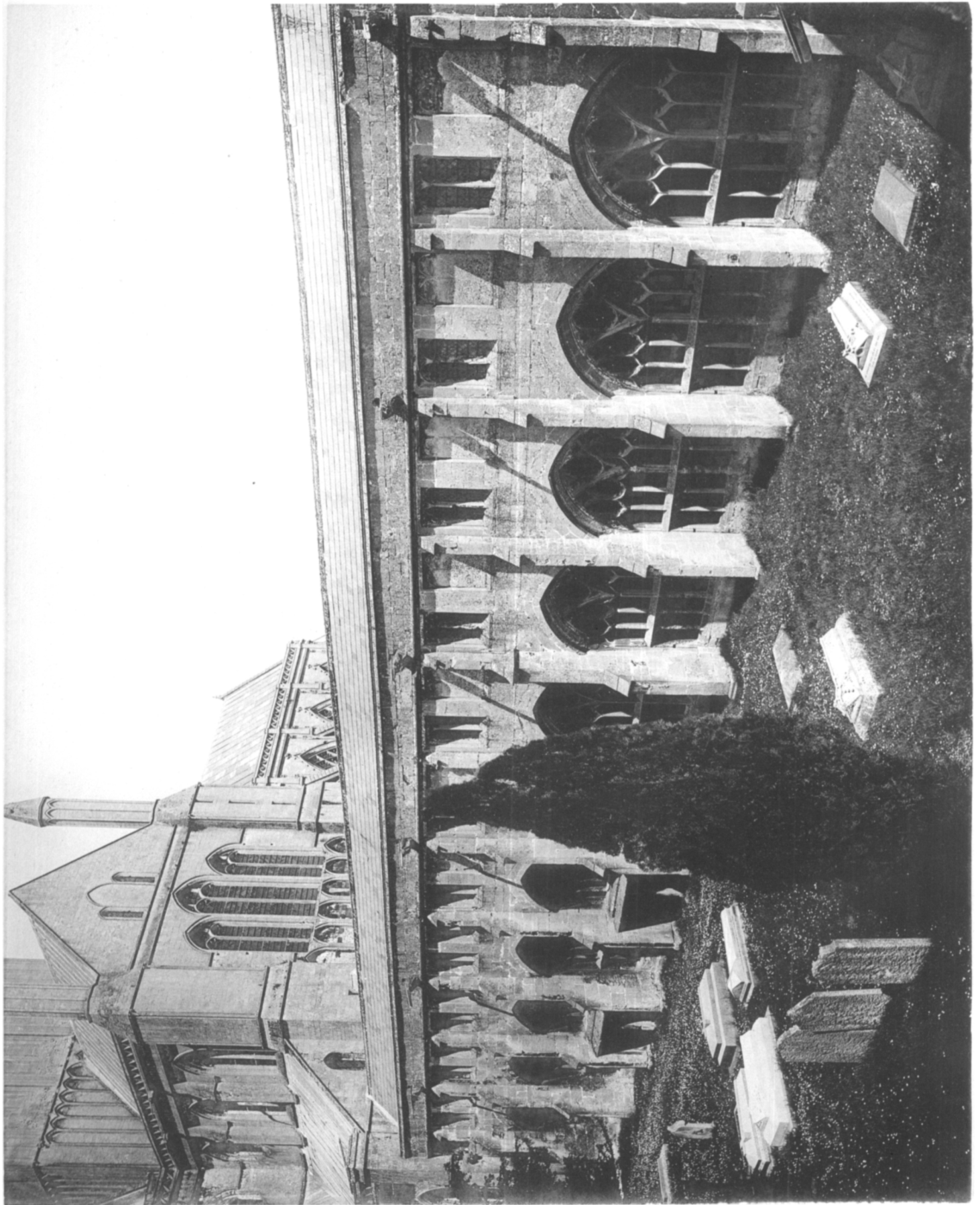
The building for the library begun, according to his intention and direction, by the executors of bishop Bubwith extended ultimately over the whole eastern cloister, to the length of 165 feet, but it is doubtful whether all was completed by his executors.

There are signs of breaks in the building and differences in detail. There is on the west side (Plate XXIII.) apparent uniformity on the outside in the con-

<sup>a</sup> It is a further question whether the present chantry chapel was not the work of his executor, chancellor Storthwayt, who united himself with the bishop by endowing a chantry there for himself.

<sup>b</sup> *Pro emendatione debilium et profundarum viarum.*

<sup>c</sup> Will at Lambeth Library (*Register Chichele*, 378), 1414.



WEST SIDE OF THE LIBRARY AT WELLS.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1901.*

tinuous length of wall and buttresses, with fourteen bays and twenty-eight windows of double lights; but on the eastern side (Plate XXIV.) there are buttresses to only half the length, and certain differences in gargoyles and water spouts and greater thickness of wall from that point southward mark a break.

On the eastern side, at the north half, the irregularity in the line of wall has been caused by the west end of the Stillington Chapel, built in 1480 and pulled down in 1552, which abutted on the cloister wall and the library. On the whole there are two main divisions of the building: the northern part, the work of the executors of Bubwith; the southern half left incomplete and finished by later hands.

We have not much documentary evidence which bears upon the building during the time of the immediate successors of bishop Bubwith.

In the year 1433 there was much building going on in that ground south of the church of which the name in all our documents is the "Camery."<sup>a</sup>

On 15th August, 1433, bishop Stafford, the successor to Bubwith, gave "free passage through a gate near the south cloister door between the bishop's ground and chapter camery, with right of way through all gates in bishop's land (by Kuerbridge and by Torhill) for carriage of stone to the repair of the fabric of the cloister or any part of it, and with right of ingress and egress to workmen."

Again in 1457 the fabric rolls of that year contain items of great expenses incurred in building. The whole eastern walk of the cloister of fourteen bays, and one bay on the south side were paved at an expense of £6 11s. 7d., with a regardo of 10s. to the mason, in all £7 1s. 7d. This large expenditure on buildings, and the payments to mason and

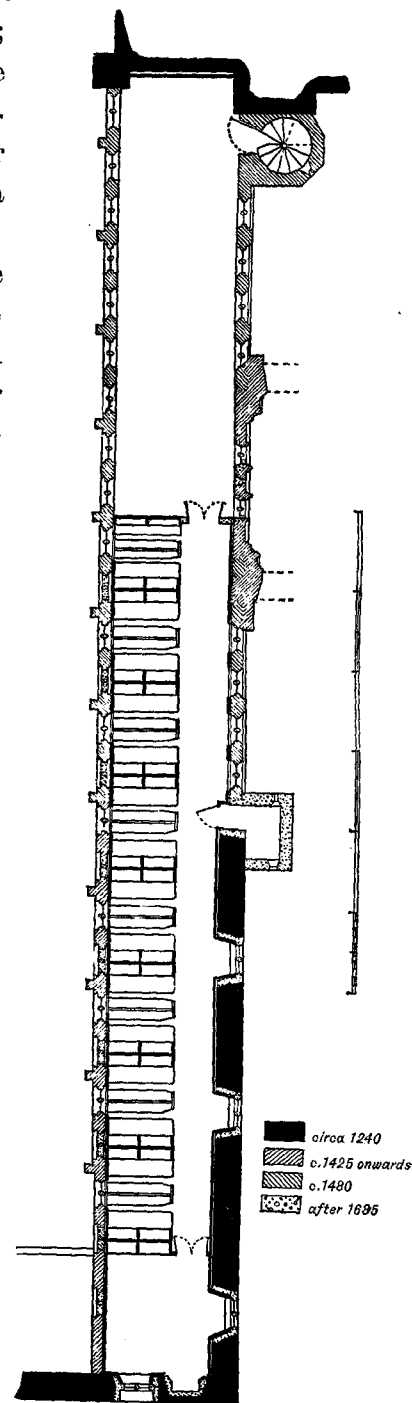


Fig. 1. Plan of the Library at Wells.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> R. 3, f. 331, "quoddam clausum decani et capituli vulgariter nuncupatum 'camery' quod jacet in australi parte chori ecclesiae."

<sup>b</sup> I am indebted for this to Mr. E. Buckle.





EAST SIDE OF THE LIBRARY AT WELLS.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1901.*

carpenter in the year, give evidence of building of cloister and vaulting, if not of the gallery over it at the south end.

So bishop Bubwith set the example which bishop Bekington carried out on the western side, of using the cloister for educational uses. He, next but one in the see, built the western walk, and over it the choristers' school and music room, and the audit and muniment rooms, approached by two different stairs.

We pass on now from the buildings to the books.

### III.—BOOKS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The first mention of books belonging to the church is contained in a charter of the date 24th August, 1291<sup>a</sup>.

We have an instance of the common practice that when a book was borrowed, a pledge, either in money or article of value equal to that of the books received, should be deposited.

The Dean and Chapter acknowledged the receipt of certain books from the Dean of Sarum which had belonged to the Chapter, and of others bequeathed to them, “ quos quidem libros idem magister S. aliquando receperat per *literatoriam cautionem*, que Waltero de Merleberge clerico restituta fuerat, dicto magistro S. per eundem deferenda.”

This transaction appears to have been that a clerk, Walter of Marlborough, was employed by the Dean of Sarum to convey two lots of books, one borrowed of Wells chapter, the other bequeathed to them. The clerk has to bring back from Wells the pledge left on loan and to leave the two sets of books. The books borrowed were *Hugo de Sacramentis* and *Beda de Temporibus*. The books bequeathed by John de Fortibus, chancellor in 1259, formed three rolls, *volumina*: Augustine de Civitate Dei, Augustine's Epistles, John Damascenus, the Speculum of St. Gregory, and some other treatises of St. Augustine.

These books were an appropriate legacy from a chancellor whose duty it was to give lectures in theology and to be custodian of the library.

We do not hear the names of other books; we may assume that a very modest provision of space was sufficient for the few readers and fewer books in those earlier days.

There had been great writers in science and theology in the thirteenth century, but the popular literature was rather written in carvings in wood or stone and in sculpture. Wells had a rich store of such literature in its sculpture,

<sup>a</sup> R. 1, f. 116 indors.



serious and grotesque, a *Biblia Pauperum* on her west front, the story of man's creation and redemption, a representation of the Church militant on earth, and rising up from the graves to stand before the court of heaven and before the Son of Man in judgment, also lighter effusions in the sculptured capitals of the columns of nave and the misericords of stalls, fruits of "the imagination seeking relief in some freak of merriment or some grin of sarcasm."

The library must have been chiefly filled with books belonging to the services of the church, and for the supply of the canons and the large number of vicars and boys under musical training. A certain number of manuscript copies of these books would be the necessary complement of the library, and the rarity and value of such is attested by occasional notices in registers and account rolls.

In the chapter acts of the year 1318, by a resolution of the chapter confirmed by the bishop five years afterwards, 1323, a great concession was made to the canons attending the night services, that they should be allowed the use of books and of candles; and in the bishop's confirmation this concession is extended to the use of books in the day services by canons. But vicars choral were not to be allowed books or lights, nor to look over the books of their masters, inasmuch as the vicars were required to have learnt the psalter and to sing without book.<sup>a</sup>

Occasionally mention is made in the chapter registers or account rolls of books for the worship of the church, donations and legacies of bishops and others of antiphonaries, of mass-books for the altar, and in one case of a *Legenda Sanctorum* illuminated. There are items of expense in the communar's rolls for the repair and binding of service books, 2s. 9d.; for the binding of two grayles in choir, 13d.; for mending and binding an antiphonary before the precentor and succentor, 6d.; 10d. for mending divers books in the treasury. One charter in the register of 1414 records the gifts of a canon of Whitelackington, Richard Drayton, to the altar of St. Edmund in the nave, and the corresponding account in the communar's roll of that year contains items of expense: "3s. 9d. paid for two rods and two chains 3 feet long each for one portifory and one psalter the gift of Master R. Drayton in the choir. Also for a lectern to support a book of canon law, on the north part of the choir, 2s. 5d. For the mending of

<sup>a</sup> R. 1, f. 143. 1318.—"Because of the number of canons who are present at the services, and there is too much walking about and conversation, it is proposed that those who attend the night services may have their books and a light in choir, and this is allowed to canons, but not to vicars."

R. 1, f. 163. 1323.—"Ratification by the bishop of the permission of the Dean and Chapter for the use of candles for reading in the choir at night services, and now also for the use of books in the day services."



one old mass-book almost worn out at the altar of St. Nicholas in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin near the cloister, for parchment and new writing in divers parts, and for the binding and new clasps, and a skin to cover the said mass-book, 11s. 2d.”

#### IV.—THE BOOKS IN THE BUBWITH LIBRARY.

I have spoken of the building designed for books and manuscripts according to the terms of bishop Bubwith's will in the middle of the fifteenth century. It was a large building as compared with some of the other libraries which were being built about the same time, 165 feet long by 17 feet broad. At Christ Church, Canterbury, a library was built between 1414 and 1443 by archbishop Chichele over the prior's chapel, 60 feet long and 22 feet broad; at Durham, between 1416 and 1446, by Prior Wessynton over the old sacristy. Before this, in the preceding century, William of Wykeham's New College at Oxford contained a library 70 feet long, which, though altered, still forms the upper floor of the east side of the quadrangle.<sup>a</sup>

The library of Merton College, Oxford, attributed by tradition to William Reade, bishop of Chichester, 1368—85, so little altered that it may be taken as a type of a mediæval collegiate library, consisted of two long narrow rooms at right angles, occupying the upper floor of two sides of the quadrangle, with double light windows on each side equidistant, and the bookcases between each pair of windows standing out at right angles with the walls. Bishop Bubwith's library takes the lead in length at least of these contemporary buildings.

The size of the library would lead to the supposition that the number of books was greater than it really was, but the comparison of the numbers of books in other libraries of the same time will give an approximate measure.

In 1418 the University Library at Cambridge had but 122 volumes, a number which increased in 1473 to 330, Peterhouse 302, and King's College and Queen's College, 174 and 199 volumes respectively.<sup>b</sup>

We know very little with certainty of the number of books which were at Wells. Two lists of books, at the interval of a century apart, alone remain to give an insight into the character of the library.

Bishop Stafford, 1425—1443, successor to bishop Bubwith, made a grant of ten books numbered but vaguely described in an imperfect charter in the

<sup>a</sup> Clark, *Medieval and Renaissance Libraries*, 27.

<sup>b</sup> Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, &c. iii. 413.

library.<sup>a</sup> In an indenture, of which the date is lost, the bishop makes over ten books to the Dean and Chapter, reserving the use of them during his lifetime. All the books are described by the first word on the second page (the usual way of cataloguing in the old libraries). They chiefly consisted of works on the Decretals and the Canon Law, the *Polycronicon* of John of Salisbury, “qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo, ‘de Bonifacio’,” the first and second parts of the *Summa Aurea* of Henry de Segusio (Susa), Cardinal of Ostia, 1255, the great canonist of his time during the pontificates of Innocent IV. and Alexander IV.

This is the only list of books until we come to the time of Leland, the antiquary and archæologist of Henry VIII.’s time. He had a roving commission from the king to examine and report on antiquities and matters archæological in the kingdom, and on the literary treasures in the ecclesiastical libraries prior to the great despoiling.

For nine years, from 1534 to 1543, he was occupied in his researches, but his notes were not collected or published until after his death in 1552. A very imperfect list remains of books seen by him at Wells in 1540.<sup>b</sup> He only mentions 46, but we shall not take this as a measure of the collection, if we note that he

<sup>a</sup> Wells charters, 637.

Hec indentura facta apud Wellis tercio die Aprilis Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum quarto [inter reverendissimum] patrem et dominum dominum Johannem Stafford Bathonensem et Wellensem Episcopum ex parte una et discretos viros Johannem [Forrest decanum] et ejusdem ecclesie Capitulum ex parte altera testatur quod predicti decanus et capitulum ecclesie [predicte liberaverunt predicto] reverendo patri ad usum ejusdem reverendi patris durante vita sua decem libros ipsorum decani et capituli subscriptos videlicet unum librum vocatum Policronicon qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *de Bonifacio vii.* Item unum librum vocatum primam partem Hostiensis in summa qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *Nichil contrarium.* Item unum librum vocatum Casum Bernardi qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *mee divino* Item unum librum vocatum Hugonem super decretalibus qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *Quod in.* Item unum librum vocatum Johannem Andree super regulis juris qui dicitur novella qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *Civi Cum* Item unum librum quartum Inno<sup>o</sup> quintum qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *alias C sicut* Item unum librum vocatum secundam partem Hostiensis qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *qui Offeratur* Item unum librum Hostiensis in summa qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *Calcaret pes* Item unum librum decretalium qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *ver tantum fuit* Item unum librum apparatus Johannis de deo una cum questionibus Bartholomei Bricensis in eodem volumine qui sic incipit in secundo folio suo *Cum actes archus.* Quos quidem libros predictus Reverendus pater nuper dedit et realiter liberavit prefatis decano et capitulo Ita quod remaneant penes eundem reverendum patrem ad usum ejusdem durante vita sua et post mortem ipsius reverendi patris remaneant prefatis decano et capitulo et successoribus suis imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium partes predictae sigilla sua alternatim hiis indenturis apposuerunt. Datis die et anno predictis.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 155, Hearne’s edition, 1770.

<sup>c</sup> Sic for “Immo” or “Imo.”

mentions no more in his account of the library of Glastonbury Abbey, where it is known that there were more than 400 books, and 6 only in the library of Bath Priory. He speaks with great respect of the Wells library as he remembered it :

“ When I was at Glastonbury I paid a visit to Wells that I might draw from the depths of the older learning. I went into the library, which whilome had been magnificently furnished with a considerable number of books by its bishops and canons, and I found great treasures of high antiquity, ‘immensos venerandæ antiquitatis thesauros.’ ” Then he gives specimens of these treasures, together with books of more recent and local publication. Among the former he names curious and rare manuscripts of the fifth to the ninth centuries, such as an antiquarian book collector would prize for their rarity rather than their subject: Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, 449, on the interpretation of Hebrew names; Proterius of Alexandria on the Paschal question; Isidore of Seville, 638, *De Temporibus Mundi, De Natura Rerum*; Rabanus Maurus of Fulda, 856, *De Natura Rerum*. Besides these he expressly names some of Beda’s works on Grammar, the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury in four books, bishop Grostete’s books on the four Gospels and on the *Hexameron*, a commentary on St. Paul’s epistles by Herveus, of the 6th century, a blind monk of Dol in Brittany. As a set-off to William of Malmesbury *On the Miracles of the Blessed Virgin* in four books, we have commentaries and expositions on Deuteronomy, Job, and on the Psalter, by Richard Rolle the hermit of Hampole in English translation; Gorham on the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Apocalypse; two treatises on the Lord’s Prayer and on the Sacrament of the Altar; and Sermons by St. Gregory and Ælfric in Anglo-Saxon, and by St. Leo.

There are more recent Wycliffite books. He singles out as champions of the orthodox side William Woodford the Franciscan, 1414, *de dominio civili*; Dymock, who published his controversy with Wycliffe, and dedicated it to king Richard II.; Nicolas Radcliffe, monk of St. Albans, on the Eucharist, whose *Viaticum animæ immortalis* he says, “I saw at Wells when I was searching for the treasures of ancient authors.”

Only one classic author is mentioned, a beautiful copy of Terence, “Terentius pulcherrimus.” Another book raises the curiosity of modern scholars of Dante, entitled *Dantes translatus in carmen Latinum*. An early Latin translation of the great Italian into Latin poetry would outweigh in value many controversial treatises of that day. Its existence in the library of Wells is especially interesting, because it is known that bishop Bubwith when at Constance in 1417, was instrumental in urging John de Serravalle, bishop of Rimini, to make a Latin translation which was completed in 1419, and it would

be reasonable to suppose that Bubwith had left a copy to the library which he had founded.<sup>a</sup>

Here was a copy of bishop Beckington's state paper "on the right of the King of England to the realm of France." Here were treatises by Chaundler, chancellor of Wells, which he wrote and presented to bishop Beckington his patron: *Apologeticus de statu humanæ naturæ*; a Life of Bishop William of Wykeham, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; *Quatuor Epistolæ* laudatory of Beckington; and a playful paper on the relative merits of the two cities of the diocese of Bath and Wells in the form of a dialogue.

In the great storm which blew down the "rooks' nests" and the stately trees in which they had built, the dissolution and spoil of the monastic houses, some few leaves from the noble library of Glastonbury Abbey, the last to fall, may have been swept across the six miles of moor to Wells.

One such very early manuscript, a fragment of twenty-two leaves of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, folio, in vellum, of the date of the tenth century, is in the library. It is in Anglo-Saxon and in Latin. The following interesting description of the valuable MS. was given by Dr. Arnold Schröer, of the University of Vienna, to whom it was shown in 1881:

ON THE WELLS FRAGMENT OF THE OLD-ENGLISH VERSION OF THE BENEDICTINE RULE.

The Wells fragment of the Old-English (Anglo-Saxon) version of the *Regula Sti. Benedicti* takes a very prominent place amongst the manuscripts still extant. It belongs probably to the end of the tenth century, and contains sixteen chapters in Latin and English alternately, on twenty-three leaves in small quarto, unfortunately in a rather bad condition, some parts being almost illegible on account of some water spots and other dirty materials all over the parchment.

The manuscript begins with the hardly recognisable end of the English chapter xlix., and ends in the middle of the Latin chapter lxxv.: q. ab abbate suo ei. There is a gap in the manuscript, one leaf as it seems being lost, the English text of chapter lv. breaking off with *zif hiz hwa hæbbe oð*, the next leaf beginning in the middle of the Latin chapter lviii. (arti)ficum uenundandum est, &c.

It is a very great pity that only these few leaves are left, as the fragment gives a version very much differing from the usual one as preserved in MSS. Cotton. Titus A IV., Faustina A X., Claudius D III., C.C.C.C. 178, and C.C.C.O. 197, the latter following more

<sup>a</sup> There is no known translation into Latin verse of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, but I have been informed that the facsimile of Serravalle's commentary and translation lately republished in Italy (Prato, 1891) makes the Latin correspond line by line with the text, and so it might have the appearance of a verse translation. There was an earlier translation into Latin by Matteo Ronto of Pistoia 1381, but not a verse translation.

closely the Latin text, while the former seems to be a later version, based upon the original one, and brought as it were into better English syntax. In this respect the value of the fragment is chiefly a syntactical one, when compared with the other manuscripts. However, the Wells version must have been done not very much later than the other one, as the manuscript is about of the same date as the two oldest manuscripts which contain the usual text, the Corpus manuscripts of Cambridge and Oxford, and moreover as the supposed author Æthelwold was busy with this work in the second half of the tenth century.

It is not quite improbable that the revised version as preserved in the Wells fragment is a later work of Æthelwold's, as he may have retouched and corrected it afterwards himself. Possibly the manuscript came over to Wells from Glastonbury among other relics and property of that old Benedictine Abbey, the former dwelling place of Æthelwold.

My thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of Wells for kindly having permitted me to make a transcript of the English, and a collation of the Latin text of the fragment.

Dr. ARNOLD SCHRÖER, Vienna-University.

Baden, near Vienna, 14 viii. 81.

There is also another relic perhaps from another church of the west which we know not how or when, has found its rest at Wells. Among the Latin books given to his church by Leofric, first bishop of Exeter, was Isidore of Seville, his book on Etymologies, *Liber Isidori Ethimologiarum*. Long lost to Exeter, an early and fair manuscript copy, but not perfect, is now with us at Wells, bearing in a later hand the inscription, written on the torn fly-leaf, *Liber Isidori Etymologiarum datus Ecclesie [Eaxon] iensi per Leofricum primum episcopum*, with the date of Isidore, 595, affixed in another and more modern hand. It is not one of the books of Isidore mentioned by Leland; it must have come to Wells at a later time and from an unknown donor.

There are other books of interest not mentioned by Leland which belong to the times before his visit and are now in the library. Some of these may have been seen by him. Illuminated manuscripts and service books of the Church must have perished with the changes made in the public services by the reformed ritual, for there are none left which Leland could have seen. The Act 3 & 4 Edward VI., 1551, cap. x., which "ordered that all superstitious books are to be delivered up to the mayor, who is to give them to the bishop to be destroyed or burned," must have made frightful havoc of the manuscripts of the Church.<sup>a</sup>

Leaves of antiphonaries and liturgical fragments are found in the binding of account books, and form the padding to the boards of later printed books. But there

<sup>a</sup> There is an instance of action being taken under this Act as late as 1765, when Robert Wilson, canon residentiary, delivered up a MS. copy of the 'Statuta et Ordinale' to the mayor as a superstitious book 'in obedience to the Act 3 & 4 Ed. VI., cap. x.'



are some early printed books of value and of local interest which he might have seen. The fragment of an extremely rare tract by Bishop Alcock of Ely (1486—1500), of which no copy exists in the British Museum, was found by Mr. Weale in the binding of a book printed by Henry Stephens, *Clichtovius de Virgine Maria* (K 3, 21). It is a tract printed by Wynkyn de Worde, entitled, “An exhortacyon made to Relygouse systers in the tyme of their consecracyon by the reverende fader in God Johan Alcok, bysshop of Ely.”

Another book (K 4, 10) had in its cover two leaves of an English book of ritual of the fourteenth century containing the names of the national saints St. Augustine, St. Erkenwald, St. Dunstan, “St. Chutbert” [*sic*], in the Litany of the Saints.

The only service book now remaining in the library is a Sarum Processionale of the date 1544. This copy has one folio wanting (f. cxxxv.), otherwise it is a beautiful book and very rare. It has the following title-page all in red :

Processionale ad usus insignis ecclie Saŕ observandos accomodū presertim in iis que in habendis processionibus ad ceremoniam splendorē faciūt imprimis opportunū: jā denuo ad calculos revocatū: et a multis quibus ipsū viciatū erat mēdis purgatū atq, tersū.

[Bookplate of Royal Arms H. the 8th, 1544.]

#### Copy of Colophon :

Explicit Processionale ad usus insignis ecclie Saŕ observādos accomodū: nuper in officina Vidue Christophori Ruremundensis iterū prelo applicatū sumptibus et impensis honesti viri Johannis Raynes.<sup>a</sup>

Three books are especially representative of early printing in Greek and Latin, and of Italian and German art. *Duns Scotus*, printed at Nuremberg 1483, impensis Antonii Koberger, Nurnberge, Anno Salutis mccccclxxxiii., and Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, printed by Jenson at Venice in the year 1472, are representatives of German and Italian printing, much to the advantage of the latter. The Pliny has a local interest, as it belonged to the library of dean Thomas Gunthorpe, 1472—1495, and bears his name. In later years it was bought at Oxford by another Dean of Wells, Ralph Bathurst, 1672, and by his gift it found a resting place in the library of his church.

Another very interesting and valuable treasure of Greek type is a copy of Aristotle and Theophrastus, in five volumes, printed by Aldus Manucius at Venice

<sup>a</sup> It is described in Herbert's *Ames*, i. 415. The name of Thos. Pymme is in it. It was given to the library “ex dono Saræ uxoris Will: Westley, Arm. e civitate Wellen.” with more than thirty other books.



between 1495 and 1498. It bears the autograph of Erasmus at the beginning and end of each volume, and on the margin of certain pages are Greek words and annotations on the text, probably by Erasmus. On the inside of the cover of a later binding are the words of the donor, also a Dean of Wells in Elizabethan times, William Turner, the learned herbalist, thus uniting his name with that of Erasmus. "Hæc ego dona dedi Wellensi bibliothecæ, Turnerus nomen cui Gulielmus erat."

A copy of the *Theologia* of John of Damascus, Paris 1512, bears the supposed autograph of Thomas Cranmer, and contains annotations in red ink on the first pages. The notes cease after the initial letter of the chapter "de Paradiso" had been delineated.

A copy of a treatise, "de Arte Supputandi," by bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, dedicated to Sir Thomas More when Chancellor, is one of some few books in the binding of John Raines, binder to Henry VIII. It bears the book-plate of bishop George Hooper, 1707—1724, and was his gift to the library in later times.

A Hebrew manuscript of the books of Samuel is described in Dr. Kennicott's "Generalis Dissertatio" to his Hebrew Bible, Oxoniæ 1776, p. 82, cod. 134. "Samuel, 8vo, Biblioth. Cathedræ Wellensis. Charta bombycina deficit a 1 Sam. 7, 1, ad 10, 1. Vox prima non major. Ad finem legimus, Ex Hierapoli Syriæ emporio, transmissus a Rob. Huntington 1673—pertinet ad ecclesiam Wellensem ex legato Geo. Hooper Episc. Forte scriptus fuit initio seculi xv."

By an entry in the library it appears to have been borrowed by Dr. Kennicott from the library for eleven years while he was collating MSS. for his publication of the text of the Hebrew Bible.

About forty years ago the library was enriched by the gift of three manuscripts of much value.

A copy of the *Biblia Vulgata* dated 1320 with rubricated initials and ornamental devices but defective by 35 chapters of Genesis. Bound up with it at the end are two manuscript fragments of later dates, entitled "Materia psalterii" in four pages of early writing, and "Visio Sti. Pauli apti," of which only five lines remain.

A Psalter in large folio, of the date 1514, in good condition and perfect. The title-page and initial letters are prettily illuminated; there is an inter-linear commentary, and a prayer after each psalm. The Canticles of the Old and New Testament, the Creeds, and "Quicumque Vult" follow the Psalms.

A Latin translation of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom on St. Matthew, chapters 1 to 25, by the same hand, dated 1514, in very large folio, and much injured. These three manuscripts were the gift of the Rev. Charles St. Barbe Sydenham, rector of Brushford, near Dulverton. They came into the possession of the Sydenham

family through an ancestor, Humphrey Sydenham of Combe, by the will of Sir Philip Sydenham of Brimpton, bart., who died in 1739. As appears from the inscription at the top of the first page of the Psalter and of the Latin translation of St. Chrysostom, they originally belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Hayles, in Gloucestershire, founded by Richard earl of Cornwall and dedicated in 1251.<sup>a</sup>

“LIBER MONASTERII DE HAYLES.

Anno incarnationis dominice MCCCCXIV. scriptum est hoc Psalterium expensis Venerabilis Viri domini Christophori Urswyke Illustrissimi Principis Regis Henrici Septimi, quondam Eleemosynarii magni, exequutoris testamenti et ultime voluntatis Nobilis viri domini Joannis Huddleston Militis, et in hoc loco repositum: Anno Invictissimi Principis Serenissimi Regis Henrici Octavi, Regni sui octavo, in memoriam perpetuam Prenominati militis, D. Jo: et domine Joanne consortis sue, scriptum (inquam) manu Petri Magii unoculi Teutonici natione Brabantini, oppidi Buschiducensis Leodiensis diocesis:

Quorum animabus misereri dignetur ineffabili misericordia sua Altissimus. Amen.

MISERICORDIA.”

It was written in 1514 for the executor of Sir John Huddleston, Governor of Sudeley Castle, near Winchcombe and Hayles, who died in 1513, and was buried in Hayles Abbey. Christopher Urswicke, his executor, was chaplain and almoner to Henry VII. in 1509, one of his negotiators in France, Dean of York 1488, of Windsor 1495, and Archdeacon of Winchester 1501. He was a friend of Erasmus, and his scribe Peter the one-eyed (Einauge), also employed by Erasmus and Dean Colet,<sup>b</sup> was a Brabantine, belonging to the town of Bois-le-duc on the Lower Meuse and to the diocese of Liège.

Wells had its few literary men from time to time. In the first quarter of the 16th century Polidore Vergil, archdeacon of Wells 1508—1555, was writing his history, perhaps in the archdeaconry house opposite the north porch of the church, before he surrendered it to the Crown and retired with a life interest in his office to his native Urbino, the last archdeacon of Wells who resided here. In the middle of the century, 1550—1568, the learned dean William Turner, satirist, herbalist, and physician, non-resident by royal licence in order that he might “preach the pure and sincere word abroad,” made the valued gift to the library of the Aldine edition of Aristotle and Theophrastus which had belonged to Erasmus. The library

<sup>a</sup> The document reciting the dedication of the abbey and the names of the bishops present is in the library. Charter 82.

<sup>b</sup> He was the scribe of Dean Colet's MS. de Sacramentis and the Hierarchia of Dionysius—*Hist. MSS. Report*, xi.

possesses one of his books on the religious controversy of the day.<sup>a</sup> A rare black letter tract, published without date, but ascribed to 1544, is entitled "The Huntynge of the Romyshe Vuolfe, made by Vuylliam Turner, doctour of Phisik." Another of his books better known is "A neue booke of spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of England." In these satires he denounces as ravening wolves not only the "lordlie bishoppes" but the "crowish start uppes" of the new Tudor nobility who had fattened upon the spoils of the Church and of the poor. But his solid learning was better shown as the writer of the "Herball," an elaborate treatise on the properties and localities of plants; "the first of the kind ever written by an Englishman," and it excited no small admiration.

In the latter years of the century Francis Godwin, prebendary of St. Decuman 1586, canon of Wells for thirty years, bishop of Llandaff 1601, Hereford 1617—1633, was writing his history, *De præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius*, in command of whatever materials the library and the muniments could supply. Yet, as Wharton complains, he did not always make full use of his materials, and somewhat sacrificed accuracy to style.<sup>b</sup>

But the library and its books must have suffered from neglect if not from active pillage at different times during the century and a half of troublous times. There was little respect for books when there was neglect and desecration in the church, sales of tabernacle work, of figures of bishops, and carved work by officials in the church;° when in 1515 excommunication was declared against those who destroyed the registers and muniments; when by order of Act 3 and 4 Edward VI., 1551, all "superstitious" books were to be delivered up to the mayor, who is to give them to the bishop to be burnt; when in 1553 the Stillington chapel which abutted on the library was given over for destruction to Sir John Gates. Then came the complete disaster to the church in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Chapter ceased to hold its Chapter meetings, *ob bella civilia*, and was soon after suppressed by Act of Parliament,

<sup>a</sup> Lately given by a generous benefactor.

<sup>b</sup> Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 588. "Horum accuratus, si usquam alias, Indiculus expectari merito potuisset a Godwino, qui plusquam 30. annis Canonicus Residentiarius Ecclesiæ Wellensis erat, & archiva ejus adhuc integra inspexit. . . . Integris tamen monumentis usus vir eruditus plerosque errores admisit;" "consueta deceptus incuria" (i. 553).

° 1549—4 candelabra of brass 23s. 9d. cujuslibet, at the high altar. Tabernacle work in choir near the altar, sold to the lord suffragan of Wells. Two figures of bishops in brass in the choir, weighing 310 lb., sold for 21s. 2d. a lb. and a great quantity of lead.

1564—67 lbs. of brass candlesticks at one time, 48 lbs. at another. Tabulæ of white glass 7 shillings for 100 feet. 2 silver gilt *pelves orischalchie* for 3s. 4d.

when the church fell under the rule of Cornelius Burges, “minister of the late cathedral,” and his preachings, uneasily listened to, were the only services allowed, and the chapter-house was put up for sale at a price of £160.

A manuscript note on the title-page of a book in the library, *Ludolphus de Vita Christi* (A i. 32), bears silent witness of outrage in the church by one who perhaps saw it:

“On Saturday, 7th April, 1643, the Parliament troopers broke down divers pictures and statues in the church and Our Lady Chapel. Likewise (they) did plunder the bishop’s palace, and broke all such monuments and pictures (as) they espied, either of religion, antiquity, or the kings of England, and made havoc, and sold for little or nothing all the household stuff.”

“On Wednesday, 10th May, 1643, being Ascension (Eve), Mr. Alexander Popham’s souldiers (he) being a coronell for the Parliament, after dinner rusht into the church, broke down the windows, organs, font, seats in the quire, the bishop’s see, besides many other villanies.”<sup>a</sup>

There were some members of the Chapter, elected before the destructive rebellion, who must have been jealous for the preservation of the books in the library, as long as they were allowed to retain their stalls in the church. They showed their zeal in repairs of the former desolation after their return at the Restoration when the tyranny was overpast. Two especially were prominent. Robert Creyghton, elected canon residentiary in 1632, returned as dean in 1660, and was afterwards bishop 1672. Richard Busby, canon and prebendary of Cudworth 1639, treasurer 1660, and proctor in Convocation for his Chapter 1661. By zeal, by money, and by books they refurnished the old library and laid the foundation of the modern collection of books. Creyghton was a member of the Chapter when Archbishop Laud in 1634 issued “articles for the cathedral church of Bath and Wells to be enquired of in the metropolitical visitation of the most reverend father in God William archbishop of Canterbury.”<sup>b</sup> The inquiries and researches into ancient history and obsolete statutes called forth by this unwonted warning and summons to the Chapter to amend their ways after long years of laxity and indiscipline, resulted in the draft of the “*Ordinale et statuta ecclesie S. Andreae Wellen*,” which was sent up in obedience to Lambeth in the name of the dean Dr. George Warburton, and seven canons residentiary, officers of the church. The name of “Magister Chrichtone” appears as treasurer, and this draft of the Statutes was probably drawn up from the registers by Dr. Robert Creyghton. A copy in the possession of his son the precentor

<sup>a</sup> I am indebted for this reference to Mr. R. C. Browne, who has given me kind assistance in the library.

<sup>b</sup> Reg. Laud, 107a, quoted in Reynolds’ *Wells Cathedral*.

supplied material to a local historian of the end of the seventeenth century, Nathanael Chyle, and is quoted as "the Creyghton MS." It is the basis of the MS. in the Lambeth Library, brought to light in 1880 by Mr. F. H. Dickinson, and since printed in 1881.<sup>a</sup> Long lost to the library since the days of Dean Ryder, 1830, it was restored to Dean Plumptre in 1885.

The knowledge thus acquired of the early history and constitution of his church must have been of the greatest use to Creyghton when, thirty years afterwards, he was called to the restoration of order and discipline in the cathedral church as dean and bishop.

Creyghton and Busby were notable men in their time. Creyghton at Cambridge, professor of Greek and public orator in succession to George Herbert, was "recommended" for the canonry by Archbishop Abbot. Afterwards he was employed in the King's service under Laud, was King's chaplain, and followed the Royalist party to France. Evelyn at Paris in 1644 saw and heard him preach.

"Dr. Creyghton preached, one of His Majesty's chaplains, a learned Grecian who hath set out the Council of Florence," *i.e.* he had translated from Greek into Latin, with an introduction, a contemporary history of the attempted union of the Greek and Latin Churches at the Council of Florence.<sup>b</sup>

Nearly twenty years after, November 17th, 1662, Evelyn heard him again at Whitehall. "Dr. Creyghton, a Scot, author of the Florentine Council, and a most eloquent man and admirable Grecian, preached on Canticles vi. 13, celebrating the return and restoration of the Church and King."

He did not always preach "smooth things." Pepys also heard Dr. Creyghton preach, 1662, March 7th. "Early to Whitehall to the chapel, heard Dr. Creyghton the great Scotchman, chaplain in ordinary to the King, preach before the King and Duke and Duchess of York upon the words, 'Roule yourselves in dust.' He made a most learned sermon upon the words, but in his application the most comical man that ever I heard in my life, saying it had been better for the poor cavalier never to have come with the King into England again, for he that hath the impudence to deny obedience to the lawful magistrate and to swear to the oath of allegiance was better treated nowadays in the Newgate, than a poor Royalist that hath suffered all his life for the King is at Whitehall among his friends."

In later years, 1667, Pepys notes again "the strange bold sermon of Dr. Creyghton yesterday before the King, against the sins of 'this sad, vicious

<sup>a</sup> H. E. Reynolds, M.A., *Wells Cathedral*.

<sup>b</sup> The book is in the library, given by his son the Precentor.



and negligent court,' and particularly against the sin of adultery, over and over again instancing that for that single sin in David the whole nation was undone." At that same time Pepys met Creyghton at dinner, and is pleased to "observe him to be a most good man and a scholar."

Returning to Wells as dean, Creyghton set himself to the work of restoration. He has left his mark on the restored church in many noble gifts. The west window, the great lectern, and the organ were his own private gifts; and besides he took his part with the Chapter in the common burdens and expenses which fell upon all the members.

#### V.—BENEFACTORS TO THE LIBRARY.

The *Catalogus Benefactorum* in the library, a folio in vellum, is the memorial of the restoration of the library. It opens fitly with Dean Creyghton's name and gifts:

*Catalogus Benefactorum* quorum ope et Munificentia *Ecclesia Cathed: Wellen:* ejusq; *Bibliotheca* post felicem Serenissimi Regis Car: II<sup>de</sup> reditum auctior ornatior evasit. Anno Dom. 1672.

After recounting his gifts as dean and bishop to the church, at an expense of £300, there follows a list of 33 volumes which laid the foundation of the modern collection. They show the scholarship and culture of the time as well as the literary tastes of the man. Among them are classical authors Aristotle, Seneca, Livy, Tostati opera in 13 volumes, Cyril of Alexandria in six volumes, Hooker's eight books of Ecclesiastical Polity, with his own copious annotations.

Idem reverendus Pater, demum ad episcopatum predictum evectus supellectilem librariam Bibliothecæ huic tunc temporis renovatæ impendit prout sequitur.

Minutes in the Chapter books show that restoration of the library was engaging the attention of the Chapter at this time.

Oct. 15th, 1679.—Statutes are passed for the library and the keeper of the library. A librarian is to be appointed who shall arrange the books; books may be lent with permission of the Dean or his deputy, but returned within a month. Names of books and borrowers to be entered in a book. Richard Healy is appointed Librarian with a salary of 40s.; succeeded in 1696 by Henry Mills with the same salary. Books are to be overlooked by the Dean and Chapter every quarter. Strangers admitted to use the library to pay 2s. 6d.

Oct. 20th, 1680.—Every prebendary to pay 20s. at collation, instead of a collation.



Creyghton was zealously supported by Richard Busby, treasurer in 1662, whose work on the library extended over great part of the life of dean Creyghton's successor, Dr. Bathurst, to 1695.

Busby's name is better known as the great headmaster of the King's School at Westminster from 1640 to 1695. Addison writes in the *Spectator* in 1712, not seventeen years after Busby's death, that when Sir Roger de Coverley visited Westminster Abbey, he stood with reverential awe before his monument:

Dr. Busby! A great man! He whipped my grandfather—a very great man! I should have gone to him myself if I had not been a blockhead—a very great man!

And indeed a man who, firm in his principles of loyalty, kept up the King's School at Westminster successfully under the fierce glare of Puritanism which beat upon him as headmaster through the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, until he could receive Charles II. in the hall of his own school, and then stood beside the King with his head covered because he would not have his boys think any one greater than himself in his own school, who was the teacher of so many remarkable men of such varied eminence as John Locke, Christopher Wren, Dryden, Prior, South, Atterbury, Sunderland, and Halifax, must have been a born ruler of men and boys and have had a genius for education.

At Wells he left such substantial benefactions to the library that it may be said to have been refurnished by his money. The sums of money which he gave at different times may have been sufficient to have completed the southern part of the building over the cloister if it had been left unroofed by Bubwith's executors. In 1672 he had given £100, which lay unemployed for some years. Some smaller sums followed from time to time, £20, £2 11s., and £36 for the silver-gilt almsdish still used in the church, and finally £200 in 1684.

On January 7th, 1685, the Chapter decreed that "the library be repaired and beautified with Dr. Busby's donation as the said Dr. Busby doth desire." The troubles of Monmouth's raid on Wells in that year may have delayed the work, while £500 was being spent by the Dean and Chapter on the repairs to the church.<sup>a</sup> His name is second in the *Catalogus Benefactorum*.

RICARDUS BUSBY, S. T. D.

Hujus tum etiam Westmonasteriensis Ecclesie Canonicus et Thesaurarius, ibidemque Scholæ Regiæ Præfectus, Bibliothecam hanc incoñmodam ordinando, situque squalore penè obrutam reficiendo impendit 100li.

<sup>a</sup> Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 588, speaks of charters having been pillaged at the time: "Nuper enim direpta sunt, et impio furore mutilata ac discissa a Schismaticis in rebellione Somersetensi anno 1685. mota."

Et insuper addidit in pecuniis numeratis in usum Bibliothecæ 20li., et ulterius donavit 2li. 11s 0d.

Et præterea 1684 dono dedit 200li.

Idem venerabilis Vir, mensæ eucharisticæ dicavit pelvem deauratam valoris 36li.

Besides these gifts of money Busby was a great benefactor of books, given spontaneously in satisfaction to the Chapter for continued non-residence during his duties at Westminster. Several of the books are in folios, series historical and critical, made by giants in learning of the seventeenth century. *Critici Sacri*, in nine volumes; *Concilia Maxima*, Labbe, in 28 volumes; *Codeæ Theodosianus*, four volumes; *Petavius* in five volumes; Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, in three volumes folio; bishop Jewel's and bishop Sanderson's sermons. Most of these books were handsomely bound and stamped with the arms of Busby (of Addington), which he had assumed. Busby was an Arabic scholar and taught at Westminster, and his books at Wells show his Hebrew scholarship.

Other benefactors follow in the list. Dean Bathurst, successor to Creighton, 1672—1704, was also President of Trinity College, Oxford. More intent upon "repairing and beautifying" his college buildings at Trinity than at Wells, his gift here most prized was the early printed copy of Pliny which had been in the possession of Gunthorpe, his predecessor in the deanery. His books are partly theological, as Bull's defence of the Nicene Creed, Joseph Mede's works, Dr. Thomas Jackson, Pearson on the Creed; others show his studies in natural history and medicine. Altogether about 30 volumes bear his name. Wharton in his life says he left £5 towards the library in his will.<sup>a</sup>

Dr. Bathurst was one of Evelyn's friends in later life. He is first mentioned by him in 1666. "Dr. Bathurst preached before the King an excellent discourse." Young Evelyn was under him at Oxford, and the father corresponds with him until 1704, the year of Bathurst's death, 86 years of age, 'the oldest acquaintance left me in the world—stark blind, deaf, and memory lost, after having been a person of admirable parts and learning.' Evelyn died in the next year, also 86 years of age.

<sup>a</sup> There does not seem any ground for the statement in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* for May, 1898 (3rd S. v. 382) that Dean Bathurst "evidently wished the library of his cathedral to be fitted with book-cases like those of his College" of Trinity. The book-cases at Trinity are of the date 1618, those at Wells are of a different pattern. Dean Bathurst is thus commemorated in the *Catalogus Benefactorum* :

"Rad : Bathurst Med.D<sup>r</sup>. Coll. Trin. : Oxon: præsidens, & hujus Ecclesiæ decanus in bibliotheca hac instauranda ἐργοδιώκτης contulit libros."

Evelyn mentions Dr. Creighton the precentor, in his diary, under date 1673, September 14.

“Dr. Creighton, son of the late eloquent bishop of Bath and Wells, preached to the household on Isaiah vii. 8. He, while attending Charles II. in exile, studied music, in which he became such a proficient, that his anthem ‘I will arise and go’ and a service in the key of E still maintain a high reputation with the lovers of sacred music.”

He was another in the roll of benefactors, the giver of many books. After his death in 1732 the Chapter purchased for £15 the copy of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* from his library.

The zeal for the library continued during the first quarter of the eighteenth century under the influence of bishops of light and leading, Ken, Kidder, Hooper. The chancellor, Holt, one of those who had lived through the Civil War and suffered in the pillage of Monmouth’s rabble, was the actual donor of Bryan Walton’s Polyglot Bible, 1657, that great monument of learned biblical scholarship which was being silently built up during the Civil War. The copy, in five volumes, richly bound, is stamped in gilt with the arms and initials “I. C. N.” of a great layman of the diocese, Sir John Cradock alias Newton, of Richemont Castle, Harptre, who had purposed, but was unable to execute the gift. It bears this inscription :

Biblia Polyglotta ab illustrissimo viro domino Joh. Newton irrito proposito huic bibliothecæ destinata, redemit et donavit Thomas Holt canonicus et cancellarius.

Other generous laymen left their gifts to the library, books valuable and interesting in relation to their donors. A liberal and well-read chapter clerk, “Gulielmus Westley, generosus, clerus capituli, in usum Bibliothecæ dedit l51. 1. 6 et insuper libros sequentes” *Bishop Andrews’ Sermons, Suarez Disputationes Metaphysicæ*, Martial, Horace, Camden’s *Britannia*, English Bible 4to, and others.<sup>a</sup>

Anne Hicks, “Geñ. e civitate Wellensi,” Plutarch’s *Lives*, English, folio, S. Bernardi *Opuscula*, and eight other folios.

Two representatives of ancient families in the West, “Johannes Sydenham in Coñ. Somerset Baronettus, contulit in usum Bibliothecæ vli. Dignissimus vir Gulielmus Malet, Sti. Audrei in Coñ Somerset Armiger, donavit Dñis Georgii *Bulli Opera*,” an appropriate gift to the library of bishop Bull’s native city.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. note on p. 214.

Dr. John Selleck archdeacon of Bath, who died 1690, left more than 60 volumes, such books as became a learned archdeacon who had studied the foundations of ecclesiastical law, *Lanfranci Practica*; the "Summa Aurea" of the Cardinal of Ostia, the great canonist of the thirteenth century; *Panormitani Opera*, five volumes folio; *Bartoli Opera*, five volumes; two volumes of the *Decretalia*; *Vigeli Digesta*; and besides, *Castelli Lexicon Heptaglosson*; and a handsome copy of bishop Godwin's *de Præsulibus Angliæ*.

The first half of the eighteenth century was a time of literary men in the Chapter, under the influence of such men as dean Bathurst, Robert Creighton, precentor 1674—1733, son of the bishop, Edmund Archer, canon 1716, and archdeacon of Wells 1726, who has left in his *Chronicon Wellense* a valuable digest of the registers and charters down to 1329, and in his *Long Book*, a store of archæological notes, and Richard Healy, the Chapter clerk, whose intimate knowledge of the cathedral history is shown by notes in his handwriting traceable throughout the Chapter registers. He died prebendary of Dinder in 1736. A succession of three such student bishops as Thomas Ken, 1685—1691, Richard Kidder, 1691—1703, George Hooper, 1703—1724, kept alive the spirit of learning and reverence for antiquity which had been aroused in the reaction from Puritan iconoclasm.

In the will of Bishop Ken occurs the following bequest of his books:

I leave and bequeath to the Rt. Hon<sup>le</sup>. Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth in case he outlives me, all my Books of which his Lordship has not the duplicates as a memorial of my gratitude for his signal and continued favours.

I leave and bequeath to the library of the Cathedrall at Wells all my Books of which my Lord Weymouth has the duplicates and of which the library there has not; and in case I outlive my Lord I leave to the library aforesaid to make choice of all of which they have not duplicates; and the remainder of my Books not chosen for the library I leave to be divided between my two Nephews Isaac Walton and John Beacham excepting those Books which I shall dispose of to others.

I bequeath to the library at Bath all my French, Italian and Spanish Books.

At his death about 450 volumes came to the library at Wells, which bear the entry, "Ex legato R<sup>di</sup> in Christo Patris. Thomas Kenn."

Dean Plumptre in his *Life of Bishop Ken* has given an exhaustive analysis of the subject matter of the books in this collection.<sup>a</sup> But he has omitted a series of printed pamphlets and papers relating to the controversies of the time, some of them anonymous, but bearing the names of the authors inserted in ink by a con-

<sup>a</sup> Appendix, Dean Plumptre's *Life of Bishop Ken*, ii. 206.

temporary hand. These occupy two shelves (E 3, E 4).<sup>a</sup> Dean Plumptre made besides a collection of early editions of bishop Ken's works kept separately in the library.

Among Ken's books of personal interest are his copy of bishop Andrews' devotions in Greek and Latin, and an Elzevir edition of *Grotius de Veritate*, with the characteristic quotation, in his handwriting, "*Et Tu! Quæris tibi grandia? Noli Quærerere,*" i.e. *Thos. Ken*.

Bishop Kidder was a man of biblical learning and of many books. We possess a manuscript catalogue of some 500 of his books with their estimated money value, which seem to have passed into the hands of Dr. Nathanael Brydges, canon and chancellor 1700. The bishop's relations with the Chapter were not very friendly, and he left no books to the library.

Bishop George Hooper, 1703—1727, the life-long friend of Ken, chaplain with him at the Hague, was the last of the second generation of learned men by whom the library was recast and refurnished. He had been the pupil of Dr. Busby, and was one of thirteen bishops who were educated at Westminster during his 57 years' headmastership. Of him Busby is reported to have said, "Hooper was the best scholar, the finest gentleman, and would make the completest bishop that ever was educated at Westminster."

His library is rich in Hebrew and Syriac books. Among them is the Hebrew manuscript of the books of Samuel mentioned before.

Dean Plumptre says, "The subject of Hooper's chief works are suggestive of the range of his learning." He was one of the leading preachers of the day. "Many of his published sermons were preached before royalty, and are full of the most courageous and outspoken utterances without the slightest tincture of flattery."<sup>b</sup>

After bishop Hooper's death in 1727 the legacy of his books to the Chapter required additional bookcases in the library. On September 17, 1728, there was this order in Chapter: "The partition in the library room to be taken down for enlarging the same by adding three desks or places for reception of the books given to the new library by the late bishop Hooper." The extension of the library into the vestibule for about 30 feet and the erection of the panelled partition and door as it is at present was the result. Two more additions of books

<sup>a</sup> A somewhat parallel but more varied collection of contemporary pamphlets made by the late Very Rev. J. W. Burgon, Dean of Chichester, during his lifetime, was given to the library by his nephew, Rev. W. F. Rose, in 1896.

<sup>b</sup> Overton, *Life in the English Church*, 338.



are noted in the Chapter minutes of this time. October 1, 1708, there is the notice of the receipt by the Chapter of "Nathanael Chyles' history of the Cathedral Church of S. Andrew in Wells according to the will of Archdeacon Sandys."<sup>a</sup>

Another and the last addition which we can trace at this time was the purchase by the Chapter, at the price of £15, of a copy of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* from the books of Dr. Creighton the precentor, who died in 1735.

In the middle of the century the entries in the "Liber Benefactorum" come to an end, and the history of the library closes for a long period. The last entry is significant of a long farewell to the interest and zeal which had been shown in the restoration and building up of the library after the neglect of the previous century: "Georgius Farewell, A.M. Wedmore quintæ prebendarius dedit 20s."

The book begun in 1672 and continued for about fifty years contains the record of donations of 372 books and of £480 in money, between its earliest and latest page. This apparent declension in literary interest coincides with the history of the times. As in the two generations which followed the Restoration many distinctly eminent for piety and learning were among the bishops and members of the Chapter at Wells, so it appears that afterwards, according to the account of all contemporary writers, there was an undoubted lowering in the general tone of the clergy and of society in serious study and in religious life.

The library thus "repaired and beautified" after 1685, occupied at first the southern half of the long chamber over the eastern cloister, 80 feet by 17 feet, enclosed between wooden panelled partitions with doors at each end, and with a small librarian's room, 17 feet square, at the extreme south. At the north end was a vestibule 86 feet in length, unoccupied as far as is known until in 1728 the library was extended 33 feet into the vestibule, the partition and door on the north end being taken down and moved further north for the reception of bishop Hooper's books, and a latticed case for rolls and papers was put up at the back of the partition.

Within the library there are now twelve double bookcases of plain red deal with simply ornamented top, standing out from the western wall, each lighted by a square-headed window of two lights. Ten of these bookcases have three shelves on each side, two have been altered so as to have four shelves. (Plate XXV.)

The bookcases are 9 feet high, 8 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet 1 inch wide, and where there are four shelves they are 2 feet 9 inches wide.

<sup>a</sup> This manuscript book has been printed and incorporated in *Wells Cathedral*, by H. E. Reynolds, 1881.





Sloping desks and double-banked seats for the reader are 1 foot 9 inches from the ground, 1 foot 5 inches in breadth; the height of the sloping desk from the ground is 2 feet 8 inches to 2 feet 11 inches. The unusual breadth of the seats and of the desks supplies a comfortable arrangement for the reader.

The roof of the library part is ceiled, but the vestibule has an open timbered roof of oak, whitened with age, with moulded principals and ridges and wall plates springing from stone corbel heads. (Plate XXVI.) In eight lights of four double windows on the east side are the Bubwith arms, *three wreaths of holly leaves*, with the royal arms, set in diamond quarries with delicate diapered tracery. This part is now occupied by two bookcases lately put up for the Calendars of State papers, the Rolls series of Chronicles, and by glass cases for the display of special charters, books, seals, and objects of local interest and value.

A peculiarity in this library is the large assortment of book chains which remain, 285 in number, of three different lengths corresponding with the three shelves of bookcases. They are now hanging on nails along the panelled eastern wall. Relics they are no doubt of the mediæval library, but, as chains to the portcullis at the entrance gate and drawbridge of the bishop's palace are no longer used to open or to guard the portals of authority, so chains in the library no longer restrict the search after wisdom and knowledge.

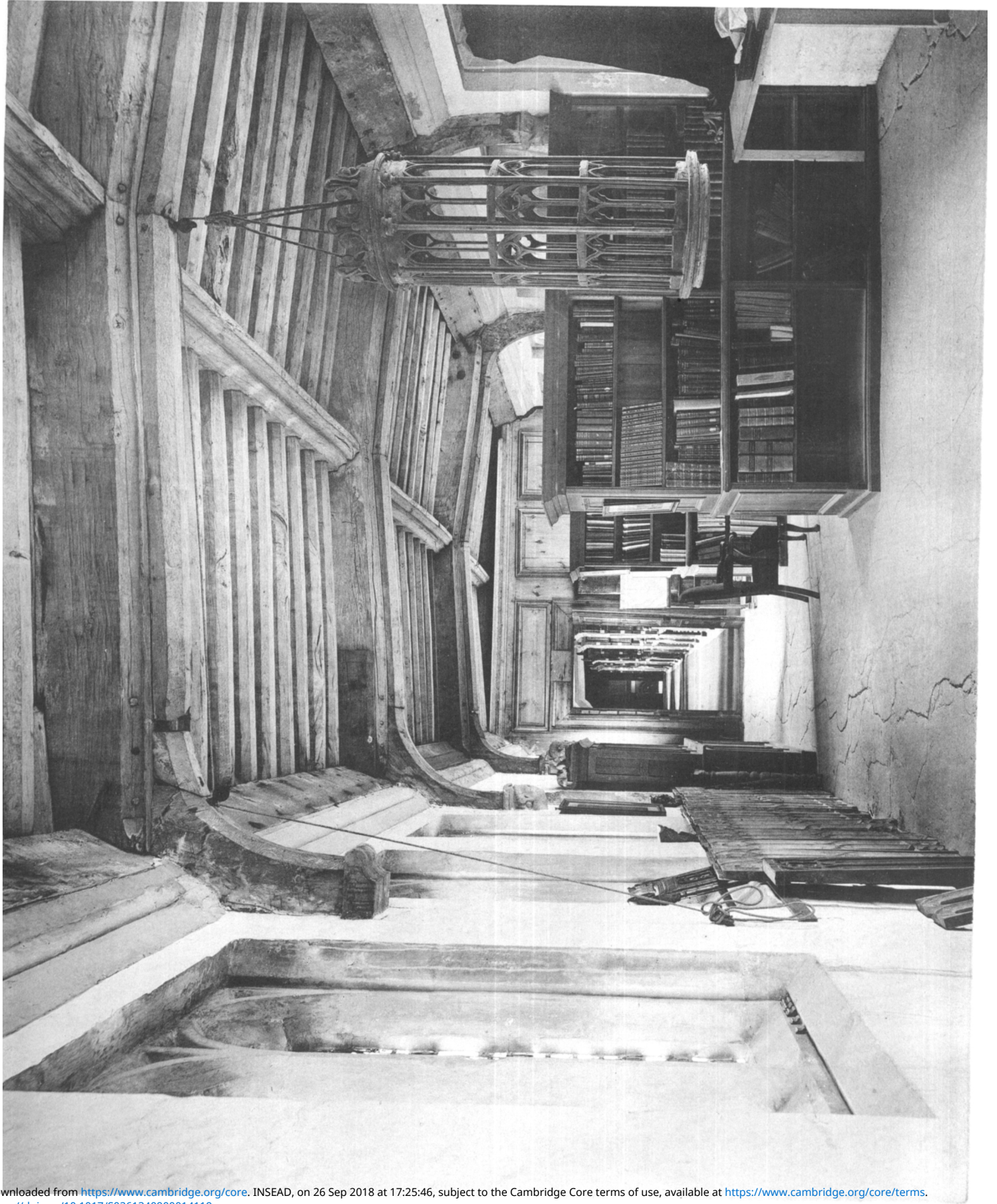
It is remarkable that all the bookcases (except two which have been altered latterly to hold four shelves) bear evidence that they were made for the use of chains.

There are the sockets on the nosings of the shelves on which the rods rested along which the rings of the chains ran, and at the ends of the bookcase the hasps into which the rod fitted, and the hinged flat bar which closed in the iron rods and was held by lock and key to the bookcase, so as to be opened or shut for the putting on or taking off of the rings of the chains. (Plate XXV.) Many of the books bear marks of the rivets in the binding by which the chains have been fastened to them, and there are rings and metal plates fastened into the binding of some.

The chains have been found at different times deposited in heaps on the tops of the bookcases as useless lumber; the rods had disappeared. Rods have been put into one bookcase to explain the working of the old method.

Great is the interest of this mediæval library even to the passing visitor as a relic of the antique world, not unworthy of the church to which it is attached. Seen from outside, the building rises up out of the green sward of the quiet burial grounds on either side, dominated by the massive south-western tower, itself more modern than the burial ground or the library building. Within, the long narrow





VESTIBULE OF THE LIBRARY AT WELLS.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1891.*

gallery is lighted by ranges of windows on each side, through which shafts of sunshine from east and west, morning and evening, are crossed and chequered by the deep shadows of the bookcases traversing the long perspective; it affords a delightful study for the artist, "a haunt of ancient peace" to the student.

The library is small; there are not more than 4,500 books; there are not many modern books, though valuable gifts have been bestowed in these latter days. It has no endowment, no permanent funds exist for purchase, except that of late years 40 marks have been devoted to it at the collation of a residentiary canon. The Chapter library is a museum of old books, representative of the studies and lives of past generations in succession, a library for reference, and a muniment room which has its own stores of local charters and registers and memorials of a long history in the growth of an old ecclesiastical foundation. It may be called a "catacomb," or a *κοιμητήριον*, in which old folios repose on their shelves as in their "loculi." It is also a "thesaurarium," in which are kept things old and new, *κειμήλια*, old material, old metal, out of which new forms, new money current with the merchant have been, and can again be, cast for common use. "As of the green leaves upon a thick tree some fall and some grow," so is the generation of new books. While in each season a great crop groweth up like the grass, and is cut down, and withers, and is cast into the oven, these old books live on upon their shelves from generation to generation. The Dean and Chapter preserve them as memorials of the past, mindful of the legend on the old clock of the Cathedral Church, '*Ne quid pereat.*'