Robert Hooke's Books Database

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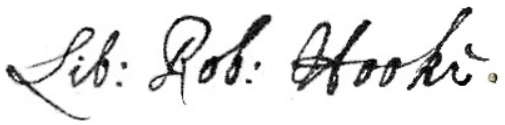

INTRODUCTION

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Robert Hooke's Books Database (www.hookesbooks.com)
Editors' Introduction, April 2015

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Robert Hooke's Books Database (www.hookesbooks.com)
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PART I

1. Robert Hooke's library and its context

'Nullius in verba', from 'Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri', was the motto chosen by the Royal Society of London (est. 1662): 'no longer required to swear in the words of the master', a declaration of independence from former authorities, although itself an elliptical quotation from the Roman poet Horace (*Epistles* 1.1.14). It became a minor topos for some experimental philosophers in the seventeenth century to style themselves as men whose originality depended not just on freedom from what one reads in books, but freedom from having read many books at all.

Both historians of science and bibliographers are aware that most of the prominent figures associated with the rise of experimentalism were however rather bookish. In part this was because most of these men – and a few women – were either educated, financially comfortable, or both; and the accumulation of often sizeable libraries was something that such people could hardly avoid. The surviving booklists of such figures – for instance John Evelyn, Isaac Newton, Henry Oldenburg, Samuel Pepys, Henry Power, John Ray, and Francis Willughby – also remind us of the persistence and vibrancy in such libraries of the texts of traditional humanistic erudition. If some polemicists even at the time were trying to force an 'ancients' versus 'moderns' schism on the world of learning – the forerunner of today's 'arts' versus 'sciences' polarisation – then most of the libraries of the period provide a check to such a reductive view of intellectual history.

A particularly rich and complex case is furnished by the library of the experimental philosopher Robert Hooke (1635-1703).[1] Hooke was arguably Britain's first professional scientist, receiving a salary from the Royal Society for the express purpose of demonstrating experiments at their weekly meetings. His surviving journals reveal an obsessively active life, as Hooke dashes around London between coffee houses, workshops, building sites, and meetings of the Royal Society in Gresham College, where Hooke himself kept lodgings that doubled as his laboratory, observatory, repository, dormitory, and library. As his friend John Aubrey remarked of Hooke, he was the greatest 'mechanic' of his age – meaning here a man of technological knack, a maker of instruments and contrivances, an experimenter. And yet the same journals also reveal that Hooke was of all the first-rank Restoration virtuosi the one perhaps most engaged with the book trade in later seventeenth-century London. He enquired after, borrowed, bought, lent, discussed, copied, and reviewed books obsessively, and if for a moment we allow an artificial divide between Hooke's work and his leisure, then frequenting the bookshops and scouring the second-hand book market was Hooke's chief source of pleasure outside his various paid employments. Giles Mandelbrote has well observed of Hooke's own book-buying, 'To judge from Hooke's diaries, the pursuit of books was his

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This is a collaborative effort, but Part I was chiefly written by William Poole with contributions from Felicity Henderson; and Part II by Yelda Nasifoglu.

[1] Studies and biographies of Hooke include: Margaret 'Espinasse, *Robert Hooke* (London: William Heinemann, 1956); Ellen Tan Drake, *Restless Genius: Robert Hooke and his Earthly Thoughts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Stephen Inwood, *The Man Who Knew Too Much: The Inventive Life of Robert Hooke* (London: Macmillan, 2002); Jim Bennett, et al., *London's Leonardo: The Life and Work of Robert Hooke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Lisa Jardine, *The Curious Life of Robert Hooke: The Man Who Measured London* (London: HarperCollins, 2003); Michael Cooper, *A More Beautiful City: Robert Hooke and the Rebuilding of London* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005); Collections of essays are: *Robert Hooke: New Studies*, ed. Michael Hunter and Simon Schaffer (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989); *Robert Hooke: Tercentennial Studies*, ed. Michael Cooper and Michael Hunter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). The standard bibliography is Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. Robert Hooke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

main recreation and an activity that took up much of his time and money'.[2] Hooke maintained close relations with a string of London bookmen, including printers, publishers, and sellers on the first- and second-hand markets. After Londoners discovered the device of the book auction, of which the first was held in 1676, Hooke became a devotee of this new means of acquiring books, and it is thanks to Hooke that we know of several auctions of which no other record has survived.

Robert Hooke moved into London's Gresham College in late 1664, initially as a lecturer on the history of nature and art, a new post endowed specifically for Hooke by Sir John Cutler. Hooke had stood for the older Gresham foundation of Professor of Geometry in that year too, but had not been successful; in 1665 Hooke challenged the decision against him and prevailed after a close vote. As a Gresham Professor, Hooke lodged permanently in the college, and indeed he never moved out, dying there in early 1703. This too was the venue of the Royal Society's own meetings; and it was also the site of their collections, as well as the living and working spaces of the other Gresham Professors and several private citizens who rented chambers in Gresham's spacious quadrangle. Hooke also built an astronomical turret on the top of his own corner of the quadrangle. Hooke therefore lived in his work, and his library was one of several in Gresham College. Notoriously, the other professors – in divinity, physic, law, rhetoric, music, and astronomy – were often absentee post-holders, and several also appear to have sub-let; but there were significant men around Gresham over Hooke's four decades there, including Jonathan Goddard (Physic: 1655-1675), who lived and died in Gresham; John Woodward (Physic: 1693-1728), who also died in post and in Gresham; Richard Pearson (Law: 1667-1670), who was additionally appointed Royal Librarian in 1662; William Perry (Music: 1681-96), who was the Royal Society's own librarian; Walter Pope (Astronomy: 1661-87); and George Gifford (Divinity: 1661-1686), sometime president of Sion College and benefactor to its library after the Fire.[3] The impression one gets when considering all the residents of Gresham in the round is that the college must have been awash with books, and presumably the professors borrowed from one another now and then. The impression of Gresham as the home to several considerable private libraries all in one quad is heightened when we widen the residency to include tenants, here specifically the wealthy London merchant and FRS Abraham Hill, who acted as Treasurer to the Royal Society, and also maintained an extensive correspondence with several continental virtuosi. Hill's extensive series of manuscript commonplace books shows that he too assembled a large library (along with a renowned coin collection), and as Hill routinely keys his quotations to shelf-marks, it is in theory possible to reconstruct a great deal of the contents and organisation of his collection.[4] It is possible that this was true of several of Hooke's other neighbours over the decades too. Other extensive libraries that we can associate with Hooke's milieu include those of his friend the merchant, linguist, and FRS Francis Lodwick, who indeed appears to have collected two huge libraries housed in two separate locations.[5] As we shall see, Hooke borrowed books from Lodwick, and perhaps the favour was reciprocated.

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[2] Giles Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases at the Sale of Robert Hooke's Library', in *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 98-145, p. 103.

[3] John Ward, *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College* (London: for the author, 1740).

[4] R. E. W. Madison, 'Abraham Hill, F.R.S. (1635-1722)', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 15 (1960), pp. 173-82; Abraham Hill, *Familiar Letters*, ed. Thomas Astle (London, 1767); British Library, MSS Sloane 2891-2902.

[5] Felicity Henderson and William Poole, 'The Library Lists of Francis Lodwick FRS (1619–1694): An Introduction to Sloane MSS. 855 and 859, and a Searchable Transcript', *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2009), article 1.

As we have noted, several of Hooke's contemporary experimentalists might be classed as book collectors too. Such men usually lived in the capital, but several lived rurally and had only intermittent contact with the urban centres of power, and in this connection we might think of the three northern experimentalists and collectors Henry Power, Richard Towneley, and John Webster. In the universities scholars interested in the new sciences might house significant collections in their rooms, and gradually institutional collections in the universities grew up around scientific centres too, notably the library attached to the Savilian Chairs in Astronomy and in Geometry in Oxford (est. 1619), and the libraries of the new Ashmolean Museum (est. 1683), the larger located in the lecture hall, the smaller next to the chemical furnaces. The Savilian library was in time enriched by many books from Christopher Wren and John Wallis; and the Ashmolean library was an agglomeration of books and manuscripts from the gifts and bequests of men including Martin Lister, John Aubrey, Anthony Wood, and Elias Ashmole himself. In London, institutions other than the Royal Society attracted specialist libraries. The Royal College of Physicians is a major example, albeit an institution almost entirely gutted by the fire of 1666. Several of the men connected with the Ordnance Office in the Tower of London were significant astronomers, namely Sir Jonas Moore, Sir Edward Sherburne, and Sir George Wharton, each of whom kept their extensive astronomical libraries in the Tower of London, and these men lent their books too.[6] But Hooke's collection was probably larger than any of these private collections, and was very much his own working library.

2. Buying, borrowing, reading and reviewing

Several documents concerned with Hooke's bibliophilia have survived, and these allow us to assemble a more complete and nuanced picture of Hooke as a bookman than we can for any of his contemporaries. The ultimate aim of this website is to present these resources in an easily-accessible and cross-referenced form, for the benefit of bibliographers and historians of science, architecture, and intellectual culture.

The key source is the printed posthumous auction catalogue of Hooke's library, published as the *Bibliotheca Hookiana* (London, 1703).[7] This lists 2240 lots, representing c. 2500 titles. However, other significant sources are available. Hooke kept a private diary for several periods in his life, and this diary (he called it his 'memoranda') survives in varying densities for the years 1672-83 in a large manuscript folio, and then for November 1688 to March 1690, and December 1692 to August 1693 in small pocket books, no longer extant in a complete run.[8] These memoranda are rich if abbreviated records of Hooke's daily movements, and they contain a great deal of information concerning buying, borrowing, reading, writing, and publishing books. Another source for Hooke and his books is an early catalogue of his

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[6] William Poole, 'Loans from the Library of Sir Edward Sherburne and the 1685 English Translation of Xenophon', *The Library*, 7th ser., 14 (2013), pp. 80-87.

[7] There have been two facsimile editions: in H. A. Feisenberger, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, vol. 11, *Scientists* (London: Mansell, 1975), pp. 57-116; and as an appendix to Leona Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke* [hereafter *LRH*] (Santa Monica, CA: Modoc Press, 1989). There are six known extant copies of the 1703 catalogue: two in the British Library, and one each at Durham University, the National Library of Ireland, the University of California Los Angeles, and the Grolier Club Library; see the website for further details on these copies.

[8] Hooke's memoranda have been edited in: Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., 1672-1680* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1935), covering August 1672 to December 1680; R. T. Gunther, ed., *Early Science in Oxford*, vol. 10, *The Life and Work of Robert Hooke* (Oxford: printed for the author, 1935), covering November 1688 to March 1690 and December 1692 to August 1693; Felicity Henderson, 'Unpublished Material from the Memorandum Book of Robert Hooke, Guildhall Library MS 1758', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 61 (2007), pp. 129-75, covering March to July 1672 and January 1681 to May 1683.

library, on several small manuscript leaves bound into MS Sloane 949 in the British Library. This catalogue lists just under five hundred books from Hooke's library and seems to have been drawn up by Hooke in or around 1675. There are significant discrepancies between the 1675 and 1703 lists, for not all the 1675 books survived through into the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*. (Some further remarks on this source will be presented below.) Other scraps of information can be gleaned from contemporary letters and catalogues, other fragments among Hooke's surviving manuscripts, references in Hooke's works, and manuscript information noted down on Hooke's books themselves, over ninety of which have been traced today, with many further possibilities. Hooke reviewed books for the Royal Society's journal, the *Philosophical Transactions*, he edited his own interim *Philosophical Collections* while the *Transactions* was in abeyance. He was also involved with the Society's own library, largely acquired by gift from the Duke of Norfolk, of which a printed catalogue, the *Bibliotheca Norfolciana*, was published in 1681. This was the library of the Earls of Arundel, and when Norfolk donated it, the books were divided between the Royal Society and the College of Arms; William Dugdale corresponded with Hooke about the split of the stock.[9] Hooke also had dealings with libraries further afield: in 1678 he proposed to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, for instance, a swap of books, the Royal Society sending the Bodleian unwanted books on the humanities, and the Bodleian exchanging for them unwanted books on the sciences.[10] (Fortunately, the offer was not taken up.)

Each of these sources presents a different picture of Hooke's interactions with the world of printed books. In combination, they give a very rich and detailed account of his reading and collecting over a span of almost thirty years.

i. Browsing and buying

Hooke's acquisition of books has been studied in detail by Rostenberg, who trawled Hooke's diary for its frequent mentions of books and bookmen.[11] Hooke acquired books first-hand and second-hand, and he frequently used as intermediaries foreign importing booksellers in London, especially Huguenots, or London friends with overseas contacts. He was particularly close to John Martyn, printer to the Royal Society, and to Moses Pitt, the entrepreneurial publisher who was broken by his own *English Atlas* project, a project in which Hooke himself was heavily involved.[12] The diary shows that Hooke visited booksellers across London as his business took him from one building project to another: thus his work on Bedlam Hospital gave him an excellent excuse to make purchases in Moorfields (see fig. 1), and his walk from that part of the City across to Holborn or the Strand took him along

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[9] Hooke's copy of *Bibliotheca Norfolciana* has survived and is listed in the *Robert Hooke's Books Database* under id 'extra_BH_23' [for books listed in the database, hereafter only their id numbers will be listed, following the format auct_BH_x for those in the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*, and extra_BH_x for other extant books]. William Hamper, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knight, sometime Garter Principal King of Arms* (London: Harding, Lepard, and Co. 1827), p. 420, Letter CLXIX; Jan Broadway, *William Dugdale* ([Gloucester]: Xmera Ltd, 2011), pp. 183-84; Linda Levy Peck, 'Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society: Changing Meanings of Science and the Fate of the Norfolk Donation', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 52 (1998), pp. 3-24. On the Royal Society library in the seventeenth century, see M. B. Hall, *The Library and Archives of the Royal Society 1660-1990* (London: The Royal Society, 1992), pp. 2-6.

[10] Bodleian Library, MS Smith 45, fol. 105r-v, letter of Hooke to Edward Bernard, 7 April 1678.

[11] *LRH*, chapters 2-4 (booksellers), ch. 5 (second-hand market), ch. 6 (auctions), ch. 7 (purchase of foreign books).

[12] On Martyn, whose activities did not always please the Royal Society, see Rhodri Lewis, 'The publication of John Wilkins's Essay (1668): some contextual considerations', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 56 (2002), pp. 133-46; and on the English Atlas project, see E. G. R. Taylor, '"The English Atlas" of Moses Pitt, 1680-83', *Geographical Journal* 95 (1940), pp. 292-99.

Little Britain where Moses Pitt, William Cooper, Nathanael Hooke, Christopher Hussey, Robert Littlebury and Robert Scott all had premises in the 1670s and 1680s. Hooke mentions purchases from all these booksellers in his diary. Sometimes his visits resulted in a note about having seen a new or interesting volume: on Christmas Eve in 1675 he noted 'Calld at Martins, Saw a small Roma Subterranea'. These notes may occasionally have been for the benefit of friends or colleagues, since Hooke does not always return to purchase these volumes. More frequently though, he browsed with intent, and made purchases. Sometimes he had a particular object in view, as for example in February 1689 when he 'Cald at Crooks & brown & all bookshops for Portug[uese] gramer', apparently without success.[13] William Crook and Daniel Brown both had shops 'without Temple-Bar'. On other occasions, Hooke seems merely to have bought titles that took his fancy. This could include some rather unusual assemblages: for instance, one Saturday in March 1678 he 'bought at a shop in holburne, Semedos China 3sh, . . . Dumbman of Lambhith, 3 months in Holland, Gratarollus directions for health, sea accidence, Lucana de carunculis, tables and Chorography of Clay for 6d.'[14] Of these, Alvaro Semedo's history of China is seemingly the only title that appears in the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*; Andreas Lucana's *Methodus cognoscendi extirpandique excrescentes in vesicae collo carunculas* (Lisbon, 1560) is now very rare, with only three copies listed on Worldcat. Hooke's good relationships with booksellers meant that he often named the source of his purchases – the example just cited is one of the rarer occasions when the shop is left unidentified. Sometimes there was no shop – in March 1693 Hooke noted 'I saw near 100 of M^{r} Boyles high Dutch Chymicall books ly exposed in moor feilds on the railes. also Raungs [i.e. Rahn's] or D^{r} Pells Algebra in high Dutch'. As an engraving from circa 1704 shows, the railing fence (see fig. 1a) at the front of Bedlam Hospital was one such place where open-air bookselling took place at Moorfields, but there may have been others.[15] Hooke returned the following day and bought Rahn's Algebra and '2 other Dutch chymick books'. Hooke also bought books from his hard-up friend John Aubrey, although this may have been a tactful alternative to lending Aubrey money rather than because Hooke particularly wanted the books.[16] Hooke, for instance, purchased an especially fine set of the celebrated Eton Chrysostom from Aubrey, for the substantial sum of £4 10*s*, and yet it is hard to imagine that Hooke, who had only a very slight interest in patristic theology, hankered after this text.[17]

From 1676 Hooke keenly attended auctions, even though he complained that this new method of sale was driving up prices. The first English auction was held on 31 October of that year, and Hooke noted it in his memoranda, with the comment that the sale had raised twice the valuation of the stock by the booksellers, immediate proof to English entrepreneurs of the profitability of auctions.[18] Hooke not only entered notes on many auctions into his

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[13] See memoranda entry for 11 February 1689 (where Gunther incorrectly printed 'Crouch' for 'Crooks').

[14] Alvaro Semedo, *The History of that Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* (London, 1655), auct_BH_1797; *The Miraculous Recovery of a Dumb Man at Lambeth* (London, 1676); *Three Moneths Observations of the Low-Countreyes; especially Holland* (London, 1652); Guglielmo Gratarolo, *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Studentes* (London, 1574); probably John Smith, *An Accidence for the Sea* (London, 1636); Andreas Lucana, *Methodus cognoscendi extirpandique excrescentes in vesicae collo carunculas* (Lisbon, 1560); probably Thomas Clay, *Briefe, Easie, and Necessary Tables, for the Valuation of Leases, Annuities, and Purchases . . . Together with a chorologicall discourse of the well ordering, disposing, and gouerning of an honorable estate or reuennue* (London, 1622).

[15] Memoranda entry for 21 March 1693; *A New Prospect of ye North Side of ye City of London with New Bedlam & Moore-Fields* (James Walker del.; Jos. Nutting sculp.; printed and sold by Henry Overton).

[16] For his purchases from Aubrey, see Hooke's memoranda for 6 July 1674.

[17] See Robinson and Adams, eds., *Diary*, p. 135; and Kate Bennett, 'John Aubrey and the Printed Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 76 (2013), pp. 393-411, at p. 402.

[18] Memoranda, 31 October 1676, 19 June 1693.

memoranda, but he wrote out a list of some fifty-six auctions held between August 1686 and August of 1689, a valuable source for bibliographers.[19] We can observe Hooke in action in a few auctions too, where the auctioneer's or 'hammer copy' of the catalogue has survived, where prices and names of the successful bidders are recorded – for instance Hooke successfully bid for over thirty books at the auction of the library of Richard Smith, Secondary of the Poulter Compter, in 1682 (see Appendix A).[20] He bought more modestly at the sale of the library of Sir Edward Bysshe, auctioned in November 1679.[21] At the Bysshe sale, Hooke apparently bought three lots, among which was a two-volume folio edition of *Roma Subterranea Novissima* (Rome, 1651), for which Hooke paid £3.[22] This, incidentally, is the very text Hooke had spotted at John Martyn's on Christmas Eve of 1675.

Hooke's papers in the Sloane collection also include lists of auction catalogues dated from 30 August 1686 to 5 August 1689. In the same collection we find evidence for Hooke's use of these printed auction catalogues. He has written out several pages of book titles, obviously taken from catalogues, presumably shopping lists to take to auctions. Each title is preceded by a lot number, and the works are divided into sizes and categories echoing those found in printed catalogues: 'miscel fol', 'mathematical folio', 'Hispanici fol', and so on. He also took commissions for friends: fol. 147r of MS Sloane 1039 includes a section headed 'For SJL', almost certainly his and John Aubrey's friend Sir James Long FRS of Wiltshire.[23]

ii. Gifts and presentation copies

Hooke acquired a number of books as gifts or presentation copies, and he also gave out copies of his own publications.[24] It is sometimes difficult to distinguish in the memoranda between books given to Hooke for his own collection, and those intended for the Royal Society's library. Theoretically, one might assume that gifts from Royal Society Fellows were probably intended for Hooke's own collection, as the Fellows could donate to the Society's library in person at meetings if they wished to do so. In practice, the situation is far from clear. For example, following a visit to John Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, Hooke

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[19] MS Sloane 1039, fols. 177r-178r; reprinted in Gunter, ed., *Early Science in Oxford*, vol. 10, pp. 66-7.

[20] *Bibliotheca Smithiana, sive, Catalogus librorum in quavis facultate insigniorum, quos in usum suum & bibliothecae ornamentum multo . . . sibi comparavit, vir clarissimus doctissimusq D. Richardus Smith, Londinensis : horum auctio habebitur Londini, in area vulgo dicta Great St. Bartholomews Close, in Angulum ejusdem Septentrionalem, Maii die 15. 1682 / per Richardum Chiswel* (London, 1682); ESTC, citation no. R40617, available online via Early English Books Online [hereafter EEBO]. There are copies of the hammer catalogue at British Library, Mic.A.1343 (from Lord Crawford's copy), and an early copy taken from this and entered into Bodleian, Vet. A3. d.187. For these catalogues see T. A. Birrell, 'Books and Buyers in Seventeenth-Century English Auction Sales', in R. Myers, M. Harris, and G. Mandelbrote, eds, *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (New Castle, DE., 2001), pp. 51-64. Hooke's purchases are listed in Appendix II of Henderson and Poole, 'The Library Lists of Francis Lodwick'.

[21] See *Bibliotheca Bissaeana* ([London, 1679]); an annotated copy is located in the Cambridge University Library (Syn.5.67.2) and is available via EEBO.

[22] See auct_BH_48. The other titles purchased by Hooke were: Claude Saumaise, *Epistolarum liber primus. Accedunt, de laudibus et vita auctoris prolegomena, accurante A. Clementio* (Leiden, 1656); and a *sammelband* of five quartos: Levinus Warner, *Compendium historicum eorum quae Muhammedani de Christo et praecipuis aliquot religionis Christianae capitibus tradiderunt* (Leiden, 1643), see auct_BH_348; Justus Asterius, *Examen Comitiorum Ratisbonensium, sive disquisitio politica de nupera electione novissimi regis Romanorum* (Hanover, 1637); *Germanorum populi votum pro pace* (1643); Petrus Gassendi, *Mercurius in sole visus, et Venus invisa Parisiis anno 1631* (Paris, 1632); and *Anacreontis, lyricorum poetarum festivissimi, quæ restant carmina, cum interpretatione Eilhardi Lubini* (Rostock, 1583).

[23] MS Sloane 1039, fols. 177-178 (auction catalogues) and fols. 143-50, 151 (shopping lists). On the evidence of book imprint dates, the latter date from the late 1680s and early 1690s. For further discussion of these lists, most of which have now been matched to specific auction catalogues, see Part II and Appendix C.

[24] On this topic see also Part II.

wrote 'the Dean gave me Dr Willis his book, Petrifyd wood, Turtles pizzell, Dolphins head, returnd Beslers 2 books and Museum Wormianum'.[25] Presumably the specimens were intended for the Royal Society's Repository; it is unclear whether Thomas Willis's book, or indeed the works by Basilius Besler and Ole Worm, were also gifts or returns to the Society's collections. As a side-note, this exchange is also useful in that it demonstrates the extent to which the memoranda shows gifts of books in association with gifts of artefacts.

The situation with Hooke's own gifts of books is much clearer. His memoranda entry for 23 September 1676 is typical in this respect: 'Dined with Mr. Boyle gave him Guilt *Lampas*. He gave me his new book'. The presentation of gilt or plain copies was significant: in January 1674 Hooke received from publisher John Martyn '6 guilt 6 plain' copies of his *An Attempt to Prove the Motion of the Earth* (London, 1674), the first of his Cutlerian lectures to be published. Over the following days he gave plain copies to Abraham Hill, Edmund Wild, Walter Pope, all Fellows of the Royal Society, and John Godfrey, Clerk of the Mercers' Company; gilt copies went to the President of the Royal Society, William Brouncker, Hooke's benefactor Sir John Cutler, Robert Boyle, and Sir George Ent, President of the Royal College of Physicians.[26] The giving of a presentation copy as a mark of distinction could also occur some time after the publication of a volume, as for example when Hooke gave a city official a copy of his most famous (and impressive) work, *Micrographia*, in February 1675. *Micrographia* had been published ten years earlier, in 1665, but Hooke's memoranda show that he had bought this particular copy from the bookseller John Martyn only a few days previously.[27]

iii. Borrowing and lending

We have already mentioned the number of private libraries owned by Hooke's immediate neighbours and close associates; it would have been strange had he not borrowed books from friends and acquaintances. The memoranda provide ample evidence for this. Hooke borrowed regularly from his closest Royal Society colleagues, including Robert Boyle, Christopher Wren, Jonathan Goddard, John Collins, Theodore Haak and Henry Oldenburg. He also made use of his extensive network of associates outside the Society. Thus in March 1673, seemingly in the company of his friend Theodore Haak FRS, Hooke borrowed a 'Description of Ceylon' from the merchant and Alderman Charles Chamberlain (1640-1704/5). Chamberlain had a particular interest in the East Indies (presumably related to his mercantile activities) and in March 1689 Hooke returned to him Henry Lord's *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies vizt: the Sect of the Banians . . . and the Sect of the Persees* (London, 1630) and a 'Bannian Manuscript'. The 'Description of Ceylon' was probably Philippus Baldaeus's *Beschryving van het machtige eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam, 1672); Theodore Haak's presence is significant because he was able to read and translate from Dutch, a language with which Hooke at this time was only beginning to grapple.[28] Finally, Hooke also borrowed books from booksellers themselves, a habit that must have

[25] There are two books listed in the *BH* by Basilius Besler: auct_BH_158 and auct_BH_159; *Museum Wormianum* is auct_BH_139. See memoranda entry for 8 October 1673.
[26] See memoranda entries for 21, 22 and 31 March, and 3 April 1674.
[27] See memoranda entries for 29 January, and 6 and 12 February 1675. Extant presentation copies of *Micrographia* are listed in Part II.
[28] For Baldaeus, see auct_BH_2554. See memoranda entries for 17 March 1673 and 20 March 1689; for Hooke's translations from Dutch see Felicity Henderson, 'Making "The Good Old Man" Speak English: The Reception of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek's Letters at the Royal Society, 1673-1723' in Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (eds.), *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Zurich and Münster, 2012), pp. 243-68 (esp. pp. 247-8).

been rather annoying if the volumes were stock rather than part of the vendors' personal collections.

While Hooke may not, like Samuel Pepys, have consciously used his collection in an attempt to impress his friends and visitors, nevertheless a range of people had access to his books. This is clearly demonstrated by his memoranda entries relating to his books, and by several lists of books lent which have been inscribed in the earlier memoranda manuscript.[29] Some titles feature in more than one of these transactions. For example, Hooke's memoranda show that he bought Thomas Hobbes's translation of Thucydides, *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre* (London, 1629), on 27 November 1672 from 'Brook' (probably the bookseller Nathaniel Brookes) for 9 shillings. He did not mention reading the volume himself, but on 18 January 1673 he lent it to his friend Theodore Haak, and then on 14 November that year he lent it to another close friend, John Godfrey. A further, undated, note records that he lent Hobbes's Thucydides to Abraham Hill, secretary of the Royal Society. Hill duly returned the volume, and it appears in the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*.[30] Most of these transactions merely confirm the access Hooke's circle of close friends had to his books (and vice versa), but occasionally they shed light on Hooke's social worlds in different ways. Another note records 'Lent Dr Tison Mr Hautons freind Febru[ary] 11 the french book of ye An[a]tomy of 5 animalls'.[31] This was the loan in February 1679 of *Description anatomique d'un caméleon, d'un castor, d'un dromadaire, d'un ours, et d'une gazelle* (Paris, 1669) to Dr Edward Tyson. Though he is recorded here as the friend of John Houghton FRS he would soon become one of Hooke's circle of intimates: he was elected FRS in December 1679 on Hooke's proposal. Women occasionally appear as borrowers of books. Hooke noted on 20 December 1678 that he dined with Sir Christopher Wren and his wife, and 'promisd Lady Wren, Mahomets booke' (that is, the Quran, of which Hooke owned a manuscript). Hooke naturally also supplied his niece and housekeeper Grace with reading matter. In June 1682 he lent her several titles from his presumably not-very-extensive collection of books that might have been considered suitable for female consumption: these included Antoine de Courtin, *The Rules of Civility* (London, 1671); Walter Montagu, *The Accomplish'd Woman* (London, 1656); Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewoman's Companion* (London, 1675); and Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (London, 1659).[32]

iv. Reading and reviewing

Hooke's close association with the Royal Society as Curator of Experiments, Secretary and member of Council, and de-facto caretaker (as inhabitant of Gresham College) means that in various areas of his life it is difficult to separate official from private activities. This is certainly the case in terms of his reading, and to a lesser extent his book-buying (in that he fairly obviously keeps an eye out for books in which the Society might be interested for their collections).[33] Thus the records of the Society itself are also a good source for

[29] London Metropolitan Archives CLC/495/MS01758. The loans recorded in the lists have sometimes also been recorded in the main body of the memoranda, but presumably the lists were a simpler way to keep track of loans, and more importantly, returns.

[30] Thucydides is listed in the *BH*, see auct_BH_1842. Memoranda entries for 27 November 1672, 18 January 1673, 14 November 1673; LMA CLC/495/MS01758 fol. 1r; *Bib. Hook*. p. 39 no. 59.

[31] LMA CLC/495/MS01758, fol. 132r.

[32] LMA CLC/495/MS01758, unnumbered folio. There are also two translations of the Quran by Andre du Ryer listed in the *BH*, see auct_BH_1495 and auct_BH_2126. See also auct_BH_2570, auct_BH_2462, auct_BH_2209, and auct_BH_1142.

[33] See, for example, the memoranda entry for 12 October 1672: 'Bought of Mr Martin for Royal Society, Guericke Experimenta nova Magdeburgica 10sh, Malpighii lib. De Ovo 2sh, Langeloti Epistola 6d, Morhofi Epistola 10d.' The minutes of the Royal Society meeting on 6 November 1672 record that 'Mr Hook produced two Books, the one entituled Ottonis Gerici Experimenta Magdeburgica de Vacuo Spatio &c. the other of Dr

Hooke's bibliographical activities. The fellowship, or at least a sub-section of it, placed a good deal of importance on printed books as a source of information, and discussion at the weekly meetings often involved verbal references to authors and their works. So, for example, during a discussion in 1680 about some experiments which had been made with snake-stones Hooke remarked that 'he had found the place in Mons. Tavernier's voyage, where he speaks of this kind of snake-stone'.[34] In this case it seems likely that Edward Tyson's experiments had prompted Hooke to consult Tavernier's book, which he had bought in February 1678.[35]

The Society regularly received printed books as well as manuscript material for consideration, and, after its foundation in 1665, potentially for notice in Henry Oldenburg's *Philosophical Transactions*, which also functioned as an early reviewing journal. These books were passed to fellows with expertise in the field for review, and Hooke was occasionally called upon. These reports should not be considered synonymous with a modern peer-review system – rather, they were designed primarily to give Fellows an idea of a book's contents. Hooke did sometimes object to the books he read for the Society: as for example when he contradicted the findings set out by Johann Daniel Major in his *Consideratio ferri radiantis* (Schleswig, 1679).[36] Descriptions of books were also published anonymously in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Books sent to the Society should always, of course, have been returned to its growing library collection – but sporadic calls from the Society's Council for Hooke and other fellows to return books they had borrowed suggest that volumes were easily dispersed and no doubt review copies were part of this trend. Hooke may have felt somewhat proprietorial about the Society's collections: in April 1674 he noted 'I saw at Oldenb[urg's] 3 bookes præsented to ye RS. Borellj or Hugeli was one. history of Island a 2o. and ye 3d was [ ]'.[37] There was not necessarily a clear division between books sent to the Secretaries in their institutional and private capacities; sometimes this was made clear by the fact of multiple copies being sent, or in an accompanying letter, but on other occasions there must have been some genuine doubt as to who should keep the book.

3. Hooke's death and the descent of his papers

Hooke died on 3 March 1703. In his last years he had apparently let it be known that he planned to bequeath most of the value of his estate towards the building of a proper headquarters for the Royal Society, complete with a laboratory, repository, library, and endowed lectureships. But Hooke procrastinated, and as his friend, editor, and biographer Richard Waller lamented, such plans 'vanish'd into nothing', Hooke dying intestate.[38] A draft will has recently been recovered, but it was not legally valid. Initially Hooke's estate therefore passed to his closest kin, one Elizabeth Stephens, probably a paternal cousin of Hooke's (she signed with a hook the inventory of Hooke's possessions), her daughter Mary, and a maternal cousin, Ann Hollis. Mary, along with one Joseph Dillon, who either was or was shortly to become Mary's husband, appears subsequently to have taken control of the administration. Hooke's inventory was drawn up by five men, four of whom were involved in the London book trade, those four being Edward Millington, John Bagford, Jacob Hooke, and

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Morhofij Epistola de Sypho vitreo per certum humanae vocis sonum rupto; moving, that they might be bought by the Society for their Library; which the Company consented to' (Royal Society Archives JBO/4/264).

[34] Birch, *History*, vol. IV, p. 39 (meeting of 27 May 1680).

[35] Jean Baptiste Tavernier's book is listed in the *BH*, see auct_BH_1830. Memoranda, 23 February 1678.

[36] Birch, *History*, vol. IV, p. 110 (meeting of 7 Dec 1681).

[37] Memoranda entry for 23 April 1674. Hooke had already forgotten the third title by the time he came to record it.

[38] Waller, 'Life', p. xxvii. See [Michael Hunter *et al.*], 'Hooke's Possessions at His Death: A Hitherto Unknown Inventory', in Hunter and Schaffer, *Robert Hooke: New Studies*, pp. 287-94.

Edward Cooper.[39] Millington, the most experienced auctioneer of his time, was soon to preside over the auction of Hooke's own books. Bagford was a well-known dealer and book-runner, and a later letter from Richard Waller to Bagford suggests that he had initially helped Mary Dillon with Hooke's papers.[40] Jacob Hooke was a Cambridge-based bookseller and auctioneer, whose name appears after the 'conditions of sale' notice in many auction catalogues at the time (he may possibly have been a relative of Hooke's);[41] and Cooper was a London book- and print-seller.[42] As Hooke's relatives, who barely knew him in life, realised just how wealthy Hooke had become, there was some legal wrangling over his estate, of uncertain outcome.[43]

Upon Hooke's death, the authorities in charge of Gresham College were anxious for the Royal Society to clear out their repository and library, and seek new rooms; and the society had to act fast by petitioning the Mayor of London for more time to absorb the practical ramification for the society of the demise of so central a figure. Meanwhile, the sifting of Hooke's chattels unsurprisingly turned up many items belonging to the society. On 3 March, 'Mr Hunt related, that D[r] Hooke being dead, he had received some of the Societies books from his Friends'. This must mean that Hooke had himself lent out books from the society's library. On March 31, 'Mr Hunt brought the Index to the Books of the Society, a Journal Book, Council-Book, & Register-book'; these had been delivered to Hunt by Hooke's administrators. Thereafter, throughout 1703 there are references in the society's journal book to a trickle of material from Hooke's estate: in April Mary Dillon returned to the society a deed concerning rents 'together with some other bookes'. She was thanked and petitioned for such 'Natural Curiosities' of Hooke's as she did not value; and later in the month she accordingly presented a large snakeskin and a formed stone found in Hooke's lodgings. A second consignment soon followed: 'Several Natural things were presented to the Society, together with some MSS. in divers Languages, by M[rs] Dellon Administratrix to D[r] Hooke'. In June, Hunt brought in some betel-nuts with husks found among Hooke's rarities. Then, in November, Waller displayed Hooke's lectures on light as well as his 'Scheme' of Hooke's 'for Improving Philosophy', and was encouraged to publish. This was the genesis of the *Posthumous Works*.[44]

The fate of Hooke's own papers, as distinct from his printed books, is a convoluted story.[45] Unlike his printed books, Hooke's own papers and manuscripts were not mentioned in his inventory. Through Mary and Joseph Dillon,[46] Hooke's friend Richard Waller later obtained many of Hooke's professional papers and his diaries, from which he edited the thick folio volume of Hooke's *Posthumous Works*, published in 1705, prefaced by his life of

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[39] 'Hooke's Possessions', pp. 288-289. The inventory is National Archives, PROB 5/1324.

[40] BL, MS Harley 4966, fol. 69, letter of August 1704; printed in Felicity Henderson, 'Robert Hooke's Archive', *Script and Print* 33 (2009), pp. 92-108 (p. 94).

[41] Perhaps also related to the bookseller and auctioneer Nathaniel Hooke, from whose auctions Robert occasionally purchased, e.g. Memoranda, 2 November 1689.

[42] Henry R. Plomer, *et al*., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922); Giles Mandelbrote, 'The Organization of Book Auctions in Late Seventeenth Century London', in *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century London*, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (London, 2001), pp. 15-50.

[43] Eleanor Naughtie, 'A Dying Life: The Last Days of Robert Hooke, and the Fate of his Estate' (unpub. M.Res. diss., Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, Queen Mary, University of London, 2003); Jardine, *Curious Life*, pp. 305-10.

[44] RS, Minutes for 17 February; 3, 31 March; 7, 14, 28 April; 30 June; 17 November 1703.

[45] See Henderson, 'Hooke's Archive'.

[46] As Waller noted on Hooke's 'Memoranda' manuscript, London Metropolitan Archives CLC/495/MS01758, note printed in Hooke, *Diary, 1672-80*, p. v.

Hooke.[47] In 1708 he received the folio manuscript of Hooke's earlier memoranda from Joseph Dillon; it seems therefore that he only held some of the later, small format diaries when editing the *Posthumous Works*.[48] Waller was the secretary of the Royal Society when Hooke died, and it was presumably in this capacity that he examined and sorted Hooke's papers; at any rate, many papers at this point entered the Royal Society's archives. Indeed, miscellanea from Hooke's papers, furnished by Waller, supplied frequent occasion for presentation and discussion before the society; apparently between 1711 and 1714 there were over twenty occasions on which individual Hooke papers received such attention.[49] On Waller's death in 1715 'a Part of the Papers' passed from Waller's widow and his brother-in-law to William Derham (1657-1735), clergyman and FRS, author of *The Artificial Clockmaker* (1696, in which Hooke's achievements are celebrated; it is listed in the *BH*, see auct_BH_2415), and editor of a further, smaller volume of Hooke's papers, as well as some editions of the *Nachlass* of John Ray. Derham's edition of Hooke's *Experiments and Observations* appeared in 1726, a rather miscellaneous volume not unlike an issue of the *Philosophical Transactions* itself. Derham's papers in turn passed to his son William, and eventually to his nephew George Scott FRS, who edited some further *Select Remains* (1760) of Ray from the remaining papers. Since the time of the older Derham, the family had lived at Woolston Hall, Chigwell, and the Scott family also owned nearby Moor Hall, where Hooke's earlier diary was eventually rediscovered in 1891. That manuscript then passed to the Guildhall Library, and with it travelled a bundle of Hooke's papers mostly not in his hand.[50] Then in 2005 in Moor Hall once again the Hooke Folio was rediscovered, being Hooke's autograph copy of the society's minutes between 1661 and 1677, with his original minutes from then up to 1682.[51] Alongside this large manuscript were recovered some extremely important manuscripts by or concerning John Ray too, auctioned in 2006 as separate lots alongside the Hooke Folio.[52]

This was far from the only line of descent. As we noted, many of Hooke's papers were absorbed into the Royal Society's own archive, and indeed the volume now shelf-marked as Classified Papers 20 consists of a very large agglomeration of unpublished lectures and papers, as well as several items not in fact authored by Hooke but which he nevertheless acquired. The voracious Hans Sloane, FRS, also managed to acquire some Hooke materials that never therefore descended down the Waller-Derham line, for among the MSS Sloane today there is at least one large collection of Hooke papers (MS Sloane 1093), and also Hooke's later, now incomplete memoranda, in the form of a small pocket diary (MS Sloane 4024).[53] Sloane also acquired some drawings in Hooke's hand, as examples were passed to

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[47] For some remarks on Waller, see Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Richard Waller, SRS: "In the Pursuit of Nature"', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 38 (1984), pp. 215-33.

[48] *Diary*, ed. Robinson and Adams, p. v.

[49] Henderson, 'Hooke's Archive', p. 97, fn. 25, information from Sachiko Kusukawa.

[50] These manuscripts are now located in the London Metropolitan Archives, with reference numbers CLC/495/MS01758 (memoranda) and CLC/495/MS01757 (papers).

[51] For the provenance of the Derham papers and the recovery of these MSS, see the Bonham's sale catalogue 'Printed Books and Manuscripts: Including the Hooke Folio' for 28 March 2006, pp. 20-21. The Hooke Folio is now Royal Society Archives MS 847.

[52] 'Printed Books and Manuscripts …', lots 184-88; Robyn Adams and Lisa Jardine, 'The Return of the Hooke Folio', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 60 (2006), pp. 235-39.

[53] Hooke's later 'diary' is really a set of three pocket-books written initially only on the recto pages, and then retrograde on the versos. The chronological extent of the missing portion and the resuming of the journal in December 1692 in exactly the same codicological format strongly suggest that Sloane 4024 preserves fascicles 1, 2, and 8 of an original sequence, which then appears to have extended beyond the close of August 1693, as Waller could cite from a 1696 entry in his life of Hooke prefaced to his edition of the latter's *Posthumous Works* (xxv). Did Waller then hold some of these missing fascicles?

Waller for the *Posthumous Works*, and he acquired many printed books from the auction of Hooke's library.[54] Hooke's inventory notes that the library contained several volumes of pamphlets, seemingly not included in the auction, and Sloane may have found his way to some of these volumes, as a few pamphlets bearing his ownership marks have turned up in the Bodleian Library, among duplicates given by Sloane to the Bodleian, and in the company of various pamphlets once owned by Hooke's friend and fellow bibliophile Francis Lodwick.[55] Sloane also laid his hands on several of Hooke's manuscripts, as there are several among the MSS Sloane today with clear Hookian provenances (see below). A further extensive volume of Hooke's papers is now in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.11.a.1.[56]

The line between 'papers' and 'manuscripts' is of course a permeable one, but in addition to what we might think of as Hooke's 'archive', that is to say his own scientific, administrative, and personal papers, and such of his friends' or colleagues' papers as he had acquired by one means or another, Hooke also possessed many manuscript books. These could be rather fine. The auction catalogue, for instance, lists no manuscripts other than one, a Koran in elegant script on fine paper ('pulcherrime exaratus in nitidissimam Chartam', *Bibliotheca Hookiana*, p. 22; auct_BH_990), current whereabouts unknown. But we can trace several MSS evidently once in the hands of Hooke, ranging from a very fine Hero of Alexandria in the hand of the sixteenth-century Cretan scribe Angelus Vergecius or Bergikios now in the Royal Society's library;[57] to a manuscript translation by the Taiwan factor Samuel Griffith of Louis de la Forge's *Traitte de l'Esprit de l'Homme* (Paris, 1666);[58] to a set of geometrical diagrams sent to Hooke by the Cambridge academic George Hough, who hoped Hooke might see them into print accompanying a new edition of the Dutch geographer Varenius.[59] Many such manuscripts have now been traced, chiefly in the Royal Society and among the MSS Sloane in the British Library;[60] one particularly elusive item, however, is John Ray's translation into Latin of the famous *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668) of John Wilkins. We know from Royal Society minutes that this was received by the society from Hooke's estate on the last day of March 1703, the month in which Hooke had died, but it has not been sighted since.[61] On the evidence of his journal and inventory, Hooke also collected prints, and in June 1677 (see the entries for the 9th and 10th) Hooke wrote out an index or 'table' of them; his collection appears to have consisted chiefly of architectural prints, although Hollar gave him an engraving of Tangier.[62]

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[54] Hooke, *Posthumous Works*, pp. '149' (*recte* 194; John Woodward conveys images to Waller which he had found in the pages of Hooke's copy of Bayer's *Uranometria*), 281 (Hooke's illustrations of fossils, supplied by Hans Sloane); both discussed by Henderson, 'Hooke's Archive', p. 95. The fossil illustrations have now been located: see Sachiko Kusukawa, 'Drawings of Fossils by Robert Hooke and Richard Waller', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 67 (2013), pp. 123-138.

[55] William Poole, 'Francis Lodwick, Hans Sloane, and the Bodleian Library', *The Library*, 7th Series, 7 (2006), pp. 377-418; Poole, 'Antoine-François Payen, the 1666 Selenelion, and an unnoticed letter to Robert Hooke', *Notes & Records of the Royal Society of London* 61 (2007), pp. 251-63.

[56] Trinity's Hooke-Newton material was largely purchased from Sotheby's in the late nineteenth century.

[57] It is now Royal Society MS 31. Hooke himself had received the MS from Robert Wood, FRS, in 1678 (diary for 14 January 1678; Henderson, 'Robert Hooke's Archive', p. 104). This was one of the MSS presented by Mary Dillon 'in various languages' noted above; at the same meeting Humfrey Wanley learnedly identified the scribe and commented on other exemplars known to him in the Bodleian Library of the same scribe's work: today these are MSS Auct. F 4. 15 and F 4. 16. See P. L. Heyworth, *Letters of Humfrey Wanley* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 168. Wanley noted that Bergikios MSS were often illuminated by his daughter.

[58] Royal Society, MS 76.

[59] British Library, MS Sloane 917.

[60] They are discussed in Henderson, 'Hooke's Archive', pp. 104-7.

[61] Royal Society, Journal Book, 31 March 1703.

[62] *LRH*, pp. 9 (sometime in 1678), 133. For such prints and other architectural materials, see Anthony Geraghty, 'Robert Hooke's Collection of Architectural Books and Prints', *Architectural History* 47 (2004), pp. 113-25.

Likewise Hooke purchased various maps, including one of Surinam.[63] But these too are not mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*. Nor are printed ephemera, such as another of Hooke's purchases, his friend Joseph Moxon's geographical playing cards.[64]

4. The printed books

Hooke's books were valued in his inventory thus:

> Item The Library of Dr Robert Hook, late of Gresham Colledge in the parish of great St. Helens in Bishopsgate streete deceased consisting of about 500 volumes in folio, Latin, English &c., bound and in Quires, of about 1310[65] volumes in Quarto, Latin, English &c., Bound & in Quires, of about 845 volumes in Octavo, Latin, English &c., bound & in Quires, And of about 393 volumes in Duodecimo, &c. Latin, English &c., Bound & in Quires, together with severall Bundles of pamphletts is valued & appraised at the summe of £205:10:6[66]

These were kept in a location itself termed 'the Library' in the inventory, probably a first-floor room in Hooke's rooms in the south-east corner of the main quadrangle of Gresham College. Hooke's diaries include frequent references to shelving commissioned and installed for the library, and the room also contained furniture, various framed pictures and prints, a mirror, and 'twelve China Coffee dishes'. As Michael Hunter has observed, this reckoning of the size of Hooke's library of printed books is (roughly) consistent with what was auctioned within two months of his death, but the valuation is not.[67] Here are the numbers by formats:

	Inventory	Catalogue (Latin + English)		(Latin + English in quires)	Total
Fol.	**500**	300 + 147	+	25 + 7	= **479**
4o.	**1310**	614 + 157	+	57 + 2	= **830**
8vo.	**845**	492 + 337	+	32 + 0	= **761**
12mo etc.	**393**	297 + 147	+	22 + 0	= **466**

If we allow for some traffic between the formats of octavo and lesser, then the only striking discrepancy here is the drop in quartos between inventory and auction; for although it is possible that Sammelbände were auctioned under the first title in the volume alone, this would not make much business sense. But the real difference lies in the estimated and realised value of the collection: the library sold for very much more than its initial valuation. If Smith had purchased the library on the basis of the inventory's valuation, he made a handsome profit, and it may be significant that so many bookmen were involved in the valuation of Hooke's estate. It is possible too that various books were removed from the library as not belonging to Hooke: we have seen that upon his death several books were returned by friends to the Royal Society; and if Hooke had been lending out stock from the

[63] *LRH*, p. 135.
[64] Note by Hooke in January, March of 1676; see *LRH*, p. 135.
[65] Following '1300', deleted.
[66] Transcribed in 'Hooke's Possessions', pp. 293-94.
[67] 'Hooke's Possessions', pp. 290-1.

(presumably adjacent) library of the society itself, then perhaps further volumes found their way onto Hooke's own shelves.

The figures presented above attest to its extent – but what kind of library did Robert Hooke raise? Most of what has been said about Hooke's library derives solely from an analysis of the *Bibliotheca Hookiana* of 1703, and this was indeed the subject of Leona Rostenberg's 1989 book-length study *The Library of Robert Hooke: The Scientific Book Trade of Restoration England*.[68] As we have already noted, however, there is a good deal of other information available from Hooke's memoranda and other manuscript sources. One significant document in this regard is the fragmentary catalogue now extant as British Library MS Sloane 949. At some point during 1674 Hooke clearly decided that his library had become large enough to warrant a catalogue. Devoting a characteristically minute amount of paper to the project, he proceeded to list his books, following the contemporary practice of cataloguing by size (which possibly reflected storage conditions, although there is no clear evidence of this). Assuming he finished his catalogue, or handlist, only a part is extant today. This manuscript, headed 'A catalogue of the Books of R. H.' lists folios and quartos but does not contain any records of smaller-format volumes. What remains, however, gives an interesting snapshot of Hooke's collection in the process of formation, almost thirty years before the *Bibliotheca Hookiana* was compiled. It shows that the core of the collection remained stable, and, not unexpectedly, that Hooke's areas of interest did not change over his working life. The bulk of the titles consist of mathematics and geometry, astronomy, natural history, and medicine, with a smaller number of works on travel, languages and history.[69]

Of the 474 titles listed in MS Sloane 949, more than a quarter do not appear in the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*. A higher proportion of English titles than Latin appear to have gone astray. This may suggest interference from Hooke's family after his death, appropriating for their own use, for example, such useful volumes as Christopher Merret's *A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses Committed by Apothecaries* (London, 1669), Richard Lower's *A Brief Account of the Famous Well of Astrop* (London, 1668), or John Fage's *The Sick-mens Glasse* (London, 1638). It is possible that Hooke himself considered such material more ephemeral than his Latin tomes, although it is difficult to see why something like Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (London, 1667) would have been deliberately de-accessioned.[70] The manuscript catalogue also sheds some light on titles that were clearly present in the 1703 auction but were not listed separately in the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*: for example, Sammelbände of plays including the works of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Shakespeare. These titles counteract the image of Hooke as single-minded experimenter (although it is possible that some of this 'lighter' material may have been bought with Hooke's niece and resident housekeeper Grace in mind).

Despite the usefulness of MS Sloane 949 and Hooke's memoranda as sources, the main evidence for the composition of Hooke's library must, of course, be drawn from the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*. However, there are several caveats to be borne in mind. First, an auction catalogue by definition represents a collection now dispersed, and in the absence of the actual library described by an auction catalogue, the static snapshot of a library as it stood when its owner died obscures the dynamic history of that library – what was bought when and where, and whether patterns and rates of acquisition changed over time, as they must

[68] *LRH*, pp. 123-40. Rostenberg provided a subject tour of the library, although this is to be treated with some caution, especially as she included the Bickerstaff books in her analysis.
[69] Felicity Henderson is currently preparing an edition of this manuscript catalogue; when the edition is complete titles listed there will be added to this site to enable easy comparison with the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*.
[70] The memoranda show that Hooke lent this volume to John Mapletoft FRS on 23 December 1676 – perhaps he never returned it.

always have done. The next point is that as we have seen, libraries shed as well as accumulate books, and auction catalogues cannot describe what is no longer there. The final point is that we cannot necessarily trust auction catalogues. First, books and especially manuscripts can be purchased or otherwise removed from an owner's estate before the auctioneers can get at the library; we have seen that this happened to Hooke's collection in the matter of his manuscripts and papers, and possibly some of his pamphlets. Next there is the problem of the auctioneers themselves, for it was often said that such men 'salted' their auctions with books that had nothing to do with the library nominally under the hammer.

The *Bibliotheca Hookiana* is probably not the record of adulterated stock, as Giles Mandelbrote's researches have shown. The major stumbling-block so far has been the inclusion of the printed 'Appendix' to the catalogue in considerations of Hooke's books, which as Mandelbrote showed has nothing to do with Hooke at all, being a list of the books of the collector, traveller, and soldier Stuart Bickerstaffe. Once we exclude this 'Appendix' from further consideration, it does not look as if the *Bibliotheca Hookiana* itself has been bulked out with non-Hooke materials. But it is still true that the list as published cannot represent all Hooke's books, in the broadest sense of 'book', either as he acquired them in his life, or as his collection stood at his death. The list in MS Sloane 949 includes many books that have vanished from the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*; and, as we have seen, we know from both administrative records and surviving books, manuscripts, and papers, that Hooke owned at his death more than went under the hammer.

For all that, we can accept the *Bibliotheca Hookiana* as a faithful record of the bulk of Hooke's library that made it to auction just after his death: it will have been slightly depleted, but probably not adulterated. The catalogue is divided, as was the fashion, into Latin and then English books, with each division subdivided by format in descending size. The final pages list Latin 'Libri in albiis' (literally 'books in whites', i.e. unbound books) in descending size, followed by a handful of English books in quires too.[71] The Latin books (really anything not in English) occupy pp. 1-38; the English books pp. 38-53, with the *libri in albiis* both foreign and English occupying pp. 53-56. It is evident, therefore, that the majority of Hooke's library was in Latin.

[71] Hooke's books in quires include several books with which he had been closely involved, including Knox's *Ceylon* (1681; auct_BH_990) and Hooke's own *Micrographia* 'with Fig. and the Original Drawings' (auct_BH_2671). Hooke also held in quires several heterodox works, for instance both Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670; auct_BH_2581) and his *Opera Posthuma* (1677; auct_BH_2580).

PART II
Hooke's Annotations

As already noted, over ninety books attributed to Hooke are still extant. The whereabouts of nine of these are currently unknown, leaving only their traces in the auction catalogues where they last appeared.[72] Less than a handful are in known private collections while the rest are publicly available, though dispersed between libraries in the United Kingdom and the United States.[73]

This section provides an overview of the annotations and other traces Hooke left in these extant books. While they vary greatly, we may loosely categorize these into three groups: acquisition notes, inserted manuscript leaves, and marginal annotations.

1. Acquisition notes

Most of Hooke's annotations are simple acquisition notes that have been instrumental in identifying the books from his library (figs. 2, 2a, 3, 3a, 4, 4a, 6, 6a, 7, 7a, 8, 8a, 11, 11a, and 13).[74] His purchases from auctions and booksellers have already been studied; to these we are able to add further information regarding the catalogues associated with these auctions, as well with the surviving lists of *desiderata*, the shopping lists Hooke prepared prior to attending auctions.[75] Some details about the books that were presented to Hooke by friends or the authors themselves are also noted.

i. Auctions

It may be of scholarly interest to be able to identify not only the books Hooke purchased but also the ones that were available to him and that he did not acquire for various reasons. To this end, we include the following list where we note some of the specific auctions Hooke made his purchases from and provide references to the corresponding catalogues in chronological order. Rather than all the auctions mentioned in the diaries, the list is limited to the extant books and it is not designed to be exhaustive.

- We may confidently connect one of the books that have survived from Hooke's library to the 1678 auction by Moses Pitt. While it appears to have lost its acquisition note, the British Library copy of Pietro Accolti's *Lo Inganno de gl' occhi, prospettiva practica* (Firenze, 1625) containing a leaf of notes and sketches in Hooke's hand is most probably '*Lo Inganno*' that Hooke listed among the twenty-eight books he had 'Received from Pits Auxion' on 24 December 1678 (figs. 5 and 5a), eight days after he had recorded bidding 3*s* for 'Acolti, *Inganuo De Glochi*'.[76] We find the same book as lot 2 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on page 7 of the *Bibliotheca Hookiana* [hereafter *BH*], listed as '*Prospettiva Practica di Piet. Accolti*, con Fig.' The lengthy catalogue of Pitt's auction, which included the library of the Dutch theologian Gisbert Voet (1589–1676), may be identified as *Catalogus variorum librorum inst[r]uctissimæ bibliothecæ præstantissimi doctissimique viri in Anglia defuncti, ut & aliorum in omnibus scientiis atque linguis insignium, ex bibliothecæ clarissimi Gisberti Voetii emptorum cum multis aliis tum antiquis tum*

[72] In the *Robert Hooke's Books Database*, see auct_BH_748, auct_BH_776, auct_BH_833, auct_BH_864, auct_BH_1427, auct_BH_2350, extra_BH_5, extra_BH_30, extra_BH_31.
[73] See auct_BH_108, auct_BH_846, auct_BH_2246.
[74] See tables I & III in Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', pp. 120-8 and 133-41. Twelve additional books have been discovered since the publication of this article: auct_BH_465, auct_BH_776, auct_BH_833, auct_BH_847, extra_BH_3, extra_BH_4, extra_BH_9, extra_BH_25, extra_BH_29, extra_BH_30, extra_BH_31, extra_BH_32.
[75] See Part I for a detailed discussion about Hooke's book-purchasing activities, as well as gifts he presented and received, as revealed in his diaries.
[76] *Diary*, ed. Robinson and Adams, pp. 388, 390. For Accolti's book, see auct_BH_295.

modernis nuperrimæ ex variis partibus Europæ advectis quorum auctio habebitur . . . Novembris 25, 1678, where Accolti's book is listed as lot 22, 'Lo *Inganno* de Gl'occhi, Prospettiva pratica di Piet. Accolti, *Fiorenze*, 1625', on page 1 of 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'.[77] (The digitized version of the catalogue available via EEBO is from an imperfect copy missing more than fifty of the 226 pages, including the entire section on foreign language books; in fact only seven of Hooke's purchases can be found in this online version.[78]) To help with the proper identification of all of the twenty-eight books Hooke purchased, we have included Appendix B listing their corresponding page and lot numbers in Pitt's catalogue, along with other details such as the price Hooke paid for the book, and the price it fetched at the auction after his death.

- According to Hooke's acquisition note, he purchased the second edition of Walther Ryff's German translation of Vitruvius's *De architectura* (Basel, 1575) from Millington's auction on 8 November 1689 (figs. 6 and 6a).[79] While the ESTC does not list an auction catalogue by Millington close to that date, the anonymous *A Catalogue of English, French, Italian, Dutch and Spanish books in all volumes . . . will be sold by auction . . . on 6th of November, 1689*, lists an undated Basel edition of a '*Vitruvii* Architectura Germanicè' as lot 37 in 'Italici Folio cum diversis Libris Figurarum in omnibus Voluminibus & Linguis Gall. Ital. Germ. Belg. & Angl. descript.' on page 16, making it possible that this auction was in fact associated with Millington.[80]
- Hooke bought Santorio Santorio's *Methodi vitandorum errorum omnium* (Geneva, 1631) on 7 February 1691 from another Millington auction, that of the library of the theologian Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) (figs. 7 and 7a). The catalogue *Bibliotheca Cudworthiana, sive catalogus variorum librorum plurimis facultatibus . . . quorum auctio habenda est . . . secundo die Februarii, 1690/1* indeed lists this book as lot 58 in 'Libri Medici, Philosophici, Mathematici, in Quarto' on page 28.[81]

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[77] English Short Title Catalogue, or ESTC, citation no. R232197. Sources on this auction include John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century (1676-1700) with a Chronological List of the Book Auctions of the Period* (London: Elliot Stock, 1898), pp. 120-24; and *LRH*, pp. 33-34. It is noteworthy that one of the distributors of this catalogue was Edward Millington, whose name thus appears in print for the first time as associated with an auction; see Brian Cowan, 'Millington, Edward (c.1636–1703)', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, May 2005; online edn, Jan 2008).

[78] The EEBO version, digitized from a copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC, is available online. Although imperfect, it is nonetheless a useful copy with interleaved manuscript pages of alphabetical lists of books and prices from previous and later auctions. It is perhaps similar to the 'register' referred to by Richard Lapthorne in his 24 September 1692 letter to Richard Coffin; searching for a rare copy of Athanasius Kircher's *Phonurgia nova* for Coffin, Lapthorne explained that he had consulted, either directly or via the bookseller Robert Littlebury, 'an Ingenious man yt hath taken paines to keep an alphibiticall Register of most books & prices yt have been sold in our London Auctions, And in one Voets Auction found this booke [lot 250 of 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio' on page 47] printed beyond sea 1673 fol. wth figures, price 9*s*. 6*d*. . . .' This same price is noted in manuscript in the margin of this digitized catalogue. Lapthorne's letter is quoted in Michael Treadwell, 'Richard Lapthorne and the London Retail Book Trade 1683-1697', in *The Book Trade and Its Customers, 1450-1990: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote, Arnold Hunt, and Alison Shell (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp. 214, 221n35; and it is partially reproduced in 'Letters, 1692', 'Book Trade References in the Lapthorne-Coffin Correspondence 1683-1697', Michael Treadwell and Ian Maxted, eds., *Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History no. 11* (2001).

[79] Ryff's edition of Vitruvius is *BH*, lot 293 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 7; see auct_BH_314.

[80] The catalogue (ESTC citation no. R171066) is available online via the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[81] Santorio's book is *BH*, lot 159 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 11; see auct_BH_492. Millington's auction catalogue (ESTC citation no. R214526) is available online via EEBO.

- The 'May 25 1691 Cl. Auct[ion]' acquisition note on the front pastedown of Hooke's copy of David Haex's *Dictionarium Malaico-Latinum et Latino-Malaicum* (Rome, 1631) suggests that it may have been purchased from an auction by John Bullord (figs. 8 and 8a). The book is listed as lot 145 in 'Books in Quarto' on page 7 of Bullord's *A Catalogue of Books of Two Eminent Mathematicians . . . which will be exposed to sale by way of auction . . . 21st of . . . May, 1691*, and Hooke's note indicating 'Cl. Auct[ion]' is mostly likely referring to the mathematician Detlev Clüver (1645–1708) whose inscription 'Dethlevi Cluveri Romae 1674' is found on the same page (fig. 8b). This raises the possibility that Clüver was one of the two anonymous mathematicians whose libraries were being auctioned off by Bullord.[82] It may be noteworthy that the book does not appear on Hooke's surviving list of *desiderata* from this particular Bullord auction.[83]
- Two books that Hooke purchased 'ex Auct. Husseana' and 'Aucti Hussey' on 8 and 10 October 1691 have survived. Although the *Catalogue of Divinity, History, Physick, Mathematical Books, &c. . . . will be sold by auction . . . seventh of Oct. 1691 . . .* was published anonymously and does not mention Christopher Hussey's name, both of Hooke's purchases are listed: Bonaventura Cavalieri's *Directorium generale uranometricum* (Bologna, 1632) is lot 63 on column 9 (*recte* 6) in 'Libri Mathematici in Quarto', and Philipp Jakob Sachs von Lewenhaimb's *Gammarologia, sive Gammarorum, vulgo cancrorum consideratio physico-philologico-historico-medico-chymica* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1665) is lot 299 on column 23 in 'Libri Miscellanei in Octavo & 12o'.[84]
- Another auction Hooke attended in October 1691 and from which he acquired James Gregory's *Optica promota* (London, 1663) was by Bullord. The latter's *A Catalogue of Excellent Greek, Latine and English Books, . . . which will be sold by auction . . . on . . . the 13th of Octob. 1691* lists a 'Gregorii optica' on page 9 as lot 83 in 'Libri Theologici, Historici, Miscellanei, &c. in Quarto' section.[85]
- Hooke purchased at least two books from the auction of the *Bibliotheca Selectissima librorum omnigenorum . . . quorum auctio habebitur . . . nono die Novembris, 1691* which appears to have taken place under Richard Lapthorne's care in November and December 1691.[86] One was Nicolo Antonio Stelliola's *Il Telescopio over Ispecillo celeste* (Naples, 1627), the other David Browne's *Art of Fair Writing* (St. Andrews, 1622).[87]

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[82] Haex's book is *BH*, lot 313 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 15; see auct_BH_656. Bullord's catalogue (ESTC citation no. R230265) is available online via EEBO. On Clüver, see Enrico Pasini, 'Korrespondenten von G. W. Leibniz: 12. Detlev Clüver geb. um 1645 in Schleswig -gest. den 21. Februar 1708 in Hamburg', *Studia Leibnitiana* 26 (1994), pp. 108-24. For his correspondence with the mathematician John Wallis (1616–1703), see the *Early Modern Letters Online* database.

[83] This list is inserted into another auction catalogue owned by Hooke, and is now at the British Library; see below and Appendix C. It should also be noted that no other viable auction or catalogue matching the time period appears in Harold Mattingly, I. A. K. Burnett, and Alfred W. Pollard, *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales, 1676-1900, Now in the British Museum* (London: Printed by Order of the Trustees [of the British Museum], 1915), pp. 10-11. Due to the period it covers Hooke's own manuscript list of auctions (MS Sloane 1039, fols. 177r-178r, reprinted in Gunter, ed., *Early Science in Oxford*, vol. 10, pp. 66-7) is not helpful in this case.

[84] Hussey's catalogue (ESTC citation no. R229863) is available online via EEBO. Cavalieri's book is *BH*, lot 408 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 17, and Sachs von Lewenhaimb's book is *BH*, lot 267 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 27; see auct_BH_756 and auct_BH_1251.

[85] Gregory's book is *BH*, lot 505 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 19; see auct_BH_864. Bullord's catalogue (ESTC citation no. R230316) is available online via EEBO.

[86] The auction catalogue (ESTC citation no. R230317), which was published anonymously, is available online via EEBO, however only the title-page and page 30 appear to have survived in this scanned version. On Lapthorne's connection to this auction, see Treadwell, 'Richard Lapthorne', pp. 210-211, 220n28; and the

- The catalogue of Millington's auction, *Bibliotheca Luculenta, sive catalogus librorum . . . horum auctio fiet . . . xxxi diei Januarii 1693/4*, lists a copy of John David Rhys's *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve linguae institutiones et rudimenta . . .* (London, 1592) as lot 164 in 'Libri Miscellanei, in Folio' on page 15, confirming Hooke's note that he bought his copy at the Millington auction on 3 February 1694.[88]
- Hooke purchased Clement of Alexandria's *Opera Graece et Latine quae extant . . .* (Cologne, 1687) from another Millington auction held just a few of weeks later, that of the library of Thomas Grey. The book is listed in the auction catalogue, *Bibliotheca Greyana, sive catalogus librorum . . . quorum auctio habebitur . . . 8. Febr. 1693/4*, as lot 17 in 'Libri Theologici in Folio' on page B1r.[89]
- Hooke's copy of Daniello Bartoli's *Del Ghiaccio e della Coagulatione* (Rome, 1681), the provenance of which has been recently identified, was bought at 'Littlebury's Auct[ion]' on 26 May 1696. It is listed in Bullord's catalogue *Bibliopolii Littleburiani pars secunda . . . quorum auctio fiet . . . 11. Maii, anno 1696* as lot 317 in 'Libri Medici, Physici, & Mathematici. Quarto' on page 17.[90]
- In April 1697 Hooke purchased a copy of Battista Fregoso's *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium lib. IX* (Antwerp, 1565) at Bullord's auction of the library of Robert Grove, late Bishop of Chichester. The auction catalogue, *The Library of the Right Reverend Father in God, Robert, late Lord Bishop of Chichester . . . will be sold by auction . . . on . . . the 27th [of April 1697] . . .* lists this book as lot 375 in 'Libri Miscellanei, Octavo' on p. 24.[91]

ii. Lists of *desiderata*

Surviving manuscripts illustrate how Hooke prepared lists of *desiderata* from the catalogues prior to attending the auctions. Inserted into the British Library copy of Pieter van der Aa's *Catalogus librorum, historici, litteratores, antiquarii, numismatici, aliique miscellanei . . .* (Leiden, 1692) are three manuscript leaves in Hooke's hand.[92] They contain a list of more than ninety lots matching Bullord's *A Catalogue of Books of Two Eminent Mathematicians . . . which will be exposed to sale by way of auction . . . 21st of . . . May, 1691*, from which Hooke probably purchased the aforementioned copy of Haex's *Dictionarium Malaico-Latinum* (figs. 8 and 8a).[93] In addition to books on natural philosophy

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Lapthorne correspondence between October and December 1691 in 'Book Trade References in the Lapthorne-Coffin Correspondence 1683-1697'.

[87] Stelliola's book is *BH*, lot 509 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 19 and Browne is lot 336 in 'English Books in Octavo' on p. 51; see auct_BH_868 and auct_BH_2441.

[88] Rhys's book is *BH*, lot 167 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 5; see auct_BH_182. Millington's catalogue (ESTC citation no. R39610) is available online via EEBO.

[89] Clement of Alexandria's book is *BH*, lot 1 in ' Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 1; see auct_BH_1. Millington's catalogue (ESTC citation no. R177695) is available online via EEBO.

[90] Bartoli's book is *BH*, lot 133 in Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 10; see auct_BH_465. We are grateful to Liam Sims at the Rare Books Department, University of Cambridge, for his help in identifying the book and for the reference to Bullord's auction catalogue; the latter (ESTC citation no. R229633) is available online via EEBO.

[91] Fregoso's book is *BH*, lot 116 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 24; see auct_BH_1097. Bullord's auction catalogue (ESTC citation no. R213427) is available online via EEBO.

[92] Pieter van der Aa's catalogue (extra_BH_2) bears the British Library shelfmark S.C.117.(1.); it is not listed in the *BH* but has been attributed to Hooke through his acquisition note on A2r as well as the handwriting of the inserted manuscript folios; see Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', pp. 130-31. Hooke's inscription indicates that the catalogue was given to him by 'M^{r} Sam: Smith gratis', i.e. Samuel Smith (*bap*. 1658, *d*. 1707), the publisher of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*.

[93] See note 82.

and mathematics, the list comprises maps, travel books, and works of literature, including an illustrated English edition of *Don Quixote*. What this list of *desiderata* does not include is Haex's dictionary, signalling perhaps an impromptu purchase decision on the day of the auction.

Earlier lists dating to 1687 and 1688 have also survived in the archives. We find nine items from Millington's auction catalogue *Bibliotheca selectissima diversorum librorum . . . quorum auctio habebitur . . . 18 die April, 1687* scribbled on the verso of a lecture Hooke read on 20 July 1687 (now Royal Society MS Cl.P/20/76; figs. 9 and 9a); and British Library, MS Sloane 1039, fols. 143v-150v, contains longer lists from five separate catalogues, all of which have been identified. (Further details on these lists of *desiderata* and the corresponding auction catalogues may be found in Appendix C.) We have not been able to identify an auction catalogue corresponding to the list of mostly French books on fol. 151r; however we may confidently date the list to sometime after 1694, since while most of the books are from the 1680s and 1690s, the penultimate item is a copy of the 'Journal des Scavans in 12^{o} for y^{e} year. 1694'. Lacking lot numbers, it may have been intended as a shopping list of items to search for; in 1680, Hooke had sent such a list to Edmond Halley (1656–1742) during the latter's trip to the continent (figs. 10 and 10a).[94]

iii. Gifts received

Hooke's acquisition notes indicate that some of the books in his library entered as gifts from friends or as presentation copies from authors.

In October 1673, Hooke received a copy of Thomas Willis's *De Anima Brutorum* (Oxford, 1672) from the archbishop of Canterbury John Tillotson (1630–1694) as a memento of John Wilkins (1614–1672) who had died the year before.[95] Wilkins, a founding member of the Royal Society, had been a benefactor of Hooke's since the two had met at Oxford in the 1650s, and the book itself had been presented by the author to Wilkins in April 1672. Two other gifts that have survived are the linguist Justus Georgius Schottelius's *Teutsche Sprachkunst* (Braunschweig, 1641) presented by Theodore Haak (1605–1690) in March 1684, and the Venetian mathematician Francesco Barozzi's *Cosmographia in 4 libris* (Venice, 1585) presented 'by Mr. Man' in December 1698.[96] Pieter van der Aa's catalogue mentioned earlier may also be added to this list, as it was given to Hooke free of charge by Smith.[97]

iv. Authors' presentation copies

Authors' presentation copies received from continental *virtuosi* include François Payen's *Selenelion ou apparition lunisolaire en l'Isle de Gorgone* (Paris, 1666) with a full letter bound with the volume, and Johannes Hevelius's *Machina coelestis* (Danzig, 1673-79), volume 2 of which was inscribed to Hooke by the author.[98] The latter book, as is well known,

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[94] See note 111 below.

[95] Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', p. 140; Lisa Jardine, *The Curious Life of Robert Hooke: The Man who Measured London* (London: Harper Perennial, 2003), pp. 73-5, where the title-page with Hooke's inscription is reproduced on p. 74; Julianne Simpson, 'From London to Toronto: a Case-Study of the Dispersal of Sloane's Library', in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and his Collections*, ed. Alison Walker, Arthur Macgregor, and Michael Hunter (London: The British Library, 2012), p. 222, see also pp. 221-4 on how Hooke's copy may have ended up in the collection of the Wellcome Library. Willis's book is listed in the *BH* as lot 196 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 12; see auct_BH_535.

[96] Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', p. 122 and 125. While Barozzi's book does appear in the *BH* as lot 453 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 31 (auct_BH_1443), Schottelius's book (extra_BH_24) does not.

[97] See note 92.

[98] Payen's letter has been reproduced and translated in Poole, 'Antoine-François Payen', pp. 256-7. While Payen's book (extra_BH_20) does not appear in the *BH*, Mandelbrote suggests it may have been included among the 'aliis Tractatib.' in lot 438 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 17; see Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's

elicited a strong response from Hooke, culminating in his *Animadversions on the First Part of the Machina Coelestis* (London, 1674).[99] Vincenzo Viviani, Galileo's 'last disciple' and after 1696 a member of the Royal Society, presented a copy of his *Enodatio problematum universis geometris propositorum* (Florence, 1677) to Hooke with an undated inscription.[100] Considering the publication date, this book might indeed be the Viviani Hooke lent to the mathematician John Collins (1626–1683) on 18 July 1678, and again on 27 December 1679, a few weeks after delivering it to Sir Joseph Williamson (1633–1701), the president of the Royal Society, with whom Hooke had had previous conversations on mathematics.[101]

Four other surviving presentation copies are from other fellows of the Royal Society. George Ent (1604–1689), also a member of the Royal College of Physicians, and whom Hooke had described as 'eminently Ingenious and Learned' in the *Micrographia*, presented a copy of the second edition of his *Apologia pro circulatione sanguinis* (London, 1685) in August 1686 (figs. 11 and 11a); and Alexander Pitfeild, frequently mentioned in Hooke's diaries as 'Pif', presented his translation of Claude Perrault's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux* as *Memoir's for a Natural History of Animals* (London, 1688) in January 1688.[102] Not listed in the *BH* are two other surviving presentation copies: John Beaumont's geomorphological work *The Present State of the Universe* (London, 1694) inscribed on 4 July 1694, and John Flamsteed's *The D[octrine] of the Sphere* (London, 1680), the latter addressed to Hooke as the professor of geometry at Gresham College.[103]

To these we can add two more presentation copies − this time from Hooke himself. Bearing the inscription on the imprimatur page 'This is for my highly Esteem'd freind Mr. Godfry/ From his very humble servant Rob: Hooke', and possibly William Brouncker's signature on the verso of the title-page, is one of the two surviving presentation copies of the 1665 edition of the *Micrographia* (figs. 12 and 12a). Previously owned by E. N. da C. Andrade and Haskell F. Norman, the book was sold to an anonymous buyer at the 1998 Christie's auction of the Haskell F. Norman Library of Science and Medicine.[104] The other

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Purchases', p. 120, and auct_BH_788. Hevelius's book is *BH*, lot 202 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 5; see auct_BH_220.

[99] Sources on the Hooke-Hevelius controversy include Janet Vertesi, 'Instrumental Images: the Visual Rhetoric of Self-presentation in Hevelius's Machina Coelestis', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 43 (2010), pp. 209-43; and Voula Saridakis, 'Converging Elements in the Development of Late Seventeenth-Century Disciplinary Astronomy: Instrumentation, Education, Networks, and the Hevelius-Hooke Controversy' (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2001).

[100] Hooke may have owned two copies of this book; it is listed twice in the *BH* as lot 597 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 21, and as lot 21 in 'Libri in Albiis, in Quarto' on p. 54; see auct_BH_956 and auct_BH_2578. Sources on Viviani include Luciano Boschiero, 'Robert Southwell and Vincenzio Viviani: Their Friendship and an Attempt at Italian–English Scientific Collaboration', *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (2009); and Luciano Boschiero, 'Post-Galilean Thought and Experiment in Seventeenth-Century Italy: the Life and Work of Vincenzio Viviani', *History of Science* xliii (2005).

[101] Robinson and Adams, eds., *Diary*, pp. 331, 367, 375, 433, 434. It is also plausible that the book in question was the more popular *De maximis & minimis* (Florence, 1659), Viviani's conjectures on Apollonius's conics, a copy of which is listed in the *BH* as lot 232 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 6 (auct_BH_251). Hooke noted seeing a copy 'at Scots' on 17 October 1673 and may have purchased one from the bookseller Kettleby on 14 January 1675; see ibid., 65, 142. While Viviani had donated a copy to the Bodleian Library, *De maximis & minimis* had been in circulation in England since 1661 when the bookseller James Allestry purchased forty copies; see Boschiero, 'Robert Southwell and Vincenzio Viviani', p. 97.

[102] Robert Hooke, *Micrographia* (London: Jo. Martyn and Ja. Allestry, 1665), p. 105. Ent's book is *BH*, lot 208 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 26, and Pitfield's translation is *BH*, lot 86 in 'English Books in Folio' on p. 40; see auct_BH_1869 and auct_BH_1191.

[103] See extra_BH_3 and extra_BH_9.

[104] The inscription has also been reproduced in *The Haskell Norman Library of Science and Medicine, Part II: Monday 15 and Tuesday 16 June 1998*, (New York: Christie's, 1998), pp. 220, 223; see also Diana H. Hook

copy, now at Emory University, was inscribed by Hooke as 'Ex dono authoris' and presented to Sir William Jones (bap.1630–1682), the lawyer and politician who commissioned Hooke to build a country house in Wiltshire in the 1680s.[105]

2. Manuscript inserts

Some of the surviving books contain manuscript folios, sometimes bound with the book, other times loosely inserted. There are three main types: folios replicating missing sections, quotations inserted from other books, and notes on loose sheets.

i. Manuscript pages completing imperfect copies of books

Manuscript folios found inserted in some of the extant books point to what appears to have been an endemic problem at the time: that of imperfect copies in circulation. One such book in Hooke's library was Joannes Ciermans's *Disciplinae mathematicae* (Louvain, 1640), the imperfection of which Hooke himself acknowledged with an inscription on the back leaf 'I conceive this booke wants y^{e} title Leaf of y^{e} Hebdomas prima of January'. Inserted between pages 126 and 127, we find a manuscript copy of the missing title-page in Hooke's hand, with parts of the corresponding illustration faintly sketched out.[106] Even more pages were missing in his copy of Johannes Kepler's *De cometis libelli tres* (Augsburg, 1619), for which Hooke had to provide 4 manuscript folios copying the missing pages 49-56 (figs. 13 and 14).[107] And while his copy of Kepler's *Harmonices mundi* (Linz, 1619) has not yet been found and therefore its state of completeness remains unknown, the manuscript drawings of the illustrations in Book 2 now among Hooke's papers in the Archives of the Royal Society, might have been replacements for similarly missing pages (figs. 15 and 16).[108] His copy of *Communes et familiares Hebraicae linguae idiotismi* (Antwerp, 1572), volume seven of Benedictus Arias Montanus's polyglot bible *Biblia sacra*, contains inserts of manuscript folios providing missing title-pages, indices and other text; as these do not appear to be from Hooke's hand, he may already purchased the volume in that state.[109]

Corroborating evidence of the troubles caused by such flaws in the books in circulation may be found in the correspondence between Richard Lapthorne and Richard Coffin (1622–1699).[110] The former acted as an agent in London purchasing books from

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and Jeremy M. Norman, *The Haskell F. Norman Library of Science & Medicine*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Jeremy Norman & Co., Inc., 1991), pp. xxxv, 397-8; see extra_BH_31.

[105] On Sir William Jones, see Paul D. Halliday, 'Jones, Sir William (bap. 1630, d. 1682)', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008); as Hooke's client, see Howard Montagu Colvin, 'Robert Hooke and Ramsbury Manor', in *Essays in English Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 191-4; and H. J. Louw, 'New Light on Ramsbury Manor', *Architectural History* 30 (1987), pp. 45-9. See extra_BH_32.

[106] Ciermans's book is *BH*, lot 244 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 6; see auct_BH_264. On his *Disciplinae mathematicae*, see Patricia Radelet-de Grave, 'Guarini et la structure de l'Univers', *Nexus Network Journal* 11 (2009), pp. 394-404.

[107] Kepler's *De cometis libelli tres* is *BH*, lot 489 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 19; see auct_BH_847. We would like to thank Susan Halpert at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for her help in identifying the book and for providing us with copies of the manuscript pages.

[108] Kepler's *Harmonices mundi* is *BH*, lot 215 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 6; see auct_BH_234. For the manuscript drawings, see Royal Society MS Cl.P/24/89.

[109] *Biblia sacra* is *BH*, lot 6 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 1; see auct_BH_6.

[110] For previous references to Lapthorne, see notes 78 and 86. Most of the surviving letters from the Lapthorne-Coffin correspondence have been published in Russell J. Kerr and Ida Coffin Duncan, eds., *The Portledge Papers: being Extracts from the Letters of Richard Lapthorne, Gent., of Hatton Garden London, to Richard Coffin Esq. of Portledge, Bideford, Devon* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928). While the editors have indicated that they excluded only one or two of the earlier letters 'on account of their lack of interest', Michael Treadwell identified at least eleven that were omitted from the volume; see the introduction to ibid., 11; and Treadwell,

auctions or book dealers for the latter who was assembling his library at Portledge Manor near Bideford, Devon.[111] In a letter dated 25 August 1688, having purchased a copy of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* for Coffin, Lapthorne remarked of the book 'I think its perfect which is very rare'.[112] It was possibly the incunabulum printed by William Caxton (1415x24–1492) in Westminster in 1482, already rare in the 17th century, or one of the later editions from 1495 or 1527, and Lapthorne had purchased it at the bargain price of 8*s* from a seller seemingly ignorant of the value of the book.[113] However, the copy was discovered to be less than perfect, and on 2 November 1689, Lapthorne offered to have the missing sections transcribed from the copy that was on auction at the Maitland sale at the time.[114] Further complications ensued; two weeks later, Lapthorne reported that the copy on offer was not only of another edition with smaller leaf sizes but was also itself imperfect and filled with manuscript pages, admitting 'indeed its very rare to meet wth one perfect'. Moreover, the auction house had asked for the unreasonable price of 20*s* for providing the transcripts; Lapthorne hoped instead to borrow a copy from an acquaintance and have it transcribed at a cheaper rate. By 20 December, he was suggesting buying another imperfect copy to replace the missing pages.[115]

Although it does not include any manuscript inserts, one last book to consider in the 'imperfect' category is a copy of Johann Bayer's *Uranometria* which has been identified as possibly of Hooke provenance based on the handwriting of the annotations on the maps.[116] Now at the British Library, though missing its title-page and printed without the explanatory tables, it has been dated to 1603; and indeed the *BH* lists a 1603 edition of the book although the title-page is not noted as missing.[117] *Uranometria* was an atlas of fifty-one engraved star

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'Richard Lapthorne', p. 218n5. Extracts relating to the book trade from the correspondence have been re-transcribed from the original manuscripts and are available online; see 'Book Trade References in the Lapthorne-Coffin Correspondence 1683-1697'.

[111] Secondary sources on Lapthorne's book purchasing activities include Treadwell, 'Richard Lapthorne'; and D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 164-7, 346-7. Buying books for friends or patrons appears to have been fairly common during the period. In a letter dated 1 March 1680/1, Hooke sent a list of books to Edmond Halley, asking him to procure them from the continent on his behalf; see Royal Society MS EL/H3/62 (figs. 10 and 10a). And Hooke himself purchased books for James Long who lived in Draycot Cerne, Wiltshire; in a letter dated 21 July 1688, Hooke complained of having 'been delayed and disappointed by the People at the Auction house from week to week that I almost dispaired of procuring these ^Mercurys, I had bought for you . . . A new history of China [by Gabriel de Magalhaes, the English translation of which was published in 1688]. . . .'; see the Waller Manuscript Collection, Waller Ms gb-00944, fol. 1r.

[112] Letter quoted in Treadwell, 'Richard Lapthorne', pp. 212-213; see also Woolf, *Reading History*, pp. 166-7. Relevant extracts of the letters mentioned in this paragraph may also be consulted online; see 'Book Trade References in the Lapthorne-Coffin Correspondence 1683-1697'.

[113] On the *Polychronicon* and its early print editions, see Woolf, *Reading History*, pp. 13-16.

[114] Treadwell, 'Richard Lapthorne', p. 213. Although there is no record of such a translation in the ESTC, the catalogue of the Maitland sale lists an undated English folio edition of 'Polychronicon. By *Ranulph Monke* of *Chester*, Translated by *Grafton*' as lot 3 on p. 91; see Benjamin Walford, *Catalogus librorum instructissimae bibliothecae . . . quorum auctio habebitur . . . vicesimo octavo die octobris, 1689* (ESTC citation no. R179357), available online via EEBO.

[115] Ibid. With the correspondence missing between 20 December 1689 and 8 March 1690, it is not known how the problem was eventually resolved. The 1801 auction catalogue of the Portledge Library lists a '*Polychronicon of Ranulph, Monk of Chester, englished by Treveisa, and continued by Caxton to 1460, a perfect copy, with wood cuts*, 2l 2s *Southwerke Treveris* 1527', however it is not clear whether this was the same eventually-perfected copy or another one purchased at a later date; see 'The Portledge Sale Catalogue of 1801' in 'Book Trade References in the Lapthorne-Coffin Correspondence 1683-1697'.

[116] Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', p. 129. Most of the annotations identify the names of the depicted stars.

[117] Bayer's book is *BH*, lot 222 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 6; see auct_BH_241.

maps including the forty-eight constellations from Ptolemy's *Almagest*, a map of the twelve newly discovered ones in the southern skies, and two planispheres.[118] Using trapezoidal projection, Bayer incorporated Tycho Brahe's catalogue of 1,005 stars for the northern skies and the observations of the Dutch navigators Pieter Dircksz Keyser and Frederik de Houtman for the southern hemisphere, while inventing his famed stellar nomenclature of using Greek and Roman alphabets.[119] Hooke made frequent use of these maps; he referred to locating a star he had spotted during his observations of the 1675 eclipse of the moon on Bayer's map of the constellation of Cancer.[120] Five years later, he was tracking a comet whose tail had 'ended between the two Starrs in Perseus marked in Bayer w^{th} γ & η' as he would note on 29 December 1680.[121] And we may remember Waller's note about Hooke's drawings of the comet being discovered in his copy of *Uranometria*.[122]

In the 1603 first edition of the book, useful tables describing the stars depicted on the maps were printed on the verso, making them at best awkward to use, perhaps one of the reasons why in subsequent editions the tables were printed separately.[123] When the fact that this British Library copy without the title-page is also missing the tables is considered along with Waller's note that Hooke's copy was purchased by John Woodward (i.e. not by Hans Sloane), several possibilities arise. Assuming that the British Library copy is indeed of Hooke provenance, it is possible that rather than the 1603 edition listed in the *BH*, it is an imperfect copy from one of the later editions printed without the tables. Hooke may have later replaced it with a proper first edition intact with its title-page, while his older copy somehow ended up in Sloane's collection via another route. Or indeed it may have been an imperfect copy of the 1603 edition itself, missing both its title-page and the tables, and entered the British Library via Woodward. In either case, the fact that Hooke also owned the 1654 quarto edition from

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[118] For an historiographical overview of Renaissance and early 17th-century star charts, see the extensive notes in Anna Friedman Herlihy, 'Renaissance Star Charts', in *The History of Cartography*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 99-122. Sources on Bayer and *Uranometria* include Deborah J. Warner, *The Sky Explored: Celestial Cartography, 1500-1800* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, B.V., 1979), pp. 18-20; Herlihy, 'Renaissance Star Charts', pp. 115-8; Nick Kanas, *Star Maps: History, Artistry, and Cartography* (New York: Springer, 2009), pp. 153-6; Edward Rosen, 'Bayer, Johnann', in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), pp. 530-1; and Rochelle Susan Rosenfeld, 'Celestial Maps and Globes and Star Catalogues of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' (unpub. PhD diss., New York University, 1980), pp. 189-99.

[119] While Tycho Brahe's expanded list would be published in tabular form only later in Kepler's *Tabulae Rudolphinae* (1627), it had been in circulation in manuscript since 1598; see Warner, *Sky Explored*, p. 18. Bayer's nomenclature identified the stars in each constellation by letters according to their level of brightness, Greek alpha being the brightest; once the Greek alphabet was exhausted, it continued with Roman letters.

[120] 'I might a week after, when the *Moon* was gone farther off, inquire what that *Star* was . . . which I found to be that in *Bayer*, touching the Ecliptick, in about 21º. 40'. of *Cancer*', in Robert Hooke, *A Description of Helioscopes and Some Other Instruments* (London: Printed by T. R. for John Martyn Printer to the Royal Society, 1676), p. 25.

[121] The quote is from Royal Society MS Cl.P/24/88, fol. 283r however references to Bayer and drawings using his nomenclature span the entire Cl.P/24/88. These notes, without the accompanying sketches, were reproduced in Robert Hooke, 'A Discourse of Comets', in *The Posthumous Works*, ed. Richard Waller (London: Printed by Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1705). For Hooke's use of Bayer's maps, see also Matthew C. Hunter, *Wicked Intelligence: Visual Art and the Science of Experiment in Restoration London* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 59-61.

[122] See note 54.

[123] Warner lists the subsequent editions: the plates were reissued without the text in Augsburg in 1624 and in Ulm in 1639, 1641, 1648, 1655, 1661, 1666, and 1689, while the tables were printed without the maps in Strasbourg in 1624, Augsburg in 1654, and Ulm in 1640, 1697, 1723; see Warner, *Sky Explored*, p. 19. It should be noted that another copy of the atlas at the British Library is also missing its tables, although it does have the 1603 title-page. It too may have been an imperfect volume completed with a title-page from another copy, or the possibility exists that some of the 1603 editions were indeed printed without these tables.

Augsburg including only the tables could be taken to confirm these two possibilities.[124] Nonetheless it is still not impossible that the British Library copy from Sloane's collection was never owned by Hooke and that the latter had purchased the 1654 quarto edition simply to make the 1603 folio maps easier to use.

ii. Inserts from other books

At times Hooke inserted quotations from other books. A small leaf of manuscript text attached to Dasypodius's Latin translation *Heron mechanicus: seu de mechanicis artibus* (Strasbourg, 1580) is almost certainly in Hooke's hand. It is a quotation from *De republica, vita, moribus, gestis, fama, religione, sanctitate . . . Quinti, Caroli* (Ghent, 1559) by Charles V's librarian Willem Snouckaert van Schauburg (Gulielmo Zenocaro), containing the first five paragraphs of the section 'Horologium Caroli Maximi' ('Eivs' to 'possit', on page 203).[125] It describes the celebrated astronomical clock built by the court horologist and engineer, Juanelo Turriano (*c.* 1500–1585).[126] Charles V's interest in mechanical devices, especially clocks, was well known and this particular one integrating the motions of the sun and the moon, and planetary trajectories must have been especially of interest to Hooke.[127]

In Hooke's *Posthumous Works*, we find his transcription of a section on John Dee from Elias Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652). It is included alongside Hooke's lecture 'of Dr. Dee's Book of Spirits' which, according to Waller's editorial notes, was discovered in Meric Casaubon's *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years between Dr. John Dee . . . and Some Spirits* (London, 1659) by the 'gentleman' who had purchased this book from Hooke's auction.[128]

As neither Snouckaert van Schauburg's nor Ashmole's books are listed in the *BH*, it is possible Hooke borrowed these from his acquaintances to make these copies.

iii. Notes on loose sheets, inserted/bound into the books or in archival collections

From the annotations in the extant books and the manuscript papers that have survived in the archives, Hooke's preference for taking notes on loose sheets come to the fore.

The leaves attached to Hooke's copy of Robert Boyle's *Experiments, Notes, &c. about the Mechanical Origine or Production of Divers Particular Qualities* (Oxford, 1675) contain simple notes resembling an index or list of contents (figs. 17, 18 and 19); through

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[124] The 1654 edition is *BH*, lot 479 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 18; see auct_BH_836. It is also possible that Sloane acquired this copy from Woodward.

[125] Dasypodius's book is *BH*, lot 526 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 19, see auct_BH_885; Snouckaert van Schauburg's book is not listed in the *BH*. For identification of Snouckaert as Charles V's librarian, see Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: the Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 59.

[126] Sources on Juanelo Turriano include Silvio A. Bedini and Francis R. Maddison, 'Mechanical Universe: The Astrarium of Giovanni de' Dondi', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series* 56 (1966), pp. 39-40, 56-8; Ladislao Reti, 'The Codex of Juanelo Turriano (1500-1585)', *Technology and Culture* 8 (1967), pp. 53-66; José A. García-Diego, *Juanelo Turriano Charles V's Clockmaker: the Man and His Legend*, trans. Charles David Ley (Sussex: Antiquarian Horological Society, 1986).

[127] Sources on Charles V's patronage of the arts include William Lawrence Eisler, 'The Impact of the Emperor Charles V upon the Visual Arts' (unpub. PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1983); and Glenn Richardson, 'Patrons: Royal Artistic Patronage', in *Renaissance Monarchy: the Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (Arnold, 2002), pp. 172-94.

[128] Casaubon's book is *BH*, lot 130 in 'English Books in Folio' on p. 41; see auct_BH_1914. In his opening sentence, Hooke describes Casaubon's book as having been published more than 30 years ago, which dates the lecture to sometime after 1689; see Hooke, 'Of Dr. Dee's Book of Spirits', p. 203. Note that the 1692 date given for *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* by Waller is an error as the book was published in 1652.

them, for instance, we know to look for 'Sal Armoniack dissolved in clere water . . .' on page 4 of the section on the 'Mechanical Origine of Heat and Cold'.[129]

Several folios of manuscript notes in Hooke's hand are bound with the British Library copy of Nicolaas Witsen's substantial tome on naval architecture, *Aeloude en hedendaegsche Scheeps-Bouw en Bestier* (Amsterdam, 1671).[130] While the volume, which has been rebound, does not bear an acquisition note, Hooke noted purchasing his copy from Francis Lodwick on 12 July 1676.[131] Unfortunately the notes are difficult to read as most of them have faded but from the more legible sections we may surmise that they contain references to ancient modes of shipbuilding, including Noah's Ark, and comparisons between contemporary English and Dutch ships. Furthermore, expressions such as 'the text saith' indicate that at least some of the notes are from a book, indeed perhaps from Witsen's. And lest we are tempted to think Hooke may have borrowed a copy to write the 1671 anonymous review of the book printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, it is worthwhile to note that he only 'Began to learn Dutch with Mr. Blackburne' in December 1672 and that the review does not bear any obvious relationship to the manuscript notes.[132]

A copy of Pierre de Fermat's *Varia opera mathematica* (Toulouse, 1679) Hooke purchased in 1681 contains loosely inserted manuscript calculations in his hand (figs. 20 and 20a).[133] While there is suggestion there may have been more folios, the four surviving ones show Hooke carefully studying Fermat's method of *minima* and *maxima*, and his theory of refraction.[134] In a 1690 Royal Society lecture on Huygens's *Traité de la lumière* (Lyon, 1690), Hooke mentioned showing a demonstration of Fermat's theory of refraction in another lecture some years before, and it is possible he was referring to one of these folios where we find such a geometric illustration, carefully drawn and laid out (figs. 21 and 21a).[135]

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[129] Boyle's book is *BH*, lot 220 in 'English Books in Octavo' on p. 49; see auct_BH_2324. Hooke's copy, now at the Dibner Library of the Smithsonian Institution, has been digitized and made available via the Biodiversity Heritage Library.

[130] Witsen's book is *BH*, lot 295 in ' Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 7; see auct_BH_316. On Witsen's use of Isaac Vossius's library when writing this book, see Marion Peters, 'From the Study of Nicholaes Witsen (1641-1717). His Life with Books and Manuscripts', *LIAS* 21 (1994), pp. 1-47, esp. 46. On his interactions with Hans Sloane, see Eric Jorink, 'Sloane and the Dutch Connection', in *From Books to Bezoars*, pp. 57-70.

[131] Robinson and Adams, eds., *Diary*, p. 242. On book-related transactions between Lodwick and Hooke, see Poole, 'Francis Lodwick, Hans Sloane, and the Bodleian Library', p. 378n5.

[132] See 'An Account of Books: 1. Sheeps-Bouw en Bestier, that is, Naval Architecture and Conduct; by N. Witsen', *Philosophical Transactions* 6 (1671), pp. 3006-12; and Robinson and Adams, eds., *Diary*, p. 16, 17. Hooke was most likely referring to Richard Blackburne (1651/2–1716), and it is possible the latter was teaching him 'High Dutch' or German instead. See also note 28 above.

[133] Fermat's book is *BH*, lot 256 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 6; see auct_BH_277. We are grateful to Anna Jones of the Whipple Library, University of Cambridge, for her help in locating these manuscript inserts and for providing us with copies.

[134] The book is described as 'Robert Hooke's copy inscribed, with 7 pp. of MS. calculations in his hand' in *Book Auction Records* 25.2 (1927-1928), p. 70, however only five pages of calculations on four folios have been found inserted in the book. It is possible that one or two folios went missing sometime between the book's auction by Hodgon & Co on 25 November 1927 and Robert Whipple's purchase of it from the bookseller Thomas H. Court later in the same year. The particular sections where these surviving folios are inserted are *Proportionis geometricae in quadrandis infinitis parabolis & hyperbolis usus*; subsections of *Methodus ad disquirendam maximam et minimam*, namely *De tangentibus linearum curvarum* and *Centrum gravitatis, parabolici conoidis, ex eadem methodo*; and 'Demonstration dont il est parlé dans la lettre precedente' following 'Lettre de Monsieur de Fermat à Monsieur de ****' where Fermat summarizes his theory of refraction; see *Varia Opera Mathematica* (Toulouse: Apud Joannem Pech, 1679), pp. 44-5, 63-6, 156-60. Sources on Fermat's mathematical work include Michael Sean Mahoney, *The Mathematical Career of Pierre de Fermat, 1601–1665* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[135] When contrasted with Hooke's other similar notes, e.g. figs. 20a, 23, or 24, the care with which he has drawn this illustration stands out. Hooke's lecture, dated 19 February 1690, is now 0.11a.1[14A-B] among the Robert Hooke Papers at Trinity College, Cambridge. Hooke mentions his demonstration of Fermat's theory of

In another book on mathematics, John Pell's *Tabula numerorum quadratorum decies millium* . . . (1672), we find two manuscript sheets inserted between pages 30 and 31 containing Hooke's helpful examples on how 'In this Table to find the . . . Square of any whole number less than Ten Thousand' or 'To find the side of any square number less than 100 Million' (fol. 1r).[136]

It is not clear whether they were separated from their sources accidentally but Hooke's notes from several books now reside among his papers in different archives. To give but a few examples, British Library, MS Sloane 1039, fols. 118r-119r contain his notes on John Wallis's edition of *Claudii Ptolemaei Harmonicorum libri tres* (Oxford, 1682), and on fols. 135r-v we find his notes on Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio overo canale di Constantinopoli* (Rome, 1681), which he had borrowed from William Croone (1633–1684), the professor of rhetoric at Gresham College, presumably before he proceeded to purchase his own copy.[137] Further examples may be found among the Robert Hooke Papers at Trinity College, Cambridge, where 0.11a.1[10] contains his notes from Linschoten's *Itinerarium, ofte Voyage ende Schip. Vaert* (Amsterdam, 1644), and at the Archives of the Royal Society, where Cl.P/20/87 (figs. 22, 23, and 24) has his detailed notes on Guillaume de l'Hôpital's *L'Analyse des infiniment petits, pour l'intelligence des lignes courbes* (Paris, 1696), and Cl.P/20/88 his notes on Edward Bernard's *De mensuris et ponderibus antiquis libri tres* (Oxford, 1688).[138]

3. Notes on blank folios and book margins

Some of the annotations found in the surviving books appear to be notes and sketches of ideas unrelated to the books themselves but quickly jotted down perhaps because an empty page conveniently presented itself. At the end of Hooke's copy of Accolti's *Lo Inganno de gl' occhi, prospettiva pratica* (Firenze, 1625) is a leaf of notes, calculations, and sketches, including an illustration for 'A way to print one-single coppy as fast as write it to send[?] &c.'[139] Resembling a small version of the rotary press, the device is also reminiscent of the cipher cylinder that would be invented by Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) more than a century later. It is perhaps the same 'contrivance' or 'method' for printing books Hooke explained to Pitt and Sir John Hoskins (1634–1705) on 13 and 14 March 1679, almost three months after he had purchased Accolti's book at Pitt's auction.[140] Other ideas Hooke

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refraction on the verso of 0.11a.1[14A] (p. 2). Huygens's book is lot 567 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 20; see auct_BH_926. On Hooke's influence on Huygens's theory of light, see Michael Barth, 'Huygens at Work: Annotations in His Rediscovered Personal Copy of Hooke's Micrographia', *Annals of Science* 52 (1995).

[136] Pell's book is *BH*, lot 269 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 7; see auct_BH_290. While Hooke's annotated copy is available online via EEBO, unfortunately due to the mode of digitization the manuscript notes are barely legible.

[137] Wallis's book is *BH*, lot 19 and Hooke's own copy of Marsigli's book is lot 20, both in 'Libri in Albiis, in Quarto' on p. 54; see auct_BH_2576 and auct_BH_2577. On Croone, see Ward, *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, pp. 320-7.

[138] Linschoten's book is *BH*, lot 68 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 2, L'Hôpital's book is *BH*, lot 385 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 16, and Bernard's book is *BH*, lot. 404 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 30; see auct_BH_76, auct_BH_732, and auct_BH_1393.

[139] The recto of this leaf, showing the illustration, has been reproduced in Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', p. 119.

[140] Robert Hooke, 'Diary, 1688-1693' in *Early Science in Oxford, Volume 10: The Life and Work of Robert Hooke (Part iv)*, Robert T. Gunther, ed. (Oxford: [Printed for the editor], 1935), p. 403; and Stephen Inwood, *The Forgotten Genius: the Biography of Robert Hooke (1635-1703)* (San Francisco: MacAdam/Cage, 2003), p. 266. See note 76 on Hooke's purchase of Accolti's book. A decade earlier, Christopher Wren had devised an invention of his own for printing; however, different from Hooke's contrivance, it only concerned itself with printing etchings made on thin plates of brass using a rolling press; see Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London*, vol. II (London: printed for A. Millar, 1756), p. 409; 'Liber epistolaris: a commonplace book

scribbled on the folio are 'An engine by which a wagon coach &c. may be drawn up hill & down hill wth equall strength', 'A neat true[?] easy exact plain motion by 2 plain Marbles', 'Whether y^{e} doctrine of triangles & measuring of angles may not be done by conick sections', and on the verso, 'What if we suppose libratio[?] in y^{e} earth - which will retaine[?] by a line of signes fro[?] capr: to cancre', with diagrammatic sketches for 'one mold to grind all glasse'. On the front endpaper of Hooke's copy of John Napier's *Rabdologiae, seu Numerationis per virgulas libri duo* . . . (Edinburgh, 1617), we find two other geometric diagrams sketched in pencil underneath his 1684 acquisition note.[141]

Several books that have been identified as being of possible Hooke provenance contain marginal notes in the books themselves.[142] Charles Malapert's *Austriaca sidera heliocyclia* (Douai, 1633) discussing sunspots contains manuscript annotations cross-referencing other books that address similar topics; for instance 'Borb.Sid.' for Jean Tarde's *Borbonia sidera* (Paris, 1620); 'Rosa' for Christoph Scheiner's *Rosa ursina* (Bracciano, 1630), 'K.Eph.' probably for Johannes Kepler's *Ephemeridum* (Zagan, 1630) and 'Ricc.' perhaps for Giovanni Battista Riccioli's *Almagestum novum* (Bologna, 1651), although it is more difficult to interpret which edition 'my Ptol.' may be referring to.[143] Similar, though more cryptic, notes can be found in Hieronymus Sirturus's *Telescopium* (Frankfurt, 1618) where 'K.D.' might be referring to Kepler's *Dioptrice* (Augsburg, 1611; not listed in *BH*), however it would require a careful analysis of all the numbers and notes to elucidate their meanings.[144] Pierre Gassendi's *Parhelia sive soles quatuor qui circa verum apparuerunt Romae* (Paris, 1630; not listed in *BH*), an explanation of the atmospheric phenomenon that produces luminous spots resembling multiple suns, contains comparable references in the manuscript note on its flyleaf; we see, alongside a set of dates, references to 'Kepler', 'K.Eph.', and 'Nunc Sid.' the latter of course referring to Galileo Galilei, *Sidereus nuncius* (London, 1653).[145]

These annotations are sparse when compared with the marginal notes and heavy-handed underlining throughout Hooke's copy of Fregoso's *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri IX* (Antwerp, 1565). The latter display a close reading uncharacteristic of Hooke in light of the other surviving books; and when considered alongside the manuscript note 'finis huius libri' and signature, both in an unfamiliar hand, at the end of the book, the possibility that the annotations instead belonged to Robert Grove from whose library auction Hooke had purchased the copy in 1697 is strengthened.[146]

Hooke did, however, annotate several of his mathematics books. William Oughtred's *Clavis mathematicae* (1652) contains extensive annotations that show Hooke following along

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of Henry Oldenburg,' Royal Society MS/1, fol. 173v; and Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 462-3.

[141] Napier's book (extra_BH_29), now in the UCLA's Management Gross Collection, is not listed in *BH*. We are grateful to Arturo Esparza from the Rosenfeld Management Library, UCLA, for his help in identifying the book and for providing us with copies of the annotations.

[142] While these books do not bear any acquisition notes from Hooke, they have been attributed to him based on other factors; see Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', pp. 131 (Malapert), 129 (Sirturus), 132 (Gassendi).

[143] Malapert's book is *BH*, lot 427 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 17, auct_BH_775; Tarde's is *BH*, lot 424 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 17, auct_BH_772; Scheiner's is *BH*, lot 195 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 5, auct_BH_211; Kepler's is *BH*, lot 488 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 19, auct_BH_846; and Riccioli's is *BH*, lot 54 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 2, auct_BH_62. For an overview of the contemporary discussions about sunspots, see the introductory text by Eileen Reeves and Albert Van Helden in Galileo Galilei and Christoph Scheiner, *On Sunspots*, trans. Eileen Reeves and Albert Van Helden (London: University of Chicago Press).

[144] Sirturus's book is *BH*, lot 602 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Quarto' on p. 21; see auct_BH_961.

[145] Galileo's book is *BH*, lot 376 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 29; see auct_BH_1363.

[146] See note 91 above.

with the calculations, cross-referencing chapters, sketching geometric diagrams, and even adding some references.[147] For instance in the left margin of page 62, in the midst of his notes on triangular and pyramidal numbers, we see his note 'Vieta p.374' referring to François Viète's *Opera mathematica* (Leiden, 1646).[148] And Michael Dary's *Gauging Epitomized* (London, 1669), a single-folio compilation of easy-to-use stereometry formulas, contains a few explanatory notes in Hooke's hand on the calculations for solids bearing spheroid and parabolic spindle shapes.[149]

While it does not contain marginal notes in the conventional sense, one last example to consider is the British Library copy of Heinrich Lautensack's *Des Circkels unnd Richtscheyts* (Frankfurt, 1564). Heavily influenced by Albrecht Dürer's work, it is a manual on practical geometry, perspective, and proportion, written for artists and craftsmen.[150] Although the book does not contain any acquisition notes and is not listed in *BH*, it does appear as '[High] Dutch Perspective & limning of Lautensack, Goldsmith. Frankfurt 1564' on fol. 3v of British Library, MS Sloane 949, the manuscript catalogue Hooke prepared of his own library *c*.1676.[151] Some of the more conventional annotations include the manuscript inscription 'Magnus ope minorum' in an unidentified hand on the title-page, some underlining of the German text, and pencil lines on some of the drawings, e.g. on fols. 30r and 31r, perhaps signalling that the book was indeed used as a manual to learn perspective.[152]

However, the 'annotations' under consideration here are the small manuscript drawings and print cuttings pasted into the book. Some of these, for instance the five 'kunst calendar' illustrations on fol. 31v (Brachmonat, Herbstmonat, Weinmonat, Wintermonat, Christmonat) may have been pasted in by a previous owner. The same may be the case with the cuttings on fol. 34v, where an illustration of the proportions of a horse is pasted in the centre, perhaps to remedy the fact that the entire last section of the book, on Dürer's proportions, is missing from this particular copy of the book. Other cuttings on the same folio may be traced to Luis de Granada's *Devotissime meditationi per I Giorni della settimana tanto per la mattina, come per la sera* (Ferrara, 1578; not listed in *BH*) by the renowned printer Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, and their selection hint at a typographical interest.[153] However, a part of the frontispiece of the duodecimo *The Resolver, or Curiosities of Nature, written in French by Scipio du Plesis . . .* (London, 1635; not listed in *BH*) pasted onto the recto of the title-page suggests further additions may have been made after the book had found its way into England.

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[147] Oughtred's book is *BH*, lot 339 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Octavo' on p. 28; see auct_BH_1324. Hooke's annotated copy is available online via EEBO. Sources on Oughtred's *Clavis* include Jacqueline Stedall, *A Discourse Concerning Algebra: English Algebra to 1685* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 55-87.

[148] Viète's book is *BH*, lot 173 in 'Libri Latini, &c. in Folio' on p. 5; see auct_BH_188.

[149] Dary's publication is not listed in *BH*; see extra_BH_6. Hooke's annotated copy is available online via EEBO.

[150] Sources on Lautensack include Sibylle Gluch, 'Geometrie - Fortifikation - Menschliche Proportion: Zu Kontext und Wirkung der Technischen Schriften Albrecht Dürers' (unpub. D.Phil. diss., University of Birmingham, 2006), p. 234; and Sibylle Gluch, 'The Craft's Use of Geometry in 16th c. Germany: A Means of Social Advancement? Albrecht Dürer & After', *Anistoriton Journal, Essays* 10 (2007).

[151] The book is attributed to Hooke in Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases', p. 130. For more details on MS Sloane 949, see Part I.

[152] Several other 16th-century books bearing the same 'Magnus ope minorum' inscription appear to have survived in the Pepys Library; see 1077(1), 1077(7), and 1077(10) in Charles S. Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Volume I: Census of Printed Books* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 87-8.

[153] The cuttings include one of the printer's devices used by Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, as well the illustrations from pp. 128 and 199, the decorated letters V and E from pp. 188 and 199, and the decorative element at the top of p. 202, of this particular edition 1578 of the book.

The origins of the manuscript drawings, such as that of a red tulip in a clay jug pasted on the verso of the title-page or the ink sketch of a face in profile pasted on the recto side of)(iij are difficult to determine.[154] While the latter resembles some of the sketches found among Hooke's architectural drawings in British Library, MS Sloane 5238, the provenance of that album is not as unambiguous as one might wish. It was compiled from two sets that Hans Sloane had acquired separately, cataloguing one of them as 'Drawings and designs of the Monument & Designes relating to Architecture, draughts of the River Thames's wharf chiefly by Dr. Hook, Roe and others, with some other original drawings by several Masters – first by R[oger] Bradley 1722 part of a Roman Pavement found at Wood Chester in Glo[ce]ster[shire]- fo[lio]'.[155] This description and the great variance in the drawing styles in MS Sloane 5238, make it difficult to discern which of these figural drawings are by Hooke and which are the 'original' ones by the 'Masters'. It is also impossible to know whether some of these masters' drawings were owned by Hooke or whether they were added to his papers after they were acquired separately by Sloane; the latter possibility is strengthened by the presence of at least one drawing created long after Hooke's death, and the fact that Sloane had many other acquisitions similarly catalogued as drawings or designs of 'several masters', without identifying the individual artists' names. While these do not rule out Hooke's authorship of the sketches pasted in Lautensack's book, they amount to a caveat to making this attribution based on MS Sloane 5238 alone.

[154] The profile sketch has been reproduced in Matthew C. Hunter, 'Hooke's Figurations: a Figural Drawing Attributed to Robert Hooke', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 64 (2010), p. 253. Sloane's purchases from Hooke's manuscript papers are discussed in Henderson, 'Hooke's Archive', pp. 95, 106-7; and Arnold Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts', in *From Books to Bezoars*, p. 204. Sloane's collections of drawings are discussed in Kim Sloan, 'Sloane's "Pictures and Drawings in Frames" and "Books of Miniature & Painting, Designs, &c."', in *From Books to Bezoars*, pp. 168-89. Fossil drawings in Hooke's hand have been discovered in another Sloane album, British Library MS Add. 5262; see Kusukawa, 'Drawings of Fossils by Robert Hooke and Richard Waller'.

[155] British Library, MS Sloane 3972C IV, fol. 2497/243, as transcribed in Kim Sloan, 'Typescript of All 'Miniatura' Listed in Sloane's Own MS Catalogue of His Library (BL Sloane MS 3972C IV And Ms 3972 C VI)' (unpub. work, May 2010). We would like to thank Dr Sloan for sharing her unpublished work for the 'Sloane's Treasures' project.

Hooke's purchases from Richard Smith's auction in 1682[1]

List of books acquired by Hooke from the auction of Richard Smith in 1682, following the hammer copy of *Bibliotheca Smithiana* (London, 1682), noted from the copy in the Bodleian Library, call number Vet. A3. d. 187.[2] When available, the 'Hooke's Books Database' ID number and the price the book fetched at the 1703 auction of Hooke's library are provided in square brackets.[3]

Latin books:

- Apuleius. *Apologia*, notis & observationibus Jo. Pricæus. Paris, 1635. 2*s* (Cat. page 97) [auct_BH_428; 0-3-0]
- *Artificia Hominum miranda naturae in Sina & europa*. Frankfurt, 1656. 2*s* 2*d* (Cat. page 132) [auct_BH_1505; 0-2-9]
- Hedericus, Bernard. *De Anno ejusque Partibus & Accidentibus, & de Planetis*. Nuremburg, 1598. 4*d*, with Herrenschmidt below (Cat. page 121)
- Herrenschmidt, Jacobus. *Strenographia Rhetica*. Nuremburg, 1598. 4*d*, with Hedericus (Cat. page 121) [auct_BH_1118; 0-2-4; this book is extant and currently bears British Library shelfmark 1088.c.17.(1.)]
- Horn, Georg. *De Originibus Americanis*. The Hague, 1652. 1*s* 10*d* (Cat. page 121) [auct_BH_1033; 0-2-1]
- Laet, Johan. de, and Hugo Grotius. *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*. Amsterdam, 1643. 2*s* 2*d* (Cat. page 122) [auct_BH_1034; 0-1-11]
- Lucan. *Opera Omnia*, ed. Jac. Mycillus. Leiden, 1549. 1*s*. (Cat. page 93)
- Martyris Anglerii, Pet. *de Orbe Novo; Labore & Industria R Hakluyt*. Paris, 1587. 1*s* (Cat. page 122) [auct_BH_1011; 0-1-3]
- Mirandola, Pico della. *Conclusiones in omni genere Scientiarum, & Politiani Panepistemon*. 1532. 4*d* (Cat. page 126)
- Montanus, Benito Arias. *Itinerarium Benjamini Tudelensis*. Antwerp, 1575. 2*d* (Cat. page 122) [auct_BH_1020; 0-0-6]
- Olaus Magnus. *Historia de Moribus, Ritibus, Superstitibus &c Gentium Sepentrionum*. Basel, 1567. 16*s* (Cat. page 93) [auct_BH_66; 0-10-0]
- Olivius, J. B. *Testificatio de Reconditis in Musæo. Verona*, 1593 7*d* (Cat. page 185) [auct_BH_496; 0-2-7]

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[1] This list was previously published as part of 'Appendix II: Lodwick at the sale of Richard Smith's library, 1682' in Felicity Henderson and William Poole, 'The Library Lists of Francis Lodwick FRS (1619-1694): An Introduction to Sloane MSS. 855 and 859, and a Searchable Transcript', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2009), Article 1, pp. 1-162, see pp. 12-13 for the list; the full article is available online.

[2] On Smith, see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; on the sales, see T.A. Birrell, 'Books and Buyers in Seventeenth-Century English Auction Sales', in R. Myers, M. Harris, and G. Mandelbrote (eds), *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (New Castle, DE., 2001), pp. 51-64. The catalogue was published as *Bibliotheca Smithiana, sive, Catalogus librorum in quavis facultate insigniorum, quos in usum suum&bibliothecae ornamentum multo . . . sibi comparavit, vir clarissimus doctissimusq D. Richardus Smith, Londinensis : horum auctio habebitur Londini, in area vulgo dicta Great St. Bartholomews Close, in Angulum ejusdem Septentrionalem, Maii die 15. 1682 / per Richardum Chiswel* (London, 1682); ESTC, citation no. R40617, available online via EEBO. There are copies of the hammer catalogue at British Library, Mic.A.1343 (from Lord Crawford's copy), and an early copy taken from this and entered into Bodleian, Vet. A3. d.187; the latter copy was consulted. The pagination is extremely haphazard, but books are arranged by subject, size, and alphabetically by author.

[3] Price information from the *Robert Hooke's Books Database* follows the pound-shilling-pence format used there.

- Passeratius, Joh. *De Literarum inter se Cognatione a Permutatione*. Paris, 1606. 4*d* (Cat. page 125) [auct_BH_1116; 0-5-2]
- Ramus, Petrus. *Proœmium Mathematicum*. Paris, 1567 [auct_BH_1327; 0-0-4] with *Distinct. Rhet. in Quintil.*
- ——— and Talon. *Præfationes, Epistolæ, Orationes*. Paris, 1577. 3*d* (Cat. page 126); Paris, 1559. 2*d* (Cat. page 126) [auct_BH_1088; 0-0-4]
- Rantzovius, Henr. *Catalogus Imperat. regn. &Principium in Astron*. escell. C. Plant. 1680. 4*d* (Cat. page 126) [date in *BH* is 1580; auct_BH_1407; 0-0-11]
- Sacrobosco, *Sphaera, scholiis Aeliæ Vineti*, P. Nonnii, &c. Cologne, 1594. 1*d* (Cat. page 128) [auct_BH_1371; no price indicated in *BH*]
- Sperlingen, Joan. *Meditationes in Scaliger De Subtilitate*. Wittenburg, 1656. 6*d* (Cat. page 128) [auct_BH_1409; 0-0-4]

English books:

- Booker, John. Hopton's *Concordancy of Years, with William Rastal's Tables*. London, 1635, 1639. 8*d* (Cat. page 203) [auct_BH_2128; 0-0-?]
- Greaves, John. *Pyramidographia*. London, 1646. 5*s* 6*d* (Cat. page 201) [auct_BH_2193; 0-1-1 (?)]
- ———. *Discourse of the Roman Foot*. London, 1647. 3*s* 6*d* (Cat. page 201) [auct_BH_2266; 0-3-6]
- Hues, Robert. *Treatise of Globes*. London, 1639. 6*d* (Cat. page 203) [auct_BH_2410; 0-0-8]
- Parkinson, John. *Garden of Flowers*. London, 1629. 10*s* 3*d* (Cat. page 280) [auct_BH_1871; 0-6-0]
- ———. *Theater of Plants*. London, 1640. £2 5*s* 3*d* (Cat. page 280) [auct_BH_1872; 1-?-6]
- Philips, Henry. *Purchasers Patern much enlarged*. London, 1676. 1*s* (Cat. page 222)

'Stitcht Books' in quarto, Latin (prices not noted):

- de Bois, Jac. *Dialogus Theologico-Astronomicus de sole & Terra*. Leiden, 1653. (Cat. page 375)
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Dialogus Physicus de Natura Aeris*. London, 1661. (Cat. page 374)
- Lansberg, Philip. *Commentationes in Motum Terræ diuturnum et Annum*. Middleburg, 1630. (Cat. page 374) [auct_BH_337; no price indicated in *BH*]
- ———. *Apologia pro Ph. Lansberg de Terræ Motu adversus Lib. Fromondum*. Middleburg, 1633. (Cat. page 374)
- Ross, Alexander. *Confutatio Opinionis Ph. Lansbergii de Terræ motu Circulari*. London, 1634. (Cat. page 374)
- Veneti, P. *Liber [de] Compositione Mundi*, 1625. (Cat. pages 374-5)

Hooke's purchases from Moses Pitt's auction in 1678

In a diary entry dated 24 December 1678 (figs. 5 and 5a), Hooke noted the delivery of 28 books 'from Pits Auxion.'[1] As evinced by the previous diary entries starting from 2 December, Hooke had been participating in the auction organized by the noted bookseller and printer, Moses Pitt, and whose catalogue may be identified as Gijsbert Voet [& Moses Pitt], *Catalogus variorum librorum inst[r]uctissimæ bibliothecæ præstantissimi doctissimique viri in Anglia defuncti, ut & aliorum in omnibus scientiis atque linguis insignium, ex bibliothecæ clarissimi Gisberti Voetii emptorum cum multis aliis tum antiquis tum modernis nuperrimæ ex variis partibus Europæ advectis quorum auctio habebitur . . . Novembris 25, 1678*.[2]

Hooke listed all 28 books he had successfully bid on, albeit rather cryptically with partial titles and/or truncated author names; but as he included the corresponding lot numbers to Pitt's catalogue, it has been possible to further identify these books.[3]

The following list gives the reference information for each book in Pitt's auction catalogue (page number, lot number, section name, title under which the book was listed), followed by the price Hooke paid for the book, and finally in square brackets the *Robert Hooke's Books Database* id number and the price it fetched at the 1703 auction of Hooke's library.[4]

Hooke's purchases in the order listed in his *Diary*:

1. p. 2, lot 69 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "*Astronomique* discours par Jaques Bassantin. *Lion*. 1557." 0-1-8 [auct_BH_230; no price indicated in the *BH*]
2. p. 2, lot 73 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "L'*Histoire* Naturelle de C.Pline, fol. *Paris*. 1622." 0-7-0 [auct_BH_142; 0-4-6]
3. p. 3, lot 88 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "Nieuw groot Huermans Zee Spiegel, *Amsterdam*. 1664." 0-4-6 [auct_BH_27; 0-2-0]
4. p. 3, lot 91 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "*Spieghel* der Zeevaerdt van Navigatie. *Leyden*. 1584." 0-2-0 [auct_BH_28; 0-1-6?]
5. p. 3, lot 92 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "De Seven Boecken van de groot Zeevaert. *Amsterdam*. 1658." 0-1-8 [auct_BH_304; 0-4-0]
6. p. 5, lot 81 in 'Libri Italici, Gallic. Hispan. Quarto'; title "Documenti Militari del Collonelo Nicolo Creiense. *Padoua* 1668." 0-1-8 [auct_BH_954; no price indicated in the *BH*]
7. p. 5, lot 90 in 'Libri Italici, Gallic. Hispan. Quarto'; title "La Pharmacopea de Bauderon. *Lugduni*. 1662." 0-2-0 [auct_BH_591; 0-1-0]
8. p. 6, lot 117 in 'Libri Italici, Gallic. Hispan. Quarto'; title "Estats, Empires, &c. du Monde, par *Davity*. *Genevae*. 1634." 0-3-0 [auct_BH_354; 0-0-6]

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[1] Robinson and Adams, eds., *Diary*, p. 390.

[2] ESTC, citation no. R232197.

[3] It should be noted that this catalogue was not continuously paginated and that the digitized copy available via EEBO is missing a significant number of pages. In order to identify all the books, we have instead consulted the British Library copy of the print catalogue, bearing the shelfmark C.120.c.2.(7), but the digitized version, although imperfect, is available online.

[4] See Part I, above, for more information on the *Bibliotheca Hookiana* (1703) [hereafter *BH*]. All prices are given in the pound-shilling-pence format. Note that there were a few small discrepancies between the prices Hooke noted paying and the prices noted in the margins of the British Library copy of Pitt's catalogue; see 9, 12, and 23.

9. p. 6, lot 119 in 'Libri Italici, Gallic. Hispan. Quarto'; title "Theatre D'Agriculture. A *Geneve*. 1619." 0-2-0 (price noted in the margin of the catalogue: 0-2-2) [auct_BH_468; 0-1-7]
10. p. 6, lot 126 in 'Libri Italici, Gallic. Hispan. Quarto'; title "Maison Rustique de *M. Ch. Estrenen*. A *Roüen*. 1641." 0-0-8 [auct_BH_467; 0-1-1]
11. p. 7, lot 134 in 'Libri Italici, Gallic. Hispan. Quarto'; title "Nouvelle Theorie des Planetes. *Paris*. 1635." 0-2-1 [auct_BH_786; no price indicated in the *BH*]
12. p. 8, lot 51 in 'Livres Francois & Italian, in 8º & 12º'; title "Recherches & Observations naturelles de Monsieur *Boccone*. *Amsterdam*. 1674." 0-2-0 (price noted in the margin of the catalogue: 0-2-5) [auct_BH_1224; 0-1-8]
13. p. 95, lot 285 in 'English in Folio' [or at the top of the page: 'Anglici Hist. & Miscell.']; title "*Plutarch*'s Lives and Morals. Vol. 2. 1657. 1674." 2-0-0 [auct_BH_1840; 0-8-6]
14. p. 96, lot 338 in 'English in Folio' [or at the top of the page: 'Anglici Hist. & Miscell.']; title "*Schefferus* History of *Lapland*, *Oxon*. 1674." 0-4-4 [auct_BH_1799; 0-3-10]
15. p. 44, lot 137 in 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio'; title "[Euclidis] Latinè, cum Interpret. & Scholiis *F. Flussatis*. *Candallae* 1566." 0-1-6 [auct_BH_189; 0-1-2]
16. p. 45, lot 168 [misread and printed as 138 in the print edition of the Diary; see the manuscript version where it is corrected to 168] in 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio'; title "*Guicciardini* Descriptio Inferioris *Germaniae* Regionum. *Amst*. 1613." 0-5-0 [not in the *BH*]
17. p. 46, lot 199 in 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio'; title "Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis *Oxoniensis*. *Oxon*. 1674." 0-18-0 [auct_BH_38; 0-15-0]
18. p. 46, lot 202 in 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio'; title "*Hollandi (H.)* Herologia *Anglica*; sive Vivae Effigies, Vitae & Elogia Claris. & Doctis. aliquot *Anglorum*, &c. *Londini*." 0-5-6 [auct_BH_43; 0-12-0]
19. p. 47, lot 242 in 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio'; title "*Kaerii (Petri) Germania* Inferior; id est, 17 Provinciarum ejus Novae & Exactae Tabulae Geographicae. *Amst*. 1617." 0-6-6 [auct_BH_24; 0-2-8]
20. p. 47, lot 252 in 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio'; title "[*Kircheri (Athan.)*] *China* Illustrata. (Figuris.) *Amst*. 1667." 0-8-6 [not in the *BH*; Antwerp edition is auct_BH_49 which was sold for 0-3-0]
21. p. 52, lot 475 in 'Libri Historici, Philosophici, Mathematici, &c. in Folio'; title "*Vietae (Fran.)* Opera Varia Math. *Turanis* 1591." 0-4-0 [auct_BH_200; 0-1-10]
22. p. 53, lot 4 in 'Libri in Folio qui sunt omissi in Alphabeto'; title "*Buxtorfii* Lexicon *Chaldaicum*, Talmud. & *Rabbinicum*. *Bas*. 1640." 1-6-0 [auct_BH_177; 0-12-6]
23. p. 100, lot 368 in 'Hist. Philos. Mathemat. &c. in Duodecimo, &c.'; title "*Meldor (Ch.)* in Libros IV. Prioris *Euclidis* Element. Ibid. [Lugd. Bat.] 1673." 0-1-7 (price noted in the margin of the catalogue: 0-1-8) [auct_BH_1748; 0-0-6]
24. p. 1, lot 3 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "*Saggi* di Naturali Esperienze, &c. in *Fiorenze*. 1667." 0-15-0 [auct_BH_162; 0-8-0]
25. p. 1, lot 20 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "*Italia* di Gio. Ant. Magini. *Bononiae*, 1620." 0-7-0 [auct_BH_25; 0-2-6]
26. p. 1, lot 22 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "Lo *Inganno* de Gl'occhi, Prospettiva pratica di Piet. Accolti, *Fiorenze*, 1625." 0-3-0 [auct_BH_295; 0-3-6]

27. p. 1, lot 39 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "*Theatre* d'Agriculture d'Oliv. de Serres, ibid. [Paris] 1600." 0-2-0 [auct_BH_150; 0-1-6]
28. p. 2, lot 62 in 'Libri Italic. Gallic. Hispan. Batav. Folio'; title "Les *Oeuvres* Mathematiques de *Simon Stevin*. *Leyden*. 1634." 0-16-6 [auct_BH_282; 0-3-6]

Hooke's manuscript lists of *desiderata* and the corresponding auction catalogues *listed chronologically by auction catalogue*

Royal Society, Cl.P/20/76, fol. 168v

[list noted on the verso of a lecture read on 20 July 1687; see figs. 9 and 9a]

[18 April 1687, attributed to John Maitland]
Edward Millington, *Bibliotheca selectissima, diversum librorum, viz. theologicorum, philologicorum, historicorum, mathemat. &c. . . . quorum auctio habebitur Londini . . . 18 die April. 1687* ([London]: Catalogues are given by Mr. Notts [and 6 others], 1687). [ESTC Citation No. R30928; Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 1486:08]

Available online via EEBO.

British Library, MS Sloane 1039, fols. 149r-v, 150r-v

[20 June 1687, library of Edward Wray]
William Cooper, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae instructissimae Eduardi Wray de Barling in comitatu Lincolniensis armigeri. Quorum auctio habenda est Londini . . . Junii 20. 1687* ([London]: The catalogues are ready to be distributed . . . at Mr. Sam. Carr's . . . [and 2 others], [1687]). [ESTC Citation No. R220047; Early English Tract Supplement / D8:1[19]]

Available online via EEBO.

British Library, MS Sloane 1039, fol. 143v (lower half of)

[31 October 1687, library of Thomas Jacomb][1]
Edward Millington, *Bibliotheca Jacombiana, sive Catalogus variorum librorum plurimis facultatibus insignium instructissimae bibliothecae Rev. Doct. Thomae Jacomb, S.T.D. . . . quorum auctio habebitur Londini . . . 31 die Octobris 1687* ([London]: Catalogues are distributed at 6d. per catal. from Mr. Notts . . . [and 6 others], 1687). [ESTC Citation No. R32974; Early English Tract Supplement / D10:1[1]]

Available online via EEBO.

British Library, MS Sloane 1039, fol. 143v (upper half of)

[21 November 1687, library of William Cecil, also attributed to Robert Bruce]

T[homas] Bentley and B[enjamin] Walford, *Bibliotheca illustris, sive, Catalogus variorum librorum in quâvis linguâ & facultate insignium ornatissimae bibliothecae viri cujusdam praenobilis ac honoratissimi olim defuncti, libris rarissimis tam typis excusis quàm manuscriptis refertissimae: quorum auctio habebitur Londini . . . Novemb. 21. 1687* ([London]: T. Bentley

[1] Also attending this auction was Richard Lapthorne, the London agent purchasing books on behalf of Richard Coffin of Portledge. In his letter dated 10 December 1687, Lapthorne listed the lots he had procured; these and the lots on Hooke's list of *desiderata* do not overlap so it is unlikely they competed against one another. A partial transcription of Lapthorne's letter is available online. See also Michael Treadwell, 'Richard Lapthorne and the London Retail Book Trade 1683-1697', in *The Book Trade and Its Customers, 1450-1990: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote, Arnold Hunt, and Alison Shell (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997).

& B. Walford, [1687]). [ESTC Citation No. R282; Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 681:14; Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 1734:08; Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 1143:01]

Available online via EEBO.

British Library, MS Sloane 1039, fol. 146r

[1 February 1687/8, library of Monsieur Massauve][2]

Edward Millington, *Bibliotheca Massoviana: sive Catalogus variorum librorum in quavis lingua, & facultate prae-caeteris excellentium . . . quorum auctio habebitur Londini . . . primo die Februarii 1687/8* ([London]: Catalogues are distributed . . . by Mr. Bentley . . . [and 9 others], 168[8]). [ESTC Citation No. R30054; Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 1446:15]

Available online via EEBO.

British Library, MS Sloane 1039, fols. 144v, 145r-v, 147r-v, 148r-v

[13 February 1687/8, library of Robert Scott][3]

Benjamin Walford, *Catalogus librorum Roberti Scott, bibliopolae regii Londinensis in quavis lingua & facultate insignium ex variis Europae partibus advectorum, quorum auctio habenda est Londini . . . decimo tertio die Februarii, 1687/8* ([London]: Catalogues are distributed by Mr William Nott . . . [and 11 others], [1688]). [ESTC Citation No. R20029; Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 578:06]

Available online via EEBO.

British Library, shelfmark S.C.117.(1.)

[manuscript pages inserted into another auction catalogue]

[21 May 1691]

John Bullord, *A catalogue of books of two eminent mathematicians; consisting of a curious collection of history, divinity, philosophy; but chiefly the mathematicks. In Latin, English and French in all volumes. Which will be exposed to sale by way of auction, on Thursday next being the 21st of this instant May, 1691 . . .* ([London]: Catalogues whereof are distributed . . . at Mr. Richard Parker's . . . [and 4 others], [1691]). [ESTC Citation No. R230265; Early English Tract Supplement / D1:2[3]]

Available online via EEBO.

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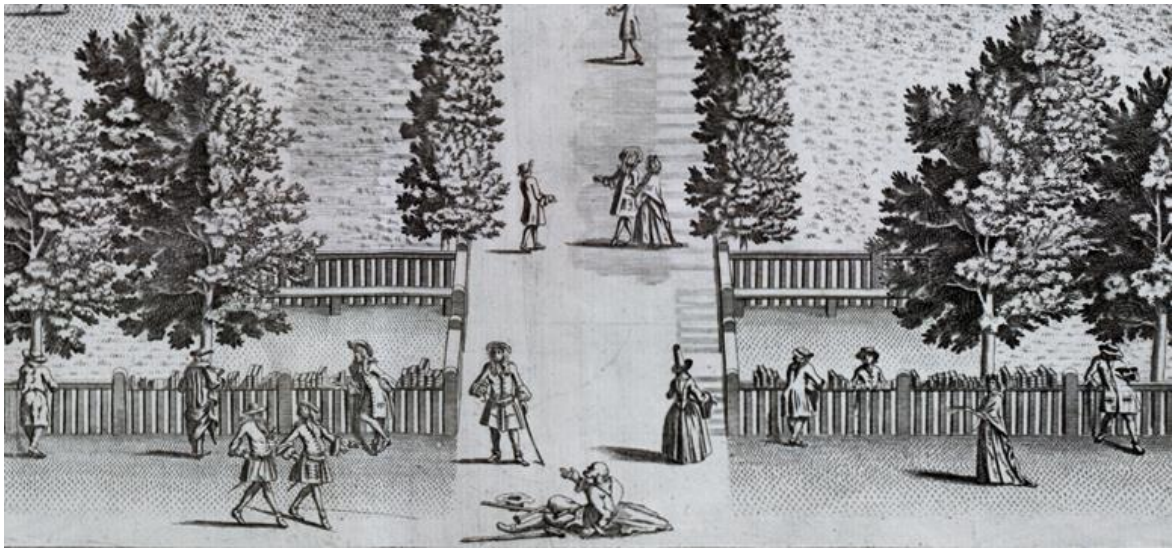
[2] Lapthorne attended and purchased a number of books for Coffin at this auction. His bill, sent 9 June 1688, indicated 0-1-0 for "For collating ye books at Massov: auction," as well as another 0-2-6 for collating the books purchased at Scott's auction; see Lapthorne's letter, available online, and 'Richard Lapthorne', pp. 210, 220n27.

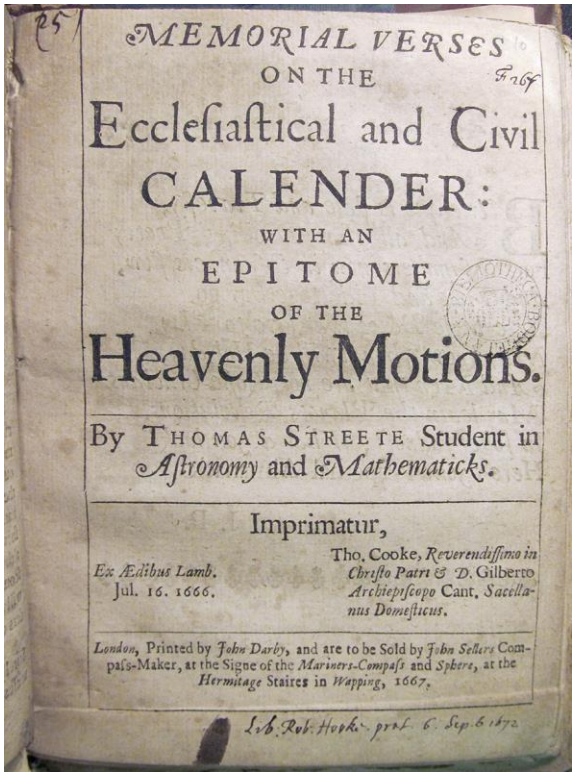
[3] Lapthorne purchased almost two dozen lots for Coffin from this auction of the bookseller Robert Scott's collection, accomplished over a period of seven weeks; see 'Richard Lapthorne', p. 210. For a list of these books, see letter dated 21 April 1688, available online. It appears two books that were on Hooke's list of *desiderata* were purchased by Lapthorne; these were Athanasius Kircher, *Ars magna sciendi sive combinatoria* (Amsterdam, 1669) and Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Antiquitates Romanae* in 3 volumes (Frankfurt, 1627).

Figure 1 (above)
James Nutting (engraver), *A New Prospect of y^e North-Side of y^e City of London with New Bedlam & MooreFields*, Printed & Sold by Henry Overton at y^e white Horse without Newgate, London, c.1704. The Bethlehem Hospital, built by Robert Hooke in 1674-6, can be seen in the mid-distance.

Figure 1a (below)
Details of the foreground, featuring Moorfields booksellers.

London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, SC/GL/PR/LA/VGP/003; Main Print Collection, La.Pr. V gp. 3; Collage record number 27766. Images courtesy of the London Metropolitan Archives and used with permission.



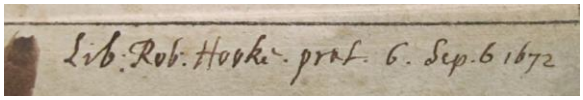


MEMORIAL VERSES
ON THE
Eccleſiaſtical and Civil
CALENDER:
WITH AN
EPITOME
OF THE
Heavenly Motions.
By THOMAS STREETE Student in *Aſtronomy* and *Mathematicks*.
Imprimatur,
Ex Ædibus Lamb. Jul. 16. 1666.
Tho. Cooke, *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & D.* Gilberto *Archiepiſcopo* Cant. *Sacellanus Domeſticus.*
London, Printed by *John Darby*, and are to be Sold by *John Sellers* Compaſs-Maker, at the Signe of the *Mariners-Compaſs* and *Sphere*, at the *Hermitage* Staires in *Wapping*, 1667.
Lib: Rob: Hooke. prof. 6. Sep. 6 1672

Figure 2 (left)
Hooke's acquisition note on the title page of Thomas Streete's *Memorial verses* (London, 1667); this book is not listed in the *Bibliotheca Hookiana*.
(See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. extra_BH_26.)

Figure 2a (below)
Detail.

The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, call number 4° E 8(10) Jur. Images used with permission.

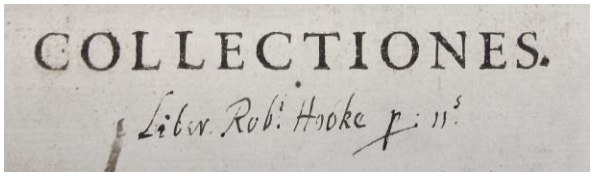


Lib: Rob: Hooke. prof. 6. Sep. 6 1672

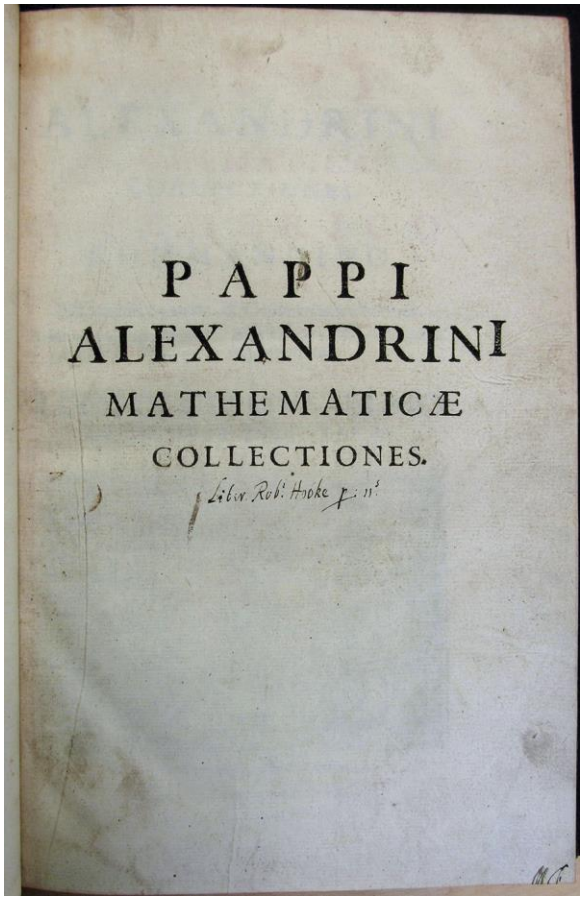
Figure 3 (right)
Hooke's acquisition note on the half title page of Pappus of Alexandria's *Mathematicae collectiones* (Bologna, 1660). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_280.)

Figure 3a (below)
Detail.

University College London Library Services, Special Collections classmark Graves 141.f.5 Folio. Images used with permission.



COLLECTIONES.
Libr. Rob: Hooke p: 11s



PAPPI
ALEXANDRINI
MATHEMATICÆ
COLLECTIONES.
Libr. Rob: Hooke p: 11s

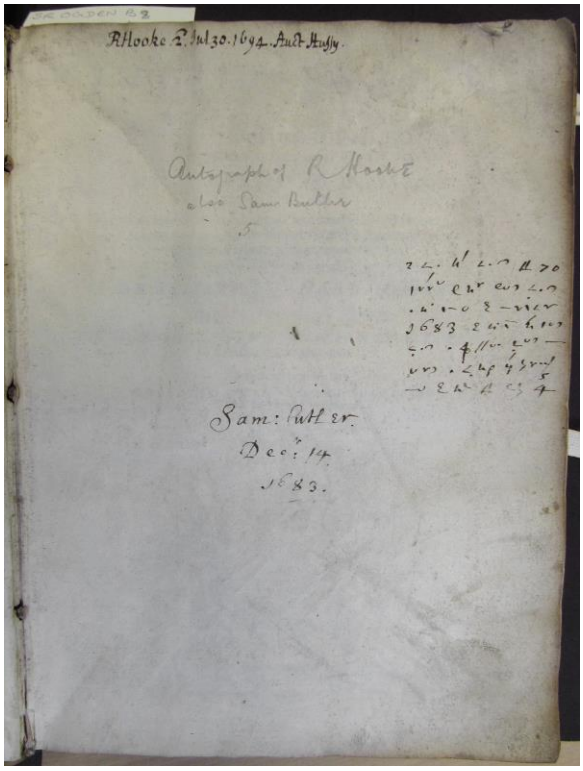
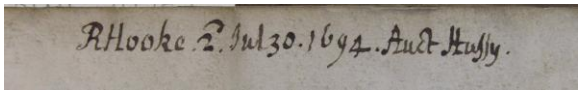


Figure 4 (left)
Acquisition notes of Hooke and Samuel Butler, with a note from the latter in shorthand, in Julius Caesar Claudinus's *De Ingressu ad Infirmos* (Bologna, 1612). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_483.)

Figure 4a (below)
Detail.

University College London Library Services, Special Collections classmark Strong Room Ogden B 8. Images used with permission.



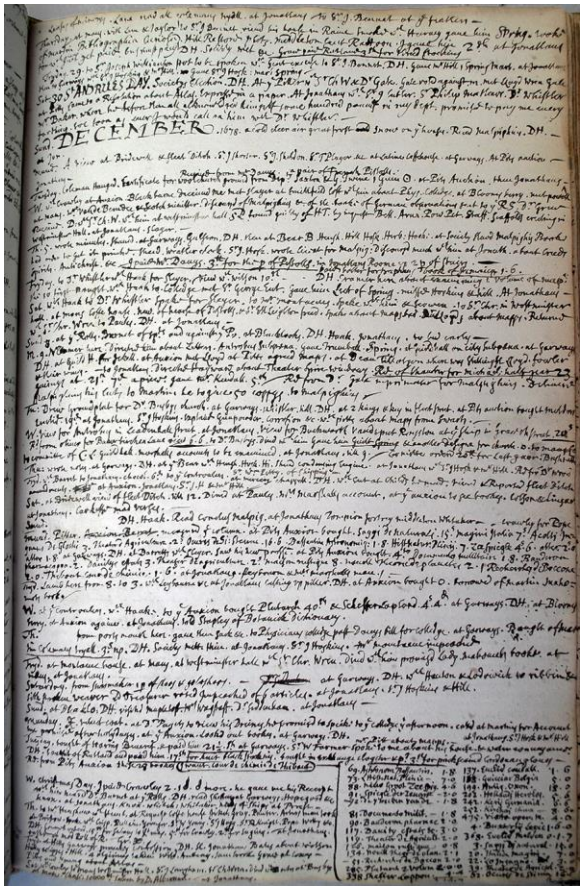
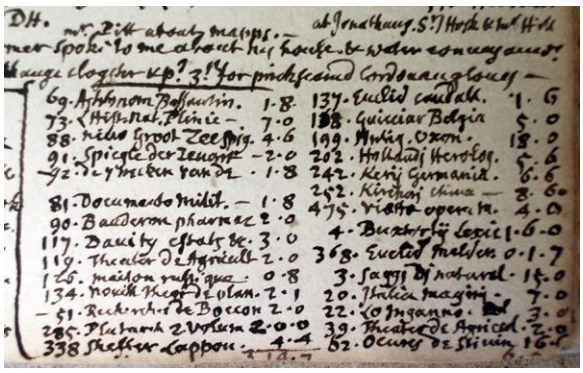


Figure 5 (right)
Page from Hooke's diary with entries from November and December 1678. The list of books he received from Pitt's auction on 24 December appears at the bottom right hand corner.

Figure 5a (below)
Detail.

London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, CLC/495/MS01758. Images used with permission.



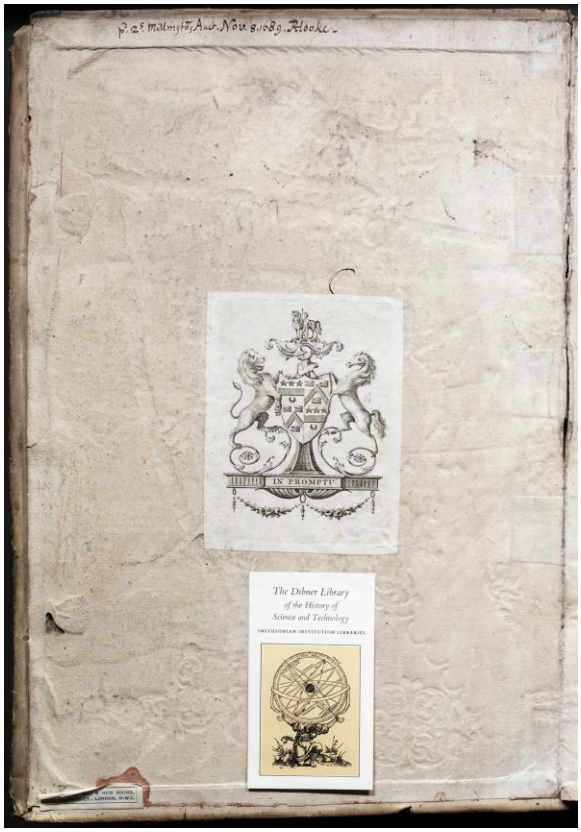
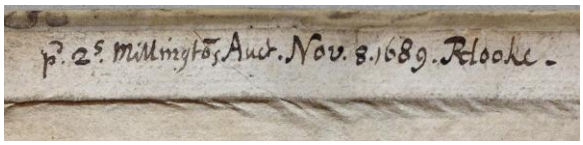


Figure 6 (left)
Hooke's acquisition note on the front pastedown of the second edition of Walther Ryff's German translation of Vitruvius's *De architectura* (Basel, 1575). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_314.)

Figure 6a (below)
Detail.

Smithsonian Libraries, Special Collections call no. qNA 2517 .V85 G1575. Images courtesy of the Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Libraries and used with permission.



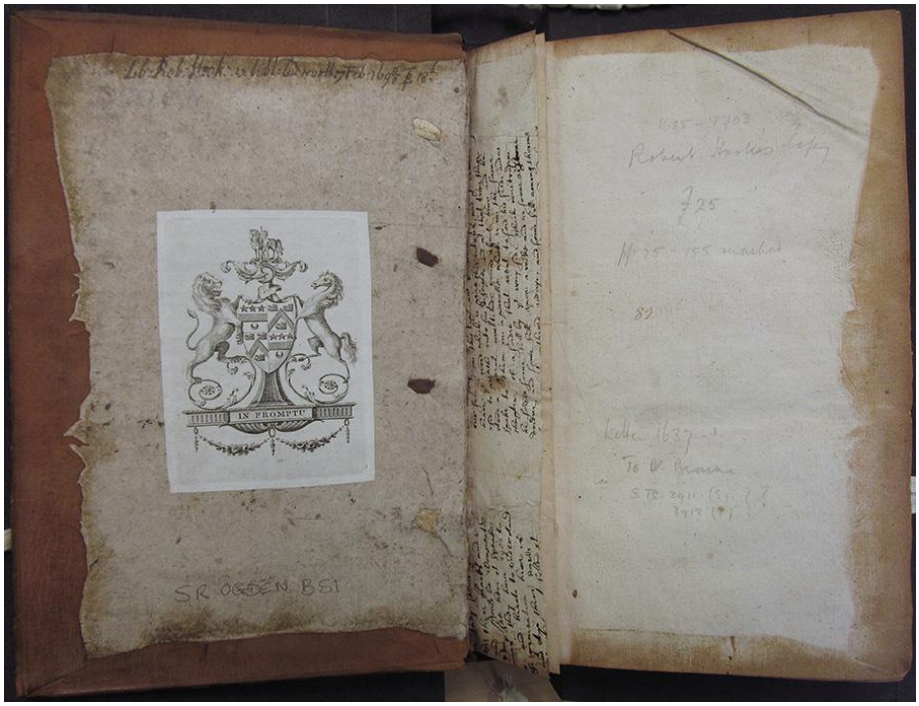


Figure 7 (right, top)
Hooke's acquisition note on the front pastedown of Santorio Santorio's *Methodi vitandorum errorum omnium* (Geneva, 1631). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_492.)

Figure 7a (right, bottom)
Detail.

University College London Library Services, Special Collections classmark Strong Room Ogden B 51. Images used with permission.

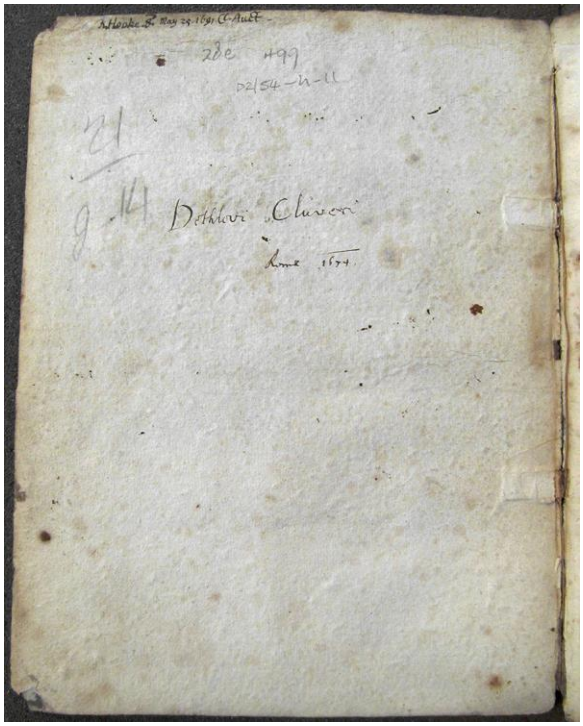
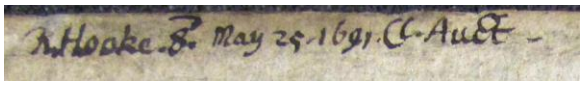
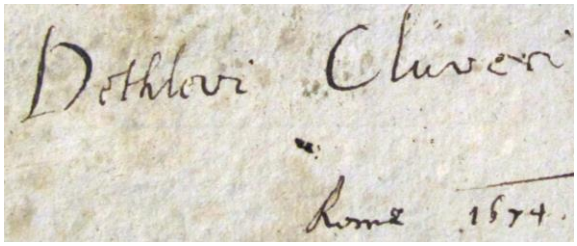


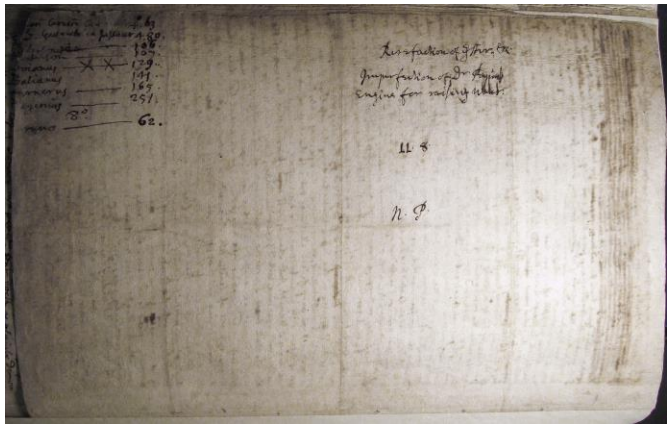
Figure 8 (left)
Acquisition notes of Hooke and Clüver on the front pastedown of Haex's *Dictionarium Malaico Latinum* (Rome, 1631). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_656.)

Figures 8a & 8b (below)
Details of inscriptions by Hooke (a) and Clüver (b).

Royal College of Physicians, shelfmark D2/54-h-1. Images used with permission.







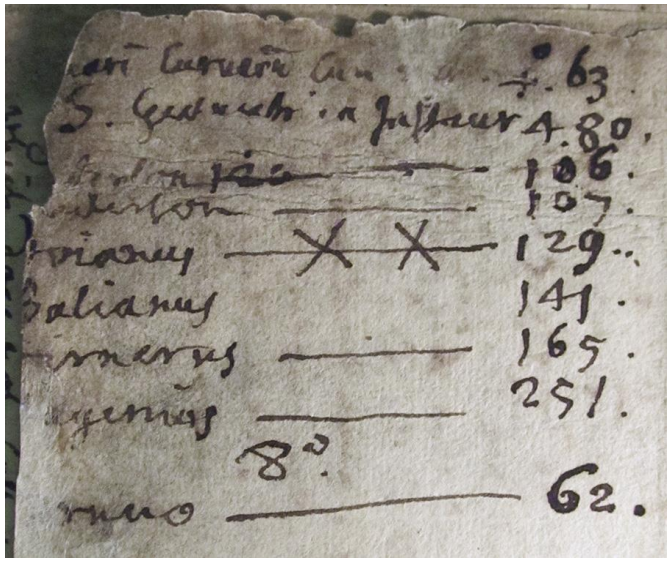
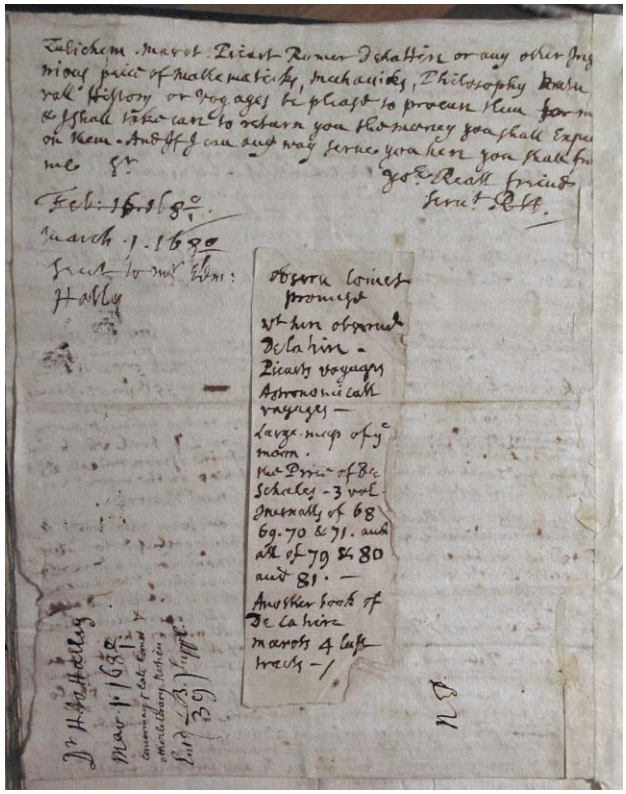


Figure 9 (right, above)
Hooke's list of *desiderata* from Millington's catalogue for an 18 April 1687 auction, scribbled on the verso of a lecture Hooke read on 20 July 1687.

Figure 9a (right, below)
Detail.

Royal Society MS Cl.P/20/76. Images used with permission.



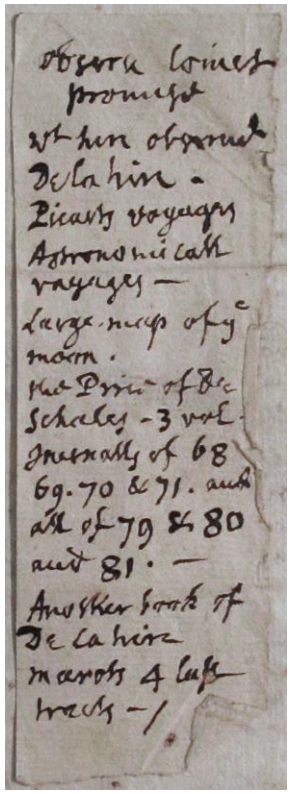


Figure 10 (right) Hooke's 1 March 1681 letter to Edmond Halley, with the list of books he asks the latter to purchase for him during his trip to the continent.

Figure 10a (far right) Detail showing the list.

Royal Society MS EL/H3/62v. Images used with permission.

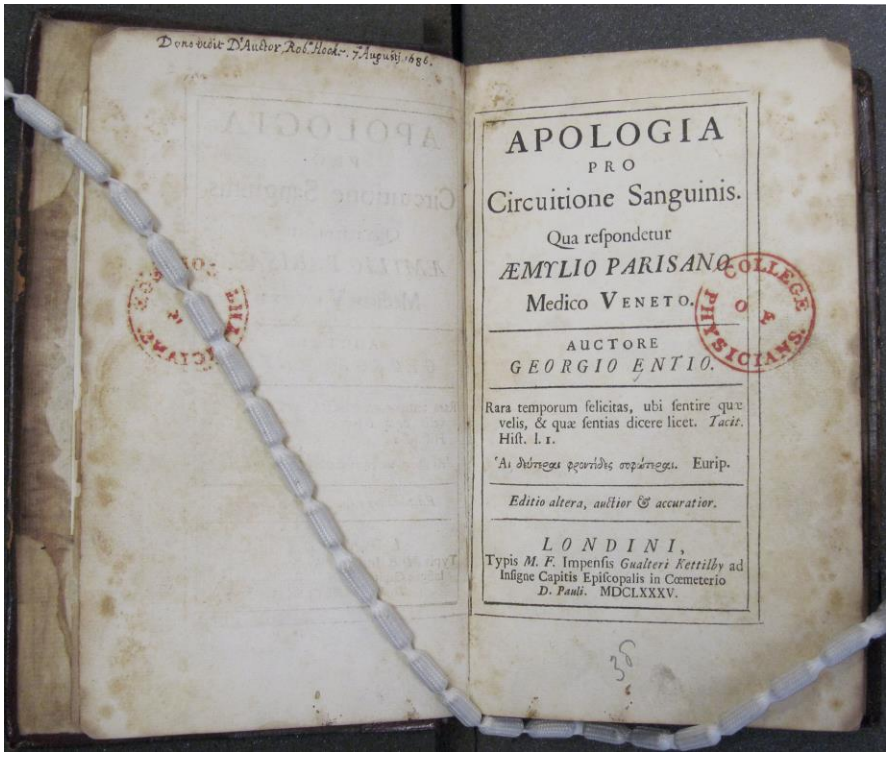
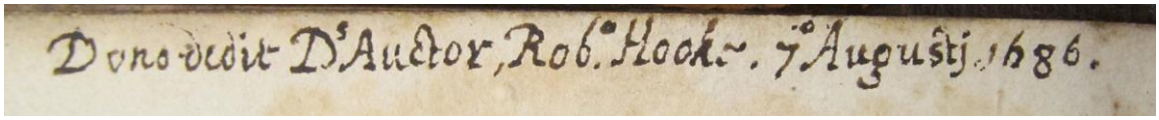
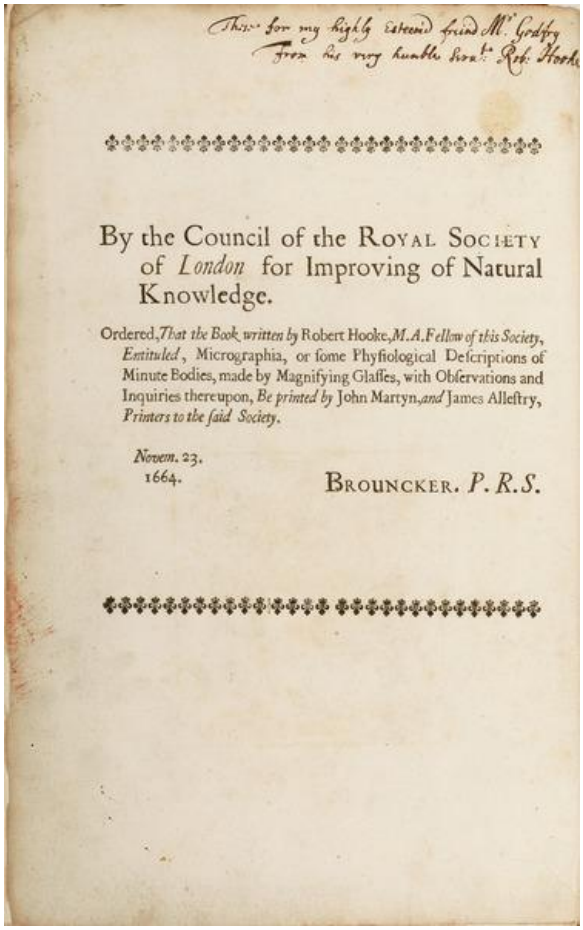


Figure 11 (left) George Ent's *Apologia pro circulatione sanguinis* (2nd ed.; London, 1685), presented to Hooke by the author on 7 August 1686. (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_1191.)

Figure 11a (below) Detail.

Royal College of Physicians, London, 14130, shelf reference D2/62-d-12. Images used with permission.





This for my highly esteemd friend Mr. Godfry
From his very humble Servt. Rob: Hooke

By the Council of the ROYAL SOCIETY of *London* for Improving of Natural Knowledge.

Ordered, *That the Book written by* Robert Hooke, *M.A. Fellow of this Society, Entituled*, Micrographia, or some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies, made by Magnifying Glasses, with Observations and Inquiries thereupon, *Be printed by* John Martyn, *and* James Allestry, *Printers to the said Society.*

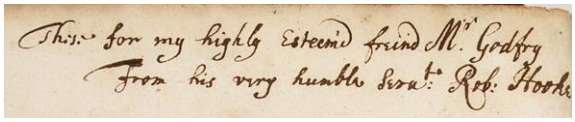
Novem. 23.
1664.

BROUNCKER. *P. R. S.*

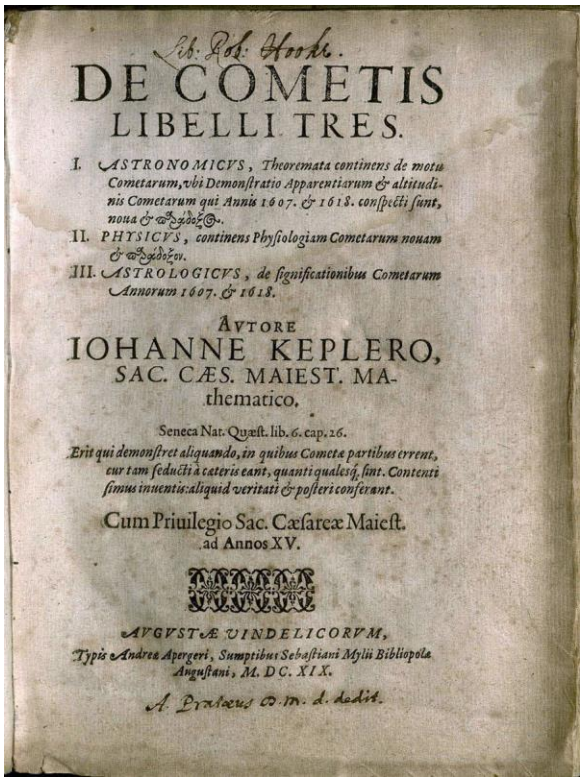
Figure 12 (left)
Hooke's inscription on the imprimatur page of a 1665 edition of the *Micrographia* he presented to "Mr. Godfry" (pen & ink and print on paper).
(See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. extra_BH_31.)

Figure 12a (below)
Detail.

Private Collection / Photo © Christie's Images / Bridgeman Images. Images used with permission.



This for my highly esteemd friend Mr. Godfry
From his very humble Servt. Rob: Hooke



Lib. Rob: Hooke.

DE COMETIS
LIBELLI TRES.

I. ASTRONOMICVS, *Theoremata continens de motu Cometarum, vbi Demonstratio Apparentiarum & altitudinis Cometarum qui Annis 1607. & 1618. conspecti sunt, noua & ἀπόδοξον.*
II. PHYSICVS, *continens Physiologiam Cometarum nouam & ἀπόδοξον.*
III. ASTROLOGICVS, *de significationibus Cometarum Annorum 1607. & 1618.*

AVTORE
IOHANNE KEPLERO,
SAC. CÆS. MAIEST. MAthematico.

Seneca Nat. Quæst. lib. 6. cap. 26.
Erit qui demonstret aliquando, in quibus Comete partibus errent, cur tam seducti à ceteris eant, quanti qualesq; sint. Contenti simus inuentis: aliquid veritati & posteri conferant.

Cum Priuilegio Sac. Cæsareæ Maiest.
ad Annos XV.

AVGVSTÆ VINDELICORVM,
Typis Andreæ Apergeri, Sumptibus Sebastiani Myllii Bibliopolæ Augustani, M. DC. XIX.

A. Praetorius D. M. d. dedit.

Figure 13 (right)
Hooke's acquisition note on the title page of Johannes Kepler's *De cometis libelli tres* (Augsburg, 1619).
(See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_847.)

Houghton Library, Harvard University, call no. GC6.K4436.619d. Image courtesy of the Houghton Library and used with permission.

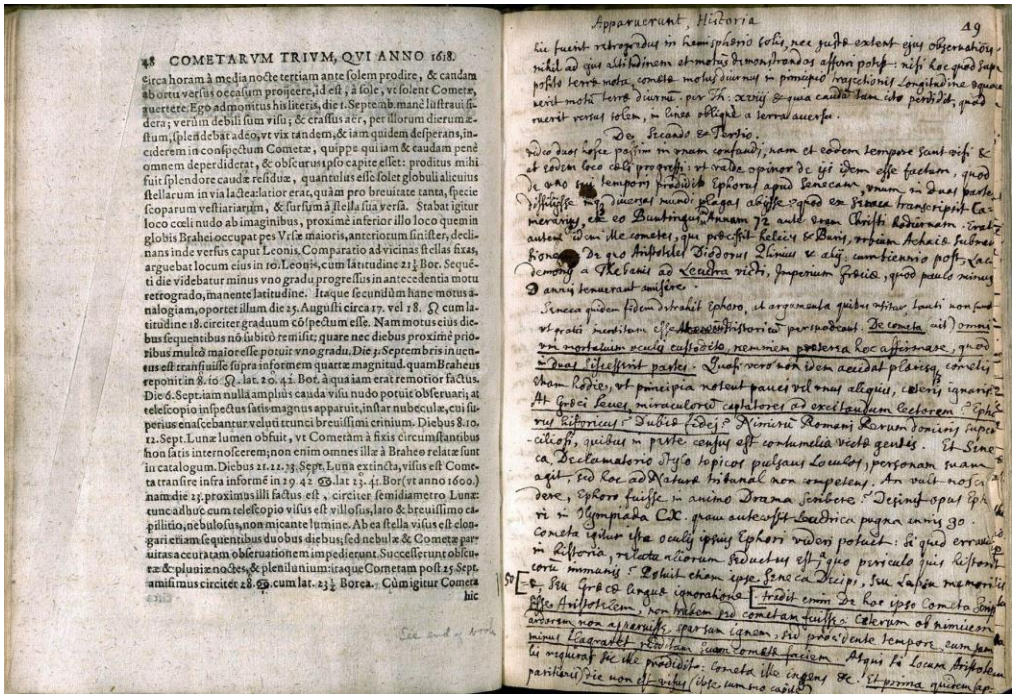


Figure 14 (above)
A sample of Hooke's manuscript copy of the missing pages from Johannes Kepler's *De cometis libelli tres* (Augsburg, 1619). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_847.)

Houghton Library, Harvard University, call no. GC6.K4436.619d. Image courtesy of the Houghton Library and used with permission.

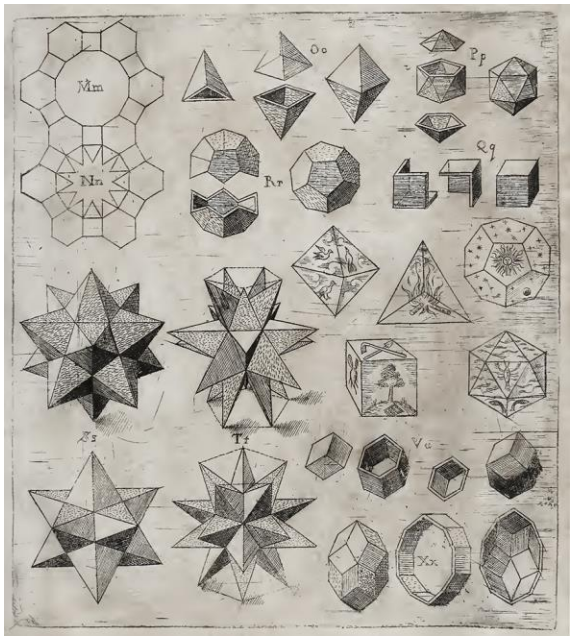


Figure 15 (above)
Illustrations from Book 2 of Johannes Kepler's *Harmonices mundi* (Linz, 1619).

Image courtesy of the Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Libraries and used with permission.

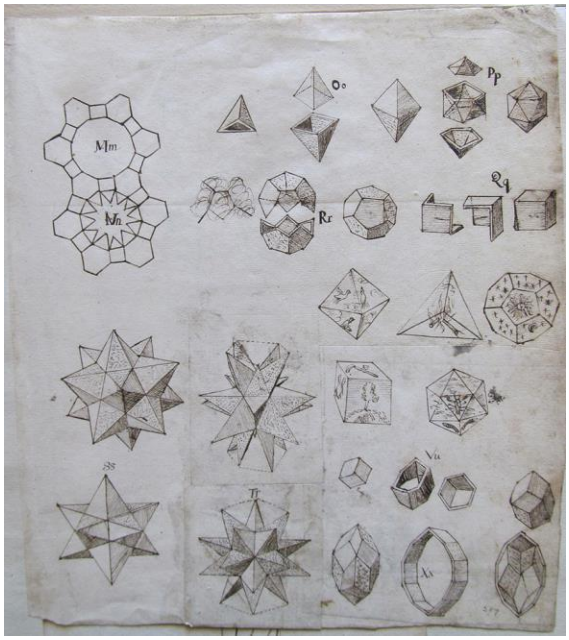
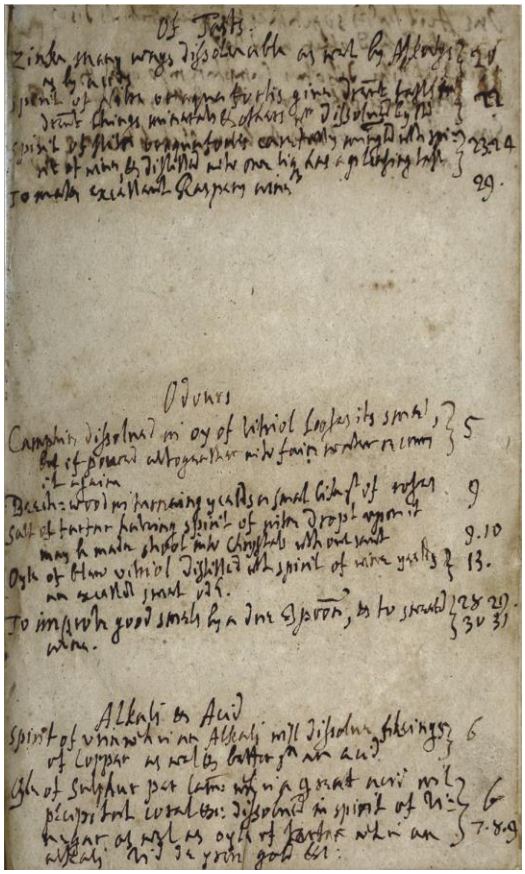


Figure 16 (above)
One of the folios of geometric sketches attributed to Hooke, replicating the illustrations from Book 2 of Kepler's *Harmonices mundi*.

Royal Society MS Cl.P/24/89, 317r. Image used with permission.



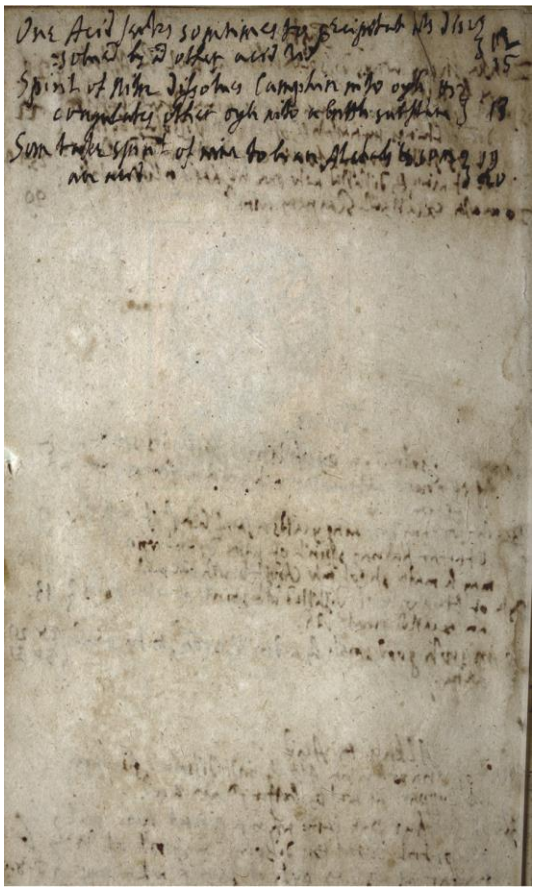


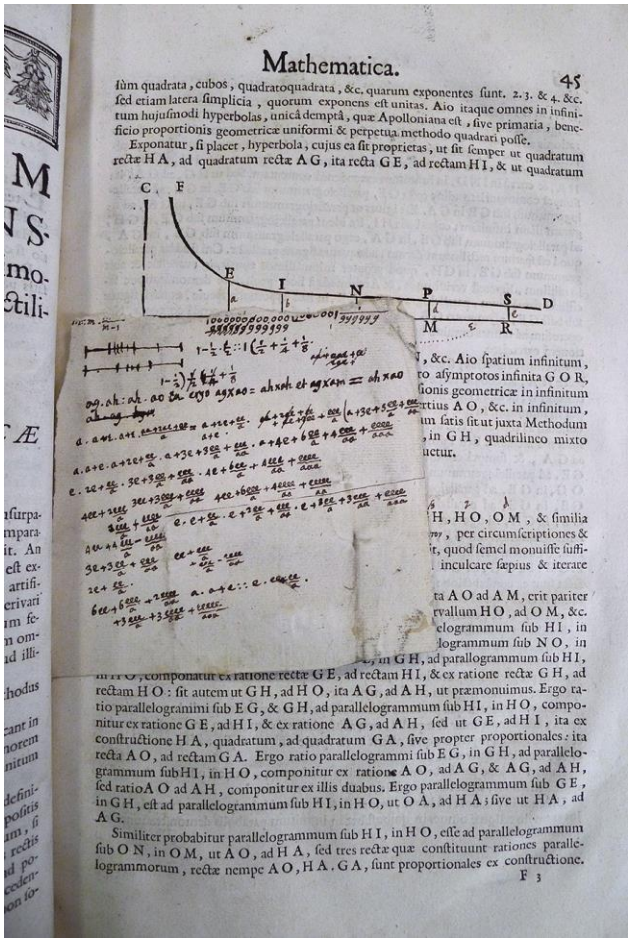
Figure 17 (above, left)

Figure 18 (above, right)

Figure 19 (left)

Manuscript pages in Hooke's hand inserted into his copy of Robert Boyle's *Experiments, notes, &c., about the mechanical origine or production of divers particular qualities…* (1675). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_2324.)

Smithsonian Libraries, Special Collections call no. Q 155 B79 1675. Images courtesy of the Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Libraries (extracted from the scanned copy of the book available online via the Biodiversity Heritage Library) and used with permission.


Mathematica. 45

ſùm quadrata, cubos, quadratoquadrata, &c. quarum exponentes ſunt. 2. 3. & 4. &c. ſed etiam latera ſimplicia, quorum exponens eſt unitas. Aio itaque omnes in infinitum hujuſmodi hyperbolas, unicâ demptâ, quæ Apolloniana eſt, ſive primaria, beneficio proportionis geometricæ uniformi & perpetua methodo quadrari poſſe.

Exponatur, ſi placet, hyperbola, cujus ea ſit proprietas, ut ſit ſemper ut quadratum rectæ H A, ad quadratum rectæ A G, ita recta G E, ad rectam H I, & ut quadratum

C F E I N P S D M R

…, &c. Aio ſpatium infinitum, …to aſymptotos infinita G O R, …ionis geometricæ in infinitum …rtius A O, &c. in infinitum, …um ſatis ſit ut juxta Methodum …, in G H, quadrilineo mixto …uetur.

…H, H O, O M, & ſimilia …, per circumſcriptiones & …r, quod ſemel monuiſſe ſuffi… inculcare ſæpius & iterate

…ta A O ad A M, erit pariter …rvallum H O, ad O M, &c. …elogrammum ſub H I, in …logrammum ſub N O, in …in G H, ad parallogrammum ſub H I, in H O, componatur ex ratione rectæ G E, ad rectam H I, & ex ratione rectæ G H, ad rectam H O: ſit autem ut G H, ad H O, ita A G, ad A H, ut præmonuimus. Ergo ratio parallelogrammi ſub E G, & G H, ad parallelogrammum ſub H I, in H O, componitur ex ratione G E, ad H I, & ex ratione A G, ad A H, ſed ut G E, ad H I, ita ex conſtructione H A, quadratum, ad quadratum G A, ſive propter proportionales: ita recta A O, ad rectam G A. Ergo ratio parallelogrammi ſub E G, in G H, ad parallelogrammum ſub H I, in H O, componitur ex ratione A O, ad A G, & A G, ad A H, ſed ratio A O ad A H, componitur ex illis duabus. Ergo parallelogrammum ſub G E, in G H, eſt ad parallelogrammum ſub H I, in H O, ut O A, ad H A; ſive ut H A, ad A G.

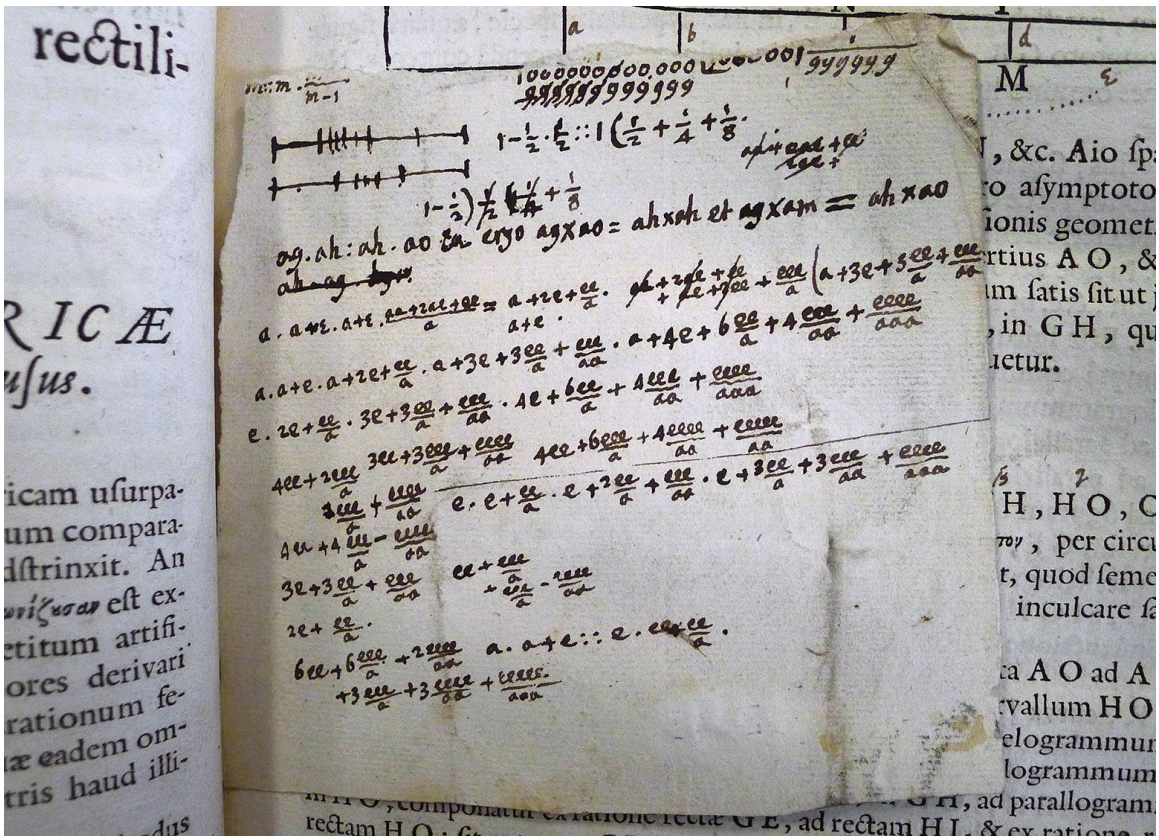
Similiter probabitur parallelogrammum ſub H I, in H O, eſſe ad parallelogrammum ſub O N, in O M, ut A O, ad H A, ſed tres rectæ quæ conſtituunt rationes parallelogrammorum, rectæ nempe A O, H A, G A, ſunt proportionales ex conſtructione.

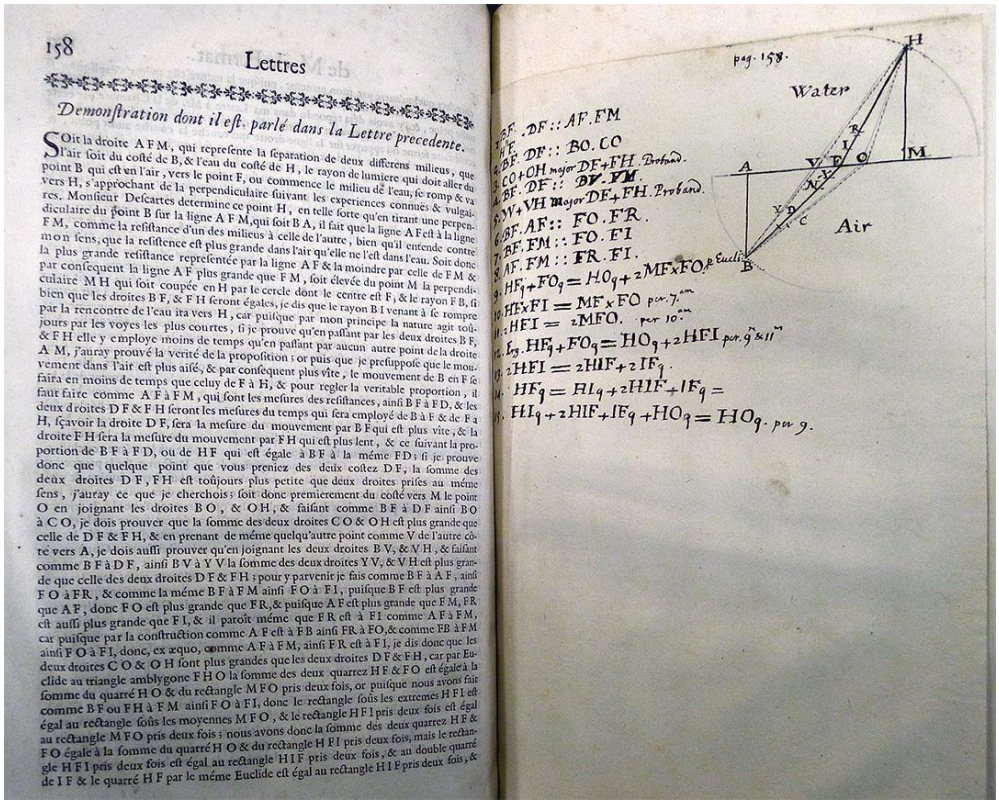
F 3

Figure 20 (left)
One of the manuscript folios of notes in Hooke's hand inserted into his copy of Pierre de Fermat's *Varia opera mathematica* (Toulouse, 1679). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_277.)

Figure 20a (below)
Detail.

Whipple Library, University of Cambridge, classmark STORE 57:20. Images courtesy of the Whipple Library and used with permission.





Figures 21 (above) **& 21a** (detail below)
One of the manuscript folios of notes in Hooke's hand inserted into his copy of Fermat's *Varia opera mathematica* (Toulouse, 1679); this particular one illustrates Fermat's theory of refraction. (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_277.)

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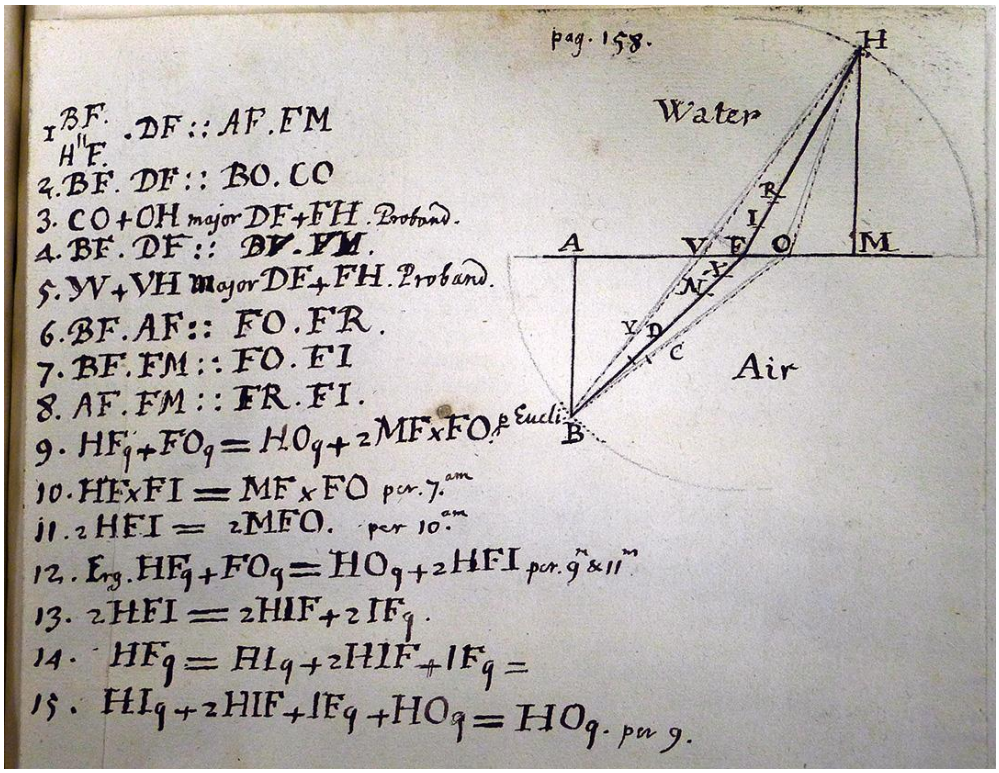

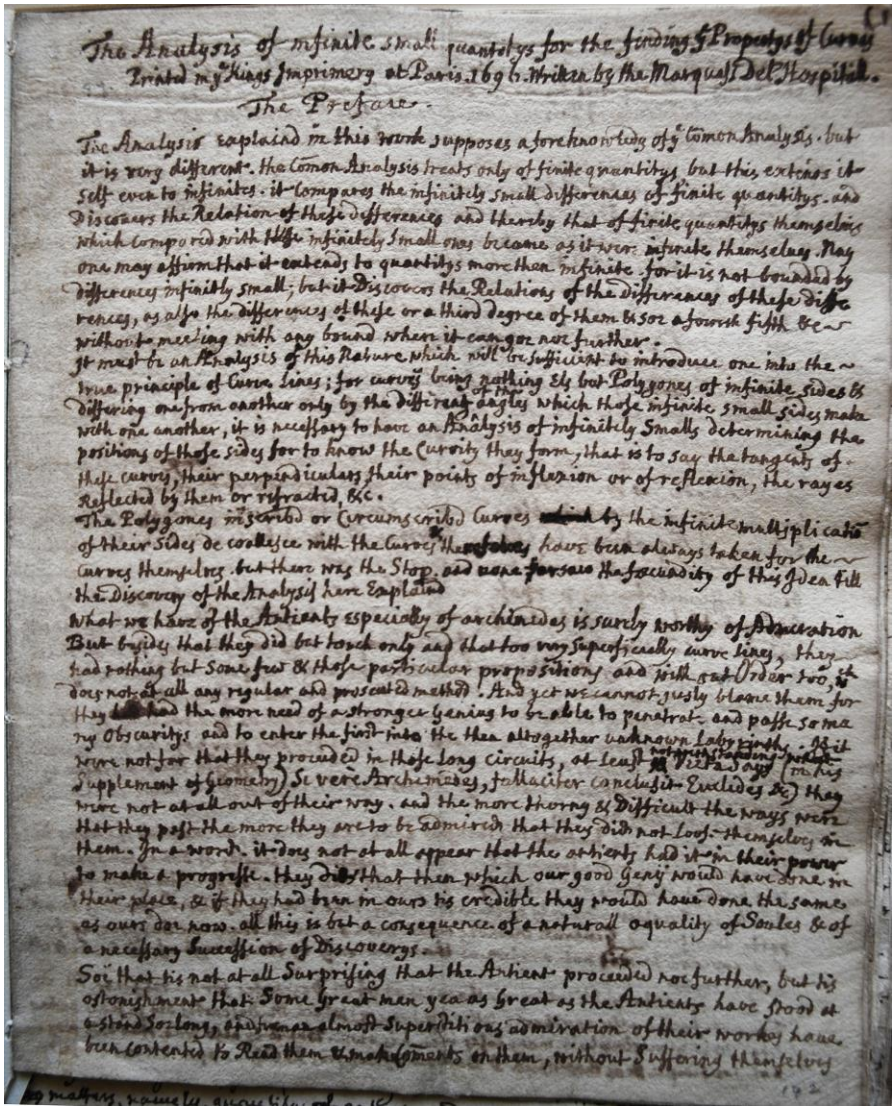

The Analysis of infinite small quantitys for the finding of Propertys of Curves
Printed in the Kings Imprimery at Paris. 1696. Written by the Marquis del Hospital.

The Preface.

The Analysis explaind in this work supposes a forethorough knowledg of the Common Analysis, but it is very different. the Comon Analysis treats only of finite quantitys, but this extends it self even to infinites. it compares the infinitely small differences of finite quantitys. and Discovers the Relation of these differences and thereby that of finite quantitys themselves which compared with these infinitely small ones become as it were infinite themselves. May one may affirm that it extends to quantitys more than infinite. for it is not bounded by differences infinitely small; but it Discovers the Relations of the differences of these differences, as also the differences of these or a third degree of them & so a fourth fifth &c without to meeting with any bound when it can go no further.

It must be an Analysis of this Nature which will be sufficient to introduce one into the true principle of Curve Lines; for curves being nothing els but Polygones of infinite sides & differing one from another only by the different angles which these infinite small sides make with one another, it is necessary to have an Analysis of infinitely Smalls determining the positions of these sides for to know the Curvity they form, that is to say the tangents of these curves, their perpendiculars, their points of inflexion or of reflexion, the rayes Reflected by them or refracted, &c.

The Polygones inscribed or Circumscribed Curves by the infinite multiplicatio of their Sides do coalesce with the Curves themselves have been always taken for the Curves themselves, but there was the Stop, and none foresaw the fecundity of this Idea till the Discovery of the Analysis here Explaind

What we have of the Antients especially of archimedes is surely worthy of Admiration But besides that they did but touch only and that too very superficially curve lines, they had nothing but some few & those particular propositions and without Order too, it does not at all any regular and prosecuted method. And yet we cannot justly blame them for they had the more need of a stronger Genius to be able to penetrate and pass so many Obscuritys and to enter the first into the thes altogether unknown labyrinths. & it were not for that they proceeded in those long circuits, at least (in his Supplement of Geometry) Severe Archimedes, stalciter concludit Euclides &c) they more not at all out of their way. and the more Learned & Difficult the ways were that they past the more they are to be admired that they did not Lose themselves in them. In a word. it does not at all appear that the antients had it in their power to make a progresse. they did that then which our good Genij would have done in their place, & if they had been in ours it is credible they would have done the same as ours do now. all this is but a consequence of a naturall equality of Soules & of a necessary Succession of Discoverys.

Soe that tis not at all Surprising that the Antients proceeded no further, but tis astonishment that Some great men yea as great as the Antients have stood at a stand so long, and rather almost superstitious admiration of their works have been contented to Read them & make Comments on them, without Suffering themselves

Figure 22 (left)
First page of Hooke's detailed notes on Guillaume de l'Hôpital's *L'Analyse des infiniment petits, pour l'intelligence des lignes courbes* (Paris, 1696). (See *Hooke's Books Database* id no. auct_BH_732.)

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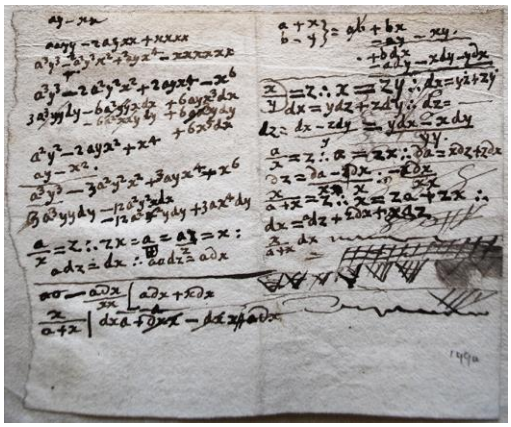

Figure 23 (above)
Calculations in Hooke's hand among his notes on Guillaume de l'Hôpital's *L'Analyse des infiniment petits* . . . (Paris, 1696).

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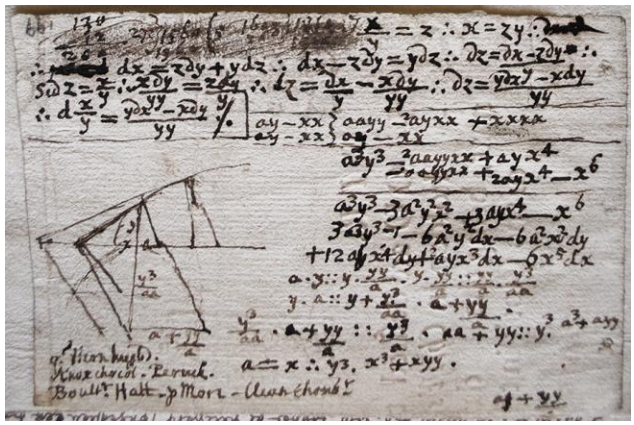

Figure 24 (above)
Calculations in Hooke's hand among his notes on Guillaume de l'Hôpital's *L'Analyse des infiniment petits* . . . (Paris, 1696).

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