

THE 'RARE AND CURIOUS' LIBRARY OF SIR JULIUS CAESAR:
MARVEL, MINIATURIZATION, AND ANTIQUARIAN
LIBRARIANSHIP ON DISPLAY

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of the History of Art and Architecture
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

September 2017

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Title: The 'Rare and Curious' Library of Sir Julius Caesar: Marvel, Miniaturization, and Antiquarian Librarianship on Display

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Degree awarded September 2017

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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This thesis treats a book-bound miniature library presented (probably in 1619) as a luxury gift to the English politician and courtier Sir Julius Caesar. Though it contains forty-four tiny books, the collection was not meant as a working reference library as much as it was intended as a marvel and a piece of social currency.

The sections of the thesis trace the aesthetic and intellectual interests that shape the form and content of the miniature library, and then examine the object in its various contexts. Knowledge of the social and political worlds of the giver and recipient enables an understanding of the object as an expression of alliance, mutual obligation and self-fashioning. Perhaps the most important of these circles was the London-based Society of Antiquaries, the bibliophilic members of which shared interests in history, erudition, the baroque culture of wonder and the nascent field of antiquarian librarianship.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express appreciation to Professors Harper, Amstutz, and Keller in their assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. Additionally, I thank the generosity of the Department of the History of Art and Architecture and the donors and their families for their financial support of this project through the Alice Wingwall Travel Scholarship in Art History and the Gloria Tovar Lee Scholarship in Art History. I wish to thank curatorial staff at several institutions for their time and assistance in viewing the miniature libraries including: Courtney Macklin at the Toledo Museum of Art, Philippa Marks at the British Library, and Helen Price at the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds. Finally, I wish to thank Professor Keller for her outstanding assistance in facilitating a viewing of Sir Julius Caesar's library at the British Library.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When the vast collection of the illustrious English collector Sir Horace Walpole was posthumously sold in 1842, the auctioneer George Robins paid great attention to the catalogue of books in Walpole's library. Among the books dispersed from the Strawberry Hill library was "Sir Julius Cæsar's Travelling Library, 12mo, bound in vellum, of all the best classical authors, and enclosed in a case the shape of a folio volume, extremely rare and curious"¹(Figure 1). This 'rare and curious' case of books soon made its way into the collection of the British Museum, later the British Library. Walpole was a notable antiquarian of the eighteenth century, whose famous neo-Gothic house and collection at Strawberry Hill exemplified his interests in the field. As a member of the Society of Antiquaries in London, he also participated in the scholarship and antiquarianism practiced by many of the aristocratic elite in the period. Such interests and activities were not new to the eighteenth century; Walpole's collecting strategies often focused on materials previously owned by seventeenth century antiquarians and connoisseurs. Walpole demonstrated his alignment with prominent historic collectors when he made a large purchase in 1757 of the papers of Sir Julius Caesar (1558-1636), a notable Jacobean magistrate and antiquarian. Among the lot was a miniature library filled with small Classical books.

Sir Julius Caesar's miniature library (c. 1617) is a rare and curious object produced in the context of seventeenth century English antiquarianism. At first glance, the miniature library appears to be a leather-bound folio volume. But as the false front of the folio is

¹ George Robins, *A Catalogue by Horace Walpole, April of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill Collected 25th 1842 and 23 following days*. [London: Smith and Robins, 1842]. Lot 120 (omitted from the 6th ed.). Also in *The Collection of Rare Prints and Illustrated Works, Removed for Sale in London... collected by Horace Walpole, 13 June 1842 and 9 following days*. [London: Smith and Robins, 1842].

opened, three small shelves containing 44 pocket-sized books with ribbon ties are revealed (Figure 2). The books are primarily ancient works in Latin in three subjects: poetry (including Virgil, Ovid, Horace), history (including Caesar, Suetonius, and Tacitus), and philosophy (including both ancient and modern works such as Epictetus and St. Bonaventura).² The sizes of these interior books range from approximately 10-18 cm in height. Facing the small shelves of books on the interior lid is a sheet of painted vellum with a handwritten catalogue of the books, set within architectural framework. Though unusual, the library is not unique; it is one of four closely related copies similar in size, construction, decoration, and textual content. The other three copies are held in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds, and the Toledo Museum of Art in Toledo, Ohio.

A collection of texts by Classical authors, printed in uncomfortably small yet legible font, allows the academic pretense that this miniature collection is a working reference library for a gentleman-scholar. The small set would, ostensibly, make it possible for the scholar to check a historical reference or consider a passage of philosophic importance while travelling. Yet despite its plausible functionality, this library and its siblings were produced as elaborate luxury gift objects intended to be viewed rather than actually read. The miniature library functioned less like a library and more like a cabinet of curiosity, a site of performative viewing where the “reader” is surprised and delighted through a significant shift in scale when, opening what appears to be a single book, they find a multitude of miniature books. The shift in scale creates a miniaturization of the form and arrangement of the contemporary large-scale domestic library. The binder who produced this small library is unknown, but the patron Hakewill and the recipients of the four related copies were all

² The complete list of authors and titles can be found in the Appendix B: Catalogue of Titles.

members of the legal profession in seventeenth century London. Additionally, they were all affiliated with the early Society of Antiquaries, a group interested in the ancient laws, customs, and artifacts of Great Britain. The organization was dedicated to scholarship and the examination of rare objects, and these activities were allied with the practices of collecting and book consumption. The representational significance of the miniature library will be considered through the lens of conspicuous book collecting and exchange within the membership of the Society of Antiquaries. Through an examination of the socio-political context of the library's owners and their material influences, this thesis will establish that the chief function of Caesar's miniature library was not as a working reference library, but rather as an elaborate piece of social currency in seventeenth century London that reflects the Society of Antiquaries' interests in collecting, bookish curiosity, and librarianship.

The miniature library can be contextualized amongst other projects with similar encyclopedic aims, such as the *Wunderkammer* and its relatives. Continental 'cabinets of curiosities' demonstrate the privileged collector's interest in knowledge, learning, and ownership and this play for status is similarly mirrored in the ownership of the Jacobean miniature library. Though the miniature library is not filled with varieties of natural specimen as a *Wunderkammer* might be, it is very similar in its performative function. The act of opening, using, and exhibiting the cabinet's contents with a privileged guest is similar between the two types of objects. Furthermore, the etymological origins and functional understanding of 'cabinet' as a 'small room' would seem to be referenced in the architectural details of this library-in-miniature.³ While the precedent of *Wunderkammern* is relevant to

³ Paul Haupt, "The Etymology of Cabinet," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 28 (1907): 108-111.

consider in the history of miniature art cabinets, this paper will also examine other faux-book and box constructions to elucidate the material context for the miniature library.

The only substantial piece of scholarship to date regarding Sir Julius Caesar's library and its siblings was undertaken by Howard Nixon and William Jackson in 1979 and published by the Cambridge Bibliographic Society. The study focuses on bibliographic description of the libraries' contents and details of provenience.⁴ Nixon and Jackson do, importantly, suggest that the original patron of all four of these libraries was William Hakewill (1574-1655). Hakewill was a Parliamentarian from 1601 to 1629 as well as a notable antiquarian.⁵ The identification of Hakewill as the patron comes from the discovery of his name painted on two copies, and the attribution was extended to the other two libraries through evidence of social proximity: Hakewill was a close friend to one owner and a relative to the other. Hakewill's name and coat of arms appear on the back of the Brotherton copy along with the date 'Jan. 1617,' providing evidence for the date of completion for that library. With such evidence, the authors conclude that these objects are a set and were created successively as New Year's Day gifts between 1615 and 1619.

This thesis reconstructs the contexts of the miniature library of Sir Julius Caesar, and in doing so seeks to explain its meaning. The first chapter will provide a description of the library including: materials and tooling, evidence of wear and usage, and locations of production as recorded by the imprints. This examination reveals little evidence of use by any actual readers, which establishes the basis for the assertion that these libraries were intended to be viewed as objects rather than read as texts. The second chapter will consider the political and social sphere of its makers and the practices of the Society of Antiquaries,

⁴ Howard M. Nixon and William A. Jackson, "English Seventeenth-Century Travelling Libraries," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7, no. 3 (1979): 294-321.

⁵ Nixon and Jackson, "Travelling Libraries," 295.

with their interests in serious and frivolous book culture. Considering the fine bindings, gilt interior, and manuscript catalogue, the patron and his bookbinders were not creating a simple book, but a lavish and conspicuously luxurious object. Contemporary opinions, such as those of Henry Peacham and John Donne, will also be considered to contextualize the reception for an elaborately bound book. Lastly, the third chapter will identify intellectual and material influences on the library, including that of the Plantin Press in Leyden, as well as contemporary English library architecture and intellectual arrangement.

After identifying the miniature library's components and production, historical setting and reception, this thesis will conclude that the object is an expression of antiquarian interests and courtier culture of seventeenth century England. It is a curious ensemble that combines the pretense of serious study of Classical learning, yet does not require the "reader" to study any of its contents to understand its meaning. Instead, it combines elements of surprise, play, and personal intimacy in the performance of opening and revealing. In these conclusions, the thesis follows the methodology and framework of the work of Marjorie Swann, who considers the social implications of material and literary culture and is particularly concerned with the book as an object. The interrelationships of a textual collection and social self-fashioning will be considered through the act of book collecting and miniaturization. Swann defines an approach in which "texts—both as physical objects and as vehicles of representation—were vitally important to the negotiation of the meanings of collections and collectors in early modern England."⁶

⁶ Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 9.

This thesis also follows the methods of Susan Pearce in the study of collecting and its associated influence of cultural values and individual expression.⁷ For Pearce, the collection is steeped within the values that surround its self. Reading the miniature library as a curated collection, one can see it as a site of self-fashioning to support a political ideology steeped in British legalism and antiquarianism. Both serious and affectatious, Caesar's miniature library is an expression of the culture of collecting and exchange among the early modern collectors within the early Society of Antiquaries. Through a close physical examination of the Caesar, Madden, and Bacon copies of the Hakewill miniature libraries and the circumstances surrounding their production, this thesis will elucidate its context within the English aristocratic culture of collecting and the impulse to "cabinetize" knowledge in lavish and explicit ways.

⁷ Susan M. Pearce, *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994) and *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995).

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY

To better understand the use, function, and status of Sir Julius Caesar's miniature library, it is necessary to closely examine its physical details as it uncommonly combines methods of cabinet making, printing, binding, and painting. This analysis will also consider methods of composition and material evidence of use to support the central claim of this paper, that the miniature library and its siblings were created not as a working reference library, but as a luxurious and curious gift object within the social sphere of the Society of Antiquaries.

Upon first seeing the miniature library of Sir Julius Caesar, the viewer would believe the object to be a large leather-bound folio volume (Figure 3). The heavy wooden case is bound in a dark green goatskin. The spine has gold ruling and raised bands in imitation of the sewing of the quires. No title or author is stamped onto the spine, as such modern labeling would appear rarely in this early period of modern bookbinding.⁸ The cover is decorated with elaborate gold-tooled fillet borders with an ornate oval centerpiece. Matching tooling also appears on the back cover of the large folio. It was relatively rare to apply such tooling to the back since the common method of flat storage for oversized volumes meant this side was rarely to be viewed and the addition of decoration would be an extravagance.⁹ The quality of leather, large format, and additional decoration on the back cover all impress upon the viewer that it is a valuable book.

⁸ On the binding practices of the hand-press period, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1972), 146-153. See comparative binding styles and stamps of the period in David Pearson's *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450-1800: A Handbook* (London: New Castle, DE: British Library; Oak Knoll Press, 2005).

⁹ Gaskell, *Bibliography*, 146.

Bibliographers Nixon and Jackson have previously identified a binding that closely resembles the exterior design of this volume, on one of the Bodleian copies of James I's *Opera* (Arch. A.c.3). This other binding additionally carries the royal coat of arms used by John Bill, suggesting that he could be candidate for the binding of the Caesar miniature library. However, the movement of blocks from bindery to bindery, including the royal arms, leaves this attribution unconfirmed.¹⁰ This connection does, however, suggest that the bindings were undertaken in England.

Upon further inspection of the exterior case, it becomes clear that this is not a bound codex of paper but is instead a wooden case that imitates the shape and design of a book. The head, fore-edge, and tail are covered in gold and would have appeared to be the gilt edges of a sumptuously bound book. All of the Hakewill libraries share the application of gold to the exterior, except for the Brotherton-Madden copy, which alternatively has marbled-paper attached to the 'textblock' edges. Blue and white endbands are attached to the exterior case of the Caesar library, but do not appear in any of the sibling examples. This is an additional detail applied to more convincingly imitate the features of a book. However, a closer inspection reveals the relatively simple joinery at the corners and the illusion of the object as book is shattered. The joinery is neat and effective, but it is still a very simple design of a single dovetail joint of two pins and one tail. The joiner of this faux-book box is unknown, but it is likely that a binder experienced in the construction of western Medieval stiff-board bindings could produce a wooden box of this quality. Such a binder would have

¹⁰ Nixon and Jackson, "Travelling Libraries," 299.

the appropriate tools on hand for the joinery of this simple box construction: axes for shaping boards and chisels for tunneling laces.¹¹

The inscription 'BIBLIOTHECA' appears in gold near the top of the fore-edge of the exterior case, a feature found only on the Caesar and the Huntington-Egerton copy (Figure 4).¹² This final detail is the most explicit external suggestion that the actual content of the box is a library and not a single work. The inscription reveals the organization and concept of the personal library as the guiding form behind the construction of this luxury gift object. The concept of the bibliotheca, as an imagined ideal library, within the circle of English antiquaries will be discussed in a later chapter.

When the front cover of the folio is opened, one finds three small shelves containing 44 pocket-sized books instead of a single textblock (Appendix B). These books average 10cm in height and 5.5cm in width. The books are all quite small, ranging from 12mo to 64mo in format with most set in a minute nonpareil, or 6pt, font. Each of the three small shelves is painted in more gold, which further distinguishes the cabinet as a precious miniature. Facing the small shelves of books on the interior lid is a sheet of painted vellum (produced by an unnamed painter), that displays a painted catalogue of the library within an architectural framework. Within the arcade, a handwritten catalogue lists the authors contained in the library, neatly divided by the columns into three groups that correspond directly to the three subjects arranged by shelf: poetry, history, and theology/philosophy.

The set of small books is the most striking component of the collection. It is viewed immediately as a coherent library primarily because of the consistency of the bindings. The

¹¹ A through period study of Byzantine through Gothic binding practices, particularly chapters on boards, is found in J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, Hants; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1999).

¹² Nixon and Jackson, "Travelling Libraries," 299.

43 original books were bound as an edition, each binding similar to the others in material and style. In the Caesar library, one of these small books is a later addition (*Cicero, Princeps*). When the replacement book was added, the binder took care to replicate the gold-tooled vellum binding (even including a close imitation of the small wreath design). However, this book unmistakably stands out as an imitation since the tooling is only a close approximation.

The books are bound in limp vellum with an overhanging flap protecting the fore-edges with ribbon ties to close the covers. The small textblocks they contain are bound with vellum laces and are pasted down to the covers. All edges of the textblocks are gilt. Nixon and Jackson's study of the libraries describe the consistency of the binding styles across all four miniature libraries, but it is the Caesar copy that shows the most thoughtful consideration in the decoration of the small books. In this library, all the bindings are tooled with a simple double rule surrounding both the front and back covers, and the spines with a triple rule in close alignment or imitation of raised bands on a leather-bound book. There is an additional tool used in the center of each cover, but rather than a single design generically applied to all 43, the binder selected a different tool and ribbon color to correspond to each subject division within the library. The section of poetry has an oval olive wreath on its cover and green ribbon ties. History has a rampant lion and dark red ribbons. Finally, those of theology and philosophy have an angel bearing a scroll that says, 'GLORIA DEO' and blue ribbons (Figure 2)¹³

It is likely that the same binder, or at least the same workshop, who covered and decorated the external binding on the box carried out the edition binding of the interior volumes. Though different tools and quality of materials are employed, some small details demonstrate consistency. The same endbands pasted on to the head and tail of the box

¹³ Presently, all books with blue ribbons have been cut off at the covers.

match exactly the endbands sewn into the small volumes (Figure 5). The age and wear of both matches so closely that it is more likely to be the same dye lot and source material of endbands, rather than a later imitation.

Close analysis of the small books in the Caesar copy shows that they were not heavily used by any readers throughout the books' 400 years. Most of the small bindings are relatively stiff to open and the gold tooling is not heavily worn down at the expected points of contact with a reader's hands. This suggests that even if they were opened, it was not for prolonged periods of time, which would have left traces of use. Similarly, the identical bindings contained in the Toledo-Bacon copy show no signs of use either (Figure 6).¹⁴ Furthermore, the Caesar library contains multiple volumes, such as Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, where the pages still remain sealed shut from the gilding process (Figure 7).¹⁵ This unbroken seal shows that in fact no reader even thumbed through the whole text, let alone read it. The traces of light use, the nature of the texts (many being excerpts rather than complete editions), and the small-formats all suggest that this library was produced to evoke the conceptual ideal of an antiquarian library, rather than to serve its owners as a functional source of reference.

This conceptual library is not a complete and coherent set realized by the printer or bookseller, that is, it is not an encyclopedia envisioned and printed as a multi-volume set. Though they are bound uniformly, the miniature books come from a variety of sources. This piecemeal library includes books from printers from a wide selection of cities (for this data,

¹⁴ When used, the bindings are worn down where the thumbs hold the covers down, and the gilding of the textblock also loses its luster.

¹⁵ There are also sealed pages in Curtius Rufus.

refer to Appendix B).¹⁶ Most of the books (25 of 43), bear the imprint of *Officina Plantiniana Raphelengii* in Leyden.¹⁷ An additional two books were printed in Leyden by J. Maire, bringing the total of Leyden-sourced books to 27, or 63% of the library. Other cities represented in the library include Saumur (5), Antwerp (4), Douai (2), Goslar (1), Geneva (1), Lyon (1), and Saint-Mihiel (1). Though the small libraries were likely bound in London, none of the books in the Caesar library were printed in London.¹⁸ This is hardly surprising; large quantities of books, particularly the Latin classics, were imported into England and Scotland from the Low Countries during the period. This exchange was more commonly known as the ‘Latin trade.’¹⁹

Just as there is a wide array of printers represented in the Caesar library, the years the books were printed are also wide-ranging. The earliest book was printed in 1591 (*Salamonis Libri*, Antwerp) and the latest date in the original set is from 1619 (the two volumes printed by J. Maire in Leyden, Tacitus and Cicero, *De Officiis*). The most common year of print is 1613 (seven volumes bear this date). Such a range of dates and lack of unification in date further indicates that the collector acquired desired titles from available stock rather than pre-conceiving it an encyclopedic set.

¹⁶ While there is a total of 44 small books found in the library today, this data and all that follow use 43 as the total count to represent the original set and exclude the replacement volume (*Princeps*) added later.

¹⁷ The Plantiniana shop of three presses in Leyden was established ca. 1583 by Christopher Plantin at age 60 after political pressure to leave Antwerp. Here Plantin established a successful press and worked as Printer to the University of Leyden, but ultimately returned to Antwerp. The shop (and position with the University) was ceded to his son-in-law Francois de Raphelengien, and ultimately bequeathed to him at Plantin’s death. Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London: Cassell, 1960), 159.

¹⁸ Only 3 in all the books of all four libraries were printed in London: three in the Huntington-Egerton copy.

¹⁹ Julian Roberts and Maureen Bell, “The Latin Trade.” In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 141–73. Colin Clair has published lists of Plantin volumes from Antwerp imported by London booksellers during the late sixteenth century; see Colin Clair, “Christopher Plantin’s Trade-Connexions with England and Scotland.” *Library* 14 (1959): 28-45.

Further imprint information can be analyzed across the individual subjects in the library as well. The poetry section contains 17 books from only two cities: Leyden (11) and Saumur (5).²⁰ The history section is even more consistent with 13 books from Leyden and only one additional volume from Antwerp. The theology/philosophy section is the most geographically diverse with titles printed in seven different cities (with one more volume for which the city of origin is unknown). This data, along with the knowledge that many of the Leyden books are from the Plantin press, demonstrate the correlation between the desired Classical subject matter (Classical history and poetry) and the presses printing these titles in the desired small format.

It is likely Plantin's offering of Classical texts available in small, abbreviated formats were a foundational element in the conception of these miniature libraries, since one of the most consistent sources across the four libraries are the Plantin titles. They are by far the most numerous, constituting 60% of all the works in the Caesar library. Though there are many inconsistent editions or printers of volumes across the libraries, when there is a consistent edition across the four sibling miniature libraries it is most frequently a Plantin, such as Seneca's *Tragedies* (Plantin, Leyden 1612).

While the Plantin titles were typeset and printed in a small format, there are other volumes in the library that were not intended to be bound at such a small size. There are several volumes in the theology and philosophy section that were printed as larger-format books and were subsequently chopped down to size by the binder to fit the small dimensions of the library. These duodecimo volumes were not much larger than the diminutive Plantin works, but they were still too small to accommodate the extreme reduction in size they required for inclusion in the miniature library. Such trimming helped

²⁰ This again excludes the Paris volume that is a later addition to the set.

them to achieve visual consistency within the library, but sacrificed the quality and utility of the text. In fact, the French Du Moulin volume is so heavily trimmed that much of the large 16pt text at the side margins is lost (Figure 8). Additional adaptations of a larger book trimmed to smaller dimensions include the cut and folded engraved frontispiece in the *Compendium Navarri* (Figure 9).

The Caesar miniature library and the related copies produced for Hakewill share many details, including evidence of non-use, similar bindings and paintings, and the quantity of Plantin-printed books. Hakewill sought consistency in the visual uniformity of the collection using edition binding. This homogeneity was maintained even at the expense of readability, confirming that Hakewill favored object over text as he formed the miniature libraries for his friends.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES AND A CULTURE OF COLLECTING

Chief among the social and political contexts for the Caesar miniature library and its siblings is that of the Society of Antiquaries, then also known as the College of Antiquaries.²¹ At the center of their activities and interests were books, which they published, collected, and organized. They took on active roles in the mediation between book collecting and government affairs, and a significant aim of the early organization was to motivate the Elizabethan court to establish a national library.²² In this chapter, the social and political perspectives of the makers and owners of the miniature library will be established within the circles of the Society. Ties between the legal profession and antiquarianism were strong in London, and the Caesar library reflects the socialized collecting practices of the Society of Antiquaries and responds to the debates surrounding bookish culture and collecting in the period.

An important related context was that of librarianship. As access and ownership of books increased through the sixteenth century, the size of the collections owned by the gentry of England also increased. These included a proliferation of printed works, but manuscripts remained at the core of a well-formed library.²³ One role of the antiquarian was as a steward of knowledge, and this included the preservation and care of important manuscripts and historical records. With the desire to keep rare and valuable materials and to

²¹ Linda Van Norden, "Sir Henry Spelman on the Chronology of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 13 (1950): 131-60.

²² Richard Ovenden, "The Libraries of the Antiquaries (c. 1580-1640) and the Idea of a National Collection," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume I, To 1640*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 257-61.

²³ Julian Roberts, "Extending the Frontiers: Scholar Collectors," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 292-321.

organize these books for ease of reference and use, the expansion of systematic librarianship was imperative. The best practices to sort out and establish a library was contested and many debated the ideal form and function of a library. This took place at the highest levels, notably by Society member Sir Robert Cotton who petitioned Elizabeth I to create a national library from his own large personal collection of papers.²⁴ He made the case that historic records could serve as reference materials for the aid of national defense, especially in the present war with Spain. Such manuscript records, Cotton argued, would be better accessed and protected under the auspices of a national library.²⁵ This argument was also crucial within universities, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford also provides an example of the increasing importance of an organized and accessible library with an increasingly large catalogue of books.²⁶ At a smaller scale, other institutional libraries were formed during the period at the Inns of Court.²⁷ With many members of the Society of Antiquaries in law and governmental positions, library and archival needs arose in both their personal and professional collections. At the foundation of these newly formed or reorganized libraries is the initial and personal act of acquiring, valuing, and systematizing a collection of books by an individual. The same act of collecting is represented in a library-in-miniature.

²⁴ Ovenden, "Libraries of the Antiquaries." For more on the collection of Cotton, see C. J. Wright, *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and His Legacy*, (London: British Library, 1997).

²⁵ The petition remains only in letter form, and it is unclear whether his plea ever reached Elizabeth, see Ovenden, "Libraries of the Antiquaries."

²⁶ After the Stationer's Company made the Bodleian a repository for all printed works, the collection grew massively and was considered a de facto nation library. Elisabeth Leedham-Green, David McKitterick, and Maureen Bell, "Ownership: Private and Public Libraries," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 323-38.

²⁷ J. H. Baker, "Common Lawyers and the Inns of Court," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 448-60.

This chapter will first examine the profession and activities of the likely patron William Hakewill and the recipient Sir Julius Caesar to understand how they would come to produce, exchange, and collect such an object. These men were connected through their participation in Parliament and the legal system, as well as through their intellectual interests within the early Society of Antiquaries.

William Hakewill of Exeter (1574-1655) was a lawyer and prominent parliamentarian in the Stuart-era House of Commons. Hakewill first came to Westminster in 1601, but rose to prominence in 1610 after a long and erudite speech against the Crown's right to impositions.²⁸ His outspoken opposition to impositions earned him a high reputation amongst the public, but kept him out of close favor of the king and the promotions that would bring, and Hakewill never received a high office under James I. Outside of Parliament, Hakewill was an active member in the various phases of revival of the Society of Antiquaries. After its establishment in 1586, the group served as an informal debating society. The Society was established through the collaborative cause to create a national library, as previously mentioned, as well as a general desire for a learned society in England based on the model of Italian academies.²⁹ In 1604, after Parliament was prorogued, Hakewill was elected as register and 'convocater' of assemblies for the Society. During this time, Hakewill authored two papers, "The Antiquity of the Laws of this Island" and "Of the Antiquity of the Christian Religion in this Island."³⁰ The Society of Antiquaries went defunct

²⁸ A. D. Thrush and John P Ferris, "William Hakewill," in *The House of Commons, 1604-1629*, (Cambridge; New York: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²⁹ The result of this activity was not restricted to antiquarians, but also results in other institutions such as Gresham College and the Royal Society.

³⁰ As printed in Thomas Hearne's *A Collection of Curious Discourses*, Vols. I and II (London, 1775).

in 1607 and a brief revival was attempted in 1614, but each time the organization faced suppression by the king.³¹

Hakewill's prospects began to rise in 1616, after the promotion to the bench of Lincoln's Inn, as well as receiving professional benefits from his new patron, Lord Keeper Sir Francis Bacon. Bacon sent Hakewill's name to James as a candidate for the revived position of law reporter. Hakewill benefitted from his professional relationship with Bacon, as well as from his friendship established many years earlier with Master of the Rolls, Sir Julius Caesar. Both political friendships were buttressed through marriage. Hakewill solidified his relationship with Bacon in 1617 when he married Elizabeth Woodhouse, the niece of Bacon, and two years prior Caesar married Elizabeth's sister Anne (his third wife).

This sphere of personal and professional relationships around Hakewill is reflected in the exchange of the travelling libraries. If Nixon and Jackson's assessment is correct that the libraries were created as New Year's Gifts by Hakewill for these friends and benefactors between 1615-1619, it historically aligns with a particularly successful period of promotions for Hakewill.³² After his marriage to Bacon's niece and Bacon's promotion of Hakewill to become the queen's solicitor-general, Hakewill likely produced an elaborate gift as a token of appreciation for a circle of friends who had brought him considerable professional benefit.³³

The years of production of the miniature libraries further aligns with the attempt to found a royal academy by Edward Bolton. In 1616, Bolton, a scholar and Society member,

³¹ The Society of Antiquaries of London as it exists today dates to a later Royal Charter granted in 1751.

³² Nixon and Jackson, "Travelling Libraries," 296. The Brotherton-Madden copy has a secured date through an inscription for January 1617, as well as the Huntington-Egerton copy with its date of 1615. Following the same method of dating as Nixon and Jackson, the final imprint date of 1619 in the Caesar library likely means the library was produced for New Year's Day of 1619.

³³ This period of success soon declined, public career of Bacon was ended in 1621, Hakewill was left without a substantial benefactor, Thrush and Ferris, "William Hakewill."

petitioned King James I to start what he called *The Cabanet Royal*.³⁴ Membership would include nobility, as well as the “essentials” a group of eminent gentlemen scholars, including Society member Sir Robert Cotton. Bolton’s proposed academy was intended to provide the support of learned historians to the king. In his proposal, Bolton specifically calls for the study of ancient rather than modern history as instructive. He writes, “that the same things which were done of old (names of places, and persons, and some few circumstances only changed) are also done ouer and ouer againe in our owne dayes. There is soe little or nothing new vnder ye Sun.”³⁵ Though the petition failed with the death of James I, it was a moment in the crystallization of antiquarian interest in the connection between Roman and British history. Society members undertook many projects that espoused the importance of ancient Roman history in Great Britain, and the miniature libraries produced for Hakewill are another fulfillment of the desire to study ancient history.

Though the Bacon and Madden travelling libraries can only be connected to those families (and not to a specific family member) through heraldry, the copy given to Sir Julius Caesar can be more precisely situated.³⁶ With a more secure attachment, the context of the exchange between Hakewill and Caesar can be looked at more closely.

Sir Julius Caesar, formerly of the Italian surname Adelmare, was a civil lawyer and Admiralty judge.³⁷ He secured a promotion to Master of the Rolls in 1614, a high office he held until his death in 1636.³⁸ Caesar’s reputation as a judge is often historically simplified as

34 See Ethel M. Portal, “The Academ Roial of King James I,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 7 (1915-1916): 189-208 and Thomas H. Blackburn, “Edmund Bolton’s The Cabanet Royal: A Belated Reply to Sidney’s Apology for Poetry,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967): 159-71.

35 Bolton reprinted in Blackburn, “Edmund Bolton’s The Cabanet Royal,” 170.

36 Nixon and Jackson, “Travelling Libraries.”

37 Sir Julius Caesar was born Julio Cesare Adelmare, son of Italian émigré Dr. Caesar Adelmare. The family was colloquially known as Caesar.

38 On Caesar’s legal career see L. M. Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy: The Public Career of Sir Julius Caesar, 1580-1636* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988).

uninspired or unimaginative, but his tenure was one of great stability and safe guidance for the crown, despite professional setbacks at the failure of the 'Great Contract' of 1610. Caesar was considered an effective careerist who successfully maneuvered the complex social system of benefaction and promotion to better his office, his wealth, and the future of his children. Caesar was also active in Parliament, and his favor in court is shown through many promotions given by Elizabeth I and knighthood granted by James I in 1603.³⁹ In addition to his legal and commercial interests, Caesar was also an antiquarian and collector of books. An exhaustive catalogue of his collection does not survive, but some of its contents were recorded in 1757 when his heirs sold Caesar's books and manuscripts.⁴⁰ This sale included the miniature library, which, along with many of his papers, were purchased by Sir Horace Walpole for his library at Strawberry Hill.⁴¹ From Caesar to Walpole, the exchange and collection of academic and curious objects was a sustained interest by members of the Society of Antiquaries.

During the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, Society members and antiquarians came from a variety of backgrounds. However, like Hakewill and Caesar, many were from the legal profession.⁴² The Society included "gentlemen of great abilities..., [who] applied themselves to the study of the antiquities and history of this kingdom, a taste at that time very prevalent, wisely foreseeing that without a perfect knowledge of those requisites, a thorough understanding of the laws of their native land could not be attained."⁴³ Society members extensively researched medieval Britain, and they wrote many articles seeking to

³⁹ Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy*.

⁴⁰ Samuel Paterson, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of ... Sir Julius Caesar ... which will be sold by auction ... on Wednesday 23d and Thursday 24th of November 1757, etc.*, (London, 1757).

⁴¹ Nixon and Jackson, "Travelling Libraries," 295.

⁴² Van Norden, "Elizabethan College of Antiquaries."

⁴³ Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 113.

establish a legal history of the land (legal antiquarianism) in order to legitimate their land and title claims.⁴⁴ This interest is most evident in the published works of Hakewill and Society members, whose articles were collected and later published in a volume edited by Thomas Hearne, titled *A Collection of Curious Discourses* (1775). These scholarly interests keenly align with the professional interests of a parliamentarian with such a noted interest in and erudition of historical legal precedent, the basis for Hakewill's arguments against impositions.⁴⁵ With its focus on legal history, the group was seen by the Crown to have political aims, and the products of its members, like Hakewill, often ideologically undermined the works of the King as they sought to protect their land claims. The perceived threat of a learned collective explains the Society's rocky history of foundation, extinction, and revival, and why an official charter for its incorporation was not granted until 1751.⁴⁶ The politics surrounding libraries and historic texts were fraught during the period, as exemplified by the closure of Cotton's library by Charles I in 1629 in his desire to restrict and control access to historical records. Cotton's library was seen to provide men with "[m]uch of the information about parliamentary rights and precedents and procedures that were invoked against the King;" through most who consulted these materials were interested in land rights rather than matters of state.⁴⁷

The activities of the Society of Antiquaries were not entirely expressed within scholastic and legalistic modes, however. Visual and artistic expression was also within the gentleman-scholar's milieu, and the practices of collecting and exchange among this circle acknowledge the aesthetic value of an object, not merely its antiquity. Book-collecting and

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Thrush and Ferris, "Hakewill."

⁴⁶ See Van Norden, "Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries," and Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses*.

⁴⁷ Wright, *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector*, 15. Quoted in Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 113.

bookish culture, represented in the miniature library, are visible and well-documented within early modern antiquarian collections and in the activities of Society members.

In the seventeenth century, principles of collecting and acquisition were transformed from an earlier system of artistic patronage to a system of connoisseurship that grew around prescribed practices of collecting. These practices, including the propriety of collecting, were discussed in highly self-conscious ways. Such guidelines for social artistic propriety can be found in Henry Peacham's guidebook for aristocratic men, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). An education and appreciation of the arts was required for men to fully distinguish and appreciate their collection:

It is not enough for an ingenious Gentleman to behold these antiquities with a vulgar eye, but he must be able to distinguish them, and tell who and what they bee... First, by general learning in History and Poetry ... [Then] the last helpe ... is to visit them in the company of such as are learned in them.⁴⁸

The social component of Peacham's counsel is addressed by scholar Ann Hurley who draws attention to the line "in the *company* of such as are learned in them," as a recognition of the inherent social exchange and performative practice that would accompany the viewing of a collection of antiquities.⁴⁹ Hurley's study of Peacham looks to the social practices of collecting in the seventeenth century as a frame to study the creative works of John Donne, the poet who was also a member of the same sphere of courtiers such as Hakewill and Caesar. Though contemporary verse is outside of the purview of Caesar's small library (it only contains ancient poets), both are products of the same socio-political sphere and courtly culture of collecting.

⁴⁸ Peacham, Henry. *The Compleat Gentleman* (London: Constable, 1634), 107.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

The influence of impressive royal collections from the continent spread to England in the late sixteenth century.⁵⁰ In the seventeenth century, Charles I expanded upon the English crown's ownership of a moderate gallery of paintings to form a genuinely distinguished collection of masterpieces, including many Italian and Dutch works.⁵¹ Royal magnificence was put on display through taste and selection, and these efforts in connoisseurship were layered on top of earlier expectations of scholarly erudition. The practice of collecting as a conspicuous indicator of grandeur spread by degrees from royalty to the aristocracy, and later to the middle class.⁵² As access to the purchase of books increased for the gentry, so too did the social expectations of taste and aesthetic appreciation come to be applied to collections of books just as in paintings. The miniature library exemplifies this two-fold concern for aesthetic and intellectual excellence in both its fine bindings and catalogue of Classic authors.

Though the form of the library and book collection is visually related to the practices of collecting and placing within a cabinet, in a way that was parallel to the Renaissance cabinets of curiosity. But both the social acceptance of "curiosity" as a virtuous endeavor and the aestheticization of books were contentious topics. On the latter issue, Peacham was a vocal critic of elaborate and expensive bindings applied to books only for the sake of ostentatiousness, "Lastly, haue a care of keeping your bookes handsome, and well bound, not casing away ouermuch in their gilding or stringing for ostentation sake, like the prayer

⁵⁰ On European collecting practices see Pearce, *On Collecting*. On the influence of Rudolf II's museum as a model see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁵¹ The influence onto the English collection is also well studied, see Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums*, (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

⁵² Ann Hurley, *John Donne's Poetry and Early Modern Visual Culture* (Selinsgrove, Penn.: Susquehanna University Press, 2005), 166-7; and Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious*, 18.

bookes of girles and gallants, which are carried to Church but for their outsides.”⁵³ Though it was considered important to bind books for longevity and care, the practice of using books as conspicuous signs of wealth and as instruments for projecting a pretense for knowledge was also well-understood. The miniature libraries produced for Hakewill skirt this boundary, with modest, yet gilded, white vellum covers on the interior books. However, the whole impression of the library, with its goatskin exterior and gold shelves, is sumptuous and extravagant. The miniature library could very well be the among the category of conspicuous elaborate bindings that Peacham critiques in his tract. Peacham also critiques this practice at a larger scale than a single book, applying it also to a collection of books, or library. Peacham admonishes those who collect books without reading them:

Affect not as some doe, that bookish Ambition, to be stored with bookes and haue well furnished Libraries, yet keepe their heads emptie of knowledge: to desire to haue many bookes, and neuer to vse them, *is like a childe that will haue a candle burning by him, all the while he is sleeping.*⁵⁴

From the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, “that bookish Ambition” to collect books was increasing among the gentry. This influx was created through the efficiency and decreased cost of print and the great quantity of theological books available after the dispersal of the monastic libraries by Henry VIII from 1536-1541.⁵⁵ Book-collecting was now an activity that could also be undertaken in the effort to project an air of learnedness, but without necessarily the effort required to produce advanced research or religious scholarship. As established above, the evidence of non-use in Caesar’s miniature library, such

⁵³ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (1622), 54.

⁵⁴ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (1622), 54.

⁵⁵ James Carley and Maureen Bell, “Monastic Collections and Their Dispersal,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 339-48 and Giles Mandelbrote, “Personal Owners of Books” in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume II, 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 173-189.

as the sealed pages of Book Six of Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, demonstrates that it was a library for conspicuous display and not for genuine study and use. However, the miniaturization of the form and intellectual arrangement of a reference library suggests that the patron of this object was not interested in its functionality. Rather, the library suggests a model for an exchange of ideas in defining what intellectual and physical parameters distinguished the ideal library. It is an exercise in arrangement and form, and such an object requires a viewer educated in History and Poetry, as Peacham requests, to appreciate this form.

John Donne, who additionally served as secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, another miniature library recipient, was attune to the issue of learnedness on display in his work *The Courtier's Library* (1650). Rather than a simple satirical admonition of excess, this poem follows tracts of propriety and learnedness, with a catalogue of recommended "books" for the courtier.⁵⁶ In the list of faux-book titles, Donne attacks the veneer of knowledge presumed at court by its members, a pose which remains at odds with the leisure presumed by men of its class. The aristocratic ambition to embrace humanist learning had its limits, according to Donne. Books operated as shorthand for externalized erudition, as demonstrated perfectly by William Cecil, Lord Burghley's habit of carrying a copy of Cicero's *De officiis* (also in Caesar's miniature library) while conducting business.⁵⁷ Aristocratic display is not the only controversial aspect of the library, "curiosity" and knowledge itself were also points of contention.

⁵⁶ The term "nonbooks" and the study of Donne's work comes from Piers Brown, "'Hac Ex Consilio Meo via Progredieris': Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation in Donne's *The Courtier's Library*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2008): 833-66.

⁵⁷ Brown, "Courtly Reading," 841. This is also a book found in Caesar's miniature library.

The Strawberry Hill sale catalogue of 1757 appeals to the antiquarian buyer of rarities in its description of the miniature library as ‘rare and curious.’ But curiosity was not always considered a positive trait. From the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, curiosity underwent a shift from its historic theological association with moral decay, where the term applied to a subject who sought knowledge that was unknowable, illicit, or dangerous. The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, curiosity was, for medieval thinkers, a vice with catastrophic consequences, as outlined by early Christian writings, including St. Augustine who calls *Vana curiositas* the beginning of pride.⁵⁸ Baldasare Castiglione’s widely-distributed *Book of the Courtier* was translated into English in 1561 and this translation had reaching influence upon English aristocratic culture.⁵⁹ Among those qualities recommended for a courtier is “To shon Affectation or curiosity above al thing in al things.”⁶⁰ At the close of the sixteenth century, the courtly nonchalance that Castiglione recommended was displaced by a system of knowledge that fragmented the earlier semantic implications of curiosity. At the intersection of the culture of collecting and the culture of curiosities were the “virtuosi,” who Peter Houghton defines as the product of the courtier and the scholar from the Italian model who seeks a “quality of delight and the kind of curiosity which, with certain distinctions underlie and harmonize the interest in such different fields as painting, antiquities, and science.”⁶¹ The miniature library concisely incorporates each of these interests of the virtuosi. It contains a small painting, the texts are antique, it is organized with scientific rigor, and its sociable performance brings a “quality of delight” upon viewing.

⁵⁸ Peter Harrison, "Curiosity, Forbidden Knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England," *Isis* 92, no. 2 (2001): 268.

⁵⁹ First published in 1508 and a complete edition first by Aldine Press in 1528. Translation by Thomas Hoby.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* (1561).

⁶¹ Walter E. Houghton, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century: Part I," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3, no. 1 (1942): 58.

Scholars such as Lorraine Daston, Neil Kenny, Katherine Park, and Krzysztof Pomian have deeply scrutinized the culture of curiosity in the early modern period, especially the shift between the semantic use of “curiosity” from subject to object.⁶² For early seventeenth century readers, *curiositas* would primarily denote the human desire to know things beyond our own lot, and was often associated with gossip.⁶³ This shift signaled a change in the conceptual approach to knowledge in the seventeenth century, what Peter Harrison calls the “rehabilitation of curiosity.”⁶⁴ In the English context, works such as Francis Bacon’s *Great Instauration* (1620) shifted the focus from moralistic values to the objects themselves, and in doing so allowed for a shift in natural philosophy that radically altered the approach to scientific inquiry and to knowledge itself.⁶⁵ Bacon’s philosophic and intentional conception of curiosity will be discussed below to contextualize the library’s physical and intellectual arrangement. But one may examine the specific understanding and interpretation of “curiosity” to the owner Sir Julius Caesar through his commonplace book, which survives today.

Following the practice of note-taking in the humanist scholastic tradition, learned men of sixteenth and seventeenth century England kept commonplace books, hybrids of script and print where one can index and reference quotes, ideas, and other literary works.⁶⁶

⁶² Including Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice 1500-1800* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge, Mass., USA: Polity Press; Basil Blackwell, 1990); Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Daston, Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books; Distributed by the MIT Press, 1998).

⁶³ The relationship between word and concept and its multitude of semantic meanings is developed further by Neil Kenny.

⁶⁴ Harrison, “Curiosity,” 265.

⁶⁵ Harrison details Bacon’s manipulation of the moral implications of forbidden knowledge, “Curiosity,” 279.

⁶⁶ Ann Blair, “Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 4 (1992): 541-51.

Sir Julius Caesar kept a voluminous commonplace book that by the end of his life included 1,200 pages of notes corresponding to 1,450 subject headings. His manuscript notes fill a copy of John Foxe's *Pandectae locorum communium, praecipua rerum capita & titulos* (A Compendium of Common Places, with the Heads and Titles of the Principal Things) printed in 1572.⁶⁷ In his thorough study of Caesar's commonplace book, William Sherman takes a specific look at Caesar's notations on the topic of "Curiosity."⁶⁸ This subject was included by Foxe in the *Pandectae* and Caesar was keen to expand on the topic (Figure 10). In his copious notes, he supplements the headings with other subheadings of "Alchemy," "The Cabbalistic Arts," and "Polypragmosyne" [the desire to do or discover things that go beyond one's allotted role in life].⁶⁹ The sinful and superstitious association with curiosity was upheld by Caesar, and he copies out excerpts that admonish the trait: "Curiosity in studies breeds curiosity in the commonwealth and in religion." Caesar also compiles a long list of biblical citations and figures whose words and examples provide caution to those who try to know things not allotted to them.

Such writings in Caesar's hand show that he disapproved of the previously described secularized and object-oriented curiosity, but it does demonstrate that curiosity was a topic that mattered to him. Caesar and his group were unlikely to explicitly call an object a curiosity, as the term was not fully detached from its religious connotations and appropriate as a descriptor of "things" rather than humans quite yet. Furthermore, the first time the object was called a curiosity is a century later in the sale catalogue produced by Samuel Peterson in the December 1757 sale of Caesar's papers, when Peterson calls it 'rare and

⁶⁷ William Sherman, "Sir Julius Caesar's Search Engine," in *Material Texts: Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 129.

⁶⁸ Sherman, "Search Engine," 134.

⁶⁹ On folio 124r of Caesar's commonplace book. Greek translation quoted from Sherman, "Search Engine," 134.

curious.’ As that century passed, “curiosity” had undergone a dramatic connotative shift in its. But even to Caesar, the space for this discursive change is visible as a curiosity suggests something mysterious, and indeed the small library is strange and marvel-inducing. Though it is a historicizing application of a term, the miniature library is a curiosity. Though its owners were unlikely to use the term, the form of the small cabinet of books is shared with the genre of *Wunder- und Kunstkammern* where inquisitive engagement between viewer and object is essential.

Sir Julius Caesar moved within a circle of Parliamentarians, intellectuals, collectors, and antiquaries that delighted in exchange and collecting. As a gift object, the miniature library in exchange and performance reflects a culture of collecting with serious inquiry and conspicuous pretense among the Society of Antiquaries. The following chapter will seek to identify the intellectual and material precedents for the miniature case of books through a comparison to other curious cabinets and faux-book objects and an examination of the organization and arrangement of the large-scale English library.

CHAPTER IV

MARVEL OF THE MINIATURE

The representational qualities of Caesar's miniature library cover several material categories. First, it is an ostensibly functional library with 44 readable texts contained (excluding the books rendered unreadable due to trimming). However, the visual homogeneity of the edition bindings and storage on small shelves also suggest the representation of library architecture and library space in a miniature form. The conceptual act of miniaturization and its relationship to faux-books and contemporary large-scale libraries in England is the topic of this chapter. First, the material precedents for the Caesar miniature library will be considered through comparison to other book-like objects and cabinets, such as *Wunderkammern*. Second, the suggested architectural space of the object will be compared to the large-scale library in form and arrangement, with close attention to parallels in the intellectual arrangement and organizational strategies that major book collectors or virtuosi employed. The miniature library integrates both developing library architecture and cabinet collections in its form. Finally, this chapter will argue that the miniature cabinet is a curiosity through its performative, rather than utilitarian, function. Following the practice of *Wunderkammern*, the library was intended to be opened to its viewers not as a reference library, but to surprise the viewer with a combination of wonder and intellectual suggestion. This cabinet is a 'library without walls,' not because it serves as a library, but because it represents the idea of a library.⁷⁰ The form and shape of the miniature library, meanwhile, is an experimental application of encyclopedic methods and library design.

⁷⁰ The 'library without walls' was conceived and defined by Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994).

Interiority and delight for the viewer is key to understanding this object. It is the nature of its miniaturization that most directly shifts the reception of this object and makes it suitable to this analysis. Susan Stewart's book *On Longing* offers a philosophic framework for the reception and significance of the miniature as a personal object.⁷¹ A miniature, Stewart demonstrates, is a theatrical object through one's transcendent viewpoint and resulting perception of the object.⁷² The difference in scale between viewer and object, suggested through its representational qualities, "becomes a stage on which we project, by means of association or intertextuality, a deliberately framed series of *actions*."⁷³ Thus, each reading of the miniature is staged amidst the viewer's interest and expectations of the form and function of the library, its representational intent. In the small library, a viewer's representational vantage point is activated through opening the case, browsing shelves and titles, and removing books. Thus, it is essential to reconstruct the large-scale early modern library, both in its physical and intellectual forms, to contextualize the miniature library's symbolic meaning for a viewer.⁷⁴

The importance of the object's performative value interpretation does not discount the previously discussed social and political role of the miniature library within the Society of Antiquaries and the benefits of professional exchange amongst those in Hakewill's social sphere. The process of viewing and experiencing the object does not explicitly recall these external and public connotations; instead, viewing this fine miniature is a personal occasion. The intimate experience of the cabinet, this paper argues, augments its understood social and

⁷¹ Stewart, Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narrative of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993).

⁷² *Ibid.*, 54.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ An alternative application of Stewart could consider this author's own reading and actions associated with this miniature, considering the deeply personal implications of this framework.

political value. Through miniaturization, the simplicity of a set of small printed books is transformed into a more exquisite gift for the recipient and collector.

Small things have a history of direct connection and intimacy. Diminutive size allows for movement and the ability to be held in one's hands. When an object can be handled, such as a lock of hair kept in a breast pocket or a locket worn around the neck, it allows for closer human contact.⁷⁵ Small format also allows for portability. Though the focus of this study is on the Caesar library's small size, this object and its siblings are catalogued in their respective institutions as 'travelling' libraries. This term highlights one of the most attractive implications of the object, the potential for it to be carried with the owner, so that they may always have a case of classic works nearby. Though this potential for movement increases the personal nature of the miniature, it is likely that this movement exists only in its appeal and not in practice. The wooden case and binding show some wear, but on the whole the objects are in such good condition that it is likely that these libraries were used very little by readers and did not travel much. The libraries produced by Hakewill are uncommon as a set, but they are not the only travelling libraries produced in the seventeenth century.

Two more examples of travelling libraries were presented to Prince Charles and Prince Henry in 1609, when they were ages 15 and 9 respectively.⁷⁶ While only twenty-two books survive from Prince Henry's library, the library of Prince Charles (later King Charles I) is complete with sixty diminutive books in good condition (Figure 11).⁷⁷ Both royal travelling libraries and the Hakewill libraries share the use of edition binding across their respective sets. They also contain many of the same authors in Classical history and poetry,

⁷⁵ On the art of smallness, see John Mack, *The Art of Small Things* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁷⁶ Nixon and Jackson, "Travelling Libraries," 300-01.

⁷⁷ Recently bequeathed to the Bodleian library in 2014.

with some of the theological titles, such as St. Augustine, excluded for the younger readers. However, Nixon has concluded that the Hakewill libraries remain exceptional in the use of the faux-book container, because it would have been impractical to create a similar container for the princes' more voluminous libraries.⁷⁸

Examples of travelling libraries are rare in the seventeenth century, but Hakewill's miniature libraries draw upon formal qualities of other types of miniatures in art and literature, such as continental *Wunderkammern*, or cabinets of curiosity⁷⁹ Such aesthetic influence came with the exhaustive effort to Italianize aristocratic culture in England in the Renaissance.⁸⁰ The large-scale Italian *studiolo* of the Renaissance contained curious objects, instruments, and specimen, but it is also held many books, as seen in the engraving of Ferrante Imperanto's cabinet (Figure 12). Both Hakewill's small libraries and the *studiolo*'s compartments for books provide physical spaces for books with an analogous setting of shared viewing. Furthermore, the library's affinity with cabinets of curiosities can found in their shared method of activation, through opening and revealing the gentleman-scholar's collection. The performance of sharing one's cabinet with astute viewers is captured in the engraving of Imperanto's cabinet. Like the *Wunderkammern*, the miniature library demonstrates learnedness, and though its contents were not collected on voyages, the library's implication of portability links it (at least conceptually) to travel required for a gentleman's worldly education.

In addition to the large-scale continental cabinets, the miniature library falls within a tradition of smaller wooden cabinets intended to miniaturize large-scale forms. This category

⁷⁸ Nixon and Jackson, "Travelling Libraries," 302; the library of Charles I is now contained within two modern red leather boxes produced in the 1970s, the original container is unknown.

⁷⁹ There are numerous studies of continental cabinets, see Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature*; Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious*; and Pearce, *On Collecting*.

⁸⁰ Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious*, 18.

includes early examples of miniatures such as fifteenth-century boxwood prayer beads that open to reveal an impressive microcosm with tiny delicate carvings (Figure 13). It also references the small table cabinets that contain many drawers and niches behind their façades with carvings intended to imitate large-scale architectural space, such as the ebony-veneered table cabinet attributed to Iacopo Fiamengo ca. 1600 (Figure 14). This princely example contains ivory plaques and miniature columns, as well as seventy-seven drawers useful for storing small valuables or secret documents. Hakewill's miniature libraries follow this same format and reveal the miniaturized architectural space of the large-scale library.

Architectural representations are found not only in the three small interior shelves, but also in the painted catalogue on the inside cover. The style and format of the painted catalogue follows the tradition of the illuminated Eusebian Canon Tables invented in the fourth century, such as those in the Lindisfarne Gospels (BL Cotton MS Nero D.IV, Figure 15). The Canon Tables were created to list, compare, and study the four books of the Gospels and the Lindisfarne example was held in the library of Sir Robert Cotton available to Society members.⁸¹ The catalogue inside the cover of the Hakewill miniature libraries matches the Eusebian tradition through its use of an arcade as a container for manuscript lists, but the form and function of the painted catalogue in Sir Julius Caesar's library is more closely related to engraved frontispieces in Elizabethan printed books. The painted catalogue shows an imagined architectural framework that fills frontispiece. At the bottom is a stepped plinth, decorated with the heraldry of the respective owner, supporting a colonnade of colored marbles and inlaid jewels set in gold at their bases. The arcade (against a solid blue background) contains the lists of titles handwritten in gold. Within the spandrels are small

⁸¹ C. Nordenfalk, "The Eusebian Canon-Tables: Some Textual Problems," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, NEW SERIES, 35, no. 1 (1984): 96-104.

gold masks, cherubim, and sometimes acanthus leaves; there are slight variations among the four different copies of the Hakewill libraries. Above the arcade in the entablature, the painter includes small faceted gems and what appear to be small medallions or coins surrounded with gold swags, these likewise vary slightly across the copies.

These representations further recall the essential practice of British antiquarianism, of collecting and exchanging gems, cameos, and ancient coins. The painted catalogue functions much like the frontispiece in a printed book. In the Elizabethan and Stuart period, these frontispieces often employed fantastical Mannerist architectural space and illusionistic structures to contain plaques with titles and emblematic statuary and objects that provide a sort of preface to the text.⁸² The painted catalogues in Hakewill's libraries not only serve as a frontispiece with an architectural form, but they also share some specific visual similarities to a particular engraved frontispiece for Society member John Speed's first edition of *The History of Great Britaine* (1611, Figure 16). Though it contains more elaborately detailed sculptures of historic Britons within two rows of arches, the simplified painted catalogues of the miniature libraries share a vocabulary with Jodocus Hondius's engraving. The catalogues employ the same stepped plinth, masks and acanthus-decorated spandrels, and coins and heraldry within the entablature. The bottom third of the central columns are covered with additional decoration and have a visual similarity to the columns here and in the acanthus topped capitals. The catalogue's representations of gems, heraldry, and medallions capture the wider collecting activities of the Society, and the visual analogue of Speed's frontispiece demonstrates the influence of Society projects on the form of the Hakewill libraries.

⁸² Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-page in England, 1550-1660* (London; Boston: Routledge and K. Paul, 1979).

John Speed's work, furthermore, highlights the overlap between the Society's interest in the history the British Isles and Greco-Roman antiquity. Speed sought to trace the history of Great Britain and connect it to the legacy of ancient Rome, pictured on the frontispiece, "A Romane," and Speed dutifully used evidence of archaeological material such as Roman coins. Speed also received great assistance from Sir Robert Cotton who made his extensive library available and sent coins from his collection to be copied into engravings and who edited the manuscript.⁸³ Such a project highlights the great library and collection of Cotton and his influence upon the Society during the period.

There is something inherently theatrical to Speed's frontispiece, to the miniature library's catalogue page, and indeed to all baroque frontispieces that deliver their content on a fanciful architectural "stage set." Such objects and their theatrical performance are also found in the popular form of Stuart court masques. A comparative example for faux-book objects is found in Sir Francis Kynaston's masque, *Corona Minervae* (1635), which stages courtier wit and play in proposal of yet another royal academy.⁸⁴ Kynaston transforms the serious study of books into play when the spirits of the masque lead Prince Charles into a museum where he finds many books spread before him upon a table. But these are no ordinary books, they are consumable sweets where no author is spared a pun:

What Author's this? Pray let us here begin
Suetonius saies his out side: but within
All sweet meats. Oh sweete *Suetonius*!
What's his next neighbour? *Aulus Gellius*,
All gellies, as I am true *Time*. What lurkes
Here in this volume? 'Tis Frier *Bacons* works
Most sweetely interlarded. And here's *Cato*

⁸³ Letters between Speed and Cotton found in Henry Ellis, *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, Works of the Camden Society, No. 23 (London: Printed for the Camden Society by J.B. Nichols and Son, 1843), 108.

⁸⁴ The nationalism and wit of this masque, and study of the quoted passage, is well-studied in Adam Zucker, *The Places of Wit in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 132-4.

In bisket cakes, and sugar plates in *Plato*.
Erasmus full of preserv'd Raspices,
Delicate Authors all. Now what are these
Damesins in *Damascenus*, and preserv'd
Lemons here in *Levinus Lemnius* serv'd.
Apples in *Apuleius*. All's good cheere.⁸⁵

The stage props for these “artificial books” were intended to look convincing to the masque viewer, and Kynaston writes that they were “so handsomely made that no man could know but that they were very bookes indeed.”⁸⁶ Using the book-form for a non-book (whether that be a cake or a miniature library) allows for a revelation and reversal of expectations in a witty reflection upon the implications of gentleman scholarship the form of the book indicates. Kynaston’s work also expands on the ideal imaginary library, and quite literally addresses the ‘consumption’ of books. Not only does the faux-book form make an important appearance, but it also highlights intentionally playful, humorous readership and bookmaking in the early seventeenth century. Ken Arnold states that both the collection and masque “were just as much part of a culture of extravagant theatrical suggestion about the level of material attainment and dominion assumed by the country’s highest elite.”⁸⁷ The miniature library, through its staged positioning with its viewer, is something like the court masque in its theatricality and aristocratic play.

Following both the revelatory nature of book-like objects, as well as the practice of containing a collection within a wooden box, the status and shape of the ideal gentleman’s personal library was greatly debated in the sixteenth century, as mentioned in the earlier discussion of Peacham. This experimentation and growth of the form of the library was changing rapidly and this mutability is reflected within this miniature version.

⁸⁵ Francis Kynaston, *Corona Minervae* [London, 1635], C3v-C4r.

⁸⁶ Kynaston, *Corona Minervae*, C3v-C4r.

⁸⁷ Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious*, 18.

In the increasingly expansive collections of Elizabethan book-owners, the need for a furnished, dedicated space for the domestic library became necessary. In its later, more modern manifestation of the late seventeenth century, the gentleman's library is exemplified by the famous domestic library of Samuel Pepys, whose library contained the first-known purpose-built book presses in England. Pepys's library ca. 1666 contained about 3,000 volumes that were arranged in eleven mahogany cases covered with panes of glass.⁸⁸ Before Pepys, however, the domestic library occupied a more unfixed space, both in England and abroad. Great private collections of the continent were found in the libraries of Jean Grolier (1479-1565), Montaigne (1533-92), and the great library of Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), the last owning around 8,000 printed books and 1,000 manuscripts.⁸⁹ In addition to Italian influences, British library design and librarianship drew upon French models in this century after John Evelyn translated Gabriel Naudé's foundational essay in library science, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1621, trans. 1661).⁹⁰

Though not quite as expansive as the French collections, notable English book collections of the sixteenth century included those of Matthew Parker, Sir Robert Cotton, John Stow, John Donne, and Dr. John Dee, whose library drew a visit from Queen Elizabeth I and likely contained around 3,000 volumes.⁹¹ These libraries are accessible today only through their catalogues and their books, since the original architectural spaces they occupied are not preserved. Reconstructing these spaces can be difficult, since most descriptions of these libraries fail to mention the methods of arrangement or storage. A

⁸⁸ Raymond Irwin, *The Origins of the English Library* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), 172-3; See Pepys diary entry dated 24 August 1666 on his desire to improve his library.

⁸⁹ Irwin, *English Library*, 170.

⁹⁰ Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*. (Paris: Isidore Liseux, 1623 and 1644). John Evelyn, *Instructions concerning erecting of a library presented to my lord, the President De Mesme* (London: Printed for G. Bedle, and T. Collins and J. Crook, 1661).

⁹¹ Irwin, *English Library*, 166.

notable exception can be found in the large library of Sir Robert Cotton, who did leave descriptions and plans of his library.⁹² Again, the importance of Greco-Roman influence upon an eminent British historian can be seen in this arrangement, as the library is decorated throughout with busts of famous Romans, from Caesar to Domitian. Pre-Restoration collections were generally small and did not require a dedicated room of presses for storage. The most common method of book storage was to leave them lying on a table or on sloping shelves stored flat if the books were larger and heavier. These methods were especially useful in showcasing an elaborate or fine binding.⁹³

There are also some examples of wall shelving, sometimes on small brackets, and this method is most visible in portraits and engravings. An engraved portrait of Francis Bacon by William Marshall illustrates this design in the 1640 edition of *The Advancement of Learning*, where Bacon appears at his desk with a small shelf above him holding four volumes with fore-edges facing outward (Figure 17). In the seventeenth century, fore-edge out storage was common, as seen in inscriptions and labels applied to the fore-edge from books of the period.⁹⁴ The first large-scale library to feature spine-out shelving, the method employed in the miniature library, was in the French library of De Thou.⁹⁵ But the most common method of storage for a small collection of books from the sixteenth to early seventeenth century was in an oak chest.

Massive oak chests were used for the storage of many household items, such as clothing and linens, and were just as useful for book-storage in houses or parish churches.⁹⁶

⁹² Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

⁹³ Irwin, *English Library*, 175-176.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

The use of a chest was also convenient for travelling. An ancient example of this form and use is also recorded by Catullus, who brought “only one of many small chests” (*una ex multis capsula*) from his library while travelling to Verona.⁹⁷ An early modern reprint of Catullus’s text describing an ancient travelling library is contained, in fact, within Sir Julius Caesar’s miniature library.⁹⁸ The *capsula* and the Elizabethan wooden chest share the external form of the miniature library as a common container of books. But the most surprising and microcosmic form of Caesar’s library is found in its internal arrangement of books, particularly through the coherency of collective edition binding and upright, spine-out shelving of the small books. In this manner, the interior library shares its visual arrangement not with the *capsula*, but with the large-scale modern domestic and institutional library.

On the arrangement of a library, Naudè’s *Advis* quotes Cicero, “It is order that gives light to memory.”⁹⁹ In the tradition of *ars memoriae*, authors like Naudè associate library order with memory. Naudè calls for the physical arrangement of books according to subject, including *Theologie, Physick, Iurisprudence, Mathematicks, and Humanity*.¹⁰⁰ Within the large-scale library, it was imperative to apply a method of ordering for access and the use of subject shelving is evidenced at the institutional level in such libraries as the Leiden University Library, illustrated in an engraving by Jan Woudanus in 1610 (Figure 18), where the general subject of the section is fictionally inscribed on the top of the book presses to instruct the viewer of the library’s arrangement. A direct challenge with the clarity of subject-shelving is the issue of format, as oversize volumes often need their own shelves or to be set on the bottom shelf due to their increased weight. It is unclear whether a small wooden case of

⁹⁷ Ibid, passage from Catullus, *Carmen* LXVIII v. 36. Another early examples of a travelling chest of books include one Saint Boniface used on missionary journeys in Germany.

⁹⁸ Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius (Leyden 1613), *capsula* on p. 50 of 1601 Leyden edition.

⁹⁹ Evelyn, *Instructions concerning erecting of a library*, 76.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 77.

books, a generic *capsula* for private use, would have a rigorous method of intellectual arrangement applied to them in the same way that the large-scale library required. Caesar's miniature library emulates the form and arrangement of the evolving large-scale library and contains three small shelves and a written catalogue that show an intentional physical and intellectual ordering of the library according to subject matter; with discrete sections for Theology, History, and Poetry. Though this list deviates from Naudé's recommended subjects, it does follow a contemporary systemization of knowledge promoted by Francis Bacon in *Novum Organum*, correlating human faculties to knowledge: Memory to History, Reason to Philosophy, and Imagination to Poetry.¹⁰¹

In the early modern period, the increasingly used form of wall-shelving for books reflects contemporary discourse regarding library structure and form, as well as a courtly culture of ostentatiousness and knowledge on display. Eric Garberson writes on this system within the context of collection display and the history of knowledge, and emphasizes the visual importance of viewing a collection at a single glance.¹⁰² A library with a readily perceptible arrangement reflects an organizational schema, like Bacon's tables or Linnaeus's classification of plants. In such an arrangement one can know a book's place physically and intellectually and draw connections to related materials. These associative connections through classification are conducive to innovative methods of research by allowing the

¹⁰¹ The association of these human faculties for perception and human knowledge as a visual framework is continued with D'Alembert and Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (1751). On Bacon, see Kelley, Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks, *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500-1800* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Grazia Tonelli Olivieri, "Galen and Bacon: Faculties of the Soul and the Classification of Knowledge," in *Shapes of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer, 1991), 61-82.

¹⁰² E. Garberson, "Libraries, Memory and the Space of Knowledge," *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, no. 2 (2006): 105-136.

reader to retrieve relevant supplementary pieces of knowledge.¹⁰³ The practice of librarianship in this manner is reflected in antiquarian legalism as Hakewill performed, as well as in the indexing of Caesar's commonplace book. The miniature library also demonstrates the two implications of the term *bibliotheca*, inscribed on the fore-edge of Caesar's library, as simultaneously indicating an intellectual arrangement through a written catalogue and the physical arrangement of books in space.¹⁰⁴

Garberson's work places the methods of ordering books within early modern discourse and highlights the tensions between intellectual function and their role as aesthetic or visual aids. The Hakewill miniature libraries, produced around 1617, are a material manifestation and miniaturization of the discourse surrounding the *bibliotheca* and ideal antiquarian library. The miniature library reflects the variety of book-storage practices of the period, with books both contained within wooden chest and set in miniature wall-shelving. The process of containment and ordering more directly reflects the serious interest in knowledge in the era and the ordering of its physical manifestations.¹⁰⁵ Both in the miniature library and later objects like Pepys's glass-fronted wooden book presses, the reader/viewer has simultaneous visual access to a collection of books and the implicit knowledge the texts carry. The word *bibliotheca* on Caesar's library suggests not only the catalogue and physical space for books, but also references the popular textual genre of compilation: the anthology.

One of most significant qualities of the miniature library can be found in the meticulously considered ordering and organization of the books in it. Beyond merely invoking the concept of an anthology, a single text where many excerpts of many different

¹⁰³ Ibid., 124.

¹⁰⁴ Garberson, "Space of Knowledge," 125.

¹⁰⁵ Glenn Adamson, "The Labor of Division: Cabinetmaking and the Production of Knowledge," in *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 243-279.

authors are combined, this library takes the anthology form further. It is a material translation and literal interpretation of an anthology. Rather than the encyclopedic set being printed and combined into one coherent set of pages, this library represents each collected author through a discrete book. Thus, a book filled with numerous books, with each being bound and recognizable individually, allows the viewer to immediately perceive the exhaustiveness of this anthology. The Caesar miniature library is a novelty, but the genre of the encyclopedia can be traced to Late Antiquity. Such encyclopedic projects range from the *Corpus iuris civilis*, a compendium of civil law collected by Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, to the Renaissance catalogue of Conrad Gesner, Europe's first attempt at an exhaustive catalogue of authors and titles, in the *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545-49). The genre also includes a work previously discussed, John Foxe's *Pandectae*, a printed collection of subheadings with blank space for its user to collect quotes, information, and references as a personal encyclopedia.¹⁰⁶ Sir Julius Caesar kept his own extensive commonplace book, filling in a copy of the *Pandectae* and so this textual tradition of the anthology was well-known to courtier-scholars who viewed the miniature library.¹⁰⁷ The Caesar miniature library falls within this practice of expanding the encyclopedic project to contain and identify knowledge, combined with the requirements of an idealized antiquarian library with Classic history, philosophy and poetry.

Despite such influences of serious intellectual inquiry, and its inclusion of Classical and Baconian learning, the oddity and theatricality of Sir Julius Caesar's miniature library shifts it from a work of bibliographic study to one of material curiosity and places it within the culture of connoisseurship that burgeoned in seventeenth century England. The

¹⁰⁶ Sherman, "Search Engine," 130.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

distinction between intellectualism and humorous diversion among the owners of the miniature libraries can better understood through looking at Caesar's other book collections. In his will, Caesar made provisions for his manuscripts and books, but is silent on this miniature object. This suggests the small library was not considered a library or collection of books in the fullest sense, but more likely as an art object, or a volume within the library. In fact, this physical distinction between library and art collection of the gentleman-owner can be extended to this object's later owners, including Horace Walpole. Walpole's library at Strawberry Hill was extensive and the contents of the library's presses are well documented.¹⁰⁸ When the Caesar miniature library was held at Strawberry Hill, however, it was not stored with his collection of books in the library, but on the shelves of the Round Tower amongst his oversized books of prints.¹⁰⁹ Such physical separation in Caesar's library is unknown, but the exclusion of the miniature library from library-centered provisions of his will also suggests that the miniature library was not considered part of his most treasured part of his library, his manuscripts, a format which continued to the most distinguished method of bookmaking.¹¹⁰

The full catalogue and architecture of Caesar's library are unknown, so it is not possible to fully recreate the original setting for viewing for his miniature library. William Sherman has studied Caesar's manuscript annotations within of his copy of Foxe's *Pandectae* and this commonplace book is a useful tool for understanding Caesar's reception of

¹⁰⁸ Descriptions of the round tower, shelving systems, and contents can be found in Allen T. Hazen, *A Catalogue of Horace Walpole's Library*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), vol. 3, 113-114.

¹⁰⁹ It was originally held in the main library with pressmark B.7, but was later moved to the Round Tower, but a new pressmark was never assigned. Caesar's library in Hazen's *Catalogue* is Item 3775, vol. 3, p. 208. It is known that the library ultimately ended up in the Round Tower through the Paterson sale catalogue produced at the sale of the estate's contents. See Lot 120 in George Robins, *A Catalogue of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill Collected by Horace Walpole, April 25th 1842 and 23 following days*. [London: Smith and Robins, 1842].

¹¹⁰ On Caesar's will, see Sherman, "Search Engine," 139.

curiosity, as mentioned earlier. But Sherman's study also demonstrates how voluminous the library of Caesar was through analyzing the quantity of quotations and references he compiled into his commonplace book, and the scale must have been so large that Sherman considers it a "great lost library" in its size and scope.¹¹¹ Unfortunately it is difficult to reconstruct this setting as thoroughly as the library of Sir Robert Cotton, since no complete catalogue exists and many of Caesar's books and papers were sold by his heirs in the eighteenth century. But to some degree, through other documents, one can imagine his large-scale library.

Caesar did provide some description of the spaces and places for his books in his will throughout his three houses. He left his heirs, "one moyety of all my written books being at the tyme of my death either in my study att Hackney, or in my twoe great presses att the Rolles or in my studie." Additionally, he left "all of my bookes being either in the cupboard or in anie part of my Chaple of my house at Hackney to remaine to that Howse during the continuance of that House and Chapel in my name, or myne heirs forever."¹¹² The places of books include "presses," "the cupboard," "my study," and in "anie part of my house." The domestication of the gentleman's library increasingly distinguished the space for books within the home, and an owner of a voluminous book collection in the early seventeenth century stored books in a variety of places. These could be purpose-built spaces that imitate the fittings of an institutional library, such as free-standing book presses or wall-shelving. Variability in domestic storage is exemplified by Caesar's usage. Books could be stored within the personal space of a study, a space already established for the gentleman-scholar within his home with a studious function. It was a natural home for books. Books

¹¹¹ Ibid., 129.

¹¹² Caesar's will is dated 27 February 1635 in National Archives PROB 11/170, and is quoted in Sherman, "Search Engine," 139.

could also be scattered throughout any part of the house, demonstrating that a book was not restricted to use in one part of the home. Finally, books could be stored within cupboards, a unit of storage like a chest, and is closest in function to the wooden exterior of the miniature library.

In addition to the architecture of a library, some discourse of the period also considered the contents of a library in a moralizing and idealized way. Treatise writers like Naudè urge the collector to discard the model of the cabinet of curiosity, or *cabinet choisi*, a small collection brought together for their rarity or luxury.¹¹³ Like Peacham recommends, books should be valued for their content not their containers: “It is much more useful and necessary to have, for example, a great quantity of books well bound in the ordinary fashion than to fill only some small, pale, gilded, and decorous room or cabinet enriched with all manner of little oddities, luxuries, and superfluities.”¹¹⁴ As small cabinets filled with oddities, the set of libraries produced by Hakewill are a perfect materialization of the superfluous object Peacham critiques.

But amidst such recommendations for moralizing restraint in the aesthetics of one’s book-bindings and libraries, fine binding and other elaborations to one’s book collection were practiced. Caesar’s miniature library reveals this tension between the intellectual and the artistic. Though it contains a catalogue of Classic titles desirable in an antiquarian collection and is a serious interpretation of contemporary library form and intellectual organization, the object conceptually follows the theatrical, aristocratic demonstration of the *Wunderkammern* or large-scale library. English courtiers were aware of this tension in their bookish habits. This is keenly brought to light in the example of John Donne, who both maintained a

¹¹³ Chartier (trans. by Lydia Cochrane), *Order of Books*, p. 64 quotes Naudè’s *Advis* (1644).

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

serious book collection and wrote mocking verses on the shortcomings of the practices of conspicuous book consumption.

In a period that saw denunciations of bookish curiosity, this miniature library reflects the continued interest in lavishly designed book objects. It may have escaped criticism through its pretense of antiquarian librarianship and intellectual content, despite its status as an object only intended for viewing. This case draws upon the aesthetic of collected objects, cabinets, and contemporary library architecture and reflects English experimentation with the form and conceptualization of the domestic library.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

When Samuel Peterson listed the Caesar miniature library in his sale catalogue as a ‘rare and curious’ find, he did so after it had belonged to a collector with an exhibitionist taste in oddities, rarities, and book-objects, Sir Horace Walpole. The form of domestic library was much more established in the eighteenth century as a designated space within the gentleman’s home for a book collection, not merely a shelf of books within one’s study. The designation as a ‘rare and curious’ object would have different connotations for the eighteenth-century buyer compared to one in Caesar’s time. In this earlier century, the collection and exchange of books and curiosities fulfilled antiquarian interests in scholarship and ownership, even if the term ‘curiosity’ was applied in varying degrees of positivity. Caesar and Hakewill, a judge and lawyer, found antiquarianism and book collecting as discursive sites for serious interests in ancient law and ideal knowledge. The textual content, catalogue, and Baconian arrangement of the library exemplify these erudite interests. However, as a miniature and as a site of theatrical projection (in the object’s performative act of opening and revelation) the miniature library demonstrates an overlapping significance

between intellectualism and curiosity. In Caesar's world, the English virtuoso indulged his antiquarian interests in artistic interpretations of erudite matters, including such objects as the faux-books in Kynaston's masque and Hakewill's cabinet library. Through the process of revealing and sharing, the owner and viewer of the small library performed the act of connoisseurship in miniature form. The viewer must discern several layers of shifting scale, from the miniature object to the human to the representation of the large-scale library it represents. This experiment with scale brings a sense of surprise and delight to the viewer, and places this object within the aesthetic tradition of cabinets of curiosities.

As the sealed pages and pristine condition of the bindings and gilding of the contained miniature books suggest, the library's owners would have brought out the cabinet not to consult excerpts of Ovid, but to open and activate the object for select guests. At first, appearing as a convincing large book, the miniature library delivers a sense of delight and reversal of one's expectations occurs when upon opening the cover the viewer finds a proliferation of ever-smaller books contained within, rather than a single block of text. Playfulness and wit are inherent to the demonstration. Through an emphasis on its aesthetic and conceptual qualities over more practical considerations, the object moves from real library to one imagined. This delight pushes one to consider the idea of a small portable library, and its smallness increases its personal significance.

As an interpretation of contemporary library forms, Caesar's library and its sibling copies function as a material interpretation of the transitional form of the early modern domestic library in England. The evidence of privileging the book as object over text brought to light in this paper's examination of the Hakewill libraries indicates that they merely represent the idea of a library. They serve as a discursive site for their owners and recipients to actively perform and debate the ideal library. Caesar's library is 'rare,' as one of

only four surviving copies of such a type of object. As a performative cabinet that draws upon Classical modes of classification and learnedness, it is also a curiosity within a widespread culture of marvel. The miniature library is a literal interpretation of the anthology, a book of many books. With influence of the Society of Antiquaries and a culture of display and wit among English courtiers, the Caesar miniature library is a lighthearted, but thoughtful, manifestation of early modern antiquarian interests in librarianship.

APPENDIX A

IMAGES



Figure 1 – Interior of Sir Julius Caesar’s miniature library, ca. 1617.
British Library C.20.f.15-58 and case. Source: Townshend, Dale. *Terror and Wonder: The Gothic Imagination*. London: British Library, 2014.



Figure 2 – Tooling and ribbons for BL C.20.f.15-58. Average H: 10-15 cm.



Figure 3 – Exterior of British Library C.20.f.15-58 case.



Figure 4 – Detail of 'BIBLIOTHECA' inscription on BL C.20.f.15-58 case.



Figure 5 – Comparison of exterior and interior endbands.





Figure 6 – A rare worn/used copy of Martial from Toledo-Bacon library.



Figure 7 - Unopened leaves from BL C.20.f.55.

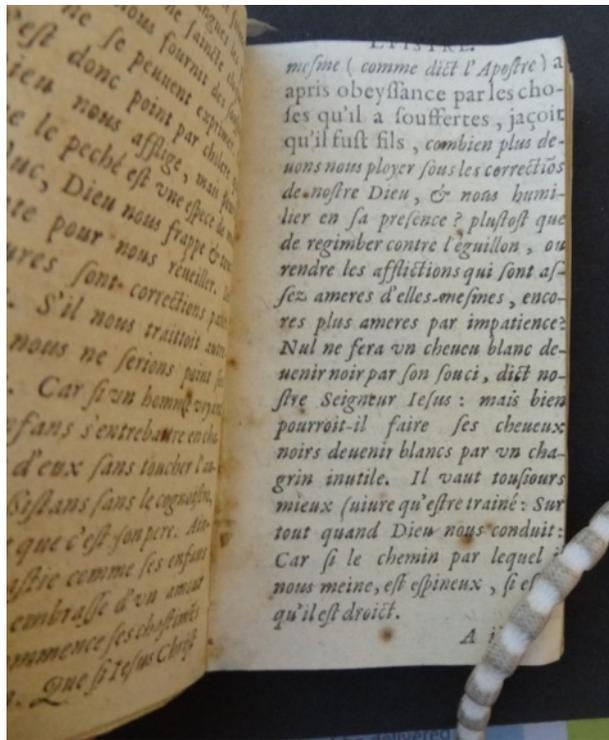


Figure 8 – Trimmed text from BL C.20.f.24.

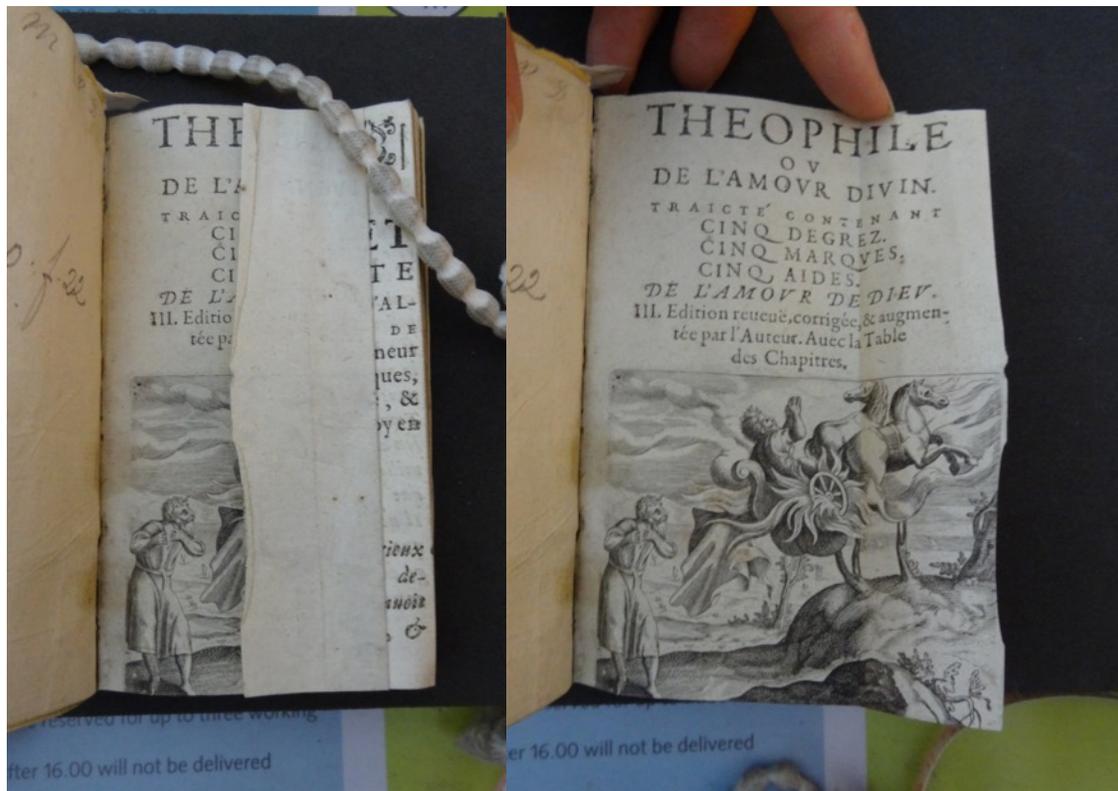


Figure 9 – Trimmed title page from BL C.20.f.22.



Figure 11 – Travelling Library of Charles I, ca. 1606. Source: Bodleian Libraries Rare Books Department.



Figure 12 – Cabinet of Ferrante Imperato from *Dell'istoria naturale*, Venice, 1672. Source: Davenne, Christine, and Fleurent, Christine. *Cabinets of Wonder: A Passion for Collecting*. New York, NY: Abrams, 2012.



Figure 13 – Miniature boxwood altarpiece. Netherlandish, 1511. H: 25.1 cm.
Source: Mack, J. (2007). *The Art of Small Things*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.



Figure 14 – Closed and open views of Table Cabinet. Jacopo Fiamengo (cabinet) and Giovanni Battista Fontana (engraver), Naples, ca. 1600. &A W.36:1, 2-1981.



Figure 15 - Canon Tables, The Lindisfarne Gospels ff 2v-3r, ca. 680-720.
British Library Cotton MS Nero D.IV.



Figure 16 – Frontispiece, Jodocus Hondius (unsigned). From Speed, John. *History of Great Britaine* (London: J. Sudbury and G. Humble, 1611). Source: Johnson, A. *A catalogue of engraved and etched English title-pages down to the death of William Faithorne, 1691* (Facsimiles) London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press, 1934.



Figure 17 - Frontispiece, William Marshall. From Francis Bacon's *Of the Advancement and Proficiency of Learning, or, The Partitions of Sciences*, Oxford: Printed by Leon. Lichfield for Rob. Young & Ed. Forrest, 1640.

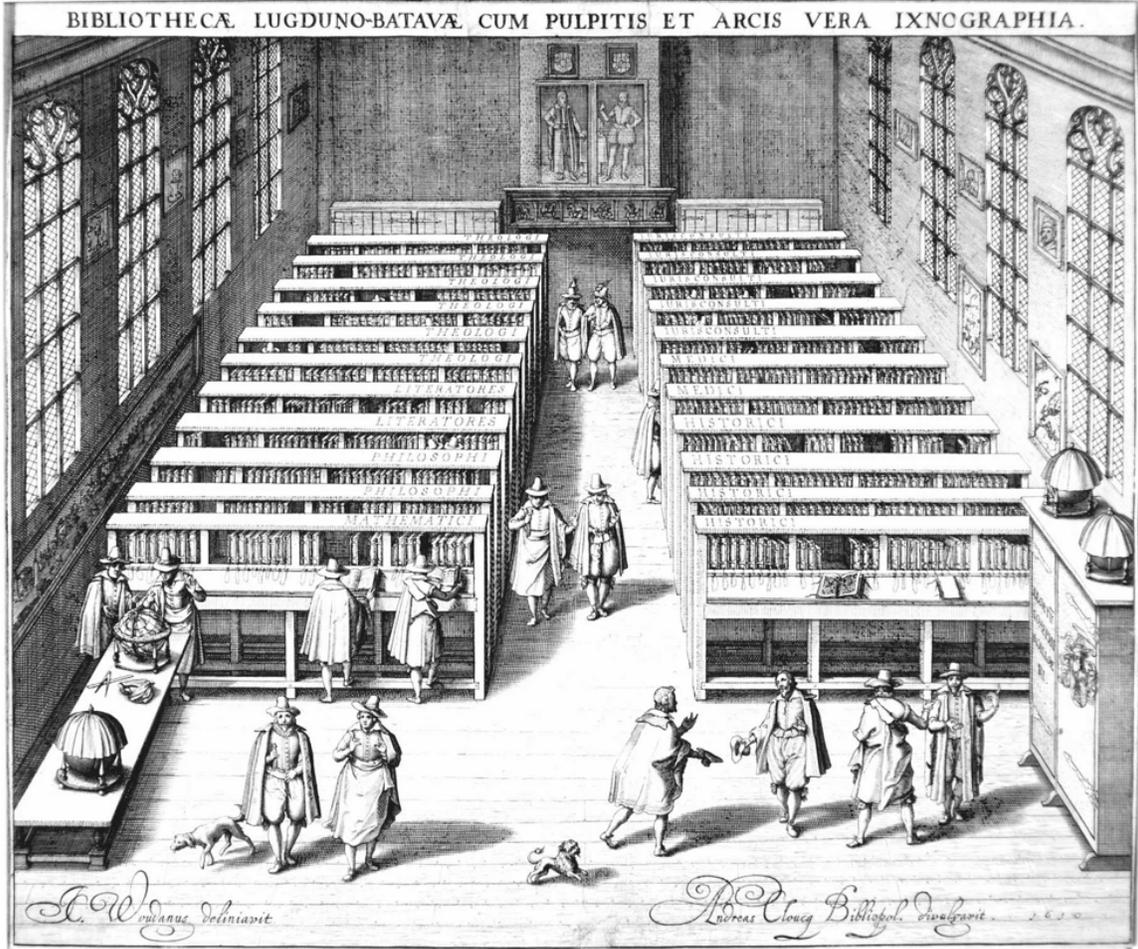


Figure 18 – Jan Cornelius Woudanus, Interior of Leiden University Library, 1610.

APPENDIX B

CATALOGUE OF TITLES

Books contained within British Library C.20 F 15-58 (the travelling library of Sir Julius Caesar). Call numbers assigned by British Library for each book. Abbreviated titles cross-referenced with table from Howard M. Nixon and William A. Jackson, "English Seventeenth-Century Travelling Libraries," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7, no. 3 (1979): 294-321.

* denotes a later replacement edition added to the collection

Poetry

Call #	Abbrev. Title	City	Year	Size (mm)
42	Virgil	Saumur	1610	10.9 × 5.7
43	Ovid. Fasti	Saumur	1609	10.9 × 5.6
44	Ovid. Metamorphoses	Saumur	1609	10.9 × 5.6
45	Ovid. Heroidum Epistolae	Saumur	1609	10.8 × 5.6
46	Lucan	Leyden	1612	10.6 × 5.5
47	Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius	Leyden	1613	10.6 × 5.3
48	Horace	Saumur	1608	10.6 × 5.1
49	Juvenal: Persius	Leyden	1609	10.6 × 5.6
50	Terence	Leyden	1613	10.8 × 5.7
51	Martial	Leyden	1612	10.4 × 5.5
52	Seneca. Tragoediae	Leyden	1612	10.7 × 5.6
53	Claudian	Leyden	1607	10.0 × 5.4
54	Prudentius	Leyden	1610	10.6 × 5.5
55	Lucretius	Leyden	1611	10.6 × 5.6
56	[no title]	Leyden	1609	10.4 × 5.7
57	Silius Italicus	Leyden	1611	10.2 × 5.1
58	* <i>Cicero Princeps</i>	Paris	1608	11.2 × 5.9

Theology/Philosophy

Call #	Abbrev. Title	City	Year	Size (mm)
15	Salamonis libri	Antwerp	1591	10.4 × 5.4
16	Thomas Aquinas	Antwerp	1614	8.8 × 4.3
17	Busaeus. Enchridion	Douai	1616	10.3 × 5.0
18	Thomas A'Kempis	Douai	1612	10.0 × 5.1
19	Compendium Navarri	Lyon	1603	10.5 × 5.5
20	Toletus	St-Mihiel	1613	9.1 × 4.6
21	St. Bonaventura	Antwerp	1616	9.9 × 4.9
22	Du Moulin	[n.d.]	[n.d.]	11.6 × 6.3
23	Habermann = Precationes Avenarii	Goslar	1614	9.4 × 5.9
24	Du Bartas	Geneva	1615	10.0 × 5.3
25	Lipsius. De constantia	Leyden	1613	6.8 × 4.4
26	Epictetus: Cebes	Leyden	1616	6.8 × 4.5
27	Cicero. De officiis	Leyden	1619	10.6 × 5.0

History

<i>Call #</i>	<i>Abbrev. Title</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Size (mm)</i>
28	Caesar	Leyden	1614	10.5 × 5.4
29	Sallust	Leyden	1613	10.6 × 5.5
30	Tacitus	Leyden	1619	10.3 × 5.0
31	Justinus	Leyden	1613	10.6 × 5.3
32	Valerius Maximus	Leyden	1612	10.7 × 5.3
33	Suetonius	Leyden	1611	10.5 × 5.5
34	Curtius Rufus	Leyden	1613	10.5 × 5.4
35	Petronius	Leyden	1614	10.6 × 5.3
36	Historiae Romanae: Florus: Paterculus	Leyden	1615	10.3 × 5.3
37	“: Aur. Victor: Festus	Leyden	1615	10.3 × 5.2
38	“: Mess. Corvinus; Cassiodorus: Eutropius	Leyden	1615	10.3 × 5.4
39	Lipsius. Politica	Leyden	1615	10.2 × 5.3
40	Lipsius. Flores	Antwerp	1616	10.4 × 4.9
41	Lambertus Danaeus	Leyden	1612	10.5 × 5.6

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