SIXTEENTH CENTURY PRINTING TYPES AND ORNAMENTS OF SCOTLAND

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY OF

THE SCOTTISH BOOK TRADE

Paul B. Watry
Faculty of English
University of Oxford



Submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Merton College, Oxford
Michaelmas 1992

Abstract

Sixteenth Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland

With an Introductory Survey of

The Scottish Booktrade

Paul B. Watry — Doctor of Philosophy

Merton College, Oxford — Michaelmas 1992

This thesis comprises a catalogue of the sixteenth century printing types and ornaments of Scotland, along with an introductory survey of the Scottish book trade. It is divided into two parts, and includes an appendix describing the 337 books discussed in the study.

The first part surveys the Scottish booktrade from its first stirrings in the late fifteenth century until the departure of King James VI to England in 1603. It considers, in particular, the European context of the trade, showing the strong connections Scottish writers and booksellers had with continental printers. Using the typographic evidence presented in the second part of this thesis, it is argued that Scottish printers had neither the resources nor the ability to compete with their continental counterparts in distributing such books, and therefore had to rely almost exclusively on the patronage of the Crown and the Scottish government for the survival of their businesses. The consequent manipulation of the press, by both Catholics and Protestant alike, is considered in this context, as is the increasingly sophisticated efforts of the English to control the trade of printed books in Scotland. The first section concludes by discussing the part that the Scottish booktrade played in the evolution of Scottish literary culture and education.

The second part comprises a catalogue of the sixteenth century printing types and ornaments of Scotland. This section is intended to provide evidence about the supply and distribution of typographical materials throughout the country, discussing the connections earlier printers had with suppliers in France, England, and the Low Countries, as well as the various trends in design that were favoured by an increasingly sophisticated Scottish literary market. The catalogue itself comprises 76 type synopses assembled by the author, as well as reproductions of 35 alphabets, 8 factotums, 12 printers' devices, 1 title-page border, 6 Coats of Arms, 27 woodcuts, and 31 head and tailpieces, accompanied by extensive notes, covering aspects of provenance, supply, design, and use by other printers.

The appendix describes the 337 books discussed in this thesis, giving short-titles, collations, descriptions of ornamentation, a census of copies, and references for each item. Extended notes are also provided for most books, detailing relevant bibliographical information, much of which is derived from the surviving printers' inventories. This section assigns new dates and printers to a number of Scottish books based on the evidence presented in part two. Previously unrecorded variants based on a first-hand examination of the books are also included.

Number of words in this thesis: 100,888.

Contents

Abbreviations i
Locations iv
Illustrations vii

PART I:
Historical Narrative 1
Preface 2
Narrative 5

PART II:
Sixteenth Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland 69
Introduction 70
Printing Types 79
Ornaments 88
Plates (unpaginated)

APPENDIX I 102
List of Books 103
Concordance 140
References Cited 142

Abbreviations and Conventions

Inventories: Transcripts of the Scottish printers' and booksellers' inventories mentioned in this thesis are included in vol. 2 of the *Bannatyne Miscellany* (Edinburgh, 1836). Parts of these are also included in Dickson and Edmond's *Annals of Scottish Printing*. For details of the English and Scottish books in these inventories, *see* F. S. Ferguson in *The Library*, viii (1927–8), pp. 145–98; and J. P. Edmond, 'Notes on the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers: 1577–1603', *EBS*, i, 15 (1891), pp. 1–8.

Sums of Money: Unless stated otherwise, all sums of money are given in Scottish pounds, which were rated at 4 : 1 against the English pound in 1560, 5.5 : 1 in 1567, and 7.33 : 1 by 1587. A merk is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Scottish pound. This rate of exchange, and the consequent lowering of the Scottish pound against the English, was the result of severe inflation brought about in the late 1570s. *See* J. Gilbert, 'The Unusual Money of Scotland and Exchange Rates against Foreign Coin', in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland*, edited by D. M. Metcalf (London, British Arch. Reports 45, 1977). For comparative currency valuations, *see* Franz Pick and René Sédillot, *All the Monies of the World: A Chronicle of Currency Values*, (New York, 1971).

Other Bibliographical information: Apart from the references included in this thesis, other bibliographical information about early Scottish printing is included in the following items: William Geddie, *A Bibliography of Early Scottish Poets*, STS, 1st ser., 61 (Edinburgh and London, 1912); Peter Heidtmann, 'A Bibliography of Henryson, Dunbar, and Douglas: 1912–68', *Chaucer Review*, v (1970), pp. 55–82; F. H. Ridley, 'Middle Scots Writers', in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, ed. A. E. Hartung, iv (New Haven, 1973); *see* also Addenda by C. D. Parsons, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxviii (1975), pp. 221–9; P. Bawcutt, 'Middle Scots Poets' and J. Craigie, 'Scottish Literature', in *NCBEL*, ed. George Watson, i (600–1660) (Cambridge, 1974); Walter Scheps and J. Anna Looney, *Middle Scots Poets: A Reference Guide to James I, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas* (Boston, 1986). These and other works are also listed in *LSP*. Many of the nineteenth century transcriptions of sixteenth century Scottish documents are listed in David and Wendy Stevenson's *Scottish Texts and Calendars* (London and Edinburgh, 1987).

Addenda to Early Scottish Libraries: The following are additions to Durkan and Ross's *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961): T. A. F. Cherry, 'The Library of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, 1560–1565', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), 13–24; Robert Donaldson, 'Three More Regent Moray Books', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), 39–43; D. W. Doughty, 'The Library of James Stewart, Earl of Moray, 1531–70', *IR*, xx (1970), 17–29; D. W. Doughty, 'A Note on Some Old Books Found in the High School of Dundee', *Bibliotheck*, i (1957), 42–6; D. W. Doughty, 'Notes on the Provenance of Books Belonging to Lord James Stewart, Afterwards the Regent Moray, other than those in the University of St. Andrews', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1961), 75–88; D. W. Doughty, 'Notes on the Regent Moray's Books and their Bindings', *Bibliotheck*, vi (1971–3), 65–75; D. W. Doughty, 'Renaissance Books, Bindings, and Owners in St. Andrews and Elsewhere: the Humanists', *Bibliotheck*, vi (1974–5), 117–133; J. Durkan, 'Addenda to "Further Additions to Durkan and Ross" ', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1982), 57–8; J. Durkan, 'Further Additions to Durkan and Ross: Some Newly Discovered Pre-Reformation Provenances', *Bibliotheck*, x (1981), 87–98; J. Durkan and R. V. Pringle, 'St. Andrews Additions to Durkan and Ross: Some Unrecorded Scottish Pre-Reformation Ownership Inscriptions in St. Andrews University Library', *Bibliotheck*, ix (1976–9), 13–20; J. Durkan and Julian Russell, 'Additions to J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* at the National Library of Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1982), 29–37; J. Durkan and A. Ross, 'Further Additions (including Manuscripts) to J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, at the National Library of Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, xii (1985), 85–90; W. A. Kelly and J. F. Russell, 'A Book from Knox's Library', *Bibliotheck*, vi (1971–3), 88.

Abbreviated References

Aldis:	Harry G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1970).
APS:	Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.
A & R:	A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England: 1558–1640* (Bognor Regis, 1956). (Published in *Biographical Studies* iii (1956), nos. 3, 4).
Arch. Plant.:	Archives of the Museum Plantin-Moretus (Catalogue by J. Denucé, Antwerp, 1926).
Beattie:	W. Beattie, *The Chepman and Myllar Prints* (Edinburgh, 1950).
Briquet:	C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1968).
Cant:	R. G. Cant, 'The St. Andrews University Thesis, 1579–1747. A Bibliographical Introduction' and 'Supplement to the St. Andrews University Theses', *TEBS*, ii (1938–45), pp. 105–50, 265–72.
Carter:	H. Carter (ed.), *Catalogue of the Edward Clark Library*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1976).
Carter, *Le Bé*:	H. Carter, *Sixteenth-Century French Type-founders: The Le Bé Memorandum*, Documents typographiques français iii (Paris, 1966).
Carter, *View*:	H. Carter, *A View of Early Typography* (Oxford, 1969).
Carter and Ricks:	E. R. Mores, *A Dissertation Upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies (1778), with A Catalogue and Specimen of the Typefoundry of John James (1782)*, ed. H. Carter and Christopher Ricks (London, 1961).
Carter & Vervliet:	H. Carter and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Civilité Types*, Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, n.s., ix (Oxford, 1966).
Corr. Plant.:	*Correspondence de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. Rooses and J. Denucé, vols. i–ix (Antwerp, 1883–1918); vol. x (Supplément), ed. M. van Durme (Antwerp, 1955).
Cr.:	*A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, ed. Robert Steele, 2 vols (Oxford, 1910).
Cranstoun:	James Cranstoun (ed.), *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, 2 vols., Scottish Text Society, 1st ser. (1889–91).
Dickson and Edmond:	Robert Dickson and J. P. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing, From the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1890). For an appendix of approximately fifty items *see* J. P. Edmond, 'Bibliographical Gleanings, 1890–1893; Being Additions and Corrections to *Annals of Scottish Printing*, *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Proceedings*, i (1894).
DMH:	*Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible: 1525–1961*, ed. A. S. Herbert (London, 1968).
'Early Inv.':	M. Parker, K. Melis, and H. D. L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana ii, Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices, and Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives', *De Gulden Passer*, xxxviii (Antwerp, 1960), pp. 1–139.
Early Scottish Libraries:	John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961). A revised edition of 'Early Scottish Libraries', *IR* ix (1958).
EBST:	Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions.
Ferguson, *Pica Types*:	W. Craig Ferguson, *Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England* (London, 1989).
Harvard:	S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials: The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin* (New York, 1974).
Index:	Carleton Brown and R. H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943).
IR:	Innes Review.
Isaac, *Types*:	F. Isaac, *English Printers' Types of the XVIth Century* (1936).
Isaac II–III:	F. Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types* (London, 1930–2).

Johnson, 'Italic Types':	A. F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *Library*, 4th ser., xxi (1940–1), pp. 291–7.
LSP:	Pricscilla Bawcut, *et. al.*, *Longer Scottish Poems*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1987).
McFarlane:	I. D. McFarlane, *George Buchanan* (London, 1981).
McKerrow:	R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485–1640* (London, 1913). Reprinted 1949.
McKerrow and Ferguson:	R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders used in England and Scotland: 1485–1640* (London, 1932).
McRoberts:	David McRoberts, 'Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments', *IR*, iii (1952) 49–63.
Manual:	*Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050–1500*, ed. J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, Connecticut, 1967–).
Morison, *Le Bé*:	S. Morison, *L'Inventaire de la fonderie Le Bé selon la transcription de Jean Pierre Fournier*, Documents typographiques français i (Paris, 1957).
PEBS:	*Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*.
RPC:	Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.
Robbins:	*Secular Lyrics of the XIV and XV Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955).
Shire:	Helena M. Shire, *Song, Dance, and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969).
STC:	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad: 1475–1640*, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London, 1976–91).
Steele:	Robert Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing* (London, 1965).
STS:	Scottish Text Society.
TA:	*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, edd. T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1877–1916).
TP:	Entries in W. A. Ringler, Jr., *Bibliography and Index of English Verse Printed 1476–1558* (London and New York, 1988).
TSF, i:	*Type Specimen Facsimiles*, i, 1–15, ed. J. Dreyfus (1963).
TSF, ii:	*Type Specimen Facsimiles*, ii, 16–8, ed. J. Dreyfus with annotations by H. D. L. Vervliet and H. Carter (1972).
Utley:	Frances Utley, *The Crooked Rib* (Ohio, 1944).
Vervliet, *Printing Types*:	H. D. L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam, 1968).
Vervliet, *Vatican Press*:	H. D. L. Vervliet, *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press: 1628* (Amsterdam, 1967).

Locations

The following are all the locations cited in this thesis, complete with their abbreviations. Wherever possible, the abbreviations used in the *Short-Title Catalogue* are used. The entries in the Appendix cite European locations first, followed by those in North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

A	Aberdeen University Library
A^2	St. Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen. Deposited at the National Library of Scotland.
A^3	Charter Room, Town House, Aberdeen.
Aberdeen Public Library	
Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Bern.	
Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.	
BO	Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
BO^3	Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
BO^6	Zion Research Library, Boston, Mass.
Bute	Marquess of Bute.
C	University Library, Cambridge.
C^2	Trinity College, Cambridge.
C^3	Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
C^4	King's College, Cambridge.
C^5	St. John's College, Cambridge.
C^{10}	Magdalene College, Cambridge.
C^{13}	Clare College, Cambridge.
C^{19}	Peterhouse, Cambridge.
CB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.
Cant	Canterbury Cathedral.
Carnegie Library	
Carlisle	Carlisle Cathedral
Cashel	Cashel Cathedral, Co. Tipperary.
Copenhagen RL	Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen.
CH	Chapen Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
CHI	University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati U	Cincinnati University, Ohio.
CU	Columbia University, New York City.
D	Trinity College, Dublin.
D^2	Marsh's Library, Dublin.
Public Library, Detroit, Mich.	
DUL	Dulwich College, London.
DEU	University of Dundee.
Dundee PL	Public Library, Dundee.
Dundee City Archives.	
DUR	Durham Cathedral.
DUR^3	Cosin Library, deposited at University of Durham.
DUR^5	University of Durham.
E	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
E^2	Edinburgh University.
E^3	Signet Library, Edinburgh.
E^4	New College, Edinburgh University.
E^5	Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.
E^6	Scottish Record Office, General Register House, Edinburgh.
E^7	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh.
E^8	Public Library, Edinburgh.
Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen.	
Essex County Library	
F	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.

FBL	Francis Bacon Library, Claremont, Calif.
G^2	University of Glasgow.
G^4	Public Library, Glasgow.
Geneva PL	Public Library, Geneva.
Glos	Gloucester Cathedral.
Got	Göttingen University.
Haddington PL	Public Library, Haddington.
Landesbibliothek, Hannover.	
Hat	Hatfield House, Hatfield, Herts.
Hart	Pitts Theological Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.
HD	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Her	Hereford Cathedral.
HN	Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
House of Lords	
ILL	University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
IND	Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
INN	Innerpeffray Library, by Crieff, Perthshire.
JH	Johns Hopkins University, Blatimore, Md.
Universitätsbibliothek, Kiel.	
L	The British Library, Reference Division, London.
L^2	Lambeth Palace.
L^3	Dr. Williams's Library.
L^5	Society of Antiquaries.
L^{11}	Public Record Office.
L^{13}	Westminster Abbey.
L^{14}	British and Foreign Bible Society. Deposited at Cambridge University.
L^{15}	St. Paul's Cathedral.
L^{30}	London University.
L^{38}	University College, London.
L^{43}	The London Library.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Lamport	Lamport Hall, Northampton.
Leeds	University of Leeds.
University and Municipal Library, Leiden.	
Lich	Lichfield Cathedral.
Linc	Lincoln Cathedral.
Liv	University Cathedral (Anglican). Deposited at University of Liverpool.
LK	Lanhydrock, Bodmin, Cornwall.
M	John Rylands University Library of Manchester.
M^2	Chetham's Library, Manchester.
Mel	State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
Mich	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Min	University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Staatsbibliothek, Munich.	
N	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
Napier College, Edinburgh.	
NEK	Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne. Formerly King's College.
NEP	Central Library, Newcastle upon Tyne.
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
NY	New York Public Library, New York City.
NY^2	New York Historical Society.
NY^4	New York Academy of Medicine.
NY^{11}	General Theological Seminary, New York City.
O	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
O^2	Queen's College, Oxford.
O^3	Christ Church, Oxford.
O^4	Brasenose College, Oxford.

O^5	Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
O^6	Worcester College, Oxford.
O^7	Wadham College, Oxford.
O^8	St. John's College, Oxford.
O^9	All Souls College, Oxford.
O^{12}	Magdalen College, Oxford.
O^{13}	Lincoln College, Oxford.
O^{18}	Jesus College, Oxford.
O^{19}	Oriel College, Oxford.
O^{20}	Mansfield College, Oxford.
O^{22}	Hertford College, Oxford.
O^{28}	Regents Park College, Oxford.
O^{30}	The Taylorian, Oxford.
O^{35}	Blackfriars Priory, Oxford.
Landesbibliothek, Oldenburg.	
P	Peterborough Cathedral. On long term deposit at Cambridge University.
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale.
$Paris^2$	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.
Pen	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pen^2	Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.
PFOR	Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, New York City.
PL	
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City.
PN^2	Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.
R	Ripon Cathedral.
Universitätsbibliothek, Regensburg Kungl.	
S	William Salt Library, County Record Office, Stafford.
Sal	Salisbury Cathedral.
SLC	Southwell Minster.
STD	St. David's University College, Lampeter.
Biblioteket, Stockholm.	
Lord Strathmore.	
STU	University of St. Andrews.
Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale.	
U	Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.	
Bibliothèque municipale, Versailles.	
Vienna NL	National Library, Vienna.
Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna.	
$Wash^2$	Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
Wel	Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Wigan PL	Public Library, Wigan.
WIS	University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
WOR	Worcester Cathedral.
WN	Winchester College.
Herzog-August Bibliothek,	Wolfenbüttel.
Y	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
YK	York Minster.
Bibliotheca Bipontina, Zweibrüken	

Illustrations

The following are illustrations included in this thesis. References in **bold type** refer to the items listed in Appendix I.

TYPE R1: 4-line Pica Roman Capitals photographically assembled from Sir David Lindsay's *Ane dialog* (No. **28**, STC 15658. Huntington Library: 17425).

TYPE R2: 3-line Pica Roman Capitals photographically assembled from Sir David Lindsay's *Ane dialog* (No. **28**, STC 15658. Huntington Library: 17425).

TYPE R3: 2-line Double-Pica Roman photographically assembled from the 1597 Acts of Parliament (No. **290**, STC 21877. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.9).

TYPE R4: 2-line English Roman photographically assembled from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.); Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57); James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237); *Theses philosophicæ* (No. **265**, STC 7487.1. Bodleian Library: Diss BB 302(1)).

TYPE R5: 2-line English Roman photographically assembled from the 1576 Bible (No. **147** & **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1).

TYPE R6: 2-line Pica Roman Capitals photographically assembled from the Acts of Parliament, printed in 1575 (No. **142**, STC 21883. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.27); George Buchanan, *De iure regni* (No. **155**, STC 3973. Bodleian Library: Arch. Ae 52); Thomas Smeton, *Ad verulentum* (No. **161**, STC 22651. Bodleian Library: 4° A 37 Th.).

TYPE R7: 2-line Great Primer Capitals photographically assembled from Sir David Lindsay's *Ane dialog* (No. **28**, STC 15658. Huntington Library: 17425).

TYPE R8: 2-line Small Pica Roman Capitals photographically assembled from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1).

TYPE R9: 2-line Double Pica Roman photographically assembled from *The ordour and doctrine of the generall faste* (No. **53**, STC 22041. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.23(3)); the Acts of Parliament, printed in 1575 (No. **142**, STC 21883. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.27); **155**, Thomas Smeton, *Ad verulentum* (No. **161**, STC 22651. Bodleian Library: 4° A 37 Th.).

TYPE R10: Double-Pica Roman photographically assembled from the Bible (Nos. **147** & **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1); James VI, *Essayes of a prentise* (No. **191**, STC 14374. Bodleian Library: 4° L 66 Art).

TYPE R11: Double-Pica Roman photographically assembled from *Ane humble motion* No. (**201**, STC 7754. Bodleian Library: Tanner 801).

TYPE R12: Paragon Roman photographically assembled from Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57); James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237).

TYPE R13: Great Primer Roman photographically assembled from the Bible (Nos. **147** & **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1).

TYPE R14: Great Primer Roman photographically assembled from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1).

TYPE R15: English Roman photographically assembled from David Lindsay, *Ane dialog* (No. **21**, STC 15672. Bodleian Library: 4° L 7 Art).

TYPE R16: English Roman photographically assembled from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1); *Ane humble motion* (No. **201**, STC 7754. Bodleian Library: Tanner 801); the 1599 Statutes (No. **312**, STC 21877.5. Bodleian Library: C 8.19 Art).

TYPE R17: English Roman photographically assembled from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18).

TYPE R18: English Roman photographically assembled from Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57); James VI, *Essayes of a prentise* (No. **191**, STC 14374. Bodleian Library: 4° L 66 Art).

TYPE R19: English Roman photographically assembled from the Acts of Parliament, printed in 1575 (No. **142**, STC 21883. Bodleian Library copy: Vet. A1 d.27); George Buchanan, *De iure regni* (No. **155**, STC 3973. Bodleian Library: Arch. Ae 52); George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**, STC 3991. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.5.).

TYPE R20: Pica Roman photographically assembled from *The ordour and doctrine of the generall faste* (No. **53**, STC 22041. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.23(3)); John Knox, *Ane answer* (No. **115**, STC 15062. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 f.33).

TYPE R21: Pica Roman photographically assembled from Robert Bruce, *Sermons preached* (No. **213**, STC 3923. Bodleian Library: 1 c 34.).

TYPE R22: Pica Roman photographically assembled from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.).

TYPE R23: Pica Roman photographically assembled from Robert Rollock, *Commentarius* (No. **328**, STC 21274. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 f.160.).

TYPE R24: Small Pica Roman photographically assembled from Thomas Smeton, *Ad verulentum* (No. **161**, STC 22651. Bodleian Library: 4° A 37 Th.); Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1); *Ane humble motion* No. (**201**, STC 7754. Bodleian Library: Tanner 801).

TYPE R25: Long Primer Roman photographically assembled from Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57); James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237).

TYPE R26: Long Primer Roman photographically assembled from John Knox, *Ane answer* (No. **115**, STC 15062. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 f.33).

TYPE R27: Long Primer Roman photographically assembled from the Bible (Nos. **147** & **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1).

TYPE R28: Bourgeois Roman photographically assembled from Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57); James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237).

TYPE R29: Bourgeois Roman photographically assembled from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1).

TYPE R30: Brevier Roman photographically assembled from Thomas Smeton, *Ad verulentum* (No. **161**, STC 22651. Bodleian Library: 4° A 37 Th); Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1).

TYPE IT1: Double Pica Italic photographically assembled from James VI, *Daemonology* (No. **281**, STC 14364. Bodleian Library: Wood B 21 (1)); Saluste de Bartas, *Hadriani* (No. **334**, STC 21657. Bodleian Library: Mason DD 387.).

TYPE IT2: Great Primer Italic photographically assembled from John Monipennie, *Certaine matters* (No. **285**, STC 18016. Bodleian Library: Wood 594 (1)).

TYPE IT3: English Italic photographically assembled from George Buchanan, *De iure regni* (No. **155**, STC 3973. Bodleian Library: Arch. Ae 52); James VI, *Essayes of a prentise* (No. **191**, STC 14374. Bodleian Library: 4° L 66 Art); Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1).

TYPE IT4: Pica Italic photographically assembled from David Lindsay, *Ane dialog* (No. **21**, STC 15672. Bodleian Library: 4° L 7 Art).

TYPE IT5: Pica Italic photographically assembled from **185**; Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1); *Theses philosophicæ* (No. **265**, STC 7487.1. Bodleian Library: Diss BB 302 (1)).

TYPE IT6: Long Primer Italic photographically assembled from Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57); Robert Rollock, *Commentarius* (No. **328**, STC 21274. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 f.160).

TYPE T1: 2-line Great Primer Italic photographically assembled from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18); the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.); the 1579 Statutes (No. **170**, STC 21884. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.28); David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **283**, STC 15664.3. National Library of Scotland: RB.s.206).

TYPE T2: Great Primer Textura photographically assembled from the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**, STC 15791. National Library of Scotland: F.6.f.5).

TYPE T3: Great Primer Textura photographically assembled from William Welwood, *The sea-law* (No. **210**, STC 25242. Bodleian Library: Wood C 13).

TYPE T4: English-bodied French Textura photographically assembled from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18); *The ordour and doctrine of the generall faste* (No. **53**, STC 22041. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.23 (3)).

TYPE T5: English Textura photographically assembled from William Welwood, *The sea-law* (No. **210**, STC 25242. Bodleian Library: Wood C 13).

TYPE T6: English-bodied French Textura photographically assembled from *The knightly tale of Golagros* (No. **9**, STC 11984. National Library of Scotland: L.S.R. 79/2).

TYPE T7: Pica Textura photographically assembled from William Welwood, *The sea-law* (No. **210**, STC 25242. Bodleian Library: Wood C 13).

TYPE T8: Small Pica Textura photographically assembled from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18); the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.); the 1579 Statutes (No. **170**, STC 21884. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.28); David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **283**, STC 15664.3. National Library of Scotland: RB.s.206.).

TYPE T9: French Long Primer Textura photographically assembled from the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**, STC 15791. National Library of Scotland: F.6.f.5); *Compassio beate Marie* (No. **15**, STC 15791.5. Private owner).

TYPE G1: 2-line Double Pica Greek Capitals photographically assembled from William Lauder, *Ane compendious tractate* (No. **23**, STC 15314. British Library: C.57.b.33).

TYPE G2: Pica Greek photographically assembled from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1).

TYPE G3: Long Primer Greek photographically assembled from *Theses* (No. **322**, STC 7487.3. Bodleian Library: Diss. BB 302 (3)).

TYPE G4: Long Primer Greek photographically assembled from the Bible (Nos. **147** & **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1).

TYPE C1: Pica Civilité photographically assembled from the Psalms of David (No. **139**, STC 16580. Bodleian Library: Buchanan f. 155).

TYPE U1: 2-line Uncial photographically assembled from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18).

TYPE U2: 2-line Uncials on Paragon photographically assembled from David Lindsay, *Ane dialog* (No. **21**, STC 15672. Bodleian Library: 4° L 7 Art.).

TYPE U3: 2-line Paragon Uncials photographically assembled from *Compassio beate Marie* (No. **15**, STC 15791.5. Private owner).

TYPE U4: Breiver Uncials photographically assembled from the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**, STC 15791. National Library of Scotland: F.6.f.5).

TYPE U5: Long Primer Uncials photographically assembled from the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**, STC 15791. National Library of Scotland: F.6.f.5); *Compassio beate Marie* (No. **15**, STC 15791.5. Private owner).

TYPE M1: 2-line Bourgeois Single-Impression Music from Psalms of David (No. **139**, STC 16580. Bodleian Library: Buchanan f. 155).

TYPE M2: 2-line Bourgeois Single-Impression Music from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **48**, STC 16577a. British Library: C.52.cc.8.).

ALPHABET 1: I1 illustrated from William Welwood, *The sea-law* (No. **210**, STC 25242. Bodleian Library: Wood C 13), H5r; T1 illustrated from the 1597 Acts of Parliament (No. **290**, STC 21877. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.9.), F2v.

ALPHABET 2: B2 illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), A2r; H2 illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), D1r; P2 illustrated from John Hamilton, *The catechisme* (No. **20**, STC 12731. Bodleian Library: Don. e.319), 2K7v; S2 illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), D6v.

ALPHABET 3: I3 illustrated from a 1596 proclamation (No. **292**, STC 21953. Public Record Office: S.P. Scot. Eliz., vol. 59, doc. 70), recto.

ALPHABET 4: D4 illustrated from the 1597 Acts of Parliament (No. **290**, STC 21877. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.9), C4r; O4 illustrated from the 1594 Acts of Parliament (No. **249**, STC 21889. Huntington Library: 427098), B3r; S4 illustrated from Théodore de Bèze, *Propositions and principles of divinitie* (No. **212**, STC 2053. Bodleian Library: 4° B 65 Th), B1r.

ALPHABET 5: A5 illustrated from John Hamilton, *The catechisme* (No. **20**, STC 12731. Bodleian Library: Don. e.319), 2K1r.

ALPHABET 6: C6 illustrated from George Buchanan, *Baptistes* (STC 3971. Bodleian Library: 8° L 452 BS), A2r.

ALPHABET 7: W7 illustrated from *The ordour and doctrine of the generall faste* (No. **53**, STC 22041. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.23(3)), R1v.

ALPHABET 8: A8 illustrated from Alexander Hume, *Hymnes* (No. **301**, STC 13942. British Library: C.34.f.19), A3r; G8 illustrated from Peter Wentworth, *A pithie exhortation* (No. **299**, STC 25245. Bodleian Library: 8° W 22 Art), *A2r; I8 illustrated from John Colville, *The palinoid* (No. **321**, STC 5587. British Library: 532.a.3 (2)), A3r; L8 illustrated from Henry, *The lyfe of William Wallace* (No. **323**, STC 13150.5. National Library of Scotland: F.7.c.24), ᵀA2r; M8 illustrated from Peter Wentworth, *A pithie exhortation* (No. **299**, STC 25245. Bodleian Library: 8° W 22 Art), B1r; N8 illustrated from *Theses* (No. **322**, STC 7487.3. Bodleian Library: Diss. BB 302 (3)), A1r; P8 illustrated from Theses, St. Andrews University (No. **332**, STC 21555.5. Edinburgh University Library: Df.9.153/4), A1r; S8 illustrated from Peter Wentworth, *A pithie exhortation* (No. **299**, STC 25245. Bodleian Library: 8° W 22 Art), I8r; W8 illustrated from *A schort and general confessioun* (No. **273**, STC 22024. National Library of Scotland: S.302.A.1 (1)), recto.

ALPHABET 9: A9i illustrated from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875), R4. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.r; A9ii illustrated from *The ordour and doctrine of the generall faste* (No. **53**, STC 22041. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.23(3)), 2G2r; C9 illustrated from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.), E1r; D9 illustrated from John Vaus, *Rudimenta* (No. **55**, STC 24623a. Huntington Library: 59442), C2v; F9 illustrated from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.), 2G1r; I9 illustrated from George Buchanan, *Ane admonitioun* (No. **101**, STC 3966.5. Lambeth Palace: 1585.26/5), A2r; Q9 illustrated from George Buchanan, *Ane detectioun* (No. **111**, STC 3982. British Library: C.55.a.26), A2r.

ALPHABET 10: A10 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), H2v; B10 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), K2r; D10 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), R6v; I10 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), T2r; M10 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), L5r; N10 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Ane dialog* (No. **21**, STC 15672. Bodleian Library: 4° L 7 Art), M1r; T10 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), V4r; V10 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18, H4r).

Alphabet 11: A11 illustrated from the 1576 Bible (No. **147**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), 4L4r; B11 illustrated from James VI, *Basilicon doron* (No. **302**, STC 14348. British Library: G.4993), E2r; C11 illustrated from Robert Rollock, *Tractatus de vocatione effaci* (No. **288**, STC 21285. Bodleian Library: 8° R 22 Th), *A*2r; E11 illustrated from Andrew Duncan, *Latinae grammaticae pars prior* (No. **255**, STC 7351. Huntington Library: 59248, 59249), *A*7r F11 illustrated from the 1579 Bible (No. **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), E3r; G11 illustrated from Robert Pont, *A newe treatise* (No. **308**, STC 20104. Bodleian Library: 4° Z 2 Art. Seld.), M3r; H11 illustrated from the 1576 Bible (No. **147**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), 3N2r; I11 illustrated from the 1576 Bible (No. **147**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), A1r; L11 illustrated from the 1576 Bible (No. **147**, STC 2125). Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1, 4E5r; N11 illustrated from the 1576 Bible (No. **147**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), 4L3r; O11 illustrated from the 1594 Acts of Parliament (No. **249**, STC 21889. Huntington Library: 427098), A2r; P11 illustrated from the 1579 Bible (No. **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), Q6r; Q11 illustrated from George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**, STC 3991. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.5, 180); R11 illustrated from George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**, STC 3991. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.5), Y3r; S11 illustrated from the 1579 Bible (No. **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), T5v; T11 illustrated from the 1579 Bible (No. **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), A2r; V11 illustrated from George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**, STC 3991. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.5), L1v; W11 illustrated from the Confession of Faith (No. **209**, STC 22023. Lambeth Palace: 1609.23/4); *A*2r; Y11 illustrated from Robert Pont, *A newe treatise* (No. **308**, STC 20104. Bodleian Library: 4° Z 2 Art. Seld.), *A*2r; Z11 illustrated from James VI, *Daemonology* (No. **281**, STC 14364. Bodleian Library: Wood B 21 (1)), E2r.

Alphabet 12: I12 illustrated from the 1597 Acts of Parliament (No. **290**, STC 21877. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.9), B1r.

Alphabet 13: I13 illustrated from a 1596 proclamation (No. **270**, STC 21951. Society of Antiquaries: Proc. 18, f. 19), recto.

Alphabet 14: A14 illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), D1v. T14 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library copy: Mal. 18).

Alphabet 15: A15 illustrated from John Hamilton, *Ane godlie exhortatioun* (No. **27**, STC 12731.2. National Library of Scotland BLCS 104), *A*1v; C15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2A1v; E15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2B4r; F15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), P6r; H15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), R5v; K15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), E3r; L15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), L4v; M15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), C3v; N15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), G4v; O15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), G6r; P15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), G3r; Q15i illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), C6r; Q15ii illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), Z3r; R15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2T6v; S15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), B3r; V15 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2L6v.

Alphabet 16: A16 illustrated from the 1579 Statutes (No. **170**, STC 21884. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.28), E4v; B16 illustrated from the 1579 Statutes (No. **170**, STC 21884. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.28), D3r; C16 illustrated from George Buchanan, *De iure regni* (No. **155**, STC 3973. Bodleian Library: Arch. Ae 52), A3r; D16 illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **138**, STC 16579.5. National Library of Scotland: F.5.g.26), E6v; E16 illustrated from Andrew Duncan, *Rudimenta pietatis* (No. **256**, STC 7352. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.16), *A*2r;

F16 illustrated from the 1579 Statutes (No. **170**, STC 21884. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.28), E1v; H16 illustrated from Robert Rollock, *In epistolam Pauli* (No. **296**, STC 21279. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f. SC., 1598.1), O2r; I16 illustrated from the Acts of Parliament, printed in 1575 (No. **142**, STC 21883. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.27), A2r; L16 illustrated from Robert Pont, *Against sacrilege* (No. **307**, STC 20100. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.30), C5v; M16 illustrated from George Ker, *A discouerie* (No. **228**, STC 14937. Bodleian Library: G. A. Scot 4o 69), *A*2r; N16 illustrated from Thomas Moresinus, *Papatus* (No. **244**, STC 18102. Bodleian Library: Douce MM 304), *A*3r; O16 illustrated from the 1579 Statutes (No. **170**, STC 21884. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.28), B2r; P16 illustrated from William Welwood, *The sea-law* (No. **210**, STC 25242. Bodleian Library: Wood C 13), *A*2r; Q16 illustrated from John Rolland, *Ane treatise* (No. **140**, STC 21258. British Library: C.34.e.46), A8r; S16 illustrated from the Acts of Parliament, printed in 1575 (No. **142**, STC 21883. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.27), A2r; T16 illustrated from the Acts of Parliament, printed in 1575 (No. **142**, STC 21883. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.27), B3r; V16 illustrated from Jean Châtel, *The decree* (No. **252**, STC 5067. National Library of Scotland: L.425(5)), B1r.

ALPHABET 17: B17 illustrated from George Ker, *A discouerie* (No. **228**, STC 14937. Bodleian Library: G. A. Scot 4o 69), *A*4r.

ALPHABET 18: W18 illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), B5r.

ALPHABET 19: L19 illustrated from the Confession of Faith (No. **31**, STC 22018. National Library of Scotland: H.38.f.15), A2r; W19 illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **48**, STC 16577a. British Library: C.52.cc.8), ^{2}A2r.

ALPHABET 20: A20 illustrated from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.), 2L3r; B20 illustrated from John Davidson, *Ane answer* (No. **38**, STC 6320. National Library of Scotland: H.36.a.12, A2r); M20 illustrated from the 1566 Acts (No. **52**, STC 21876. Christ Church, Oxford: Wa 2.25), R4r; S20 illustrated from Thèodore de éze, *Ane oration* (No. **29**, STC 2026. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.6), A2r.

ALPHABET 21: A21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), Z3r; B21 illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **151**, STC 16580.3. National Library of Scotland: Cwn.1116), I4v; D21 illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **151**, STC 16580.3. National Library of Scotland: Cwn.1116), F6r; F21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), I8r; G21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), B8r; I21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), F8r; L21 illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **151**, STC 16580.3. National Library of Scotland: Cwn.1116), A6r; M21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), B1r; N21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), F3r; O21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), E8v; P21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), D3v; Q21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), C3r; R21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), S1r; S21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), A3r; T21 illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), G8r; W21 illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **151**, STC 16580.3. National Library of Scotland: Cwn.1116), A2r.

ALPHABET 22: A22 illustrated from Théodore de Bèze, *Propositions and principles of divinitie* (No. **212**, STC 2053. Bodleian Library: 4° B 65 Th), B2r; D22 illustrated from Robert Rollock, *Tractatus* (No. **288**, STC 21285. Bodleian Library: 8° R 22 Th), *A*5r; G22 illustrated from Alexander Hume, *A reioynder to doctor Hil* (No. **238**, STC 13948. Bodleian Library: Tanner 959), B4v; T22 illustrated from John Penry, *A briefe discovery* (No. **205**, STC 19603. Bodleian Library copy: D 12 4 Linc (5)), A3r; W22 illustrated from the Confession of Faith (No. **209**, STC 22023. Lambeth Palace: 1609.23/4), B1r.

ALPHABET 23: A23 illustrated from John Monipennie, *Certaine matters* (No. **285**, STC 18016. Bodleian Library: Wood 594 (1)), K2v.

ALPHABET 24: I24 illustrated from a 1573 Proclamation (No. **132**, STC 21943Society of Antiquaries: Proc. 18, f. 16), recto.

ALPHABET 25: T25 illustrated from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.), 2O4r.

ALPHABET 26: R26 illustrated from Robert Norvell, *The meroure* (No. **33**, STC 18688. Edinburgh University Library: EBF 242 Nor), A2r.

ALPHABET 27: B27 illustrated from the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**, STC 15791. National Library of Scotland copy: F.6.f.5), A2r.

ALPHABET 28: A28i illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), D3r; A28ii illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), D4r; A28iii illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2Q4r; B28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), G5r; C28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2I1v; D28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2E2r; E28i illustrated from Patrick Cockburn, *In dominicam* (No. **22**, STC 5458. Edinburgh University Library: H.36.g.12), K5v; E28ii illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2R6v; E28iii illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), D2r; F28i illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), B6v; F28ii illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), ⁋F2r; G28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2Ꝙ6r; I28i illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2Z6r; I28ii illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), ²Z6r; K28i illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2P5v; K28ii illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2X6r; M28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2H5v; N28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2Z5r; O28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2Ꝙ3r; P28 illustrated from John Hamilton, *The catechisme* (No. **20**, STC 12731. Bodleian Library: Don. e.319), 2K7v; S28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), Z5r; T28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2I4r; U28 illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), ²X5r.

ALPHABET 29: E29 illustrated from Robert Rollock, *In epistolam Pauli* (No. **207**, STC 21278. Bodleian Library: 8° R 178 Th), π4v; L29 illustrated from John Monipennie, *Certaine matters* (No. **285**, STC 18016. Bodleian Library: Wood 594 (1)), E2r; S29 illustrated from Robert Bruce, *Sermons* (No. **214**, STC 3924. Bodleian Library: Crynes 241), N5r; T29 illustrated from David Fergusson, *Ane answer* (No. **39**, STC 10819. British Library: 1351.a.29), A3v.

ALPHABET 30: A30 illustrated from Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57), C1r.

ALPHABET 31: I31 illustrated from *The forme of prayers* (No. **35**, STC 16564. National Library of Scotland: H.38.f.35), A2r; P31 illustrated from John Knox, *Heir followeth the coppie of the ressoning* (No. **41**, STC 15074. National Library of Scotland: L.C.1767), A1r.

ALPHABET 32: G32 illustrated from Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386. British Library: C.122.bb.40), A8v; I32 illustrated from Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386. British Library: C.122.bb.40), A5r; M32 illustrated from **316**, A3r; W32 illustrated from Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386. British Library: C.122.bb.40), A6v.

ALPHABET 33: M33 illustrated from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1), *A*2r.

ALPHABET 34: H34 illustrated from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1), *A*2r; N34 illustrated from Andrew Duncan, *Latinae grammaticae pars prior* (No. **255**, STC 7351. Huntington Library: 59248, 59249), B8r; O34 illustrated from Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386. British Library: C.122.bb.40), A7v.

FACTOTUM 1: Illustrated from Sir Philip Sidney, *The countesse of Pembrokes arcadia* (No. **315**, STC 22542. British Library: C.21.d.4), π2r.

FACTOTUM 2: Illustrated from a 1600 Acts of Parliament (No. **335**, STC 21892.5. Scottish Record Office: RH 14/2), recto.

FACTOTUM 3: Illustrated from the 1597 Acts of Parliament (No. **290**, STC 21877. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.9), I3v.

FACTOTUM 4: Illustrated from James VI, *Ane fruitfull meditatioun* (No. **192**, STC 14376. British Library: C.37.d.28), A2r.

FACTOTUM 5: Illustrated from the 1597 Acts of Parliament (No. **290**, STC 21877. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.9).

FACTOTUM 6: Illustrated from the 1594 Acts of Parliament (No. **249**, STC 21889. Huntington Library: 427098), C3r.

FACTOTUM 7: Illustrated from James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237), A2v.

FACTOTUM 8: Illustrated from James VI, *Daemonology* (No. **281**, STC 14364. Bodleian Library: Wood B 21 (1)), *A*1r.

DEVICE 1: Illustrated from George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**, STC 3991. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.5), ***1r.

DEVICE 2: Illustrated from Robert Henryson, *Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus* (No. **12**, STC 13166. National Library of Scotland: L.S.R. 79/2).

DEVICE 3: Illustrated from the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**, STC 15791. National Library of Scotland copy: F.6.f.5), ^{3}Y8v.

DEVICE 4: Illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **136**, STC 15660. National Library of Scotland: F.5.b.40), P3v.

DEVICE 5: Illustrated from James Foulis, *Ad serenissimum* (No. **16**, STC 14435. British Library: C.4.g.12), χ4v.

DEVICE 6: Illustrated from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1), F2v.

DEVICE 7: Illustrated from George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**, STC 3991. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.5), 2Z6r.

DEVICE 8: Illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **266**, STC 16585. British Library: C.52.cc.17), ^{3}G8v.

DEVICE 9: Illustrated from James VI, *Ane fruitfull meditatioun* (No. **192**, STC 14376. British Library: C.37.d.28), A1r.

DEVICE 10: Illustrated from the Acts of Parliament, printed in 1575 (No. **142**, STC 21883. Bodleian Library copy: Vet. A1 d.27), A1r.

DEVICE 11: Illustrated from Hadrianus Damman, *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217. Bodleian Library: Antiq. f.SC. 1590/1), A1r.

DEVICE 12: Illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **151**, STC 16580.3. National Library of Scotland: Cwn.1116), A1r.

TITLE-PAGE BORDER 1: Illustrated from James Foulis, *Ad serenissimum* (No. **16**, STC 14435. British Library: C.4.g.12), X1r.

COAT OF ARMS 1: Illustrated from *The ordour and doctrine of the generall faste* (No. **53**, STC 22041. National Library of Scotland: H.36.g.23(3)), +1r.

COAT OF ARMS 2: Illustrated from John Napier, *A plaine discouerie* (No. **246**, STC 18355. Bodleian Library: Tanner 761), A2v.

COAT OF ARMS 3: Illustrated from the 1579 Bible (No. **154**, STC 2125. Bodleian Library: Bib. Eng. 1579 c.1), A1r.

COAT OF ARMS 4: Illustrated from William Fowler, *A true reportarie* (No. **279**, STC 11214.6. British Library: G.6170), A1r.

COAT OF ARMS 5: Illustrated from James VI, *Basilicon doron* (No. **302**, STC 14348. British Library: G.4993), X4v.

COAT OF ARMS 6: Illustrated from James VI, *Daemonology* (No. **281**, STC 14364. Bodleian Library: Wood B 21 (1)), *A*1r.

WOODCUT 1: Illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), E5v.

WOODCUT 2: Illustrated from James VI, *Basilicon doron* (No. **302**, STC 14348. British Library: G.4993), *A*1r.

WOODCUT 3: Illustrated from James VI, *Basilicon doron* (No. **302**, STC 14348. British Library: G.4993), *A*1r.

WOODCUT 4: Illustrated from James VI, *His maiesties poeticall exercises* (No. **217**, STC 14379. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 e.26), G3r.

WOODCUT 5: Illustrated from James VI, *His maiesties poeticall exercises* (No. **217**, STC 14379. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 e.26), G3r.

WOODCUT 6: Illustrated from William Lauder, *Ane compendious and breue tractate* (No. **23**, STC 15314. British Library: C.57.b.33), *A*1r.

WOODCUT 7: Illustrated from William Lauder, *Ane compendious and breue tractate* (No. **23**, STC 15314. British Library: C.57.b.33), *A*1r.

WOODCUT 8: Illustrated from William Lauder, *Ane prettie mirrour* (No. **25**, STC 15315.5. Huntington Library: 88192), *A*1r.

WOODCUT 9: Illustrated from John Hamilton, *The catechisme* (No. **20**, STC 12731. Bodleian Library: Don. e.319), U3r.

WOODCUT 10: Illustrated from *The taill of Rauf Coilzear* (No. **112**, STC 5487. National Library of Scotland: H.29.c.9), D4r.

WOODCUT 11: Illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), 2N4r.

WOODCUT 12: Illustrated from the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **48**, STC 16577a. British Library: C.52.cc.8), ^{2}I5v.

WOODCUT 13: Illustrated from Hector Boethius, *Hystory* (No. **18**, STC 3203. Bodleian Library: Mal. 18), ^{2}H3r.

WOODCUT 14: Illustrated from Gavin Douglas, *The palace of honour* (No. **17**, STC 7072.8. Edinburgh University Library: De.6123), *A*1r.

WOODCUT 15: Illustrated from Gavin Douglas, *The palace of honour* (No. **17**, STC 7072.8. Edinburgh University Library: De.6123), *A*4r.

WOODCUT 16: Illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), B6r.

WOODCUT 17: Illustrated from George Hay, *The confutation* (No. **40**, STC 12968. Bodleian Library: D 12. 6 Linc.), 2B4r.

WOODCUT 18: Illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), B6r.

WOODCUT 19: Illustrated from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **105**, STC 15658. Huntington Library: 17458), ^{2}A1r.

WOODCUT 20: Illustrated from James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237), *2r.

WOODCUT 21: Illustrated from from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **105**, STC 15658. Huntington Library: 17458), πB4r.

WOODCUT 22: Illustrated from Saluste du Bartas, *The historie of Iudith* (No. **189**, STC 21671. British Library: C.70.aa.21), A4r.

WOODCUT 23: Illustrated from Sir David Lindsay's *Ane dialog* (No. **28**, STC 15658. Huntington Library: 17425), S1r.

WOODCUT 24: Illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), A1v.

WOODCUT 25: Illustrated from David Lindsay, *Ane dialog* (No. **21**, STC 15672. Bodleian Library: 4° L 7 Art), *A*2v.

WOODCUT 26: Illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), A1v.

WOODCUT 27: Illustrated from the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5. National Library of Scotland: H.33.c.13), A1v.

TAILPIECE 1: Illustrated from John Knox, *Heir followeth the coppie* (No. **41**, STC 15074. National Library of Scotland: L.C.1767), [leaf]1r.

TAILPIECE 2: Illustrated from Robert Pont, *Paruus catechismus* (No. **128**, STC 20105. National Library of Scotland: H.31.e.42), A1r.

TAILPIECE 3: Illustrated from Sir Philip Sidney, *The countesse of Pembrokes arcadia* (No. **315**, STC 22542. British Library: C.21.d.4), T5v.

TAILPIECE 4: Illustrated from the 1597 Acts of Parliament (No. **290**, STC 21877. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 d.9), π4v.

TAILPIECE 5: Illustrated from *The questions to be resolvit* (No. **291**, STC 21891. Public Record Office: S.P. Scot. Eliz., vol. 60, doc. 31), *A*2v.

TAILPIECE 6: Illustrated from the 1566 Acts (No. **51**, STC 21875. Bodleian Library: MM 19 Jur. 2nd ser.), 2T4v.

TAILPIECE 7: Illustrated from Thèodore de Bèze, *Ane answer* (No. **34**, STC 2000. National Library of Scotland copy: H.36.g.6.), A4v.

TAILPIECE 8: Illustrated from from David Lindsay, *Works* (No. **105**, STC 15658. Huntington Library: 17458), ^{2}C6v.

TAILPIECE 9: Illustrated from James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237), C3r.

TAILPIECE 10: Illustrated from Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386. British Library: C.122.bb.40), A2v.

TAILPIECE 11: Illustrated from Robert Rollock, *In epistolam Pauli* (No. **207**, STC 21278. Bodleian Library: 8° R 178 Th), π2r.

TAILPIECE 12: Illustrated from Robert Rollock, *Commentarius* (No. **328**, STC 21274. Bodleian Library: Vet. A1 f.160), *A*1r.

TAILPIECE 13: Illustrated from Thomas Becon, *The sicke mans salve*, (No. **186**, STC 1763. British Library: 4401.b.26), A7r.

TAILPIECE 14: Illustrated from Sir Henry Balnaves, *The confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340. Bodleian Library: Mason AA 57), A7r.

TAILPIECE 15: Illustrated from Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386. British Library: C.122.bb.40), A6v.

TAILPIECE 17: Illustrated from James Melville, *A spirituall propine*, (No. **294**, STC 17816. British Library: C.37.e.14.), *A*1r.

TAILPIECE 18: Illustrated from William Perkins, *A case of conscience*, (No. **224**, STC 19666. British Library: 4408.b.2.), E6v.

TAILPIECE 19: Illustrated from Henoch Clapham, *Sommons to doomes daie*, (No. **264**, STC 5345.9. National Library of Scotland: Rb.s.374), *A*3r.

TAILPIECE 20: Illustrated from James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237), D1r.

TAILPIECE 21: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), N8r.

TAILPIECE 22: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), K10r.

TAILPIECE 23: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), D7v.

TAILPIECE 24: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), N4v.

TAILPIECE 25: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), F10v.

TAILPIECE 26: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), M3v.

TAILPIECE 27: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), B1r.

TAILPIECE 28: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), N4v.

TAILPIECE 29: Illustrated from *The sacrifice of a christian soul* (No. **215**, STC 5192. British Library: 3057.aaa.67.), D10v.

TAILPIECE 30: Illustrated from James VI, *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373. British Library: G.11237), D1r.

TAILPIECE 31: Illustrated from Henry Smith, *Certain sermons* (No. **226**, STC 22783.5. Privately owned copy), D2v.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Preface

IT IS LIKELY that anyone interested in the subject of sixteenth century Scottish printed books will, firstly, turn to Dickson and Edmond's *Annals of Scottish Printing* (Cambridge, 1890), a book based principally on the MS. accounts of George Chalmers (1749–1825) and his nephew James, now located in the National Library of Scotland, and supplemented by a number of printed Scottish bibliographical studies, including James Watson's *The History of the Art of Printing* (Edinburgh, 1713) and Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, revised by William Herbert (London, 1749). As a nineteenth century bibliographical tool, completed 'long before there was a national library in Scotland', the work of Dickson and Edmond continues to be invaluable; yet it is not without its faults, having been 'carried out with a certain measure of haste'.[1] Principal among these is the reliance of Dickson and Edmond on Chalmers's MSS., which although covering 'the sixteenth century much more fully than their predecessors and break fresh ground', nevertheless have an overt 'ecclesiastical bias', which has already been recognized.[2]

The publication of *Annals of Scottish Printing* coincided with the establishment of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society and – a few years later – the Glasgow Bibliographical Society, together providing a regular forum for the discussions of early Scottish printing. Such antiquarian interests, typical of the late nineteenth century, had been simmering for some time, starting with the work of Robert Dickson on the *Introduction of Printing into Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1885), and continuing on with the series of publications of the Scottish Text Society. This interest gained further impetus at the turn of the century with the publication of H. G. Aldis's *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, in itself an excellent reference guide, and the work of E. Gordon Duff on the Scottish book trade.

The publication of Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* in 1926, which drew upon Aldis's *List of Books*, provided a larger context in which the subject of Scottish printing and book trade could be set: F. S. Ferguson undertook such a project in his pioneering article, 'Relations between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (–1640)', printed in the 1927 issue of the *Library*. As would be expected, the very nature of the *Short-Title Catalogue* stimulated a new growth in the study of vernacular literature. In Scotland, the subject was taken up by W. Beattie, whose work on the Chepman and Myllar prints and the printing of *Rauf Coilyear* by Robert Lekpreuik owed much to the earlier work of F. S. Ferguson (by now engaged with W. A. Jackson on the second revision of the *Short-Title Catalogue*). Beattie's work paralleled a new interest in the so-called Scottish Chaucerians, or Middle Scots poets, echoed in the enthusiastic praise of C. S. Lewis in his *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1954).

This growing interest in Scottish vernacular literature, however, tended to obscure the more

---

1. William Beattie, 'Some Early Scottish Books', in *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honour of Ronald Gordon Cant*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: St. Andrews University Publications No. LX, 1974), p. 109.

2. W. J. Couper, 'George Chalmers's *Historical account of Printing in Scotland*', *Glasgow Bibliographical Society Records*, vii (1923), p. 74. For a list of earlier studies, *see* William Geddie, *A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets*, STS, 1st ser., 61, pp. vii–cix.

representative works of Scottish neo-Latinists, many of whom were published on the continent (and thereby excluded from both Aldis's *List of Books* and the *Short-Title Catalogue*). A new generation of scholars, redressing this imbalance, found a voice in the pages of the *Innes Review*, a publication of the Scottish Catholic Historical Society, started in 1950. The contributors of the *Innes Review* expressed particular interest in the continuity of Scottish educational and religious institutions, a focus culminating in the publication of John Durkan and Andrew Ross's monumental *Early Scottish Libraries* (1961). This work clarified Scotland's essentially 'Latinate' culture, which was seen to be the product of a highly developed educational system.

Early Scottish Libraries has proved to be a rich mine to quarry, as later contributions to the *Innes Review* and the *Bibliotheck* make clear. Indeed, in the wake of *Early Scottish Libraries*, the entire area of Scottish vernacular literature has had to be remapped, to allow its study within the larger framework of the Scottish Latin culture. For unlike England – in which the vernacular had eclipsed Latin as a literary language – Scotland continued to see Latin as the dominant medium for political and theological discourse, continuing to produce copious quantities of neo-Latin verse right through to the first decades of the seventeenth century.

The implications of this for the study of early Scottish printing and book trade are considerable. Any new bibliographic study cannot now afford to view Scottish printing outside of its European context, ignoring the considerable ties Scottish writers and booksellers had with the continent. Scottish Latinists working on the continent clearly had considerable reputations, including figures such as Florence Wilson, James Foulis, and George Buchanan, all of whom were known for their eloquent Latin verse. Despite being highly regarded, however, such figures remained unpublished in their own country: Florence Wilson's work was printed abroad almost a century before an edition appeared in England, and a generation later notable Scottish Latinists, such as Hercules Rollock and George Crichton, were still awaiting publication in Scotland. This rather unexpected situation deserves to be understood in the context of the Scottish booktrade. Scottish Latin writers needed to address a wider European audience, which the Scottish printers, with their lack of resources and problems of distribution, could not effectively reach. It was, consequently, left to the great French printing houses of Josse Bade and Higman and Hopyl, who had effectively cornered the market, to produce the editions.

The present work considers the evolution of the Scottish printing industry, operating in the shadow of the more dominant European printers. Using the typographic evidence presented in Part Two, it is argued that Scottish printers had neither the supplies nor the resources to effectively compete with their European competitors. Thus, unable to sell into the continental market, the Scots had no choice but to rely on subsidies from the Crown and the Scottish government in order to survive. This dependency, fostered initially by James V, later became a key weapon in the armory of the minority Protestant government of 1560. Taking their cue from the English, who themselves were masters in the art of propaganda, the Protestants began to issue increasingly effective attacks against the Catholics, commissioning at the same time printed editions of Jean Calvin's Catechism to

be put into the hands of every schoolboy in the country. The Scottish government, increasingly aware of the dangers represented by a European education, were making strenuous attempts at providing a home-grown alternative that could be closely monitored: their sponsorship of Protestant printers, such as Robert Lekpreuik, and cultivation of Scottish booksellers, such as Henry Charteris, can therefore regarded in a political context. The effect this patronage had on the evolution of Scottish literary culture and education provides the subject for the final section of this narrative.

Historical Narrative

THE FIRST Scot actually to 'grasp the importance of the invention of printing' was William Elphinstone, founder of the University of Aberdeen, whose interest in humanism and religious reform has been well-documented.[1] Like other Scottish book buyers of the time – such as William Scheves and Archibald Whitelaw – William Elphinstone had an immensely detailed knowlege of humanist texts which informed his own ideas on religious reform. During the 1490s, he began planning a series of printed liturgical books, promoting devotion to Scotland's national saints and replacing the English 'use of Sarum' in Scottish worship. This publication programme, conceived on an extraordinary scale, was actually planned before the advent of printing in Scotland. Consequently it remained unrealized until the beginning of the next century, with the publication by the first Scottish printers of the Aberdeen Breviary in 1509–10.

Although William Elphinstone was among the first to anticipate the potential of printing in Scotland, the demand for printed service books imported from abroad had already been growing among the wealthier clerics for some time. Scotland's first buyer of printed books, William Scheves, owned at least two printed liturgical books, including a 1471 Psalter printed at Augsburg (McRoberts Nos. 62, 70). A number of other fifteenth century printed liturgical manuals were also in Scottish hands (McRoberts Nos. 71, 73, 74, 79). The acceptance of these printed service books, however, was by no means universal. Some Scottish bishops – who until then had worked almost exclusively with manuscripts – had become uneasy at the growing numbers of printed books being imported into the country. No doubt political motivation prompted their concern, as the content and distribution of manuscripts could be more easily controlled than printed books.[2]

From all indications, early Scottish book buyers were remarkably sophisticated. Archibald Whitelaw, who was a regent at the University of Cologne (where an early bias towards humanism has been claimed), owned printed copies of Lucan and Horace, annotated in his own hand. His extraordinary knowledge of classical literature was such that in 1484 he was able to deliver a polished oration in Ciceronian Latin to Richard III at Nottingham.[3] The book collecting activities of William Scheves, however, anticipated Whitelaw's interest in humane letters by a number of years. Scheves's own cultivated tastes are reflected in his library of printed books. He circulated among a number of important continental humanists, including Erasmus of Rotterdam – who owned a commemorative medal depicting Scheves – and Jasper Laet of Borchloen, who dedicated a printed book to Scheves.[4]

---

1. J. Durkan, 'Early Humanism and the King's College', *Aberdeen University Review*, xlviii (1980), p. 259. For Elphinstone, *see* also L. J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1985); L. J. Macfarlane, 'William Elphinstone's Library', *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxvii (1957–8), pp. 253–71.

2. Macfarlane, *Elphinstone*, p. 233.

3. 'Negotiations of the Scottish Commissioners at Nottingham, September 1484', in *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii (Edinburgh, 1886), pp. 33–48. For Whitelaw, *see* John Durkan, *William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow*, reprinted from *IR*, ii (1951), with bibliography and index: Scottish Catholic Historical Committee (Glasgow, 1951), pp. 56–7; John Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR*, iv (1953), p. 5. For extensive marginal notes in the hand of Whitelaw, *see* I. C. Cunningham, 'Latin Classical MSS. in the National Library of Scotland', *Scriptorium*, xxvii (1973), pp. 64–90.

4. George H. Bushnell, 'Portrait of a Bibliophile IV: William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, d. 1497', *The Book Collector*, ix (1960), p. 25. Erasmus owned a commemorative medal depicting Scheves, which was executed by

From these first stirrings, a trade in imported printed books rapidly spread to the university centres of Scotland. Printed copies of traditional Latin school books, such as Donatus and Villedieu, were naturally in great demand, although there was also a small market for the more up-to-date Latin grammars, imported from France. At the University of Aberdeen, for example, copies of Valla and Sulpizio were not uncommon, and at Glasgow a copy of Guillaume Tardif's new grammar was in Scottish hands before 1486, 'at a time when printed books are not usually considered to be circulating in Scotland'.[5] The demand for Latin grammars was reflected in the growing interest in humanism. The fifteenth-century libraries at Aberdeen and St. Andrews not only stocked printed editions of Latin classical writers, such as Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil, but also editions of contemporary Ciceronian epistolary models, including the Italian Latinists Gasparino Barzizza and Francesco Filelfo.[6]

Fifteenth-Century Scottish Book Production

Although the majority of these books were imported from the continent, Scotland nevertheless maintained its own centres of book production. These were the monastic *scriptoria*, capable of producing sophisticated illuminated manuscripts such as psalters and Books of Hours, among the most active of which were the Perth Carthusians, whose supervisors were sometimes foreign; the Cultross monks, who supplied the Stirling Franciscans; and the Dunfermline monks, who undertook commissions for William Scheves.[7]

By the end of the fifteenth century, however, Scottish students were becoming increasingly involved in the printing trade on the continent, often picking up work as proof-readers. David Lowis, an Edinburgh man living in Paris, worked as 'a supervisor of the press' on Lefèvre's edition of *Arithmetica*, printed by Jordan Le Forestier, and completed by the Parisian printers Johann Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl on 22 July 1496. Lowis also proof-read Lefèvre's translation of Aristotle, the printing of which was completed by Higman and Hopyl on 12 April 1497. The Parisian humanist printer, Josse Bade, had very close connections with such Scottish students, dedicating two important books to Lowes: the new Latin grammar of Giovanni Sulpizio and a book of Ciceronian epistle-models of Giovanni Filelfo. Bade also printed John Vaus's edition of the Latin grammar of Alexandre de Villedieu for the Scottish market.[8]

Paris was unquestionably the centre for Scottish students working in the printing trade during

---

the Flemish artist Quentin Metsys. Information about the medal, of which a few samples survive, is in G. H. Hill, *The Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1920), p. 24.

5. Durkan, 'William Turnbull', p. 57.

6. In the case of St. Andrews, whose library was endowed by Alexander Inglis, various classical compendia were also housed, such as the *Vocabulary* of Gianino Maio and the *Margarita poetica* of Jacob van Eyb (complete with citations from Petrarch). *See* J. Durkan, 'Education', p. 132.

7. R. J. Lyall, 'Books and Book-Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain*, ed. J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 246–8. In total, 19 such MSS. survive from the fifteenth century. *See* J. Durkan, 'The Early Scottish Notary', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, ed. I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 22–40; G. Hay and D. McRoberts, 'Rossdhu Church and its Book of Hours', *IR*, xvi (1965), 3–17; David McRoberts, 'Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments', *IR*, iii (1952) 49–63.

8. John Durkan, 'David Lauxius', *EBST*, iii (1957), pp. 78–81; John Durkan, 'David Lauxius: A Further Note', *EBST*, iii (1957), pp. 156–7; John Durkan, 'David Lowis or Lauxius of Edinburgh', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), pp. 200–1; Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 393, n; Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College'.

the fifteenth century. Denis Roce, probably a Scot, commissioned an edition of *Tractatus* (*c.* 1495), written by the Scottish student James Liddell [Jacobus Ledelh], from the Parisian printers Higman and Hopyl.[9] John Major [Mair] began to have his books printed in Paris by 1499.[10] Gavin Dunbar worked as a proof-reader, correcting and preparing editions of Major's works while studying at the same Parisian academy as Major.[11] In 1503, Antoine Vérard, another French printer, employed Thomas Lewyngton, a Scottish student resident in Paris, to translate *L'art de bien vivre et bien mourir* (STC 791) into a 'Frenchified' Scots, in an attempt to make an inroad into an increasingly lucrative market.[12]

Scottish Bookbinding

Undoubtedly, bookbinders were working in Scotland, although not much evidence exists as to their identity. As early as 1432 the inventory of Glasgow Cathedral Library records a Scottish binder, Richard Air, who bound a book for the Cathedral: 'in manus Domini Ricardi air ad ligandum.'[13]

Up until the 1530s, such Scottish bookbinders were principally clerical or monastic, working for their own *scriptoria*, while also accepting royal commissions. For example, James Chalmer, clerk of the Chapel Royal, was paid £10. 15*s*. in 1460 for repairing chapel books.[14] James IV, also, paid the cleric William Bonkil £6. 13*s*. 6*d*. for binding twenty-five of his books in 1501, and David Trail 25*s*. for binding two books. A monk of Culross was paid 56*s*. for binding and illuminating two books for the King's chapel at Stirling.

These clerical binders had no particular 'style' of binding: they were influenced by a variety of sources, ranging from Germany and the Low Countries to the Islamic, and probably learned their trade while travelling abroad. A cleric could have been taught the unusual and extraordinary Islamic binding style of the Dunfermline Burgh Court Book (*c.* 1488) in France or Spain, where other examples of such moorish binding work existed.[15] Alternatively, the elaborate early bindings attributed to Patrick Lowes show a marked German influence,[16] and the binding pattern for a book

---

9. W. Beattie, 'Two Notes on Fifteenth Century Printing' *EBTS*, iii (1948–55), pp. 75–7. Denis Roce was probably a Scot (his device contains the arms of the Liddells). Liddell was also published in Paris by Antoine Caillaut.

10. John Durkan, 'John Major: After 400 Years. The School of John Major: Bibliography', *IR*, i (1950), pp. 1–139 (No. 140a).

11. John Durkan and James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow: 1451–1577* (Glasgow, 1977), p. 207.

12. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 407, n. The *Kalendar of Shepherds* (STC 22407) was a similar Scottish translation.

13. Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding 1432–1650*, (Aberdeen University Studies No. 134: Edinburgh and London, 1955), p. 1.

14. For Chalmers *see* Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, p. 1; *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. G. Burnett, vi, (Edinburgh, 1883), p. 581: 'Et per solucionem factam Jacobo de Camera, clerico capelle domini regis, pro reperacione librorum capelle et cooperimento eorundem, de eodem mandato sub signeto unicorni et subscricione ostenso super compotum, x li xvs.'

15. The 'Islamic' binding style is uncharacteristic in fifteenth century Europe, although some contemporary examples did exist in Spain and France. The Spanish example is illustrated in Edith Diehl, *Bookbinding, its Background and Technique*, i (New York, 1946), p. 82. The French example is illustrated in Gumuchian et Cie, Librairie, *Catalogue de reliures du xv*^{e} *au xix*^{e} *siècle* (Paris, 1929) No. 6, Pl. 3. Both references are cited in Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 7–9, Pl. 3. *See* also E. Gordon Duff, 'Scottish Bookbinding, Armorial and Artistic', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, xv (1917–9), pp. 97–8. This is a revision of E. Gordon Duff, 'Some Early Scottish Bookbindings and Collectors', *Scottish Historical Review*, iv (1906–7) pp. 430–42.

16. J. H. Stevenson, 'The Fifteenth Century Scots Binding of the Haye Manuscript', *PEBS*, vi (1901–4), pp.

originally owned by Henry Barry, rector of Collace, came from the Low Countries, probably Bruges, and was similar to the bindings which Caxton brought to England in the late fifteenth century.[17]

There were no trade binders working in Scotland to compete with the clerics at the that time: so few manuscript books were being produced in the country that demand was slack. Consequently, Scottish bookbuyers living on the continent, like William Scheves, had their books bound abroad by binders such as Ravescot in Louvain, even though it would have been cheaper to ship books back to Scotland as unbound sheets. The Scots particularly desired fine bindings, and were willing to pay a premium for them. Andrew Halyburton, for example, paid as much as £1. 16*s*. to a bookbinder in Bruges. (This may have been payment for the binding of his ledgers.)[18]

By the turn of the century, the influence of the Low Countries on Scottish bookbinders was pronounced. Dr. W. S. Mitchell describes two bindings, one in St. Andrews and one in Aberdeen, influenced by binding work done in the Low Countries.[19] One early Scottish panel binding, attributed (on dubious grounds) to Robert Lekpreuik almost certainly used blocks made in the Low Countries or France.[20]

The Early Scottish Paper-Trade

Parchment sellers, also, probably importing their wares from Flanders, were operating in Scotland from an early date. In 1468 a Glaswegian seller, Robert Barbour, was already set up ('Robertus Barbour burgensis juratus pergamenarius universitatis'),[21] and it may be inferred that other parchment makers were also in operation. Certainly, in the late fifteenth century, some monastic *scriptoria* were busy, such as the Perth Carthusians and the Culross monks, and they would certainly require a large supply. Imported French parchment was used as pastedowns for armorial bindings of sixteenth century Scottish bishops.[22]

Scots were also importing paper in the late fifteenth century. The ledgers of Andrew Halyburton document that Sir Robert Wellis in 1493 was sent 'half a rym of paper' which cost 18*d*. Andrew Cullan was sent a ream of paper which cost 2*s*. 8*d*., and 'in the samyn stek' had another twelve pounds of paper which was valued at 28*s*. The lawyer Richard Lawson was also shipped a ream of

---

77–82; Pl., and G. D. Hobson, 'Further Notes on the Binding of the Haye Manuscript', *PEBS*, xiv (1926–38), pp. 89–97 and Pl. 8; Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 2–7. Lowes's binding is No. 31 of Aberdeen University Library's incunabula in 'A List of Fifteenth Century Books in the University Library of Aberdeen', *EBST*, xiii (1925). *See* also W. B. Menzies, 'Some Early Bookbindings in the Aberdeen University Library', *Aberdeen University Review*, xxv (1937–8), p. 219. For the nineteenth century restoration of the binding, *see* W. S. Mitchell, 'Aberdeen Corner-Square Bindings', *Apollo*, viii (1951) pp. 17–20.

17. G. D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, (Cambridge, 1929), p. 28 and Pl. 10; Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 11–3, Pl. 4; F. J. H. Jenkinson, 'Note on a Volume from the Library of the Dominicans of Dundee', *PEBS*, vi (1901), pp. 181–4.

18. Halyburton, *Ledgers*.

19. Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 13–5, Pls. 5–6. See also Bushnell, G. H., *From Papyrus to Print*, (London, 1947), pp. 81–2, who claims that the tools for the St. Andrews binding (*c.* 1540) probably came from France. The Aberdeen Carmelites owned the other binding, *c.* 1507.

20. Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 16–17, Pl. 7. For the attribution to Lekpreuik *see* Bushnell, *From Papyrus to Print*, pp. 84–5. Davidson used an ornament similar to the St. Andrews panel stamp (Woodcut 11).

21. *Monumenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes, 4 vols. (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1854), ii, p. 73.

22. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 383. *See* also *TA*, ii, pp. 250–7, 293, 241, 249.

paper, which cost 3*s*.[23]

The Scottish scribe Magnus Makculloch (*fl.* 1480s) was probably able 'to buy fairly substantial stocks of paper' from France.[24] We know, however, from the *Explicatio quorundam vocabulorum* (Josse Bade, Paris, *c.* 1519) of Hector Boece that the paper sold in Aberdeen was not the same paper as sold in Paris (*see* sigs. A2r, E3r, N5v).[25]

The Early Trade in Printed Books

From 1470 Scottish students, studying on the continent, regularly supplied printed books to individual book collectors residing in Scotland. The most enterprising of these was James Cummings – a student with a particularly sharp business acumen – who sold a 'lytill kist' of eight volumes of law books valued at 28 guldens to the Scottish lawyer Richard Lawson; and together with James Watson, a Scottish student at Louvain, also sold 'a kyst of bukis' costing 30 guildens and 7*s*. Another student, Patrick Panter – later the secretary to James IV – similarly sold two books worth £1. to G. Hepborn, the Dean of Dunkeld.[26]

A number of booksellers, setting up on Scottish soil, were ready to exploit this growing market, including John Foular, an enterprising importer operating from his 'workshop' in Edinburgh, who bought printed books valued at £6. 19*s*. from the student James Cummings. Thomas Turner, similarly, sold 'a new mess buke new written and bundin' to the parish church of Dundee. Shortly afterwards, Scottish booksellers themselves became active in the international book scene. John Foular expanded his business, buying books directly from Jean Richard, a Rouen printer specializing in missals and breviaries. A tantalizing glimpse of a Scottish bookseller operating in Amsterdam is provided by 'master Gerard wen Arnssurd', who bought 18*s*. of books from James Cummings in 1496.[27] A number of equally enterprising Edinburgh businessmen were active in 1510, trading in 'mess bukis, mannualis, portuiss, matin bukis, and diuers other bukis', evidently from the continent.[28] One such bookseller – with substantial capital reserves and unusually good connections at the court of James IV – was Andro Myllar, probably from Fife, who commissioned editions of the *Equivoca* (STC 11604.5) and *Expositio sequentiarum* (STC 16118) from the Rouen printer Pierre Violette. Myllar's early editions of the Donatus and Dunbar's *Twa mariit wemen and the wedo* (No. 7; STC 7350) were probably also commissioned from the continent, although there are a number of unsolved problems about both of these books.[29]

---

23. Halyburton, *Ledgers*, pp. 10, 180, 271.
24. Lyall, 'Books and Book-Owners', p. 246.
25. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 260.
26. These transactions are detailed in Andrew Halyburton's ledgers. *See* Andrew Halyburton, *Ledgers of Andrew Halyburton*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1867), pp. 6, 100–3, 254; J. Durkan (ed.), *The Protocol Book of John Foular*, (Edinburgh, 1985), deed 262 (11 Apr. 1506). Patrick Painter is placed as procurator for Andrew Haliburton, agent in Flanders. He is also mentioned in deed 279 (4 May 1506).
27. Foular, *Protocol Book*, i, p. 67, deed 571 (26 Jul. 1509); *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 16.
28. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 84–5.
29. In addition to Myllar's commission, Violette also printed a service book for Gerard Wandsworth of York. *See* E. Pafort, 'A Group of Early Tudor School-Books, *The Library*, 4th ser., xxvi (1946), pp. 256–58. For the two books printed for Myllar by Violette, *see* W. Beattie, 'Some Early Scottish Books', in *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honour of Ronald Gordon Cant*, edited by G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: St Andrews University Publications No.

Printed books were also available from English suppliers, stocking editions from Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde. A copy of Legrande's *Book of good manners* (STC 15397), belonging to David Sinclair, was left to Magnus Harrod in 1506.[30] Certainly, other such books printed by Englishmen, particularly Wynkyn de Worde, would have also found great favour among the Scots.

Not all Scots, however, could understand English so well. A Scots reader of the Chepman and Myllar prints, for example, found the poem 'The Maying or Disport of Chaucer' (actually by John Lydgate) somewhat arduous (the following is inscribed in the margin of the print: 'liber probus atque amabilis atque pro auriculis arduus').[31] Despite the evident language difficulties, however, Scottish poets such as William Dunbar and Robert Henryson were influenced by Chaucer. Copies of Chaucer and Gower continued to circulate in Scotland: Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney, had 'ane Inglis buke of goweir'; and David Panter gave both poets to John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, probably in 1557.[32]

The increasing trade in these books considerably influenced the direction of Scottish letters. Masters of 'elegant Latin' at Aberdeen include Patrick Panter and Walter Ogilvie, the latter in the eyes of Hector Boece exhibiting a 'crispness of diction, elegance of speech, and wealth of wisdom', at least partly attributable to his possession of the *Iliad* in Valla's translation.[33] Nor was the influence of the New Learning confined to Latin. Both Valla and Poggio were also known to Gavin Douglas, who under their influence translated the *Aeneid* into his own, ornate version of Middle Scots. John Vaus, at Aberdeen, showed a similar interest in 'teaching Latin through the vernacular'.[34] Some of the great Scots vernacular poets, including William Dunbar, Robert Henryson, and Walter Kennedy, were, like Douglas, associated with Scottish universities. William Elphinstone himself sponsored the publication of these poets by the Scottish printers Chepman and Myllar. As Dr. J. Durkan observes, these poets 'did not mature in a cultural vacuum, but were the popular version of a revival of classical learning already assimilated by an elite; just as John Ireland's *Meroure of wyssdome* was a popular version of the current theology of the schools'.[35]

The evidence above shows how quickly the demand for printed books in Scotland was developing. A wealthy collector such as William Scheves could spend as much as 500 crowns on a single order of books; Dr. John Durkan believes that for such collectors 'books were imported in larger numbers than is often thought'.[36] Despite this potential market, no printers setting up in Scotland were able to compete with the great French printing houses of Josse Bade and Higman and Hopyl, who handled an immense volume of international business. By virtue of their early start and large capital

---

60, 1974), pp. 110–2; E. Gordon Duff, 'Notes on a Leaf of an Early Scottish Donatus Printed in Black Letter', *PEBS*, i (1896), pp. 1–3 and facsimiles; Dickson and Edmond, pp. 25–42.

30. 'The Testament of Sir David Synclar of Swynbrocht', in *Bannatyne Miscellany*, iii, 107–10; F. S. Ferguson, 'Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (—1640), *The Library*, 4th ser., viii (1928), p. 145.

31. *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 129.

32. *Early Scottish Libraries*; Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 16, n.

33. *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 13.

34. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 264.

35. Durkan,'The Beginnings of Humanism', p. 5.

36. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 384.

reserves, such printers – particularly Bade – had cultivated and cornered the large Scottish market.

Scotland's First Printers: Chepman and Myllar

This is the context in which we must view the introduction of printing into Scotland, almost solely attributable to the efforts of William Elphinstone:[37] Elphinstone had long envisaged an ambitious publishing programme on a national scale, involving the production of printed liturgical manuals (starting with the Aberdeen Breviary).[38] The introduction of these new service books – abolishing the English 'Sarum Rite' in favour of a simplified calendar adapted for Scottish use – was intended to put an end to the growing numbers of imported liturgical manuals flooding into the country.

In order to realize his ambitious plans, however, Elphinstone – who was without a printer – turned to Andro Myllar, one of Scotland's most successful importers of service and school-books, who had already had considerable experience commissioning his owned editions of school-books from Pierre Violette in Rouen. Although little is known about Myllar's early life, he undoubtedly had considerable business acumen, supplying Latin books to King James IV as early as 1503 (he sold three other books to James IV in 1507).[39] Along with his partner, the Edinburgh businessman Walter Chepman, Myllar was able to negotiate a royal printing patent in September 1507, in which he agreed to undertake the publication of Elphinstone's Aberdeen Breviary, in exchange for advantageous trading privileges, including a virtual monopoly on certain categories of books, such as books of laws, acts of parliament, chronicles, massbooks, and 'portuus'.[40] Given the expanding market in Scotland for books, such a guarantee would have given a tremendous boost to Myllar's own bookselling business; at the same time it would have enabled the Scottish clergy to more easily control the content and distribution of liturgical books.

Although commissioned to print the Aberdeen Breviary, Chepman and Myllar first issued a set of nine prints, completed during April and May 1508, with poems by William Dunbar, Robert Henryson, John Lydgate, and others (Nos. **2–6**, **8–9**, **12–13**; STC 3307, 5060.5, 7542, 7347–9, 11984, 13166, 17014.3).[41] The literary nature of these tracts is perhaps surprising, given Myllar's previous specialization in schoolbooks, and although these prints are now regarded as mere 'try-outs', such a collection would have nevertheless been highly regarded in Scotland. (The Latin poet George Buchanan was to paraphrase Dunbar's poem 'The Dreme' some years later.)[42] Chepman and Myllar also issued an edition of the *Book of the howlat* (No. **11**; STC 13594), comprised of

---

37. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 259. According to Robert Dickson, 'without that enlightened and worthy prelate's countenance, Scotland in all probability would have been without a printing-press for another generation.' Robert Dickson, *Introduction of Printing into Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1885), p. 61. *See* also R. Dickson, *Who was Scotland's First Printer?* (London, 1881).

38. Elphinstone had also produced a Scottish martyrology. *See* Leslie Macfarlane, 'Was the Scottish Church Reformable by 1513?' in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408–1929*, ed. Norman MacDougall (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 36; J. D. Galbraith, 'The Sources of the Aberdeen Breviary' (Aberdeen University M.Litt. thesis, 1970).

39. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 25–7.

40. Ibid., pp. 7–10; *RSS*, i. 1546.

41. For the order of printing of the Chepman and Myllar Tracts, *see* W. Beattie, 'Some Early Scottish Books', pp. 112–14, superseding that in W. Beattie's, *The Chepman and Myllar Prints* (Edinburgh, 1950).

42. Durkan, 'Native Influences on Buchanan', p. 34. For early owners of the Chepman and Myllar prints, *see Early Scottish Libraries*, pp. 136 (W. Pratt) and 129 (Florentine Martin). Both owners were originally from Fife, as was the printer Andrew Myllar. For a possible connection, *see* Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 425.

sixteen leaves, which – like the previous series of nine tracts – is literary in nature.[43]

These small, cheap tracts 'were typographically akin to the broadsides, and are likely to have been aimed at a similarly wide, fairly popular market'.[44] George Bannatyne may well have used similar prints – now lost – for the compilation of his miscellany of Scottish poetry, compiled in the 1560s.[45] Florentine [Florimund] Martin owned at least one of these Chepman and Myllar prints, an indication that one of Dunbar's first readers was a literate layman, probably unknown at court.[46]

As the patent conceded, setting up such a printing operation from scratch would incur 'gret labour and expens', and it may be that Chepman was able to provide some much-needed capital, including a tenement at the Southgait (now Cowgate) of Edinburgh where the presses were to be located. The presses, equipment, and workers were probably imported from Northern France (judging from the type and the printers' devices used in the books, as well as by the way they were signed). But although the printers commissioned a woodcut device for Walter Chepman, modelled on that of the Parisian printer and bookseller Philippe Pigouchet, they did not at that early stage have the resources to buy much type, using a single fount – an English-bodied Textura (**T6**) with two forms of the letter B – acquired from Normandy. (A second Great Primer Textura (**T2**), used in the *Book of the howlat* and the Aberdeen Breviary, was not acquired until later.) Nor were there any ornaments used, apart from the devices of the two printers, a fact supporting the view that the press was established with the minimum of investment. Moreover, the foreign workers were inexperienced, judging from the poor standards of presswork and composition (the nine tracts were also carelessly proof-read).

Following the publication of these prints, Andrew Myllar dropped out of the partnership. He may have left Chepman to set up shop in St. Andrews, a location which would have been the most likely centre for the production in Scotland of school-books (Myllar's own speciality in Rouen).[47] Such schoolbooks continued to be high in demand and, despite the guarantee given by the government, they were imported from abroad by Edinburgh booksellers, such as Willyam and Francis Frost, William Sym, Andro Ross, 'and diuers utheris'.[48]

Throughout this time, Walter Chepman was working on the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**; STC 15791), almost certainly without the help of Myllar (whose name and device are excluded from the production). In contrast to the modest size of the earlier books printed by Chepman and Myllar, the Breviary was a considerable undertaking, consisting of over 1,500 pages set in small type and printed in red and black ink. Undoubtedly, additional workmen probably from Northern France were imported to work on the book. The first use by Chepman of the 52 Brevier Textura (**T9**) and

---

43. R. Donaldson, 'An Early Printed Fragment of the "Buke of the Howlat" – Addendum', *EBST*, v (1980–3), pp. 25–8; W. Beattie, 'An Early Printed Fragment of the "Buke of the Howlat"', *EBST*, ii (1938–45), pp. 393–7.

44. Priscilla Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992), p. 15.

45. D. Fox, 'Manuscripts and Prints of Scots Poetry in the Sixteenth Century', in *Bards and Makars*, ed. A. J. Aitken, *et. al.* (Glasgow, 1977).

46. *Early Scottish Libraries*, pp. 129, 136.

47. *See* Durkan, 'Cultural Background', pp. 425–6. Durkan concludes that 'by 1510 [Myllar] was either dead, or had left Chepman'.

48. Chepman successfully obtained a judgement from the Privy Council against these booksellers on 14 January 1509–10.

the 115 Great Primer Textura (**T2**), both probably originating from France, lends weight to this theory. It also seems likely that the ornamental initial **B27** also originated from France. The lack of any other ornamentation in such a large volume is surely an indication that such ornaments were scarce, probably shipped from France.

The Aberdeen Breviary, which now survives in five imperfect copies, was issued in two parts, comprising the 'Pars Hyemalis' (completed on 13 February 1509–10) and the 'Pars Æstivalis', (completed on 4 June 1510). Although the book should have been a great success, with copies being specially amended 'to suit different localities of the kingdom',[49] there are signs that Elphinstone had misjudged the political and intellectual climate of the times. The Aberdeen Breviary was coolly received by other dioceses, who perhaps thought Elphinstone's reforms did not go far enough, and the project had to be dropped before Chepman printed any more volumes.[50]

It is difficult to say how deeply the failure of Archbishop Elphinstone's publishing programme affected the advent of printing in Scotland. There is some evidence that Chepman continued to print other lengthy tracts, including Henry the Minstrel's *Wallace* (No. **10**; STC 13148) (a volume now in fragments which originally consisted of about 288 pages, set in quires consisting of eight leaves each).[51] But while there was certainly a demand in Scotland for Greek and Latin texts (not to mention grammars and other school-books), printers in Scotland did not have the resources to print such books without some major form of financial support. The disastrous battle of Flodden in which King James IV was killed, coupled with the troubled accession of James V, 'hardly provided the tranquil conditions needed for the advance of humanism'. In fact, the only evidence of printing activity in Scotland comes from the press of John Story (No. **15**; STC 15791.5), which is described as 'perhaps a modest affair that would have coped with the odd broadsheet or ballad'.[52]

The Development of the Scottish Book-Trade

The entire subject of the Scottish booktrade throughout the 1520s and 1530s is one fraught with difficulties, since so little evidence remains as to what was being printed at the time. Although the 1525 and 1535 Acts of Parliament suggest that books and ballads 'obnoxious to the Catholic hierarchy' were being printed in Scotland, all such publications have disappeared, and there is little surviving evidence that the Lutheran works referred to in these Acts were widely circulated throughout Scotland.[53] Moreover, the trade of books between Scotland and England was virtually non-existent,[54] a fact not unexpected given that Scottish students were rarely at English universities.

---

49. McRoberts, 'Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments', p. 94.

50. Ibid. pp. 44–5. In any case, the revised Quigñones Breviary, issued in 1535, rendered Elphinstone's Aberdeen Breviary obsolete. *See* Macfarlane, 'Was the Scottish Church Reformable?', p. 36; I. A. Muirhead, 'A Quigñonez Breviary', *IR*, xiv (1963), pp. 74–5.

51. H. G. Aldis, 'On Some Re-discovered Fragments...in the Types of Chepman and Myllar', *PEBS*, ix (1913), pp. 87–9; J. F. Miller, 'Blind Harry's "Wallace" ', in *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, iii (1915), pp. 1–25.

52. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 383. *See* also G. P. Johnston, 'Note on a Unique Tract: Compassio Beate Marie', *EBST*, xiv (1930), pp. 99–118.

53. Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', p. 148.

54. Anthony Ross concludes that 'London is well behind in the recorded places of printing'. *See Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 15.

Instead, Scottish bookbuyers – who were surprisingly well-informed as to what was available abroad – ordered books from the continent, usually through booksellers in Edinburgh who were evidently able to supply such orders at short notice.[55]

With a distinct lack of printing facilities available in Scotland, those who wished to have their books printed had to venture abroad in order to do so. The most influential of these was John Major (or Mair) of Haddington, who began to publish in 1499. Major's influence – as both a scholar and a teacher – was felt throughout Europe, including places as far away as Spain: Francisco da Vitoria, for example, was aware of Major's teachings at Paris, as was Francesco Suárez. More importantly, his books were circulated throughout Europe in unusually large quanitities. For example, the records of the Columbus library in Seville show that Major's books were imported from places as far apart as Alcala, Lyons, Cologne, Turin, and Louvain.

Other Scots who published while living abroad were also very highly regarded, including George Lockert, William Manderston, James Melville, and David Cranston. Not only were copies of their books bought in cities as diverse as Louvain, London, Medina del Campo, Cologne, and Nuremberg, but they were also imported into Scotland, as documented in Durkan and Ross's *Early Scottish Libraries*.[56] The print run of such books was unexpectedly large: for example, Raoul Lasliseau had 538 copies of Gilbert Crab's *Notica* ('Notis de Crap') in his possession in 1521, even after most of the print run had been distributed to the great European book centres.[57]

There can be little doubt that these Scottish writers preferred to work with the big continental printing concerns, able to handle 'the cost of printing Latin works on a large scale for continental distribution'.[58] Such arrangements, however, could become problematic, particularly when Scots had to travel abroad to oversee the publication of their own books. John Vaus, at Aberdeen, arranged to have his edition of the Latin grammar of Alexandre de Villedieu published in Paris with Josse Bade, even going as far as offering to pay for the entire edition himself. As it was, Vaus lost his luggage to pirates on the way to France.[59]

Scottish writers like Vaus shrewdly pandered to the demands of the market. Although Vaus's edition of Villedieu was regarded as out-of-date, its incessant popularity among school boys ensured its enduring success. (The excuse Vaus gave for neglecting the newer Italian grammars was that 'schoolboys are very conservative'.) Vaus's former students roundly criticized him for this practice. Robert Gray argued that 'Vaus should have broken more definitively with the past and followed Sulpizio, Perotti, Aldus, and Torrentinus, rather than deferring to the schoolboy's traditional preference for traditional texts'.[60] Another notable student of Vaus, Florence Wilson, in his *Epitome of Latin grammar* (Lyons, 1544), called for the new grammar of Johannes Despauterius.[61] Vaus

---

55. *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 16.

56. *See* also Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 385.

57. Durkan 'John Major', p. 139.

58. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 384.

59. This account has been described as 'an adventure story that would help him [Vaus] to recoup his losses on returning to King's College' in Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 262.

60. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 132.

61. Durkan, 'Education', p. 133.

himself had little interest in an out-of-date grammar like that of Villedieu, as his possession of the new grammars of Johann Reuchlin and (the Spaniard) Antonio de Lebrija attests.[62]

Vaus's contemporary at King's College, Hector Boece, remained at Aberdeen while arranging the foreign publication of his *magnum opus*, the *Scotorum historiae*, printed by Josse Bade in 1527. This was certainly a prestigious project, equalled in importance only by Robert Gaguin's new history of France, a work which earned the praise of Erasmus for its literary elegance. As a Latinist, Boece was more than a match for Gaguin – Johannes Latomus in 1557 recalled 'how Boece had lit up the Scottish past by the brilliance of his Latin eloquence' – justifiably earning Dr. John Durkan's accolade that 'probably no other Scot before 1560 was so well read in classical histories as was Boece'.[63] Despite its monumental importance and the lavish production which accompanied it, there were a great many problems associated with the proof-reading of Boece's book by foreign workmen, even those employed by a printer like Josse Bade. In the end, numerous errata slipped through the net: 'Horum similia si offendes, lector, clementer ignosces: difficile enim erat in re ignota et litera peregrina ab archetypo aberrasse nihil.'[64]

Another Aberdeen graduate active in the printing trade on the continent was Florence Wilson [Volusenus], employed as a proof-reader at the Italian colony at Lyons during the 1530s. Educated at Aberdeen under Hector Boece and John Vaus, Wilson could 'write elegant Ciceronian Latin with ease', even going as far as to criticize Erasmus for cultivating a prose style that was not Ciceronian enough.[65]

The Commitment to Orthodox Religious Reform

Given this activity in the book-trade, it should come as no surprise that editions of contemporary humanist writers from the continent were becoming more prominent among the members of Scottish ecclesiastical institutions. The Italian humanist, Giovanni Ferrari [Johannes Ferrerius], instructed the Cistercian monks at Kinloss using Cicero's *Offices* (readily available from the Parisian booksellers in a handy one-volume edition). Under the direction of Ferrari, Kinloss became a 'radiating centre' of learning, complete with an impressive library of printed books, which included the latest editions of the humanists Jacques Lefèvre and Melanchthon.[66] The Blackfriars of St. Andrews, similarly, had a large library containing several hundred printed books, suggesting an equally exceptional interest in history and literature, 'more typical of the renaissance than of scholasticism'.[67] The interest

62. *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 156.

63. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 261.

64. John Lee, *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1826), p. 11.

65. Ibid., p. 268; Durkan , 'Humanism in Scotland', pp. 11–3; Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 384. Writing to Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Foulis says his object in publishing was to entice students at home to take up polite letters. J. Foulis [Follisius], *Calamitosae pestis deploratio*, cited in Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 398. Letters from Florence Wilson to Thomas Cromwell, John Starkey, and Cardinal Sadoleto are reprinted in *Bannatyne Miscelleny*, i.

66. Durkan, 'Beginnings of Humanism', p. 15. *See* also John Durkan, 'Giovanni Ferrerio and Religious Humanism in the Sixteenth Century Scotland', *Studies in Church History: Religion and Humanism*, edd. K. Robbins, xvii (Oxford, 1981), pp. 181–94. For John Adamson, early reformer of the Dominicans at Aberdeen, whose influence was particularly lasting at Kinloss, *see* Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', pp. 265–6.

67. A. P. Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars: 1481–1560', *IR*, xx (1969), p. 25.

such orders had in humane letters is reflected in the increasing demand for these books – regularly imported from the continent – a fact explaining John Grierson's ownership of Erasmus and ancient Latin writers, as well as the Franciscan Observants' use of such texts at King's College Library, *c.* 1557.[68]

The ownership of such books could be controversial, particularly following the rise of Luther, when works by Erasmus and Lefèvre were increasingly regarded as heretical. In earlier years, the lines between the Catholics and Lutherans had been rather more fluid. The Catholic reformer John Major cited Luther with respect, saying that he had recalled theologians to the scriptures, while key Protestant figures such as Gilbert Winram, who accompanied Patrick Hamilton to Marburg, read both Major and Erasmus.[69] This state of affairs goes some way to explain why a staunch Catholic supporter such as Giovanni Ferrari advocated the study of Melanchthon's *Rhetoric*, described as a 'squarely Lutheran work'.[70] The continuing dissemination of such Lutheran ideas through the media of printed books may have prompted two Dundee schoolmasters, John Fethy and Walter Spaulding, to convert to Lutheranism, and flee from Scotland to Wittenberg, where Melanchthon was active.[71]

The Scottish Trade in Protestant Books

This increasing trade in Protestant books can in large part be attributed to Scottish contacts with the continental centres of Lutheranism and Calvinism, such as Germany, Zurich, and Geneva. Antwerp was one place of publication for Scottish Lutheran books, including Patrick Hamilton's *Places* (STC 12731.4), as well as the port from which translations of the Bible were being shipped in 1527 to Edinburgh and St. Andrews.[72] John Gau, another Scottish Lutheran, had his edition of *The richt vay* published at Malmö (STC 19525).

This is not to say that the English were completely without influence in Scotland – Thomas Cromwell welcomed the few Scottish Lutherans emigrating to England[73] – but rather that such anglicization was minimal, and would not in itself be felt as a threatening political force until 1542, the year in which the reign of James V came to an end. Until that time, the many attempts of Henry VIII to convert the Scots fell on barren ground, as exemplified by the failed missions of Dr. Barstow to distribute Protestant books at the court of James V in 1535.[74] There is, moreover, little to suggest the widespread distribution in Scotland of English-printed Bibles, despite Sir David

---

68. For the library of John Grierson *see* J. Durkan, 'St. Andrews in the John Law Chronicle', in *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1976), pp. 137–50. John Law, the mid-sixteenth century principal at St. Andrews, owned an extraordinary library of printed books, comprised of Italian humanists such as Francesco Petrarch, Giovanni Boccaccio, Gasparino Barzizza, Francesco Filelfo, Leonardo Bruni, and others. *See* John Durkan and Julian Russell, 'John Grierson's Book-List', *IR*, xxviii (1977), pp. 39–49; Durkan, 'Education', p. 152.

69. Durkan, 'Cultural History', pp. 389, 403; *Early Scottish Libraries*, pp. 160–1.

70. Durkan, 'Education', p. 126.

71. Ibid., pp. 125–6.

72. Brother Kenneth, 'The Popular Literature of the Scottish Reformation', *IR*, x (1959), p. 296.

73. J. Durkan, 'Scottish Evangelicals in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xxi.

74. David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson, 8 vols. (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842–9), i, p. 110.

Lindsay's reference to copies of the New Testament 'in Englisch toung, and prentit in England'.[75]

The first stirrings of unrest – at the presence in Scotland of Lutheranism – come to light around 1524 at the University of St. Andrews, where the trade in printed Lutheran books was probably discussed at a meeting of the Arts Faculty on 8 April 1525.[76] The reception of Patrick Hamilton – who may have already shown his hand as a Lutheran at the Arts Faculty a few months earlier (in October 1524) – could have prompted debate on the matter, which was again raised in the Scottish parliament in the following July. This resulted in the 1525 Act of Parliament, prohibiting the discussion of Luther and distribution of his books, except for their refutation, 'and that be clerkis in the sculis alanerlie'.[77] Despite this act, a few copies of Tyndale's translation of the Bible continued to be sold in St. Andrews in 1527. The Scots themselves were apparently unaware of how such books were being imported, choosing to enforce the ban in the Catholic stronghold of Aberdeen, when instead shipments were actually being made to the sea-coast areas of Mearns, Angus, Fife, and Lothian.[78]

Nevertheless, the political tensions brewing at this time were considerable, resulting not only in the executions of Patrick Hamilton on 29 February 1527–8 and Henry Forrest in 1533, but also the enactment of the 1535 Act of Parliament, calling for 'pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of the offender's goods' for those possessing Lutheran books. Printed copies of Tyndale's translation of the Bible were readily available in Scotland soon after its publication on the continent, a fact alluded to in the 1527 correspondence of the English ambassidor at Antwerp to Cardinal Wolsey: 'There were divers merchants of Scotland, that bought many of such like books and took them to Scotland, a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St. Andrews.'[79]

Prosecutions were quickly forthcoming, as testaments from William Howard and Bishop Barlow in 1536 make clear. They are further confirmed by the Duke of Norfolk's report in 1539 that 'dayly commeth unto me some gentlemen and some clerkes, wiche do flee owte of Scotland as they saie for redyng of Scripture in Inglishe; saying that if they were taken, they sholde be put to execution'.[80]

Such repressive actions were principally taken as a matter of political expediency, meant to bolster the position of Cardinal Beaton, who wished at all costs to strengthen the ties Scotland had with France. Even so, it is difficult to reconcile the brutal supression of Lutheran books with the

---

75. Kenneth, 'Popular Literature', p. 246. For distribution in Scotland of English printed Protestant books and Bibles, *see Early Scottish Libraries.*

76. John Durkan, 'The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages: 1413–1560' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1959), p. 263. The committee was appointed to deal with 'sundry supplications made to the Dean and Faculty'. *See Acta*, p. lii. On 11 March 1526–7, delegates were nominated to consider matters 'concerning the honour of the Faculty and the utility of the students'. Their findings are not on record, but the very silence suggests that 'the confidential business was of a disturbing nature'.

77. *APS*, ii. 295; Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', p. 147; Durkan, 'Scottish Universities', p. 263.

78. 'A History of the Estate of Scotland from July 1558–April 1560' in *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, selected and edited by David Laing (Edinburgh: The Wodrow Society, 1844), pp. 51–85. A transcription, dated 7 January 1663, of an earlier MS., now lost, by an anonymous writer.

79. Davidson, 'Influence', p. 79.

80. Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', p. 147, which also includes information about Howard and Barlow. Although the *Acta* contain no reference to the execution of Patrick Hamilton, they nevertheless reflect a state of tension attributable to his martyrdom. *Acta*, p. liii.

policies of the more enlightened Catholic reformers, such as Robert Reid and Giovanni Ferrari.

Scotland: Athens of the North

The policies for reform in the hands of Reid and Ferrari in many ways became overtly intellectual, accompanied by a renewed interest in the study of Latin texts. Given the activity in the book-trade, it should come as no suprise that editions of contemporary humanist writers from the continent were becoming exceptionally popular among the student population of Scotland. Editions of Lefèvre and the New Testament Paraphrases of Erasmus were popular at King's College, Aberdeen. (Hector Boece, writing in 1525, said they were 'constantly on his students' hands'.) Adam Calquhon, the rector of Glasgow University from 1529–32, had a library with two shelves of 'librell bukis'; both the libraries at Aberdeen and St. Andrews included not only editions of Latin classical writers, such as Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil, but also editions of contemporary Ciceronian epistolary models, including the Italian Latinists Gasparino Barzizza and Francesco Filelfo.[81]

It was, consequently, only a matter of time before a number of Scottish neo-Latin poets, writing verse based on Virgilian and Horatian metres, became active at the court of James V. These include John Foulis, a competent versifier whom Giovanni Ferrari described as 'poet to the tip of his fingers', and Adam Otterburn, who later hired the Aberdonian-educated poet Adam Mure (originally from Glasgow). The proficiency of their verse can be judged from the eloquent elegy of Adam Mure in praise of William Elphinstone, a work which Dr. John Durkan has described as a *tour de force* of Renaissance Latin.[82] The correspondingly high technical standard of these poets was due in no small part to the presence of the Italian humanist Giovanni Ferrari, resident at court in 1528, and the neo-Latin poet George Buchanan, revisiting Scotland in 1534.

The architectural and sculptural commissions of James V similarly reflect an increasingly sophisticated awareness of neo-classical forms. These include the remodelling of Falkland, with its high-relief roundels containing Roman-style heads, and the extraordinary wooden ceiling in the great hall of Stirling, in which a number of classical and contemporary figures were carved in relief. The scale of such enterprises, probably executed under the direction of the 'carvour' Robert Robertson, inevitably reflects the growing ambitions of James V to emulate the 'latest Italianate fashions of the French court', quite understandable in view of his two French marriages (particularly the second one to Mary of Guise).[83] But there was also an intellectual rationalization behind such royal commissions. This was articulated in the writings of Symphorien Champier, a French neo-Platonist, who regarded the French (and not the Italians) as 'the real heirs of Athens'. James V's bold cultural programme, embracing as it did all aspects of the New Learning, was similarly intended to make Scotland an 'Athens of the North', following France in its rediscovery of antiquity to become a new centre of European and Christian culture.

---

81. Durkan and Kirk, *Glasgow University*, pp. 208–9.

82. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 263; J. Durkan, and W. S. Watt, 'Adam Mure's *Laudes Gulielmi Elphinstoni*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, xxviii (1979), pp. 199–233.

83. M. Kemp and C. Farrow, 'Humanism in the Visual Arts', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 34.

Fine Bindings at Court

This increased interest in humanism is reflected in the desire at court for fine bindings and deluxe editions. For the first time, professional binders (replacing the clerics) were at work in Scotland. David Chepman (possibly the son of the printer Walter Chepman) was paid 10*s*. for a royal binding in March 1538–9. Embroiderers, such as Helen Ross and John Young, also bound books for James V, and the printer and bookbinder Robert Lekpreuik was also possibly active as a trade binder at this time (*see* below).

These binders produced sumptuous royal bindings, incorporating materials such as coloured velvet, satin, damask, and silk, having clasps of gold or silver and silk-lined cases trimmed with gold thread and drawstrings of silk. The clasps, costing 20*s*. each, were commissioned separately from goldsmiths such as John Mosman. The drawstrings and silk-linings were undertaken by an embroiderer, such as Helen Ross. The costs for such materials could vary, from £7.–£10. per binding. Regrettably, none of these bindings have survived, although they were probably similar to an armorial binding now in the British Library commissioned for King James VI, made of purple velvet with gold clasps and cornerpieces, probably made by the royal bookbinder John Bigson. James V also commissioned at least one fine binding from France. This was Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* (No. **18**; STC 3203), a 'humanist' binding containing two medallions of Dido, now at the Pierpont Morgan Library.[84]

Deluxe Editions at Court (to 1542)

The only printer known to be active at this time was Thomas Davidson, probably an Aberdonian educated abroad, who printed a number of deluxe editions for James V.[85] Davidson was one of the Aberdonians, originally associated with the book-trade in Louvain, whose numbers include John Wawan of Tarves, operating from about 1537.[86] Davidson's printing activities were virtually subsidized by the crown, which evidently desired the prestige of a court printer capable of producing sumptuous volumes rivalling those of continental printing centres such as France. Consequently, the crown gave a number of substantial grants to Davidson, including an annual pension of £20. in 1535, as well as appointing him to print the 1540 *Acts of Parliament*.[87]

Although there has been some debate as to whether Davidson 'officially' held the office of King's Printer, as he describes himself in both the *Chronicles* and the 1540 *Acts of Parliament* (No. **19**; STC 21878.5), there is no reason to disbelieve his own remarks. He was certainly friendly with James V,

---

84. Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 18–26. For the Boece, *see* Mitchell, p. 53; Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 69.

85. Little is known about Davidson, but he was probably in Louvain in 1522, where he is described as 'de marouia abordinensis'. See Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 385, n.

86. Patrick Bisset was another Aberdonian bookseller, operating in Edinburgh, stocking up with books from the Parisian printer Vascosan in 1557. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 271.

87. The first entry in the Register relating to him is a notice in the Exchequer rolls for 1535 of a £10 grant ['Thome Davidsoun impressori de termino Pentecostes huius compoti']. This account is rendered on 3 September 1535. Following this, according to an entry in the 1536 accounts, Davidson was in receipt of an annual pension of £20 from the crown, and in 1536 he received a grant of escheat goods of Sir John Duncanson, Alexander Hervy, and Sir Patrick Mure.

who on 6 March 1541–2 granted him a tavern and booth previously belonging to the printer Walter Chepman.[88]

Given such subsidies, Davidson's books were inevitably associated with James V and his court. He printed the poem *Ad serenissimum* (No. **16**; STC 14435), probably composed by the poet James Foulis on occasion of James V's assumption of power. Davidson also printed some ambitious vernacular texts, including Gavin Douglas's *Palace of honour* (No. **17**; STC 7072.8), a book which when completed would have run to some 2,000 lines, and the new Bellenden translation of Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* (No. **18**; STC 3203). There is some speculation that Davidson also printed a number of books by Sir David Lindsay, now lost, including editions of *The dreme* and *The testament and complaint of the papingo*.[89]

The initial investment required to equip a printing shop such as Davidson's would have been prohibitive without some form of subsidy, which in this case came from the crown. Davidson invested heavily in woodcuts, acquiring the majority of them from printers in Antwerp such as van Doesborch and Martinus de Keyser (a few were also acquired from printers in London, such as Peter Treveris and Lawrence Andrewe).[90] In addition to this outlay, Davidson commissioned a few wood engravings probably from the Low Countries, including his printer's device **5** (consisting of a shield hanging from a tree, supported by two wild men), and a woodcut of the Scottish Coat of Arms **1**. Davidson also invested heavily in new printing supplies, including the purchase of a large amount of fine paper from Northern France (judging from the watermark of a hand surmounted by a star [Briquet Group II]), as well as the purchase of French textura type, popular also in the Low Countries and in London. (Both the type and the paper were used well into the 1570s in Scotland by printers such as John Scot and Robert Lekpreuik, both of whom were less well-off than Davidson. George Buchanan evidently also used some of Davidson's old stock of paper in what may be an autograph MS. of his poem *Franciscanus* (BN: Baluze MS. 280, ff. 131r–157v and 186r–190v).[91] Davidson hired experienced compositors and pressmen, probably from the Low Countries or from Northern France (where Davidson may have learned his trade).[92]

The editions which Davidson produced gave a certain prestige to the court of James V, particularly the three vellum copies of Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* (No. **18**; STC 3203) and the two vellum copies of the 1540 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**; STC 21878.5), probably intended for special presentation. However, even though publication of these volumes was subsidized by the crown, they were nevertheless expensive, costing up to 12*s*. for each plain paper copy of the 1540

---

88. Dickson and Edmond, p. 106.

89. David Lindsay, *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: 1490–1555*, ed. D. Hamer, 4 vols., (Edinburgh, 1931–6), iv, pp. 15–6; D. Hamer, 'The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay', *The Library*, 4th ser., x (1929), pp. 20–1. For a so-far unnoticed Scottish imprint, possibly by Davidson, *see* J. Durkan, '*The Trompet of Honour* (Edinburgh?, 1537)', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1982), pp. 1–2.

90. For woodcuts previously owned by van Doesborch, *see* W. Beattie, 'Fragments of the Palyce of Honour', *EBST*, iii (1951), pp. 33–46. Information about Davidson's paper stock (subsequently used by John Scot and Robert Lekpreuik) is in *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear*, ed. W. Beattie (Edinburgh: NLS Keppie facs. No. 1, 1966), p. iv.

91. John Durkan, 'George Buchanan: Some French Connections', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), p. 66.

92. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 385, n.

Acts of Parliament, according to one contemporary source.[93]

The demand for such books was considerable, and they continued to circulate (in cheaper editions) long after Davidson ceased to print: for example, the London printer, William Copeland, probably used Davidson's original edition of Douglas's *Palace of honour* (No. **17**; STC 7072.8) as the basis for his own text (*c.* 1553), and the Scottish printer, Henry Charteris, refers to Davidson's edition in 1579 (a good fifty years after the original publication date).[94] Robert Lekpreuik, also active in Scotland, refers to Davidson's 1540 Acts of Parliament in his own 1566 Acts of Parliament (No. **51**; STC 21875). In the 1550's, the Rouen printer Jean Petit may have based his editions of Lindsay's poems on some of Davidson's editions.[95]

The Regent Arran and the Influence of the English Printers on the Scottish Reformation

The death of James V in 1542, along with the political uncertainty that followed, quickly put an end to the brief period in which the printing of deluxe editions had flowered under Davidson. The regency of Arran that followed – characterized briefly by a marked warming of relations towards England – inaugurated a quite different era in the Scottish booktrade, which now focused on the sales of the English Bible (the reading of which had been made legal in Scotland in 1543).[96]

Arran, himself, was pitted against a powerful opponent, Cardinal Beaton, who intended to gain control of the Scottish government at all costs; and given the power of the clergy built up under James V, there was every indication that he would do so. In desperation, Arran turned to the English for help, seeking to encourage a Protestant movement.[97] The first step of Arran's programme was to encourage the sales of English Bibles, by actively promoting a closer relationship with English booksellers: to this end, he promised Lord Lisle that any bookseller travelling from England to sell Bibles would be 'weil tretit'.[98] The English soon took advantage of such a policy. The correspondence of Lord Grey of Wilton reveals a new demand for Protestant books prominent in the sector of the Scottish nobility supporting Arran. Sadler remarked with some relish that the Scots 'mervously desyred' such books to the extent that 'if there were a carte lode sent thither they wolde be bought every one'.[99]

Scotland by now had become the most ready market for Bibles from English printers such as Witchurch, Day and Seres, Day, Jugge, and Cawood, all of whom had considerable stocks in need of disposal. The 1543 Act of English Parliament, which supressed the sale of such Bibles in England, only served to increase the supply of such Bibles in Scotland, finding a particularly ready market

---

93. Dickson and Edmond, p. 118.

94. P. Bawcutt, *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, STS 4th ser., iii (Edinburgh and London, 1967), pp. xv–xvi.

95. Hamer, *Works of Lindsay*, iv, pp. 15–6; Hamer, 'Bibliography of Lindsay', pp. 2–11.

96. *APS*, iii. 410–5.

97. His intentions are made clear in the correspondence of the English envoy, Sir Ralph Sadler, who recorded that Arran 'was coming to the conclusion that if there was no purgatory, then they [the nobility] had good grounds for getting rid of the monks and friars'. Brother Kenneth, 'Popular Literature', p. 297.

98. Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', p. 149.

99. Ibid., p. 150.

in Dundee.[100] David Wedderburn, for instance, owned a copy of the Matthews Bible (printed in London in 1551). Sailors bought such books in increasing quantities: one inventory of a ship docking at Dundee records that a Dutch Bible was found in each of 'the Mariners' kists'.[101]

The English were soon increasing those biblical and political tracts for sale and distribution in Scotland, including *The iust declaration of Henry VIII*, James Harrison's *An exhortacion* (STC 12857), the Duke of Somerset's *Epistle* (STC 22268), and Nicholas Bodrugan's *An epitome* (STC 3196).[102] Soon afterwards, the works of Scottish Protestants and reformers began to appear in London editions, such as those of David Lindsay, George Wishart, and perhaps most significantly, John Knox (whose connection with the English is well documented).[103]

The sale of such Protestant books in Scotland quickly rose. The reformer, James Rollock, probably imported service books into Dundee in 1541, and in 1544 – while residing at a Scottish colony in the Low Countries – Rollock also bought and probably shipped to Scotland a number of service and other books printed by John Mayler of London.[104] Sir Andrew Dudly also refers to a bookbinder at Dundee who sold Protestant books.[105] Martin Balcasky, an Edinburgh merchant, was arrested for refusing to deliver his [English] matins book to a Lothian official.[106] English tracts discrediting the Friars, such as *Querela pauperum*, inspired a minor genre of anti-clerical literature in Scotland which was to include works by George Buchanan and David Lindsay.[107]

Shipments of English books to Scotland, however, were probably more difficult to sell than this scenario might suggest. Even Sadler had to acknowledge that English Bibles were not 'liked of any party here, nor yet the Governour desireth to have any more of them'.[108] With this in mind, the English claims as to the grass-roots popularity of Protestant books have to be treated with some degree of skepticism.

It is surprising that, with the exception of *The complaynt of Scotland*, the Catholics issued nothing to counter the increasing tide of Protestant books flooding into the country, relying instead on legislation to control the production and distribution of 'blasphemations' (such as the 1543, 1549, and 1552 Scottish Acts of Parliament).[109] Although such legislation presupposes the existence of a number of presses operating in Scotland, such presses are largely unknown, and the majority of their publications were undoubtedly destroyed following the Reformation. Despite the market for lavish editions which still existed in Scotland, it certainly seems unlikely that large and ambitious editions, now lost, would have been undertaken by any of these presses, as they probably only had

---

100. Ibid., p. 150; Durkan, 'Cultural History', p. 407.

101. Alexander Maxwell, *The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register with Additions from Contemporary Annals* (Edinburgh and Dundee, 1884), pp. 23–4.

102. Donald Davidson, 'Influence on the English Printers on the Scottish Reformation', *Records of the Scottish Historical Society*, i (1926), pp. 75–87.

103. Kenneth, 'Popular Literature', p. 297.

104. Durkan, 'Cultural History', p. 407.

105. Maxwell, *Old Dundee*, p. 97; *CSP*, i. 129; Davidson, 'Influence', p. 81.

106. Durkan, 'Cultural History', p. 407.

107. *See* Brother Kenneth, 'Popular Literature'.

108. Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', p. 150; Ralph Sadler, *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. A. Clifford, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1809), i, p. 127.

109. *APS*, ii. 438, 439.

the capability to print ephemeral items, such as ballads and placards, in small print runs.

John Scot

The single printer known to be active at this time was John Scot, described as an engraver ['calcographus'] (or possibly a typecutter), as well as a printer in the protocol book of Andrew Brounhill, i, f. 105r.[110] Unfortunately, because the books that Scot printed during the 1540s are now all missing, his earlier career remains something of an enigma, although he was evidently in Edinburgh during June 1539, when he received a grant of two chambers with cellars in a house on the north side of the Cowgate (at the foot of Borthwick's Close), where he may (or may not) have been involved with the booktrade. His whereabouts after that date are unknown, although there is some speculation that he fled Edinburgh around 1544, when the English Army razed the capital. Thereafter, Scot presumably operated his press in a number of different locations, including Dundee, when in 1547 the Privy Council ordered his apprehension and incarceration in the Castle of Edinburgh (probably following the publication of a work prohibited by the 1543 Act of Parliament).[111]

Scot may have also printed in Aberdeen, according to evidence about an edition now missing of Sir David Lindsay's *Testament and complaynt of the papingo*, although he was back in St. Andrews by 1552, printing *The catechisme* (No. **20**; STC 12731) for his patron John Hamilton. As many of the books Scot printed have no date and no place of printing, it is difficult to reconstruct his movements throughout the 1550s, although it appears that he remained in St. Andrews until at least 1555, when he printed Patrick Cockburn's *In dominicam* (No. **22**; STC 5458), and it is possible that he remained there until 1562, when he printed two books by Ninian Winzet (Nos. **36** & **37**; STC 25860 & 25861), both of which list Edinburgh as the place of printing.

Scot's presses and printing stock were impounded when he was arrested during the course of printing Winzet's *The last blast* (No. **37**; STC 25861) during July 1562, although its author (who was on the premises at the time) managed to escape in disguise, and in the following year made his way to Flanders, where he had at least two books printed.[112]

As Scot was unable to pay the £9. 1*s*. fine imposed by the magistrates having 'na vtheris guddis saifing his prenting irins and letteris quhilk war in the townis handis', his equipment was handed over to his creditor, Thomas Alexander, and the bookseller Thomas Bassandyne on 21 March 1564.[113]

Scot's activities following his arrest are still unclear, although his types were used in printing an edition of *The good and godlie ballads* (No. **44**; STC 2996.3) during 1565 for Thomas Bassandyne, who in the following years may have also printed or commissioned editions now missing of *The fall of the Roman kirk* and a psalm book using Scot's equipment. If Scot was not involved with these publications, he had certainly resumed printing by 1567, with the publication in Edinburgh of the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **57**; STC 16578.5), and had also accepted a commission from

110. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', p. 383 and n. There was a John Scot, probably the printer, at Dieppe in 1525.

111. John Skimgeour, the constable of Dundee who failed to apprehend Scot, was forced to resign his commission. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 152–3; *RPC* i. 69.

112. Information about Scot's arrest is recorded in Bishop John Leslie's *De origine moribus*, 1578 (A & R 721).

113. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 156–7.

the bookseller Henry Charteris to print a revised edition of Sir David Lindsay's *Works* (Nos.**68**, **74**, **105**; STC 15658–9), copies of which were issued between 1568–71. Speculation that 'Charteris took over the publication' by adding a series of minor poems in 1571 is unfounded, as Charteris is not otherwise known to have printed any books before 1581.[114]

Given the passionate nature of the partisan conflict occuring in Scotland at this time, it may come something as a surprise to learn that Scot solicited work from both Catholics and Protestants, an indication that his ideological beliefs were less important than his possible sources of income. Thus, in addition to printing dogmatic Catholic books, such as John Hamilton's *Catechisme* (No. **20**; STC 12731), his *Godlie exhortatioun* (No. **27**; STC 12731.2), and Patrick Cockburn's *In dominicam* (No. **22**; STC 5458), Scot also printed the Protestant work of William Lauder (No. **23**; STC 15314 ff.), as well as the *Psalmes of David* (No. **57**; STC 16578.5), and the *Compendius buik of godly psalms and spiritual sangis* (No. **56**; STC 2996.5), attributed to John, James, and Robert Wedderburn. Scot may have also done some printing for the Scottish government, including a missing edition of the 1553 Acts of Parliament.[115]

Although Scot was financially supported by Archbishop Hamilton (for whom he printed various counter-Reformation tracts, including Hamilton's own *Godlie exhortation*), the capital he had to draw upon was very small, a situation reflected in the poor quality of printing and proof-reading of his books. The setting and presswork of Hamilton's *Godlie exhortation* was one less than successful example, the book itself referring to the 'imperfection of the prent, the lettir mocht beand fully fillit with ynk or nocht set in even & rycht order'.

With this in mind, there is certainly no evidence to support the various claims that Scot 'actually learnt the art of printing from Davidson, and continued his master's style until the day of his death'.[116] In fact, the two were quite different printers, as even a casual comparison of the composition and printing styles will admit. Davidson, as we have seen, produced sumptuous folio volumes, characterized by wider blocks of type and a lavish use of paper (extending to the use of a 2-line Great Primer Textura (**T1**) for his subheadings). Scot, on the other hand, printed cluttered quarto editions, in which the margins are reduced as much as possible in order to save paper costs (to this end he frequently abbreviated words and used a smaller display type, an English Textura (**T4**) for subtitles).

Without a patron, Scot was unable to afford new sets of woodcuts and types; instead he used the old stock previously belonging to Davidson (a fact which goes a long way in explaining why the two printers are often associated, despite their obvious differences). This stock, however, was in such poor condition that – in Scots hands – the English Roman and Textura types, which Davidson used so successfully, are virtually unreadable – a fact confirmed by the errata page for *Godlie exhortation*, which admits that the reader may not 'esely persaif, and thairfor suld reid tham [the letters] as well

---

114. For speculation regarding the printing of these editions, *see* Hamer, *Works of David Lindsay*, iv, p. 47. If Charteris had printed the 1571 edition, it is also unlikely that he would have retained Scot's imprint on the title-page.

115. Dickson and Edmond, p. 155.

116. Hamer, 'Bibliography of David Lindsay', p. 4.

as he can in the best maner'. The woodcuts, including the decorated initials, are also battered, and in some cases have wormholes (*see* woodcut **9**).

Despite his inhibiting financial constraints, Scot was nevertheless able to acquire some new type, including a number of display letters, a Pica Italic, and, surprisingly, a single greek character [Σ]. Scot also obtained a few woodcuts, either from Davidson, or from some other source, including a depiction of 'Hercules and the Centaur', which he used as a printers' device (woodcut **23**) in an edition of Lindsay's *Ane dialog*.

Even with this apparent injection of type and woodcuts, Scot continued to run short of supplies, and in some cases had to improvise in order to get a correct initial letter. For example, in order to obtain the letter N, apparently missing from alphabet **10**, Scot made a crude gouge across the face of the letter M. The letter O in alphabet **15** was similarly altered to make the letter Q during the course of printing Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechisme*.

Scot's supply of ornaments was virtually depleted following his arrest in 1562, and subsequently he occasionally borrowed woodcuts from the printer Robert Lekpreuik (who himself had acquired one woodcut initial (**T14**) from Scot in 1561). However, a comparison of types indicates that these two printers did not share the printing of any of their books.

The difficulty Scot had in distributing his books is perhaps reflected by the existence of two pirated copies of David Lindsay's *Ane dialog* (STC 15673–15674.5), based on Scot's earlier edition. Printers like Jean Petit or his successors (responsible for the piracy) increased their income by producing and distributing such unauthorized reprints more cheaply and efficiently than was possible from Scotland. Although Scot was to reissue the book in the following year, complete with reference to the 'verray fals' nature of the pirated editions, there is little doubt that his lack of great financial success as a printer is due almost entirely to his inability to sell into the continental and English markets.

Classical Editions (1540–1560)

Given the already wide availability of cheap foreign editions, there was little chance that any Greek or Latin classics could be successfully produced in Scotland, even though such editions would have undoubtedly sold well at the Scottish universities of Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen. This is clear from the attempt of Henry Sinclair, Dean of Graduates at Glasgow, to sponsor the publication of Edward Henryson's Latin translations in 1552, which had to be postponed due to 'the relative poverty of [the Scottish] printers'. For the same reason, Archibald Hay also had to abandon his plan to produce expensive Latin and Greek classics at the university centre of St. Andrews, originally outlined in his address to Cardinal Beaton.[117]

The Scottish interest in Greek and Greek printing can originally be traced to the influence of Symphorien Champier, the leading Platonist in France, whose glowing reputation at Aberdeen rapidly expanded the market for Latin versions of such Greek works as Marsilio Ficino's transla-

117. Durkan, 'Cultural Background', pp. 383–4.

tion of Plato. (Hector Boece at Aberdeen owned a copy.)[118] An interest in the Greek language had already been sparked: some early Aberdeen-owned books have the odd Greek word written in their marginalia, 'which suggests some acquaintance, for many perhaps perfunctory, with that language'.[119] Champier's close association with many Scots – such as Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Ross, and James Liddell – fuelled further interest in the language, culminating in the ambitious 1538 plan of Archibald Hay to model St. Mary's College (at St. Andrews) on the tri-lingual colleges of the continent; involving not only the study of exotic languages – including Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, and Hebrew – but also the initiation of a university press (complete with a printer having Greek type).[120]

Outside the universities, schoolmasters would also have bought classical texts, while the continuing interest in Greek is manifested by the higher clergy and university teachers.[121] The city of Aberdeen had 'an educated class whose members bought, exchanged, and gave away books', evidence of which is included in the the recorded borrowings of King's College Library, Aberdeen, written before 1557 (showing that editions of Horace and the commentaries of Lefèvre on Aristotle were in demand).

Fine Bindings (1540–60)

The continuing interest in classical texts in Scotland during the mid-sixteenth century was accompanied by an equally fashionable vogue for armorial book-bindings in the French style, beginning with the armorial binding stamp of William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen (*c.* 1545), and continuing on with armorial stamps belonging to those courtiers associated with Mary, Queen of Scots (who herself owned a copy of the 1566 Acts of Parliament bound in dark brown calf with a gilt border, enclosing a stamp of the Royal Arms).[122]

Although some of these leather bindings have hand-writing in French on their vellum hinges, not all were produced in France, as has often been surmized.[123] One French binder working in Edinburgh was Johnn du Moullings (d. 1567), who owned his own supply of 'warklumis' and 'bukis'. (He may have been related to the Rouen bookbinder of the same name, who was associated with Andrew Myllar *c.* 1505.)[124] There are certainly distinct signs of other Scottish binders working in leather, including Robert Lekpreuik (described as a 'buikbinder' in the 1580 Edinburgh Town Council Records).[125] For example, Benoist Garroust was a craftsman working in textiles who may

---

118. *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 78.

119. Durkan, 'Humanism and the King's College', p. 263.

120. James K. Cameron, 'Humanism and Religious Life', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 165.

121. *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 19.

122. Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbindings*, pp. 27–51; D. Doughty, 'Renaissance Books, Bindings and Owners'; Bushell, *From Papyrus to Print*, pp. 79–89; Duff, 'Some Early Scottish Bookbindings', pp. 430–42; Duff, 'Scottish Bookbinding, Armorial and Artistic', pp. 95–113. For the binding for William Stewart, *see* W. D. Simpson, 'An Armorial Bookbinding of Bishop William Stewart', *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin*, vi (1925–8), p. 419.

123. Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, p. 50; Warner, *Library of James VI*, p. xxxi.

124. J. Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', *Innes Review*, xxxviii (1987), p. (72). *See* also G. D. Hobson, 'Parisian Binding 1500–1525', *Library*, 4th ser., xi (1931), p. 416; C. Davenport, *Cameo Book-Stamps* (London, 1911), pp. 168–9.

125. For Lekpreuik's possible involvement in the leather binding of the 1566 Acts of Parliament, *see* Mitchell,

have been involved in the production of velvet casings for books belonging to Queen Mary.[126]

Most of the books in Queen Mary's library were presentation copies, with quite elaborate binding styles. For instance, the *Geographia* of Frescobaldi Ptolemy of 1490, if such a presentation copy, was cased *c.* 1580, with a Marian gold-tooled stamp.[127] Mary's taste in binding was undoubtedly influenced by the King's mistress, Madame de Valentinois, otherwise Diane de Poitiers, who was also a lover of fine bookbindings.

Certainly, Mary kept up her keen interest in bookbinding throughout the whole of her life, even managing to take up the art when she became a prisoner of the English. Bishop James Montague, writing in 1616, reports that Mary herself personally embroidered a cover for the French verse treatise that she wrote on the 'institution' of the prince, which James regarded as a 'most pretious Jewell'.[128] In 1569, the Englishman Nicolas White wrote that 'the Queen broke the tedium of a winter's day embroidering with threads of many colours'.[129] (We also know that Mary taught the art of embroidery to Elizabeth Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury.)

Mary's interest in bookbinding was well-known to her English captors: in June 1571, she gave George Fitzwilliam a 'book of gold' for the Duchess of Feria and, as Shrewsbury records in June 1573, she accepted a small black-velvet covered book in a box casing from the Duchess of Guise. (This may have been the matins book with gold clasps in the list of 1586).[130] Mary also continued to commission specially bound books during her prison days, such as John Leslie's autograph manuscript of 1573 (which was tooled with her initials and crown on the cover).[131] Some of Mary's bindings are tooled with her monogram, although this stamp was used long after her death. It is similar to a type associated with the Benedictine convent in Rheims, and the Scots college in Paris.[132]

The Literary Patronage of Mary, Queen of Scots

Along with her interest in bookbindings, Mary was also an avid literary patron and book collector, sponsoring the work of Scottish poets and musicians – such as Alexander Scott and George Clapperton – as well as the work of Frenchmen – such as Claude Millot (who had compiled the largest vernacular collection in Scotland), and Maisonfleur.[133] Although Mary was a keen reader and musician – James Melville said 'sche red upon gud bukis' and 'some tyme wald play upon lut and virginelis', while Brantôme had seen her 'touched to tears' when reading Ronsard and Du Bellay – she could also turn her hand at Latin verse, aided by her copy of Murmellius, and even attempted sonnets in French and Italian. The results impressed Brantôme, who had a high opinion of her

---

Scottish Bookbinding, pp. 16–7; 42–3 (Pl. 13); Duff, 'Some Early Scottish Bookbindings', p. 438; Bushnell, *From Papyrus to Print*, pp. 84–5. The relevant entry in the Edinburgh Town Council Records is reprinted in Dickson and Edmond, p. 206.

126. Durkan, 'Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', p. 72.

127. G. F. Barwick, *A Book Bound for Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1901).

128. Durkan, 'Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', p. 77; *Works of James VI* (1616), preface, edited by R. H. MacDonald; R. H. MacDonald (ed.), *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 226.

129. Durkan, 'Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', p. 89.

130. Ibid., pp. 90–1.

131. Ibid., p. 90; Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, p. 41. The book is at the British Library: Add. MS. 48180.

132. Ibid., p. 90.

133. Durkan, 'Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', p. 78.

verse. Such French and Italian literary influences were particularly in vogue at Mary's court, inspiring the poets Alexander Montgomerie (who imitated Ronsard), and John Stewart (who translated Ariosto).[134]

The announcement of Mary's marriage to Darnley in 1565 prompted a further revival of vernacular literature, including the dedication of Edward Henryson's French version of 'Plutarch's Onslought', and the compilation of the extraordinary Bannatyne manuscript, probably conceived of as an offering to Mary and Darnley. This in turn provided a minor stimulus to the Scottish printing trade, particularly to the newly established printer Robert Lekpreuik (who printed the Latin poems of Thomas Craig, celebrating the event [No. **46**; STC 5970]). Bannantyne, also, may have intended his manuscript for publication, although this was never realized.[135] Although normally thought of as a printer supporting the Protestant cause, Lekpreuik also accepted such royal commissions, for example when he printed a description of Mary's wedding to the dauphin, translated from the French, sometime in 1562 or shortly thereafter (No. **32**; STC 17566.5). (Although this anonymously printed book is commonly attributed to the Catholic printer John Scot, the presence of the unusual Pica Roman and Long Primer Roman (**R22** & **R26**) – probably cut in France as discussed below – conclusively shows that it was printed by Lekpreuik.)

The Classical Tradition in Letterforms

Clearly, Mary's return to Scotland in 1561 brought with it a new interest in humanism, transplanted from French soil, which is manifested in an increased awareness of classical letterforms. The effect that these had on the appearance and production of Robert Lekpreuik's books 'set in Roman typefaces and laid out in imitation of Italian and French models', has already been noted.[136] Scottish scribes were, similarly, producing accomplished work based on classical models, including the extraordinary mathematical MS., written in 1586 by John Geddy for presentation to James VI, and the distinctive italic hand of the French scribe, Esther Inglis, working in Scotland.[137] This neo-classical influence was also being felt in the exceptional work of the Canongate goldsmith James Gray, whose engraving of the Latin funerary inscription in brass for the Earl of Moray reveals an extensive knowledge of classical letterforms.[138]

Printing and Educational Reforms

---

134. *See* R. Jack, *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 54–89; and Macfarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 227–34. For evidence that the books in Mary's library were well used, *see* T. A. Birrell, *English Monarchs and their Books* (London, 1987), pp. 21–3.

135. A. MacDonald, 'The Bannatyne Manuscript: A Marian Miscellany', *IR*, xxxvii (1986), p. 16.

136. M. Kemp and C. Farrow, 'Humanism in the Visual Arts', p. 36.

137. J. Geddy, 'Methodi sive compendii methematici' at St. Andrews University Library. For Inglis, *see* G. Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting: 1150–1650* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 30, fig. 11.

138. The anonymous portrait of George, 5th Lord of Seton (Scottish National Portrait Gallery) incorporates an accomplished inscription which, like the work of James Gray, reveals an in-depth knowledge of classical letterforms. Although commissioned after the fall of Queen Mary, the existence of these commissions reflects a continuity in the Scottish neo-classical tradition, which is particularly manifest in the new vogue for continental-style painted portraits, constructed mainly in the Netherlandish tradition, with definite classical elements. The figures of Arnold Bronckhorst (*fl.* 1565–83) and Adrian Vanson (*fl.* 1581–1602) were the most important Scottish artists working in this tradition.

The educational reforms of the Catholics were to provide an equally strong stimulus for the budding printing industry in Scotland. The aborted plans of Archibald Hay to install a printing press at the university centre of St. Andrews – complete with the capacity to print Greek – anticipated a number of other attempted educational reforms, all requiring the services of a university printer (including one scheme to produce lavish editions of classical texts at Glasgow University during the 1550s).[139] Such plans culminated in the 1559 privilege granted to William Niddrie [Nudrye] for the production of books promoting the study of ancient Latin, Greek, and possibly Hebrew.[140] Unfortunately, such plans were hampered not only by the lack of skilled printers and exotic type, but also by the unsettled political situation; they were promptly dropped by the 1560 Reformation parliament.

Protestant reformers, like their Catholic counterparts, had also taken up an interest in philology, particularly in the teaching of Greek, Hebrew, and allied Semitic languages: in their eyes the acquisition of such languages was a necessary prerequisite to 'the study of the original texts of the biblical books'.[141] Thus, in 1563, George Buchanan planned a 'college of humanity' at St. Andrews, which not only incorporated the study of ancient Latin and Greek, but also the study of Hebrew, under the direction of the one-time Catholic, William Ramsay (formerly a lecturer of Greek at Glasgow and Edinburgh).[142]

The Scottish Trade in Latin Grammars

In this context, the whole subject of grammatical texts in Scotland becomes a particularly difficult one to disentangle. Information from the printers' and booksellers' inventories indicates that enormous numbers of these schoolbooks were readily available in Scotland, although hardly any have survived to the present day. Unfortunately, such inventories also tend to be extremely vague, making it difficult, if not impossible, to identify the titles of books. A certain degree of reconstruction, however, can be made, allowing some conclusions about the spread of Latin culture in Scotland to be drawn.[143]

---

139. Durkan, 'Education', pp. 154–5; J. K. Cameron, 'A Trilingual College for Scotland', *St. Mary's College Bulletin*, xxxi (1988); Cameron, 'Humanism and Religious Life', pp. 165–6; J. Durkan and W. S. Watt, 'George Hay's *Oration* and the purging of King's College, Aberdeen', *Northern Scotland*, vi, pp. 97–112. *See* Archibald Hay's *Oratorio* (Paris, 1538) and his *Panegyricus* (Paris, 1540), where he emphasized the need to have a library and printing press.

140. Durkan, 'Education', p. 133; McCrie, *Life of Melville*, pp. 412–3; *RPS*, xxx, fol. 5. *See* also James Melville's *Autobiography*, p. 30 [1594]: 'I wald haiff gladlie bein at the Greik and Hebrew toungs, because I red in our Byble that it was translated out of Hebrew and Greik; but the langages war nocht to be gottine in the land'. For Greek first taught in Scotland at Melrose, *see* p. 39; in the college of Glasgow, *see* p. 49. The Greek school at Montrose was established by John Erskine of Dun (McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 11); for early books used at Glasgow University *see* McCrie pp. 69, 429–32, 440–2.

141. Cameron, 'Humanism and Religious Life', p. 173.

142. J. Durkan, 'The Royal Lecturship under Mary of Lorraine', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxii (1983), pp. 73–8; Durkan, 'Education', pp. 134–6, 155–6.

143. For reprints of the Scottish grammars discussed here, *see* the Scolar Press series *English Linguistics: 1500–1800. (A Collection of Facsimile Reprints)*, ed. R. C. Alston. For a wide-ranging study of grammar school texts, *see* Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (London, 1908 [Reprinted 1968]); R. H. Robins, *Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe* (London, 1951); David Murray, 'Some Early Grammars and other School Books in Use in Scotland More Particularly at or Relating to Glasgow', 2 parts, *Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, xxxvi (Glasgow, 1905–6); G. A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976).

An examination of the booksellers' inventories shows that, by the mid-sixteenth century the best-selling book in Scotland was the grammar of Jean Despautère, sales of which had overtaken even that of the medieval grammar of Donatus. Booksellers such as Thomas Bassandyne stocked editions of Despautère in huge quantities. Indeed, with the exception of the Donatus, nearly all the grammars available in Scotland were either editions of Despautère, or simplified abridgements composed by Jean Pellisson or Sebastian Novimola.

Despautère's grammar, for all its popularity however, had its own share of critics, who objected to its bewildering, almost byzantine complexity. Such criticism finds voice not only in the words of Thomas Ruddiman and James Kirkwood (whose perceptive analysis in *Grammatica facilis* (Glasgow, 1674) deserves greater recognition), but also the works of Gilbert Burnet, who calls Despautère's grammar 'so tedius, so crabbed, and unpleasant, that it serves rather to scarre than to invite boys'.[144]

Among the many who objected to the prolixity of Despautère was George Buchanan, who – more level-headedly – advocated the study of Thomas Linacre's *Rudiments*: a simpler, more direct textbook, of which he made a Latin translation specifically for the Scottish market. (As we shall see, Buchanan's views on the teaching of grammar would later find influence in the grammatical works of Andrew Duncan, active in the 1590s.) In addition to making his translation, Buchanan also sponsored the 1568 publication of Alexander Hepburn's *Grammaticae* from the press of Christopher Plantin in Antwerp.[145]

Buchanan's opposition to Despautère is made clear in his introduction to Hepburn's work, in which he warns against the dangerous obscurity and prolixity which is 'quite harmful to boys on the very threshold of grammar'.[146] No doubt, Buchanan intended Hepburn's simplified grammar to be a companion to his own translation of Linacre. Both books, however, failed to capture the imagination of Scottish schoolmasters.

Protestant Control of the Press (1560–80)

Given the volatile political climate under the reign of Mary, the survival of the minority Protestant government was clearly dependent upon their ability continually to exploit the press: the attempts to control information during this period are epitomized by the 1567 Act of Parliament, prohibiting not only the posting of slanderous bills, but also imposing penalties on those who did not rip down such bills at first sight. There was good reason for the Protestant government to use every means possible for retaining power: contrary to popular belief, the broad support of the Scottish people for the Reformation party was at most lukewarm. As Dr. Michael Lynch surmizes: 'Not a single major office in the executive or judicial functions changed hands, and nothing was done to phase out the structure of the old church and little to phase in that of the new.'[147] Even a staunch Protestant

---

144. Gilbert Burnet, *Thoughts on Education* (London, 1740), p. 40; For Ruddiman, *see* Douglas Duncan, *Thomas Ruddiman* (Edinburgh, 1965).

145. L. Voet, *Plantin Press*, No. 1304. Collates A–B^8, 16 leaves, with an introduction by George Buchanan. This *Rudimenta* was probably part of a collection of a number of Despautère's treatises on Latin grammar or works inspired by it that Plantin printed in 1568. *See* also Voet Nos. 1074, 1756.

146. Durkan, 'Education', p. 134.

147. Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991); M. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland, 1559–1638'

like John Knox feared the imminency of a counter-Reformation in Scotland; his fears lay both in the numerical weakness of the Protestants in Scotland, coupled with the strong ties between Scotland and France (Scotland's traditional Catholic ally).[148]

It is highly unlikely that Lekpreuik would have even considered setting up shop as a printer without assurances of support from a Protestant government requiring his services, since there was otherwise so little scope for selling Scottish books to markets abroad: the General Assembly in December 1562, recognizing this, lent him £200. for the purchase of 'irons, ink, and paper, and to fie craftesmen', and in 1569–70 further agreed to subsidize him annually to the tune of £50.[149] As a sign of how invaluable his services were to the Protestant party, Lekpreuik shrewdly negotiated a number of special privileges, obtaining permission to print the Bible in translation in 1564, and receiving authorization from the Privy Council a year later to print both the Acts of Parliament and the Psalms of David in Scottish metre. Two years later the government designated Lekpreuik as the King's printer, granting him a monopoly on publishing a number of profitable titles, and in the following year licenced him to print the English translation commonly known as the Geneva Bible.[150]

The restrictions on imported books which Lekpreuik negotiated during this time meant that he had a literal monopoly on certain parts of the printing market in Scotland: booksellers could not import the books listed in Lekpreuik's royal warrant, including schoolbooks (such as the Donatus) and the Psalms of David. Printers in Scotland caught printing such books were to be fined £200., split equally between the Crown and Lekpreuik.[151] On paper, this arrangement assured the government that it could control the information being printed and distributed from within Scotland, while providing the printer Lekpreuik with some form of financial security. In reality, however, the support of the government was less than constant, as a few years later (in 1572) they allowed Thomas Bassandyne to print several royal proclamations, and John Ross to reprint the Acts of Parliament.

Educational Reform and the Printed Book (1560–80)

From an early point, the Protestants realized that one way of consolidating their position was to effect a series of educational reforms. John Knox articulated the political value of this when he stressed in the *Book of discipline* that 'it was essential for the Protestant society to ensure its own survival by providing a well-grounded and integrated educational system for future clergy'.[152] Such reforms would (in theory) stop Scottish students from attending universities on the continent, where

---

in *International Calvinism 1541–1715*, edited by Menna Prestwich (Oxford, 1985), pp. 227–8.

148. Michael Lynch, 'Introduction' in 'Mary Stewart, Queen in Three Kingdoms', *Innes Review*, xxxviii (1987), p. 9.

149. Dickson and Edmond, p. 199.

150. *RPS*, xxxvii, fol. 27; xxxix, fol. 34; *RPS*, 14 Apr. 1568; Thomas McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 465.

151. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 201–2. On 11 January, Lekpreuik obtained the exclusive privilege for twenty years of printing all books in Latin or English, necessary 'for the weill and commoditie of the lieges of this realme and als all sic thingis as tend to ye glorie of God'. This was renewed on 11 November 1570, with the specification of a number of books, including catechisms and grammars 'to be vsit within the sculis of ye realme for eruditioun of ye youth'.

152. Upton, 'Studies in Scottish Latin', Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews (1984), pp. 88 ff.; Durkan, 'Education', pp. 126–7. I am grateful to Dr. Christopher Upton for information about this topic.

it was feared they might be converted while attending the Catholic schools of Europe. These fears were to be articulated in the 1637 oration of David Leech, delivered at the graduation ceremony at King's College, Aberdeen, which described the tempations of three Scots studying overseas.[153]

Needless to say, such educational reforms required the participation of Scottish printers able to quickly churn out grammatical textbooks for schoolboys. Potentially, this was a most lucrative market for Scottish printers, involving a minimum cash outlay for the production of books to a captive home audience. As the Crown printer, Lekpreuik was expected to make a great deal of money from such educational reforms, being licenced not only to print the ever-popular grammar of Donatus, but also the newer grammar of Jean Pellisson. Alongside existing Latin grammatical texts, the Protestants also required schoolmasters to use the catechism of Calvin as a means of instruction, thereby potentially providing further work for Lekpreuik. As it happened, the overhauling of the educational system in this manner – brainwashing young schoolboys with Protestant dogma in the name of education – turned out to be a most effective Protestant tactic.[154]

In the longer term, however, the Protestant government planned to dispense with all foreign grammars, intending ultimately to compile a uniform, national grammar, modelled on the Lily-Colet grammar of England.[155] The centralizing of education through such a grammar was seen as a way of uniting the country behind the Protestants; an aim made explicit in the words of the Scottish grammarian James Carmichael, who in his *Grammaticae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1587) called for 'an intellectual assault on the church of Rome, grounded in a newly overhauled educational system'.[156] Indeed, the political parallels this situation has with the production of Despautère's grammar, written in reaction against a proliferation of 'lesser works' and the resulting breakdown of central authority, are ominous. Despautère himself regarded the publication of his work as a step

---

153. Upton, 'Scottish Latin', pp. 96–7; John Leech [Leohaeus], *Philosophia illachrymans* (Aberdeen, 1637), sig. C2v. McCrie in his *Life of Andrew Melville* (p. 27) states that: 'The knowledge which Melville at this time obtained of the designs of the Jesuits prompted him to exert himself afterwards in putting the universities of Scotland on such a footing, as to render it unnecessary for young men to seek education abroad, where they were in the greatest danger of being seduced by those active and artful zealots of Rome'. Melville's fears were not exaggerated: in 1594, the Jesuit's Seminary had nearly depopulated the colleges in the University of Paris. Even though many schemes for reforming the Scottish educational system were aired – including Buchanan's own plans for the University of St Andrews – few progressed beyond the talking-stages, a fact which explains why schoolmasters, such as Robert Fairlie of Musselburgh, continued to lament the inadequacy of Scottish education, even in the seventeenth century. For Buchanan's proposed educational reforms, *see* McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 218–25; Bannatyne Miscellany, ii. For Fairlie, *see* Upton, 'Scottish Latin', pp. 96–7.

154. A representative idea of how the Protestants organized educational institutions may be understood from James Melville, who at the age of seven in 1563 was sent to a school where he was taught 'to reid the Catechisme, Prayers and Scripture...the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, withe the vocables in Latin and Frenche'. Scottish schools were required to use this catechism as a means of instruction. In 1592, George Nesbit, the master of Musselburgh grammar school, had to be careful to 'catechise' his students 'according to Caluyne and teaching of Buchanane psalmes'. This was clearly government policy: the duties of the reader of Gogar in 1598 indicate that 'what was expected of him was not the rudiments of grammar, but the rudiments of piety'. J. Knox, *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. James K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 130–1, n.; James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Wodrow Soc., Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 16, f; James Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland* (1876, London and Glasgow), p. 417; Durkan, 'Education', p. 127.

155. The progress and motivation of the national grammar are charted in the preface of Carmichael's *Grammaticae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1587); Alexander Hume's *Grammatica Nova* (1612); and in James Kirkwood's, *Grammatica facilis* (Glasgow, 1674) The comparison with Lily-Colet is first made by Carmichael.

156. Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 95.

leading to the reimposition of a centralized authority.[157] In a similar way, by financially supporting Lekpreuik, the Scottish Protestant government thereby hoped to control fully the production and distribution of educational texts throughout the realm, providing at once a means of outflanking the Catholics and bolstering their own position. This tactic was first advanced in the 1568 licence granted to Lekpreuik, calling for a general grammar 'to be usit within scolis of this realme for the erudition of the youth'.[158] Unfortunately for Lekpreuik – who urgently needed the capital – it soon became clear that the compilation of such a grammar would face considerable delays: it would, in fact, never be published in its final form.[159]

The Economics of Printing: Contacts with France

Despite such generous subsidies, the survival of Lekpreuik's business remained precarious. The Scottish government had failed to produce the new grammar, as promised in 1568, and as long as cheaper copies of the Bible were allowed into Scotland, the production of such an expensive book would clearly be unprofitable. Moreover, as a small printer, with little or no access to distribution facilities on the continent, Lekpreuik could not rely on the export trade to generate some income (although some of his books did appear in Andrew Maunsell's 1595 London catalogue of books). The situation was now so precarious that, in order to continue on in business, Lekpreuik had to ask for additional money from the church in 1563.[160]

As a result, Lekpreuik's financial survival became increasingly dependent upon individual patrons. His most important early backer was Lord James Stewart, the Earl of Moray – one of the most influential Protestant nobles in Scotland – who in 1564 arranged for Lekpreuik to print the Scottish Book of Common Order through his client, Alexander Clerk.[161] Clerk not only agreed to

---

157. Ibid., p. 91; Despautère, *Commentary*, B4v.

158. *RSS*, vi. 28; Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 90.

159. This was the state of affairs when the Privy Council finally called together a committee of notable scholars on 10 January 1576 for the purpose of compiling such a grammar. This impressive group was comprised of the King's preceptors – George Buchanan and Peter Young – along with a number of schoolmasters, including the notable grammarians James Carmichael and Andrew Simson (both of whom were assigned to write the larger part of the grammar). Despite the existence of this committee, the Scottish national grammar would remain unfinished, as a later entry (20 December 1593) in the Records of the Privy Council indicates (*RPC*, iii. 110–2; Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 99). A number of contributing factors undoubtedly delayed the project, the most notable of which was the death of George Buchanan in 1582. By this time, the demand for a national grammar had subsided – 'Despauterius had conquered the field' – and Scottish schoolmasters, always creatures of habit, were loath to switch again (Durkan, 'Education', p. 136). Nevertheless, certain sections of the national grammar were eventually published, albeit in an incomplete form. The first *Rudiment* of Andrew Simson saw print in an Antwerp edition (1580), sponsored by the Scottish bookseller Henry Charteris (*see* below). Although ostensibly part of the national grammar, Simson's book was marketed as a companion volume to the more popular grammar of Despautère (Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 158). Indeed, by the seventeenth century, Simson's *Rudiments*, available by this time in both parts, was 'seen simply as an elementary introduction to Despautère, a role later claimed by Wedderburn'. The second part of the grammar, James Carmichael's *Etymology* (STC 9660), saw print in Thomas Thomas's Cambridge edition of 1587. There could hardly be a greater contrast to Simson's *Rudiments*: the complexity of Carmichael's grammar – 'too learned for schoolboys' – militated against its popularity (Durkan, 'Education', p. 146). Nevertheless, Carmichael's *Etymology* exerted a profound influence out of all proportion to its sales. This was mainly due to the book's short preface, playing upon the intense feelings of Scottish nationalism. The influence of this work extended to the 1593 regulations on education, some of which were translated directly from Carmichael.

160. *See* George Hay's *Confutation of the abbote* [No. 40; STC 12968]) and for a loan from the Elders of the Kirk in 1570 'in respect of his poverty'. Dickson and Edmond, p. 199.

161. M. Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland', p. 244; J. Durkan, 'Contract Between Clerk and Lekpruik for Printing

underwrite the Book of Common Order, having already advanced Lekpreuik the sum of forty crowns, but also agreed – for a share of the profits – to subsidize Lekpreuik's possible future publications.

The contract itself clarifies previously unknown details about the selling arrangements of Lekpreuik's books. Clerk, who was operating from France, took care of the distribution and warehousing of each book, releasing copies in batches of one hundred until an edition had sold out, while also sharing binding costs with Lekpreuik. Clerk also supplied Lekpreuik with 300 reams of paper for printing the Book of Common Order, and put up 120 francs towards the cost of acquiring new type ($19s. =$ 1 French franc), thereby opening up a new phase in Lekpreuik's printing career, 'leading to better workmanship and the use of type founts bought in France or at least with French currency'.[162] Out of this, Lekpreuik bought a range of Roman and Music types, almost almost certainly French in origin, which he used, first of all, on Patrick Adamson's attack on the 'superstitious' Aberdonian Catholic academics (No. **42**; STC 145), as well as the editions of the Book of Common Order printed in 1564 and 1565 (Nos. **43**, **48**; STC 16577 and 16577a).[163] For the next two years, Lekpreuik used these Roman types almost exclusively for books printed in association with Clerk, including *Pasquillorum versus* (No **49**; STC 19458) and *Laelii Capilupi* (No. **45**; STC 4604), two anti-monastic tracts 'aimed at friars who preached at the Queen's masses in the city'.[164]

The very appearance of these new-look types, with their Calvinist associations, must have stirred great excitement in the ranks of the new Protestant government: once obtaining them, Lekpreuik relegated the use of his old black letter types to his productions of the Scottish Acts of Parliament.[165]

Although the duration of the partnership between Lekpreuik and Clerk is unknown, it probably did not last beyond 1568, when Clerk began to lose his international reputation. But even before the partnership began, Lekpreuik had surprisingly strong connections with the Calvinists living in France, printing a 1561 edition of Robert Norvell's *Meroure of an Chrestiane* [*sic*] (No. **33**; STC 18688), as well as editions in 1563 of Scottish Protestants – such as George Hay and John Davidson – who had recently studied in France.[166]

The Printing Commissions of George Buchanan

Closer to home, another major source of commissions for Lekpreuik came from the hands of George Buchanan, a militant Protestant supporter at the court of Mary, Queen of Scots, who – in using his

---

the Book of Common Order, 1564', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1983), pp. 129–35. D. Laing, 'An Account of the Scottish Psalter of 1566', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vii (1867–8), pp. 448–9; Durkan, 'Native Influences on Buchanan', pp. 38, 42n.

162. Durkan, 'Contract Between Clerk and Lekpruik', p. 129.

163. At this early date, music type was in very few hands, 'Seres and Day in England and Lekpreuik in Scotland being apparently the only owners of punches and matrices' (Steele, p. 3).

164. Durkan, Ibid., p. 132.

165. For the use of Roman type in Protestant publications, *see* Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography* (Oxford, 1969), p. 92. Lekpreuik's Black Letter types were almost exact copies of those used by his predecessors, Thomas Davidson and John Scot.

166. Durkan, 'Contract', pp. 131–2; Beattie, 'Early Scottish Books', pp. 118–20. Two of Lekpreuik's translators from the French, John Baron and William Stewart, also had French Calvinist associations. The latter, who worked on the Scottish Book of Common Order, wrote in a highly anglicized Scots and was later accused of platting against Moray. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 212; 221–2. For Lekpreuik's possible role in the production of Buchanan's *Franciscanus*, another work with French Calvinist associations, *see* below.

extraordinary influence – attempted to neutralize the Catholic presence through his own shrewd, if largely ineffective, publication programme.

Buchanan's part in this programme was largely anonymous. His first commission was the 1563 edition of George Hay's *The confutation* (No. **40**; STC 12968), a reply to Quentin Kennedy's Catholic defence of the mass (then circulating in manuscript form), to which Buchanan contributed two anonymous lines.[167] The scarcity of printing materials is evident from this publication, as Lekpreuik, who had no access to Greek type even at this late date, had to fill in the Greek characters by hand. Buchanan was also behind the publication of Patrick Adamson's *De papistarum* (No. **42**; STC 145), an attack on the Abbot Quintin Kennedy, printed in 1564.[168], and had even planned to issue his own anti-monastic poem *Franciscanus* through the press of Lekpreuik. This last project was dropped, although Buchanan later made alternative printing arrangements in Basle.[169]

Buchanan's next two Scottish publications were intended to neutralize the Italian and Catholic influence of David Riccio, a key figure at the court of Mary. In a characteristically strategic move, he commissioned Lekpreuik to print two anti-papal books actually written by Italians. These were Lelio Capilupi's *De vita monachorum* (No. **45**; STC 4604), a cento of anti-monastic verses; and Celio Secondo Curione's *Pasquillorum versus aliquot* (No. **49**; STC 19458), with some new additions written by Buchanan. As Buchanan intended for copies of the *Pasquillorum* to be shipped abroad, the circulation of these books appeared not to be solely for the court of Queen Mary.[170]

Apart from these Protestant pamphlets, nothing else had reached print in Scotland of George Buchanan, by now a famous literary figure on the continent. In part, this was because Scottish printers, lacking Greek type, were technically unable to produce editions of his work. Nevertheless, a considerable market for Buchanan's writings did exist in Scotland, leading to an attempt of Alexander Morton to prepare a Scottish edition of the *Psalm paraphrases*, a publication which in Dr. I. D. McFarlane's view would have been of immense interest.[171] Buchanan, himself, took a great interest in the publication of his own works, forming a life-long friendship with the French printer Henri Estienne, who finally succeeded in the publication of the *Psalm paraphrases*. Buchanan's contact with the Estienne family went back to the early 1530s, when his translation of Linacre's Latin grammar was issued by Robert Estienne. Although printed principally for the French market, copies of this book were also intended for Scotland, where Buchanan recommended its use, and James Melville also knew it.[172]

Buchanan also tried to interest the printer Christopher Plantin in certain publishing ventures, including in 1575 an extraordinary edition of Henry Scrimgeour's annotated texts, to be printed

---

167. Durkan, 'Native Influences on Buchanan', p. 37.

168. Ibid., p. 37.

169. McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 53–65; I. D. McFarlane, 'George Buchanan's *Franciscanus* – the History of a Poem', *Journal of European Studies*, iv (1974), pp. 126–39; John Durkan and William Beattie, 'An Early Publication of the Latin Poems of George Buchanan in Scotland from the Press of Lekpreuik', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1983), pp. 77–80.

170. Durkan, 'Early Influences on Buchanan', p. 38; Durkan and Beattie, 'Early Publications of Latin Poems by George Buchanan', pp. 77–80.

171. McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 275.

172. Ibid., pp. 44 ff. and 170 ff.; James Melville, *Autobiography and Diary*, p. 17.

at Plantin's expense. The surviving letter from Buchanan to Plantin describes the various Greek authors to be printed; but Plantin did not undertake the project, possibly because such texts in Greek appealed only to a limited public, difficult to reach from Geneva.[173]

Control of the Printing Press (1566–7)

Faced with such activity from the Protestants, the Catholics – who had been curiously silent in print before the 1560 Reformation Parliament – began to issue a number of counter-Reformation tracts, including works by Mary's confessors René Benoist and Ninian Winzet (both of whom were abroad in 1562).[174] Queen Mary, herself, had eight of Benoist's tracts in her library.[175]

The weakness of the Protestant government was soon apparent. Through some shrewd political manoeuvering, a number of lawyers with Catholic sympathies achieved promotion to the Privy Council in the changes of 1565–5 – including John Leslie, Edward Henryson, David Chalmers, and James Balfour, thereby shifting the balance of power away from the Protestants. This circle of lawyers, the so-called 'Bothwell legal circle', quickly set up a commission in 1566 which resulted in the first printed edition of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, including the old heresy laws against the Protestants;[176] they also revoked, in June 1566, the printing licence of the Protestant printer, Robert Lekpreuik in favour of Edward Henryson, a Catholic and member of the Bothwell legal circle.[177] Henryson, however, never undertook the production of the complete Scottish Acts of Parliament, probably because he was too inexperienced and ill-equiped to undertake such a vast project. The printing job went back to Robert Lekpreuik, who – despite his Protestant associations – undertook its publication, issuing two editions in 1566, dated 12 October and 28 November (Nos. **51–53**; STC 21875 ff.).

Of course, given his uncompromising support for the Protestants, Lekpreuik's involvement with the project under the direction of the Catholics comes as something of a surprise. Certainly, he was the only printer working in Scotland who had the resources to undertake such a vast project: apparently, his involvement with the Protestant cause was less important to him than the possible lucrative commissions he could now receive from the Catholics. Lekpreuik's edition of Edward

---

173. John Durkan, 'Henry Scrimgeour, Renaissance Bookman', *EBST*, v (1971–4), p. 21; Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London, 1960), p. 271; John Durkan, 'Henry Scrimgeour, Fugger Librarian: A Biographical Note', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1960), pp. 68–70; McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, pp. 39 ff., 421–4.

174. Although such books were printed abroad and then shipped to Scotland, Scottish printers also probably planned and issued similar editions: John Scot, for example, probably printed an Edinburgh edition of a Scottish translation of Benoist's *The maner to tak away the contrauersie of religioun*, originally written in 1561 (Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', pp. 87–8). While Scot's edition is now missing, another 'Scottische' translation of Benoist's text was completed by Ninian Winzet with the more colourful title *The necessare and assurit way to pluk awa al discord in religion*, and printed in Paris for the Scottish market in 1565 (STC 1884.5). Winzet's translation was certainly available in Edinburgh from an early date, as it is also reprinted in the Protestant polemic against Benoist, printed by Lekpruik in 1563 (No. **39**; STC 10819). Scot's early editions of Winzet's *Certane tractatis* (No. **36**; STC 25860) and *The last blast* (No. **37**; STC 25861) – for which he was arrested – are other signs of how effective the Catholic opposition was becoming, much to the nervousness of the minority Protestant government.

175. Four are identified in J. Sharman, *The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1889), pp. 65, 102, 125; and a further four are identified in J. Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', Nos. 73–6; 78–80.

176. *APS*, ii. 29.

177. See Lynch, 'Introduction', pp. 16, 27 n.; Durkan, 'Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', pp. 77–8, 96 n. For the Bothwell legal circle, *see* Julian Goodare, 'Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude', *IR*, xxxviii (1987), p. 160.

Henryson's wedding hymn, as discussed above, is an example of one such commission, although other, more lucrative, commissions must have been expected, particularly as Bothwell was now acting as patron to Chalmers and Balfour.

The Growth of Popular Literature

Although the Bothwell 'legal circle' continued to control government legislation and the printing press well into 1567 – when new laws against the Protestant nobles were anticipated – the disastrous years following Mary's marriage – ending with her abdication – effectively spelled out the demise of the Catholics in the government, and consequently Lekpreuik's new source of income. This is no better symbolized than in the publication of *Foirm na nurrnuidheadh* (No. **58**; STC 16604), a Gaelic translation of the Scottish Book of Common Order, printed by Lekpruik in 1567 on behalf of the Protestants, in which his recently acquired roman types are used to spread the message of the Reformation to the highlands. During this time, the Scottish parliament attempted to suppress the production of seditious publications, including the distribution of bills and 'tickets' slandering the Queen and members of the nobility.[178] (Anyone failing to rip down such bills at first sight was also subject to arrest.) In fact, such 'suppression' actually had the opposite effect, leading to further attacks by Catholics and Protestants alike.

The developing trade in such popular literature became a life-line to Lekpreuik, who by now was receiving little financial support from the government. To make ends meet, Lekpreuik issued a number of publications by a Protestant balladeer writing under the real (or assumed) name of Robert Sempill. There is little doubt that Sempill – who sometimes wrote under the name 'Maddie of the Fish Mercat' or 'Maddie of the Coil Mercet' – was in fact a spokesman for the Protestant party, drawing on a fund of 'inside information' disguised as common gossip.[179] The tone of his ballads – against 'all wickit papists' – is forthright and direct, intended to appeal to a mass audience, much as a tabloid newspaper would today. The production of these ballads, as expected, was a quick and cheap affair, without the use of woodcuts.

For the Catholics, support for Queen Mary was encouraged through the publication of pamphlets and broadsheets, printed mainly in England and France, including the publications of Bishop Leslie's *A defence of Marie quene of Scotlande* (STC 15505 & 15506) in 1571. Earlier Marian writings circulating throughout Scotland include a ballad by Tom Truth, entitled *A rhime in defence of the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Murray* (describing the scheming Moray as 'Caco's offspring and Satan's seed').[180] In 1573, William Kirkaldy – who held the castle of Edinburgh on behalf of the Queen until the end of May – distributed a Marian tract, against the 'wicked vaine venerianis', entitled the *Ballat of the captan of the castell.*[181]

Among the most effective pamphleteers from the Protestant side, however, was George Buchan-

178. Brother Kenneth, 'Popular Literature', p. 306.

179. Ibid., p. 306. For Sempill, *see* James Cranstoun (ed.), *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, 2 vols., Scottish Text Society, 1st ser. (1889–91), i, pp. xxv–xxxviii.

180. *See* Brother Kenneth, 'Popular Literature', pp. 306–7.

181. For Kirkaldy, *see* Cranstoun, 'Satirical Poems', i, pp. xxxix–xlii. Lekpreuik is also discussed on pp. liv–lix.

an, who continued to commission a number of publications through Lekpreuik, among them a bitter personal vendetta against Maitland – now a recently converted supporter of Mary and the Catholics – entitled *Chamæleon*. Lekpreuik was supposed to have printed this pamphlet by the end of April 1571, as Bassandyne had already sent him the manuscript. However, once Maitland got wind of the pamphlet – which had circulated by hand 'before the siege of the Castell' – he sent Captain Melville, on 14 April, to Lekpruik's house with the intention of destroying all the copies that had been printed. Lekpreuik, warned beforehand, escaped 'out of his hous with sic thingis as he feared sould have hurt him, gif thair had been gottin'.[182]

Following this incident, Lekpreuik moved his entire printing operation to Stirling, where he printed at least sixteen titles, moving again to the Protestant stronghold of St. Andrews shortly after the arrival of John Knox in 1572. The move is recorded in James Melville's *Autobiography* (p. 32), which incidentally gives an indication of how rare it was to find printers operating in Scotland: 'At Mr. Knox's coming to St. Andrews, Robert Lekprivik, printar, transported his lettres and press from Edinbruch to St. Androis, whar first I saw that excellent art of printing'. Patrick Constant, who completed a Latin verse rendition of Calvin's Catechism, was at least one Scottish author pleased with Lekpreuik's work.[183]

By this time, Buchanan had withdrawn his plans with Lekpreuik to print *Chamæleon*, probably because, as effective as the poem was on a personal level, it had limited overall appeal. However, Buchanan's next two publications, *Ane admonitioun* (Nos. **101–102**; STC 3966.5 & 3968.5) and *The detectioun* (No. **111**; STC 3982), were pitched to a much wider audience. Given Buchanan's growing reputation on the continent, it was inevitable that these books would have sold very well, a fact substantiated by the 1572 French piracy of *The detectioun*, complete with a misleading 'Edinburgh' imprint. Clearly, Lekpreuik, operating from his new base in Stirling, did not have the resources to print and distribute adequate copies of these books without further help. The printing job was, consequently, split between two printers: Lekpreuik, who printed the Edinburgh editions (modified for the Scottish market), and John Day, a Protestant printer in London, who printed the unexpurgated English and continental editions.[184]

Day's edition of *Ane admonitioun* (STC 3967) was printed in 1571 'accordyng to the Scotish copie printed at striuilyng by R. Lekpreuik'. Lekpreuik actually printed two different editions for the Scottish market (Nos. **101–102**; STC 3966.5 & 3968).[185]

There is evidence of an unseen hand at work here, coordinating the production of these books: the titlepage of the 'Scottish' edition of *The detectioun* (STC 3967), complete with Lekpreuik's

182. See McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 337. Calderwood, *History*, iii, p. 285 describes the pamphlet circulating *sub rosa*. The provost of St. Andrews was instructed in April 1572 to stop Lekpreuik from printing ballads and books, but Lekpreuik's licence was renewed three months later. *See TA*, xii. 312, where Lekpreuik is given as Alexander [*sic*]; *RSS*, vi. 111, 2044; Lynch, *Edinburgh*, p. 304.

183. Melville, *Autobiography*, p. 32.

184. *The detectioun* was printed first by Day in its Latin version, *De Maria*, with no date of publication. The 'English' version came out in two different issues, with several typographic ornaments on the title-page. These were followed by Lekpreuik's edition, which provided a genuine Scottish version, omitting the scurrilous verse printed at the end of the English version.

185. *See* also McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 339–40.

imprint, was actually printed in London by John Day (who owned the device used on the titlepage). The sheets were then shipped to Scotland, arriving at the printing-house of Lekpreuik, along with a number of Day's old woodcuts, including alphabets **29** and **24**. (Lekpreuik used **I24** in the course of printing the book.) Day also sent another woodcut, depicting a man's and woman's head, which – once in Scotland – was reserved only for publications commissioned by the Edinburgh bookseller, Henry Charteris (*see* woodcut **21**, notes). The ownership of this woodcut, now apparently in the hands of Charteris, is a probable sign that he was involved in the shipment of materials from Day to Lekpreuik, and consequently in the publication of books by them.

Other commissions which Henry Charteris gave to Lekpreuik at this time include an edition of Aesop's *Morall fabillis* (No. **75**; STC 185) and Henry's *Wallace* (**76**; STC 13149). Although both were intended to appeal to the Scottish market, whose taste for vernacular literature was expanding, these low-budget productions, without woodcut ornaments, were intended to keep Charteris in competition with his rival bookseller, Thomas Bassandyne.

Despite Charteris's patronage, Lekpreuik continued to live a hand-to-mouth existence, issuing – on his return to Edinburgh in 1573 – another batch of hurriedly printed Protestant broadsheets. However, his arrest in 1574 for printing John Davidson's *Ane dialog* (No. **135**; STC 6323) without a licence required by the 1551 Act of Parliament effectively spelled out the end of his career.[186] Lekpreuik's printing materials were confiscated, and the privileges previously accorded to him were transferred to other Scottish printers, such as Thomas Bassandyne and John Ross. Bassandyne subsequently gave Lekpreuik a pension of five merks, and in 1577 bequeathed him the sum of £20.[187]

Lekpreuik briefly managed to resurrect his career in 1581 – evidently undertaking a commission to print the Scottish Book of Common Order from his old patron, Henry Charteris, whose inventory lists twenty-seven copies valued at 3*s*. per copy. Despite such a commission, however, Lekpreuik was in no position to successfully continue his printing business. Apparently undercapitalized, his printing stock by 1581 was virtually depleted, including only a single woodcut initial (**W7**). Lekpreuik nevertheless managed to print a few more books, including Fowler's *Answer to John Hamilton* (No. **176**; STC 11213) and Patrick Adamson's *Catechismus Latino carmine redditus* (No. **173**; STC 144).[188]

Following the arrest of Lekpreuik in 1574, Scotland was effectively without a printer. For this reason, the General Assembly submitted a petition to Morton in August 1574, calling for a French printer 'being banished with his wife and family from his countrey' to be offered a yearly pension of 300 merks, provided he was willing to settle in Scotland, and promised to procure a regular supply of all books printed in France and Germany. The identity of this printer is unknown. One candidate

---

186. Dickson and Edmond, p. 205; Calderwood MS. ii, 442. The prosecution was founded on the 1551 Act of Parliament 'against blasphemous rymes or tragedies'.

187. Ibid. p. 205.

188. For Patrick Adamson's recantation sent to the General Assembly in St. Andrews [April 1591] *see* J. Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 22–36. Adamson had also arranged for some books, such as a verse rendition of the Book of Job, to be printed in England for sale in Scotland.

is the French printer Andreas Wechelius, the son of the Parisian printer Andreas Wechelius, who left France in 1573 to establish himself at Frankfurt.[189]

The Rise of the Scottish Booksellers

At this point, the role of the Scottish bookseller in commissioning editions from printers was already becoming increasingly self-evident. Whereas earlier printers such as Thomas Davidson and John Scot depended largely on commissions from individual patrons such as the Crown for their livelihood, the fall of Mary, coupled with the increasingly unstable political situation, made these sources of income unrealiable. For their own part, the Scottish printers – undercapitalized as they must have been – were scarcely in a position to undertake work for booksellers on a regular basis. It was, consequently, only a matter of time before the Scottish booksellers, operating on a more secure financial base, took the means of production into their own hands. The first of these was Thomas Bassandyne, also a bookbinder and bookseller, who possibly trained in Paris and Leiden before setting up shop on his own at the Nether Bow, Edinburgh.[190] Owing to the shortages of printing equipment in Scotland at that time, Bassandyne was unable to start his business in earnest until 21 March 1564, when along with Thomas Alexander he obtained the printing equipment of John Scot (*see* above, 'John Scot'). During the following year, Bassandyne commissioned at least one edition of *Ane compendeous buke of godlye psalmes* (No. **44**; STC 2996.3 and possibly No. **56**; STC 2996.5), in which the types of Scot were used. Bassandyne, however, ran foul of the General Assembly in 1558, who ordered him to recall all copies of a book printed by him entitled *The fall of the roman kirk* (no copy is extant), as well as a psalm book containing a 'baudie' song entitled 'Welcum fortune'.[191]

Given Bassandyne's early support for the Catholics, it seems likely that both he and Scot would have worked together on such publications, although no definite proof of this exists. From 1572 onwards, we find Bassandyne using all three sizes of the Textura type that Scot had acquired from Thomas Davidson, as well as the 2-line Uncial capitals used by both Scot and Davidson. (Bassandyne used them in his edition of David Lindsay's *Works* (No. **136**; STC 15660), printed in 1574.) Bassandyne also acquired alphabet **21**, which originally belonged to Davidson, but was probably subsequently also owned by John Scot. The fact that Bassandyne resorted to using such battered material at all can probably be attributed to the relative scarcity of typefaces and ornaments in Scotland, a situation which would continue to persist, even during the earlier part of the seventeenth century, when we find Thomas Finlason still using Davidson's battered alphabet **21**.

Despite his supply problems, Bassandyne managed to acquire an unusual Civilité type (**C1**) by 1571, which he used in his edition of Henryson's translation of *The morall fabillis of Esope* (No. **100**; STC 185.5), and in 1575 for his edition of the *Psalmes of David* (No. **139**; STC 16580), as well as for two official notices.[192] Presumably, Bassandyne acquired this fount from the Low Countries, where

189. Thomas McCrie, *The Life of Andrew Melville*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1819), i, pp. 204, 464.
190. Dickson and Edmond, p. 273.
191. Dickson and Edmond, p. 274.
192. Harry Carter and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Civilité Types* (Oxford, 1966), p. 37; Nos. 139, 140, 326.

he evidently had 'commercial connections'.[193]

Bassandyne was by now clearly in the business of building up his printing supplies, having also acquired alphabet **16** and tailpiece **2** from Lekpreuik during the early 1570s. He did not, however, use any of Lekpreuik's Roman or Textura types. Unlike John Scot and Robert Lekpreuik, both of whom led a hand-to-mouth existence, Bassandyne had a thriving bookselling business from which he could draw capital. In view of this, it is most puzzling that Bassandyne did not order more type and ornaments from the Low Countries, and it is particularly puzzling that he made so little use of the civilité type, presumably ordered at great expense from the Low Countries.

Almost certainly, with the acquisition of this fount, Bassandyne planned a series of literary publications having a similar appearance to those being produced on the continent. The first in this series was the Henryson translation of Aesop (No. **100**; STC 185.5), a book which is strikingly similar to those editions of Aesop being printed on the continent, at least two of which used civilité type (Carter and Vervliet Nos. 45, 96). Bassandyne imported two woodcut illustrations, probably from the Low Countries, especially for this edition, showing that little expense was spared in making a distinctive impact.

In contrast, Bassandyne's bookselling rival, Henry Charteris, had already commissioned an unimpressive edition of Aesop's fables from the shop of Robert Lekpreuik (No. **75**; STC 185). This was a book set in old-fashioned textura types, without woodcut illustrations. The presumed success of Charteris's and Lekpreuik's edition, poorly produced as it was, signals a growing demand for such vernacular texts in Scotland. Bassandyne's production, the first one in Scotland or England to be set in civilité type, was surely intended to eclipse Charteris's production.

During 1572–3, Bassandyne also printed a number of Royal proclamations, probably undertaking the printing duties of Robert Lekpreuik, who by this time had moved to Stirling. Bassandyne was principally motivated, however, by printing titles that he could sell through his bookselling business, including editions of Lindsay and Calvin, as well as a 1575 edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order, all of which were listed in the inventory of his stock made after his death in 1577.

By this time, Bassandyne had also stocked up on a number of new Roman types, undoubtedly also ordered from the Low Countries (used also in the edition of Aesop). Although Bassandyne still had a very limited supply of woodcuts, by 1574 he had commissioned two printers' devices depicting an anchor and serpent (**4**, **12**), probably from the Low Countries, both of which were used in his 1574 edition of David Lindsay's *Works*. The acquisition of these types, along with the new civilité type and the two woodcut illustrations, suggests that by now Bassandyne had become the first Scottish printer since Thomas Davidson with sufficient capital to produce large numbers of attractive editions aimed at well-defined markets. Furthermore, as a bookseller and merchant,

193. The fount itself, although originally cut by Robert Granjon at Lyons in 1557, was used widely in the Low Countries for setting vernacular books, including religious and moral books of instruction. Bassandyne's version of the civilité fount, with an uppercase W, may have been specially cut by Granjon for customers of his in the Low Countries. *See* Carter and Vervliet, *Civilité Types*, p. 34; Fox, *Henryson*, p. li. For type frequently exported from the Low Countries, *see* H. D. L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, tr. Harry Carter (Amsterdam, 1968).

Bassandyne undoubtedly had the connections to effectively export many of the books he printed to overseas markets. Indeed, the edition of the Aesop itself, printed in the exotic civilité type, could have been intended for such export to the Low Countries.

Any prospect of success for this ambitious publication programme, however, quickly faded with the return to power of the Protestants in 1571–2. Bassandyne's assets, including his printing equipment, were seized on 7 January 1571–2, and he was not granted remission until 7 February 1572–3, when he was fined £66. 13*s*. 4*d*.[194] But even after this, Bassandyne continued to be under suspicion for his Catholic views. When he submitted to the kirk session of Edinburgh in 1573, he was accused *inter alia* of having printed fifteen books and tracts in support of Mary, Queen of Scots. The Protestant government had little to worry about. Following his arrest, Bassandyne consistently supported the Protestant side, undertaking the publication of *A breif declaration* (No. **117**; STC 21941) in support of the King's party, and as well as supplying Kirkcaldy of Grant, a distinguished soldier and long-time Protestant.[195]

Although Bassandyne took over the privileges of Robert Lekpreuik sometime during 1572–3, the government was clearly uneasy about having to use him – a lapsed Catholic – as the Crown printer. Consequently, in August 1574 they offered a yearly pension of 300 merks to a French printer, possibly Andreas Wechelius, provided that – in addition to printing for the Crown – he would bring with him 'three thousand franks worth of books'.[196] As a further sign of their uneasiness with Bassandyne, the government – also during this same year – appointed a number of Protestant censors to oversee the production of books in Scotland, including the revision of Patrick Adamson's paraphrase in Latin verse of the book of Job (overseen by George Buchanan, Peter Young, Andrew Melville, and James Lowsone).[197]

Economically, however, the re-establishment of the Protestant government in 1572 greatly benefited Bassandyne's bookselling business, which relied for the most part on a good supply of cheap English books – such as classical texts and standard grammars – which could then be resold to an increasingly literate Scottish market. The Protestant government, evidently keen to encourage such involvement from an early date, also licenced an Englishman named Hooper to carry books into Scotland on 12 June 1573. There was, however, little in the reciprocal trade of Scottish books to England, consisting as it did mainly in the supply of Catholic books to Scottish recusants domiciled in England. One such supplier, however, was the London bookseller and binder Henry Cockyn, who evidently sold books in 1573 to the Bishop of Ross, then operating in England on behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots.[198] Neither were there many Scots involved in the English booktrade, although the

194. *RSS*, vi. 1420, 1847; *TA*, xii. 265.

195. *CSP*, iv. 507.

196. *See* McCrie, *Life of Melville*, i, p. 464. The petition from the General Assembly to Moray refers to a French printer 'being banished with his wife and family from his countrey'. Wechelius, having moved from Paris to Frankfurt in 1573, is the most probable candidate, having a possible connection with the Scottish government via Andrew Melville.

197. Other Protestant censors commissioned by the government were David Lindsay, Robert Pont, David Fergusone, John Brand, and Clement Little. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ii, p. 338.

198. For English titles stocked by Bassandyne, *see* Ferguson, 'Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', pp. 157–69. His complete inventory is printed in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii, pp. 191–202. For Scottish titles stocked by

records of the Stationers' Company include John Scot (7 August 1564), Walter Johnson (15 April 1567), and John Bailey (1 February 1571), evidently all Scottish Protestants working in London.[199] Judging from his inventory, made in 1577, Bassandyne made large profits, stocking as many as 350 separate titles at any one time. The extraordinary success of his business consequently enabled Bassandyne to plough a greater investment into his publication programme, particularly covering as it did the extravagant cost of imported paper required for bookmaking on a large scale. By this time, Bassandyne envisioned the publication for the first time of a 'Scottish' Bible which could be sold at great profit to a captive Scottish market.

The Scottish Bible

Bassandyne, along with his partner Alexander Arbuthnet, first obtained a licence from the General Assembly to print such a Bible 'in the vulgare Inglis toung' on 7 March 1574–5.[200] Clearly, the project was viewed as an investment that, although risky, would derive significant financial returns for the partners. Although unwilling to put money into the venture, the government obviously supported the project, particularly as the Scottish edition of the Bible was to be based on the Geneva translation, which the Protestant government favoured, instead of the more readily available Tyndale translation.

The production of a folio edition of the Bible in a Scotland severely lacking in printing materials must have still been a daunting prospect. Recognizing 'the charge and hazard of this wark will be great and sumptuous', the government decreed that each parish in the kingdom advance £5. to be collected by the officers of the church as advance payment for the Bible (No. **145**; STC 21944.5). Out of this sum, Bassandyne and Arbuthnet were guaranteed the price of £4. 13*s*. 4*d*. per copy. The Bible was to be delivered 'weel and sufficiently bund in paste or timmer', and the remaining 6*s*. 8*d*. was charged to each parish as the expense of collecting the money, which was to be handed to Alexander Arbuthnet before 1 July. More to the point, Bassandyne shrewdly negotiated a ban on all imported copies of the Bible, thereby (in theory) ensuring the large sale and subsequent profit of his edition.[201]

On the basis of this, Bassandyne and Arbuthnet made a large initial investment, buying in imported paper at great expense, as well as ordering a series of woodcut initials from the printing-house of Christopher Plantin (alphabet **11**). The partners, having bound themselves to print the work under certain penalties, required other merchants to come forward as their sureties. Those

---

Bassandyne, *see* J. P. Edmond, 'Notes on the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers, 1577–1603', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* (1892–3). For Cockyn, *see* Ferguson, pp. 151–2. For Cooper, *see* Lee, *Memorial*, p. 51.

199. Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', p. 184 n. Arber, i. 278, 344, 447.

200. *RSS*, xliii; Lee, *Memorial*, pp. 29ff., App. V. Although Robert Lekpreuik previously had been granted a monopoly to print the Bible, he apparently lacked the capital and materials to do so. Bassandyne was, consequently, addressing a captive market, in which imported copies of the Bible had been supposedly prohibited since 1568. Certain persons were appointed to oversee an 'authoretick copy' which the Scottish church promised to deliver, implying a substantial reworking of the Geneva translation. In the end, however, only minor errors of the press 'as had crept into former editions' were made: George Young corrected the proof-sheets, and Robert Pont compiled the calendar. T. McCrie, *Life of Melville*, pp. 465–6.

201. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 284–6.

who stood for Arbuthnet were David Guthrie of Kincaldrum, William Guthrie of Halkerton, William Rynd of Carse, and James Arnot of Lentusche – all from Forfarshire (perhaps an indication that Arbuthnet, too, may have come from this district).[202]

At first, Bassandyne and Arbuthnet had calculated that – with 'guid characters and prenting irons' – it would take only eleven months to print the Bible. Unfortunately, all did not go according to plan. A series of delays meant that on 18 July 1576 they had to petition the government for a nine-month extension. By the end of the year, the partners – responding to financial difficulties – were unwilling to pay some of the workers they had hired from the continent, such as Salomon Kerknett, a compositor from Flanders, who – on 5 January 1576–7 – had to sue for his weekly wages of 49*s*.[203] Although the New Testament was ready late in 1576, issued with a woodcut of the Royal Arms (**3**) on the title-page, Bassandyne had already decided to pull out of the partnership, agreeing to leave Arbuthnet the printed sheets of the Bible, so far as completed, as well as his entire printing house. This was a considerable concession on the part of Bassandyne, who evidently wished to free the capital he had tied up in the project, even at so great a loss. However, Bassandyne still had not fulfilled his agreement when – as a result of a lawsuit by Alexander Arbuthnet on 11 January 1576–7 – he was required by a legal ruling to 'deliver the said Alexander the said werk of the Bybill ellis prentit, with the prenting hous and necessaris appertening thairto meit for setting furthwait of the said werk'.[204]

Alexander Arbuthnet

Following Bassandyne's withdrawal from the partnership in 1576, Alexander Arbuthnet continued with printing the Old Testament, obtaining most of his printing equipment, including woodcuts and type, from the shop of Bassandyne.[205] Even though Arbuthnet had already run into financial difficulties, owing Bassandyne £500. at the time of his death in 1577, he nevertheless invested in two new woodcut devices (**1** & **7**), each depicting a pelican in her piety, which were manufactured especially for him by the Flemish artist Anton van Leest, and ordered a series of woodcuts, also probably from the Low Countries, for his edition of the Old Testament. These woodcut illustrations were copied from the Geneva translation.

Arbuthnet was assisted in the enterprise by John Ross, a small bookbinder and printer who, along with his own woodcut devices (**6**, **10**) and Roman types, also acquired the printing materials and privileges of Robert Lekpreuik following his arrest in 1573. Although little is known about his involvement in the production, the work kept Ross so busy that during 1576–8, when the Old Testament was being printed, most of his other printing activities came to a standstill, including his work for the government, for which he had a royal warrant. During this period of cooperation, Arbuthnet and Ross shared their supply of ink and ornaments, including a woodcut initial (**I11**) which Ross later used *c.* 1580 in his edition of David Lindsay's *Warkis* (No. **169**; STC 15661).

202. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 283–6; *RPC*, ii. 544–6.
203. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 286–7; *RPC*, ii. 582.
204. Dickson and Edmond, p. 288; *RPC*, ii. 583.
205. Arbuthnet sued Bassandyne on 11 January 1576–7 for failure to deliver the press.

Ross's role in the partnership, however, apparently ended in 1578, when he began to accept a series of lucrative commissions from the bookseller Henry Charteris. Almost certainly, there was a dispute between the printers involving payments to Ross, such as £26. for a barrel of printing ink and £14. for two weeks' wages to Ross and his servants for printing the Bible (still owed in 1580 according to Ross's inventory).[206]

After Ross left, Arbuthnet, however, had great difficulty in finishing off the Old Testament, completing work on it sometime during the latter half of 1579. He was also late in delivering the copies. Twelve months after publication, the General Assembly presented a petition, ordering Arbuthnet to deliver his Bibles 'according to his receipt of money from every paroch', otherwise he and his sureties would face 'letters of horning'.[207] The difficulties involved in the enterprise suggest that the price of Arbuthnet's Bible was too expensive: other imports, including Tyndale's translation, were considerably cheaper and readily available. Copies of Arbuthnet's Bible were also issued in black leather bindings, for which the customer was charged 2 merks extra. John Cairns, who complained about the cost, was nevertheless required to pay the extra amount.[208]

Unlike Bassandyne, who could fall back on his capital reserves, Arbuthnet was almost totally reliant on government patronage for the success of his business. During 1579 he gained a number of special privileges, including a seven year licence on 1 April to print 'the psalme buik in prois and meter, with the prayaris and catechismes in englische and latyne'.[209] One 24 August, he was also made the King's printer, enabling him to print during his lifetime all works in Latin, English, or Scots 'tending to the glorie of God and commoun weill of this realme', at the same time obtaining a special licence to print and sell Bibles 'in the Vulgar Inglis, Scottis, and Lateine toungis in haill or in pairtis' for ten years. Unfortunately for Arbuthnet, who by now needed the money, the price of any Bibles he printed would be fixed by the government, irrespective of the large production costs.[210]

The residents of Scotland were compelled to purchase copies of the Scottish Bible by a 1579 Act of Parliament, requiring all 'houshalderis' worth 300 merks of yearly rent and every yeoman or burgess worth £500. stock to own a Bible and psalm-book in the vulgar language.[211] The government, anxious to replace the Tyndale translation of the Bible, vigorously upheld the act, appointing investigators on 13 February 1579–80 to search all the 'houshalderis' described in the act.[212] The government were not the only ones to take a hard line on this issue. Throughout 1580, the Edinburgh Town Council issued a series of proclamations requiring the registration of all the Bibles and psalm books, with 'names written and subscryvit be the clerk', appointing Andro

---

206. Dickson and Edmond, p. 331.

207. Lee, *Memorial*, p. 43; Dickson and Edmond, p. 314; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, ii. 462; General Assembly, Session 10, Article 6.

208. Dickson and Edmond, p. 315; *ETCR*, vi. fols. 31, 50, 90.

209. Lee, *Memorial*, p. 37, App. VI; *RSS*, xlvi. 43.

210. Arbuthnet's designation as the King's printer evidently carried little weight in Scotland, since John Ross's edition of Thomas Smeton's *Ad virulentum* (No. **161**; STC 22651), dated 1579, is also printed 'cum privilegio regali' in apparent violation of Arbuthnet's privilege. *See* Lee, *Memorial*, p. 39 n.

211. Dickson and Edmond, p. 314; *Memorial*, p. 38.

212. T. McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 467; *APS*, iii. 139; *RPC*, iii. 266.

Slater and Thomas Aikinheid as 'collectors of the paynes'.[213] Evidently, the difficulties in enforcing the 1579 Act of Parliament were considerable. In 1582, the 'general searcheour', John Williamson, obtained a judgement against Andro Ballingall and John Weland, sheriff deputies of Fife, 'for not concurring, fortifying, defending, and assisting him in the execution of his duty'.[214]

In July 1580, the General Assembly, clearly dissatisfied by the various delays in the printing and distribution of the Bible, issued a printing licence and privilege to Thomas Vautrollier, 'a stranger banischit for religioun', who had close connections at the court of James VI.[215] Vautrollier, a Huguenot bookseller already operating in Scotland, however, did not take up the offer until 1584, leaving Arbuthnet to continue in his capacity as printer to the Crown, much to the chagrin of the General Assembly. His considerable 'official' duties during 1580–4 included the printing of various proclamations, including one 'tuiching the true religioun of Jesus Christ', as well as issuing a revision of *The fall of the Roman kirk*, a book (now missing) based on Thomas Bassandyne's original edition. Evidently, Arbuthnet was also commissioned, with others, to take part in a plan aimed at convincing suspected Catholics in the north of Scotland to subscribe to the Confession of Faith.[216]

The Printing Commissions of Henry Charteris

Following his part in printing the Old Testament, Ross's printing business rapidly expanded to incorporate larger and more lucrative commissions from the bookseller, Henry Charteris, including editions of the *Godlie psalmes* (No. **150**; STC 2996.7), John Rolland's *The sevin seages* (No. **153**; STC 21254), George Buchanan's *De iure regni* (Nos. **155–156**; STC 3973 and 3974), the grammar of Jean Despautère (Nos. **157–158**; STC 6781 and 6783), Patrick Hume's *The promine* (No. **168**; STC 13956), and Gavin Douglas's *Palice of honour* (No. **159**; STC 7074). Although these are principally large editions, replete with some degree of ornamentation, Ross was nevertheless hampered by a lack of printing materials, a situation manifest in the 1579 publications of Thomas Smeton's *Ad virulentum* and George Buchanan's *De iure regni*, both for Henry Charteris, in which the Greek characters are filled in by hand.

Charteris's role in commissioning such works is clear from his part in the posthumous production of George Buchanan's *De iure regni*, the infamous publication describing the political events following the flight of Mary, Queen of Scots from Scotland. Originally, this book was to be handled by Daniel Rogers, a friend of Buchanan and a member of the so-called Sidney circle, who in 1576 tried to arrange publication of *De iure regni* in the Low Countries, possibly by the printer Christopher Plantin. Buchanan, however, delayed Rogers's publication plans, probably because he considered the political climate to be unsuitable, although upon Buchanan's death in 1579, Henry Charteris – seizing the chance of printing his controversial work – immediately commissioned a Scottish edition

---

213. *ETCR*, vi. 96; Dickson and Edmond, p. 316.

214. Lee, *Memorial*, p. 41 n; *RPC*, xxxvi. 129. The Edinburgh Town Council Records referred to above are also transcribed in Dickson and Edmond, pp. 305–6. In Edinburgh, the Bibles were sold in the merchant booth of Andrew Williamson 'on the north side of this burgh, be syde the Meill Mercat'.

215. Colin Clair, 'Vautrollier', pp. 226–6; Dickson and Edmond, p. 314; T. McCrie, *Life of Melville*, pp. 464–5; *Book of the Universal Kirk*, ii. 462.

216. Calderwood, *History*, i, p. 432; iii, pp. 599, 784; iv, p. 63.

from the press of John Ross.

Charteris's instinct proved to be correct. The Ross edition, popular in itself, was also used as the basis for a number of foreign reprints *ad exemplar* which followed in quick succession (STC 3976 ff.). Furthermore, copies of the first edition were destined for the export market. Upon publication of the book, Daniel Rogers immediately commissioned the bookseller Thomas Vautrollier, working in Edinburgh, to procure further copies for his friends in the Low Countries.[217]

As Buchanan had anticipated, the controversy that *De iure regni* engendered exceeded all of Henry Charteris's expectations. Scottish Catholics, living abroad in exile, soon issued works denouncing publication of the book, including Adam Blackwood, whose *Pro regibus apologie* (Alison and Rogers Nos. 92–3) was printed at Poitiers in 1581, and Ninian Winzet, whose *Flagellum sectariorum* (Alison and Rogers No. 1414) was printed in Ingolstadt in 1582.[218] The book was also denounced in Scotland, following the assumption to power of James VI. Two years after Buchanan's death, both *De iure regni* and his *Historia* were banned by Parliament 'as not meet to remain for records of truth to posterity'.[219]

The distinct hand of Henry Charteris is also behind Ross's publication of Despautère's grammar (Nos. **157–158**; STC 6781 and 6783), a book intended solely for the captive Scottish market. The continuing popularity of this manual in Scotland is indisputable, extending as it did from Robert Estienne's 1537 edition, which replaced the earlier grammar of Alexander de Villedieu, to the later Scottish grammars, including those compiled by Wedderburn, Williamson, and Simson, which were all designed to provide an introduction to the grammar of Despautère. For the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the surviving booksellers' inventories show that a huge quantity of Despautère's grammars were in circulation, easily outstripping in popularity any competing grammars, including those of Carmichael (1587), Hume (1612), and Kirkwood. In terms of mass circulation, the only grammars offering any competition to the Despautère were the Donatus minor (500 copies) and the *Rudimenta* of Jean Pellisson (50 copies).[220]

An analysis of the printers' inventories and journals suggests that Charteris may have further exploited the continuing demand for Despautère's grammar by commissioning editions of Simson's *Rudimenta* (a short introduction to Despautère) from the press of John Ross – whose inventory lists 'foure hundreth thre scoir Rudimentis vnbound' – and from Christopher Plantin – whose 29 July 1580 journal entry records a shipment of '2000 Rudimenta Scotica et contienne'. Other Scottish booksellers, following Charteris, also stocked Simson's *Rudimenta* in large quantities, including Robert Gourlaw, whose 1585 inventory lists a 'Secunda Rudimenta', and later 'fyve hundreth xxxviii secund Rudimentis'. Later sixteenth century editions of this work are attributed to the press of Charteris and his successors. Despite its popularity, no sixteenth century edition of Simson is extant, a fact showing how the survival rate of a small school-book, such as this, was poor.[221]

---

217. McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 392–415.
218. J. H. Burns, 'Three Scots Catholic Critics of George Buchanan', *IR*, i (1950), pp. 92–104.
219. *APS*, iii, c.8.296.
220. Upton, 'Studies in Scottish Latin', pp. 81–5, 93.
221. *See* Dickson and Edmond, pp. 510–11; Colin Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade Connexions with England

An examination of Ross's publication list shows that the vast majority of his printing business centred around the production of such schoolbooks, presumably all sponsored by Charteris. Spangenberg's *De conficiendis epistolis liber* (No. **172**; STC 23000), a textbook providing examples of epistolary models for the more advanced schoolboys, as well as an edition of *Breue compendium de concordantis grammaticalibus* (No. **165**; STC 5606), a grammatical compendium to be used alongside of Despautère's grammar. In addition, Charteris was also behind related schoolbooks issued in 1580 from the press of John Ross, including the publication of Cato's *Disticha moralia* (No. **164**; STC 4847) and Erasmus's *Dicta sapientum e Graecis Erasmo interprete* (No. **167**; STC 10478), both supplements to Despautère. Unlike the more ambitious editions of Despautère, published for Charteris in 1579, these were all cheap, practical volumes, produced with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of ornamentation.

Even though all these books were commissioned by Charteris, many were sold directly through the bookselling business of Ross, who upon his death in 1581 had in stock 200 copies of Rolland's *Sevin seagis* (unbound, each selling for 3*s*. 4*d*.) and 280 copies of the *Palice of honour* (unbound, selling for 15*s*. per dozen).[222]

As Ross was the only Scottish printer able to undertake such commissions for these booksellers – for the whole of 1579–80 his former partner, Alexander Arbuthnet, was wholly occupied with printing and distributing the Bible – his business became extraordinarily successful in a very short period, the value of his estate reaching £627. 8*s*. in 1580, of which there was 'the soume of ane hundreth and twantie pundis of reddy money in the kist'. This is an extraordinary achievement, given that Ross's career spanned only five years. Despite his sudden prosperity, however, Ross was unable to buy any more woodcuts or type, a fact indicating the difficulty of acquiring these materials in Scotland. The situation was such that on his death in 1580, Ross left only 19 stone (266 lbs.) of type, a surprisingly modest amount, even for a smaller printer, which was given along with his furnished press (valued at £30.), his cutting press (valued at £4.), and his sewing press (valued at 6*s*. 8*d*.) to the bookseller Henry Charteris.[223]

Apart from Charteris's commissions, Ross also undertook the publication of statutes and proclamations for the government, for which he had a privilege. These were handsome productions, complete with a degree of ornamentation which undoubtedly reflects the nature of their commission. Ross's initial involvement with the Crown, extending as far back as 1575, undoubtedly provided him with the capital necessary to buy his Roman and Textura type, previously unseen in Scotland, as well as his stock of woodcuts, including two devices (**6** & **10**) cut specially for him. Not all his

---

and Scotland', *The Library*, 3rd ser., xiv (1959), pp. 44–5. Another edition of the *Rudimenta* dated 1580 (now missing) is referred to in *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 1501. Dickson and Edmond think that this refers to the edition (now missing) stocked by Ross. However, as Ross died at the beginning of 1580, the attribution to Ross in Dickson and Edmond is probably incorrect. It is far more probable that the entry in *Typographical Antiquities* refers to the edition printed for Henry Charteris by Christopher Plantin in 1580. The earliest extant edition of Simson's second rudiments was printed by Thomas Finlason in 1607.

222. Robert Gourlaw's inventory also lists six copies of the *Palice of honour*, each selling for 12*d*. For a transcription of Ross's will, *see* Dickson and Edmond, pp. 329–33.

223. For a transcription of Ross's will see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, pp. 329–33.

woodcuts, however, came from abroad: Ross's woodcut alphabet (**16**) previously belonged to Robert Lekpreuik, who had evidently left it behind, when he fled Edinburgh for Stirling in 1571.

Following the acquisition of these printing materials and privileges, Charteris printed four books in 1581 and 1582, including a 1582 Statute of Parliament (No. **182**; STC 21885), with Ross's old woodcut initial **O16**. There is little evidence, however, that Charteris was able to print anything like the large editions of vernacular poetry which he specialized in, his most 'sumptuous' work being the 1582 *Works* of Sir David Lindsay (which was in fact a reissue of John Ross's 1580 edition, with a new titlepage and preliminaries). Consequently, he had no choice but to turn to Alexander Arbuthnet for his printing needs, commissioning him to print an edition in 1581 of the long vernacular poem *Alexander the great* (No. **162**; STC 321.5), copies of which were stocked by both Henry Charteris and Robert Gourlaw. This large folio volume featuring such a poem would have been a big seller in Scotland, particularly with its particular interest in historiography, judging from the success of the previous histories of John Major and Hector Boece.[224]

But with historiographical works, Charteris had his greatest success with the posthumous publication in 1582 of George Buchanan's controversial work, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**; STC 3991), commissioned for the press of Alexander Arbuthnet, almost certainly by Charteris (who alone had the financial resources to back the publication of this volume). With its historiographical subject matter, the *Historia* would naturally have been a book of great interest to the Scots. (Buchanan himself probably regarded it as a reworking of Hector Boece's *History of Scotland*, published by Josse Bade in 1526–7, although he probably owned a 1574 reprint, printed in Paris by Giovanni Ferrerio.) More importantly, given Buchanan's reputation, the book would have had substantial sales on the continent, a fact not lost upon the Antwerp printer, Christopher Plantin, who was hoping to print the work, along with Buchanan's other writings in 1581. Although Plantin tried to arrange publication of the work through Daniel Rogers – promising an edition of some elegance – the circumstances of Rogers's captivity meant that such an arrangement was impossible.

Charteris quickly exploited this opportunity, immediately commissioning Arbuthnet to print an edition of the *Historia*, much in the same way that he commissioned Ross to print *De iure regni*. But although the book was expected to come out in 1581, the date of publication was delayed until the following year. Partly, this was due to political reasons: In September 1581, James Melville – along with Thomas Buchanan and Andrew Melville – went to the bedside of George Buchanan with the expressed purpose of seeing the work. After an interview with Buchanan, they proceeded straight away to Arbuthnet's printing house, finding the printer working on book seventeen of the *Historia*. Persuading the Arbuthnet to stop the work until after the burial of the Catholic courtier David Riccio, they returned to George Buchanan's bedside, where Thomas Buchanan then expressed his fear that the book would offend King James. George Buchanan, however, was unrepentant, declaring that he would 'byd his fead [i.e. James's emnity], and all his kin's, then'. In the end, Buchanan died

224. The book is listed as 'Awowis of Alexander' in Charteris's inventory. Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists one copy at 8*s*.

before Arbuthnet could complete the printing of the *Historia*.[225]

From James Melville's account of the book's production, it is also evident that Arbuthnet had severe problems in printing such a large edition.[226] Consequently, despite a number of eleventh-hour corrections, there are an extraordinary number of misprints in the book, a fact contributing even now to Arbuthnet's reputation as a 'slow and inefficient' printer.[227] Furthermore, even though a large number of woodcut initials from Plantin's shop are used in the book – an attempt surely to emulate the 'look' of Plantin's books (*see* alphabet **11**, notes) – the edition hardly achieves the elegant printing effect as promised by Plantin for his proposed edition.

Despite such problems, the sales of the book were extraordinary. A continental reprint, combining the *Historia* and *De iure regni*, *ad exemplar* Alexander Arbuthnet, was issued in 1583, and in the following years, no less than ten editions were printed in the Low Countries or in Frankfurt. Closer to home, however – as Thomas Buchanan had anticipated – James VI denounced the book. The 22 May 1585 Act of Parliament called for the deletion of certain passages of both the *Historia* and *De iure regni*, and although the 'letter of this act' was not followed, no further Scottish printings of the book were available for another century.[228]

Thomas Vautrollier

With both Arbuthnet and Ross fully occupied with printing the Bible throughout 1577 and 1578, the Edinburgh bookseller Henry Charteris had little choice but to turn to a London printer, Thomas Vautrollier, for his printing needs, commissioning a number of books including two editions of Buchanan's *Baptistes* in 1577 and 1578 (STC 3969–71) and an edition of John Rutherford's *Commentariorum* (STC 21463). Charteris's name misleadingly appears on the imprint of both the 1578 edition of the *Baptistes* (STC 3971) and Rutherford's *Commentariorum*, although the use of Vautrollier's device (McKerrow 179) on the *Baptistes* is evidence that both were actually printed in London by Vautrollier.[229]

The shadowy figure of Daniel Rogers – who acted as Buchanan's publishing agent and who also knew Rutherford – undoubtedly had something to do with this publication arrangement. Rogers was also instrumental in the publication of Buchanan's Latin *Psalm paraphrases*. After failing to organize a London edition of this work in November 1579, he sent Vautrollier to Edinburgh, armed with a letter to Buchanan, proposing an edition printed by Vautrollier. It is unlikely that

---

225. James Melville, *Autobiography and Diary*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1842), pp. 120–1. Although a schoolmaster at Stirling, Thomas Buchanan's relationship to George Buchanan is unclear: James Melville refers to Thomas as the 'cousing' of George; David Buchanan calls Thomas his 'brother-german'; and Robert Rollock refers to Thomas as George's nephew. *See* Melville, *Life*, i, 137 n.; G. Robertson, *Vita Roberti Rolloci*, A3r–v; R. Rollock, *In epistolam Pavli apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorum (posteriorem) commentarius* (No. **296**, STC 21279); Melville, *Diary*, pp. 38, 91.

226. Ibid. pp. 120–1; MacFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 424 n.

227. Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain* (London, 1965), p. 124; Dickson and Edmond, pp. 313, 324; Lee, *Memorial*, p. 36.

228. Despite the Act of Parliament, unexpurgated copies of the *Historia* continued to circulate throughout Scotland, including one owned by Andrew Melville, who later versified parts of the *Historia*. *See* MacFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 436–8.

229. The use of Vautrollier's device in the 1578 edition of *Baptistes* (STC 3971) is unrecorded in McKerrow.

Henry Charteris – by this time commissioning publications from John Ross instead of Vautrollier – was involved with the project. As a result of Rogers's efforts, however, Vautrollier printed two London editions of the *Psalm paraphrases* in 1580 and 1583, each with extra material provided by Buchanan.[230]

During the course of this 1580 visit, the Scottish General Assembly – aware of Vautrollier's growing reputation – invited him to set up a press in Edinburgh, citing the 'gret necessitie of a printer within this countrey' (an obvious slight to Alexander Arbuthnet, whose work on the 1579 Bible had been subject to severe criticism). As stated above, Vautrollier had already set up a fledgling bookselling and binding business in Edinburgh, run in his absence by his servant, John Cowper.[231] Vautrollier, however, did not take up the offer of government printer until 1583, setting off in the Spring of 1583, bringing with him paper supplies and books in two Scottish ships, the *Falcon* and the *Jesus*, both destined for the port of Leith. During the course of this voyage, however, he was accosted off the cost of Lowestoft by an English pirate, Stephen Hawes, who appropriated the *Falcon* with all its goods. Vautrollier evidently escaped on the other ship, the *Jesus*, although it too was 'robbed, men spoiled and barbarously entertained'. The whole incident became subject to a letter of complaint from James Lowsone to William Davidson, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, regarding 'the piracies of your pirates against our best men'.[232] Pirates struck again at Vautrollier's bookselling business when on 14 October 1486 they stole a number of his books 'bound and unbound' on their way to Scotland.[233]

Vautrollier had been printing Scottish writers from his London printing press as early as 1583, when he issued Alexander Dickson's controversial Protestant work *Alexandri Dicsoni Arelii de umbra rationis & iudicij* (STC 6823). The uncompromising tone set by Dickson ensured that Vautrollier's publication would not remain unanswered: the book was promptly attacked in 1584 by William Perkins, a Cambridge supporter of Peter Ramus, who wrote the *Antidicsonus* (STC 19064) and the *Libellus de memoria* (STC 19065). Dickson, himself, countered Perkin's attacks with his own *Defensio* (STC 21089), issued in 1584 with Vautrollier's London imprint.[234]

Vautrollier finally set up his Edinburgh press in 1584, issuing eight books during the first year of operation, including – most importantly – the first printed work of James VI, *The essayes of a prentise in the divine art of poesie* (No. **187**; STC 14373), reissued in the following year with some variations (No. **191**; STC 14374). This small quarto was printed with roman type and woodcut ornaments which Vautrollier bought with him from England. Although the woodcut rules scattered

---

230. For the connection between Rogers and Vautrollier, *see* McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 264–6, 272, 396, 450, 455. For Vautrollier, *see* also C. Clair, 'Thomas Vautrollier', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1960), pp. 223–8; Clair, *History of Printing in Britain*, pp. 89–93, 125–6; J. E. Phillips, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xii (1948), pp. 23–56; W. R. Le Fanu, 'Thomas Vautrollier: Printer and Bookseller', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, xx (1959–64), pp. 12–25.

231. Dickson and Edmond, p. 379; *ETCR*, vi. 32.

232. *CSP*, vi, No. 355 (pp. 334–5) 17 Mar. 1582–3; No. 390 (pp. 371–2) 9 Apr. 1583; No. 393 (p. 375) 12 Apr. 1583. Clair, 'Thomas Vautrollier', p. 226. This letter is also the first alluding to Vautrollier's royal privilege.

233. Donald Robertson, 'A Packet of Books for Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, vi (1971–3), pp. 52–3 (PRO: HCA 13/26 fols. 188–9). The incident is referred to in *CSP*, ix. 514.

234. J. Durkan, 'Alexander Dickson and STC 6823', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1961), pp. 183–90.

throughout the text appear overly ostentatious – an indication that the ornamentation was tailored in this case to the commission – there is nevertheless some suggestion that as a reward for printing this book King James gave Vautrollier a 'peece of gold' weighing 10 crowns, which Vautrollier later bequeathed to his son, Simon.[235]

In addition to his work for James VI, Vautrollier undertook the publication of a few Protestant tracts, which would have had a ready market in London. Two of these – *The temperisour* by Wolfgang Musculus (No. **188**; STC 18314) and *The confession of faith* by Sir Henry Balnaves (No. **185**; STC 1340) – were listed in the 1595 catalogue of the London bookseller Andrew Maunsell. Without further commissions from the government, however, Vautrollier apparently did not have enough business to sustain his presence in Edinburgh, consequently returning to London early in 1586 with a manuscript copy of the *History of the Reformation* by John Knox, which he put to press (almost all copies were seized by order of Archbishop Whitgift before the work was completed).[236]

Despite such setbacks, Vautrollier continued to print items in London for shipment to Scotland, including two editions of the Scottish Book of Common Order (STC 16582 and 16583), for which in 1587 he requested a licence from Queen Elizabeth (adding his willingness 'to enter into sufficient bond that none of the books so printed shall be uttered or sold within this realm, but sent forth with into Scotland').[237] Vautrollier also issued a number of books with misleading 'Edinburgh' imprints for sale to the Scottish market, including London editions of *An abridgement of the institutioun of christian religion* (STC 4429) printed in 1586, and Patrick Adamson's *A declaratioun* (STC 21948.3–.7), printed by Vautrollier (or his successor Richard Field, following Vautrollier's death in July 1587).

In his will, Vautrollier explicitly indicates the printing equipment he used in Edinburgh, which in addition to the presses included 'fower Chassis and three Ffrisketts, two timpanes and a Copper plate' left to his son Manasses. Vautrollier also left 'leters caracters of cast mettell, and matrices' to his wife and other sons, although it is unclear how many of these were used in Scotland. In addition to these materials, Vautrollier imported paper into Scotland from English paper merchants such as Geoffrey Nettleton, although the problems he had with paper supply may have precipitated his premature departure for England in 1585. None of Vautrollier's ornaments or type were used by other printers working in Scotland.

The Binding Trade 1570–1600

The rapid expansion of the booktrade, following the re-establishment of the Protestant government in 1572, was inevitably accompanied by a corresponding boom in the binding trade. At least seventeen professional binders were at work in Scotland during the latter half of the sixteenth century, including a number of printers and booksellers such as Robert Lekpreuik, John Ross, Thomas Bassandyne, Thomas Vautrollier, and Andrew Hart. Other Scottish bookbinders – including John Gibson, Robert Wode, Andrew Lauder, James Brown, John Symson, and Patrick Johnston – were also employed by

235. Clair, 'Vautrollier', p. 227; Clair, *Printing in Britain*, p. 125.
236. Clair, 'Vautrollier', p. 226 and n.; Clair, *Printing in Britain*, p. 126.
237. Clair, 'Vautrollier', p. 227.

such booksellers, although binders working elsewhere in Scotland, such as William Lauder (1591) and James Sym (1595) – both active in Perth – usually accepted commissions from individual patrons.[238]

Despite its rapid growth, the binding trade was strictly regulated, as seen by the two complaints lodged against Thomas Vautrollier and his servant John Cowper in 1580 and 1582 for binding and selling books in Edinburgh without being freemen of the city. A similar complaint was upheld against the Edinburgh binder and bookseller Robert Woodhouse, who as a consequence became naturalized on 28 February 1581–2. (Woodhouse continued to work as a bookbinder in the burgh until his death in 1632.)[239] On the other hand – despite his national origin – Francis Van Hagen was allowed to work in Edinburgh as a bookbinder, probably because of his marriage to Agnes Coutts, the daughter of an Edinburgh burgess.

An examination of the printers' inventories suggest that Scottish booksellers followed the standard practice of binding only a few copies of books at a time, keeping the main stock warehoused in sheets. This explains why, in Bassandyne's 1577 inventory, only 5 out of 510 copies of David Lindsay's *Works* were kept in bound form, and why only 68 out of 372 copies of the Psalms were bound, either in parchment or 'pase' (i.e. pasteboard).[240] Trade bindings normally added a shilling onto the cost of the book. The edition of Sir David Lindsay's *Works*, mentioned above, was valued at 4*s.* unbound and 5*s.* bound. Similarly, copies of *Sphera de sacro busco* were valued at 5*s.* unbound and 6*s.* bound, while copies of *Seikmenn's saule* cost 6*s.* unbound and 7*s.* bound.

The binding capabilities of the larger booksellers were considerable. Bassandyne, for one, had equipment needed for the binding of books valued at £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* in his inventory as well as the various parchment materials required for the trade, including calf and sheep skins (ranging in value from 3*s.* to 5*s.*), and a variety of parchment and common skins (ranging in value from 30*d.* to 3*s.*). The trade bindings undertaken in a workshop such as this would have been finished as cheaply as possible, normally without lettering on the spine.

Although the general quality of binding materials and workmanship was fast declining, there was nevertheless still a considerable demand for fine bindings, fostered in part by the work of John Gibson, appointed as the royal bookbinder on 29 July 1581.[241] The bindings attributed to Gibson are unusually competent, showing the distinct hand of a binder conversant with the latest trends in continental design, with its great emphasis on gold-tooling (which at this early date was uncharacteristic of Scottish work). Also unusual, and even more breathtaking, is the armorial binding in dark purple velvet for the original manuscript of the *Basilicon doron*, written by King James VI.

---

238. Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 68–70.

239. Ibid., pp. 69, 127.

240. For this practice, *see* H. G. Pollard, 'Changes in the Style of Bookbinding, 1550–1830', *Library*, xi, 1956, p. 75). For similar practices in Scotland during the seventeenth century, *see* P. Gaskell, *A Bibliography of the Foulis Press*, (London, 1964), pp. 54–5, 347–8; Gaskell, *New Introduction*, pp. 146–7. Books ordered from abroad normally arrived in unbound sheets, which – because of their lighter weight – were cheaper and easier to transport.

241. Once appointed, Gibson received an annual pension of £20. (although he was evidently binding for the King before this, as his precept for £17. 4*s.* 4*d.* paid on 1 October 1580 suggests). *See* Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 57–8, 121. John Ross owed Gibson 10*s.* in 1580, and Robert Waldegrave owed him £8. 12*s.* 6*d.* in 1601. *See Privy Seal Register*, xlviii. 26. Both McKerrow and Aldis erroneously say that Gibson was appointed bookbinder to the King in 1591. *See* Mitchell, p. 121.

This binding, itself in the style of the earlier royal bindings commissioned for James V, is meant to reflect the importance of the manuscript it housed.[242]

Other Scottish binders working on fine bindings characteristically used brown calf-skin on bevelled wooden boards. Although the panelled designs on these bindings – in which the rolls are used in multiple frames – were derived from earlier English and German models, the actual use of bevelled wooden boards outside of Scotland at this time was rare.[243]

One Scottish binder favouring the use of bevelled wooden boards was the so-called 'shield binder', an anonymous binder evidently from Edinburgh, who was active from the middle of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the fourteen bindings attributed to his hand, Dr. W. S. Mitchell has concluded that the 'shield binder' owned four rolls along with a conventional ornament tool, which appears in various combinations on several of his bindings. One of his more striking designs – resulting in an unusually proportioned central panel – was emulated by later Scottish binders such as Francis Van Hagen, active in Aberdeen during the seventeenth century.[244]

Until the end of the seventeenth century, barbers in Perth often undertook parchment making and bookbinding as secondary occupations, a practice probably related to their professions as wigmakers. The earliest of these, although not recorded as a barber, was Archibald Steedman, whose date of entry into calling was 15 February 1587. Later barbers in Perth also became booksellers and stationers.[245]

The Paper Trade 1570–1600

Along with his supply of paper acquired from the old stock of Thomas Davidson, Robert Lekpreuik also acquired 'thre hundreth rym of paper', probably from France, as part of his contract with the Edinburgh burgess, Alexander Clerk, to print an edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order in 1564.[246] This paper was used in the following year for Lekpruik's edition of Capilupus's *Cento* and the *Pasquillorum versus*.[247] Apart from this, virtually all the paper used by the Scottish printers up to 1582 was probably supplied by Christopher Plantin, whose trade with the booksellers Thomas Bassandyne and Henry Charteris had long since been established. In 1580, Plantin sold Henry Charteris 2*fl*. worth of 'payé pour le tonneau' and 96 *fl*. for '6 feuilles que font Rames 24 à *fl*. 4 la

242. Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, Pl. 18.

243. For the increasingly rare use of wooden boards in German and English bindings, *see* Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, p. 66; E. P. Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbinding*, 2 vols. (London, 1928), i, p. 197. Scottish binders characteristically bevelled the inside of the boards only. This highly unusual technique was occasionally practiced in some English binderies. *See* J. B. Oldham, *Shrewsbury School Library Bindings* (Oxford, 1943), p. 99.

244. Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, pp. 60–8; Pl. 21–6; For the work of Van Hagen, *see* Mitchell, pp. 103–5.

245. R. H. Carnie, 'Perth Booksellers and Bookbinders in the Records of the Wright Calling: 1558–1864', *Bibliotheck*, i (1958), pp. 24–39.

246. Durkan, 'Contract between Clerk and Lekpreuik', pp. 128–35; *SRO*, Edinburgh Burgh Records, Register of Deeds 1561–79, B22/8/1, fols. 117v–118 (transcribed in Durkan, pp. 133–4). For a description of Lekpreuik's paper, formerly owned by Davidson, *see* Beattie, *Rauf Coilyear*, p. iv.

247. Beattie and Durkan, 'An Early Publication of Latin Poems of George Buchanan', pp. 79–80. This article includes descriptions from P. Gaskill of the watermarks for the Trinity College Cambridge copy of the Capilupus – a small Couronne on signature A (cf. Briquet 4959) and a pot with 'AA' on signature B (cf. Briquet 12691) – and the watermarks of the *Pasquillorum versus* – a small single Cercle on signature A (possibly similar to Briquet 3076), and probably a different Cercle on signatures B and C (not found in Briquet).

Rame'.[248] Thomas Bassandyne also evidently stocked imported papers from Plantin, including 10 quires of Lombardy paper valued at 4*s*. a quire and 25 quires of fine paper from Flanders valued at 2*s*. a quire. (Robert Gourlaw in 1585 had 17 'throch' of Lombardy paper, possibly from Plantin, valued at 4*s*. 3*d*.)

Plantin, himself, bought paper from a wide variety of sources – including papermills from the Netherlands, France, and Germany – some of which were kept aside for resale to his special customers 'often as much a matter of performing a friendly service as making a profit'.[249] The size and quantity of such papers were often indicated by a watermark, a fact explaining why, in Bassandyne's 1577 inventory, paper 'of the small hand' was valued at 14*s*. a ream, while paper 'of the great hand' was valued at 16*s*. a ream. In addition to his paper sales, Plantin also supplied ink to Henry Charteris – selling him 'deux tonnelets' in 1581 – and also possibly to Thomas Bassandyne, whose considerable supply of ink and 'carpentyne' was valued at £10. in his 1577 inventory.[250]

Plantin's monopoly on the supply of ink and paper, however, ended with the presence in Edinburgh of Thomas Vautrollier, who – in addition to his bookselling business – was already planning to start up his own printing operation. Vautrollier acquired his paper from the London paper-merchant Geoffrey Nettleton, whose shipment of three bales was intercepted in 1583 by pirates (along with a number of books belonging to Vautrollier, Henry Charteris, and Robert Smyth). That such paper was intended for the printing business of Vautrollier is made clear by a letter from James Lowsone to William Davidson, explaining that Vautrollier 'was bringing his books to Scotland and paper to print here – for he got privilege'.[251]

Despite such hardships, the first Scottish papermill was not established at Dalry, Edinburgh, until 1590, when monopoly papers for paper manufacture were granted to John Groot Heres (although the active figures behind the paper mill were the German papermaker Michael Keyser and his partner John Seillar, both named in the original grant). The whole operation had the financial backing of a leading Scottish merchant, Mango Russell, whose son Gideon had obtained a joint lease of the Dalry mill (along with Keyser and Seillar) in 1595.[252]

The establishment of this business, in itself, reflects the increasing demand for paper in Scotland, a state of affairs which can be attributed to the rise in literacy occuring after the educational reforms of the 1570s and 1580s. However, instead of producing white paper to be used for writing, it is probable that the Dalry mill – suffering from a lack of skilled workmen as well as a regular supply of linen rags – mainly produced brown paper to be used as wrapping paper from raw materials such as

---

248. C. Clair, 'Trade Connexions', p. 44; Plantin Archives, LVIII, fol. 96; Voet, *Plantin Press*, No. 2157. For information regarding Plantin's retail trade in paper, *see* Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, ii, pp. 19–46.

249. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii, p. 31.

250. For information regarding Plantin's retail trade in ink, *see* Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, ii, pp. 47–50; Gaskell, *New Introduction*, p. 126; C. Bloy, *History of Printing Ink*, p. 66.

251. Clair, 'Vautrollier', p. 226.

252. R. Waterston, 'Early Paper Making near Edinburgh', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxv (1945), pp. 55–60; R. Waterston, 'Further Notes on Early Paper Making near Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxvii (1949), pp. 44–7; R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1858), i, p. 195; W. R. Scott, 'Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union', *Scottish Historical Revue*, iii (1905); D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry: 1495–1860* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 49–50.

canvas, rope, and woollens. (Like the English, the Scots normally wore wool instead of linen.) Given the lack of raw materials, it is not surprising that 'the early Dalry venture seems not to have led to any rapid expansion of manufacture [of papermaking in Scotland]'.[253] This 'expansion' did not take place in Scotland until 1670–1720. Nevertheless, some paper was sold to the Scottish printers and bookbinders, including Henry Charteris, who in 1599 owned 68 reams of Scottish paper, valued at 28*s*. per ream (totalling £85. 14*s*.), and Katharine Norwell (married to the printer Robert Smyth), who in 1593 owned 22 reams, totalling £28. 12*d*.

Although less expensive than parchment, the price of imported paper nevertheless continued to be dear, particularly when added to the high cost of shipping. A couple of dozen sheets for printing or writing – costing about as much as a labourer's daily wage – could be afforded only by the rich or by those concerned with administration or trade. It seems likely, as with England, that this cost militated against the expansion of the printing industry in Scotland, a situation which became so chronic that paper was seldom used outside the university towns, and was perhaps even unknown in certain areas of Scotland.

The Booktrade

Books from England or the continent were normally sent by ship to the Scottish port of Leith where, as early as 1574–5 the Port Book records that Robert Le Cambier brought in one fatt (or barrel) of books from Hamburg 'for Peter Young for the Scottish Kinge'. Another major port, used also for Scottish goods such as wool, was Preston (Pans), where, on 12 September 1600, the 'Scottisheman' Thomas Lawder brought in five fatts containing one maund (approximately 1,700–2,000 titles) of unbound books, valued at £4. sterling.[254]

Sending such books by sea was a risky business, particularly considering the acts of piracy that the English and Scots carried out against each other (alluded to in the 1550 proclamation of Edward VI against 'Scottishe pirates'). In the spring of 1583, when two Scottish ships, the *Falcon* and the *Jesus*, were plundered off the coast of Lowestoft, the English pirate Stephen Hawes took among other goods three packs of paper from the London paper merchant Geoffrey Nettleton, and a number of books belonging to Henry Charteris, who lost one chest, one 'maund', and one 'little packet' of books destined for the library of James VI (together worth £120. sterling); Robert Smyth, who lost £12. sterling worth of books; and Thomas Vautrollier, whose four packs of books, with the three bales of paper, were worth £200. sterling. Although this incident prompted energetic protests from both James Lowsone and Robert Bowes – affirming 'that their hurts growing daily by English pirates are more grievous and greater than ever has been seen in time of open wars' – English pirates continued to threaten the shipping lanes.[255]

Another reason for the expense of English books had to do with the pricing policy of English booksellers, who inevitably added on an extra markup for their customers in Scotland. Because of

253. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, p. 11.

254. Information from Mr. R. J. Roberts.

255. *CSP*, vi, No. 355 (pp. 334–5) 17 Mar. 1582–3; No. 390 (pp. 371–2) 9 Apr. 1583; No. 393 (p. 375) 12 Apr. 1583. Clair, 'Thomas Vautrollier', p. 226.

this, Andro Hart and John Norton – operating in Edinburgh in 1587 – preferred to buy their books directly from German publishers at cheaper prices.[256] Nearly a decade later, English prices remained extraordinarily high, prompting Hart to complain about 'the skairsitie of buikis and volumis of all sortis and to quhat exhorbitant prices the buikis and small volumis wer rissin vnto qlkis war brocht hame frome lundoun an vtheris parttis of Ingland and sauld in this countrey at the third advantage'.[257]

Since it was cheaper and safer to ship books from Antwerp, many of the Edinburgh booksellers – including John Davidson, Jacob Bell, John Angus, Robert Smyth, Ian Small, Jacob Robertson and Henry Charteris – preferred to order their books directly from the publishing house of Christopher Plantin (the records of which are kept in his account books). Such books comprised 'the usual classics which formed the staple lines of most sixteenth-century booksellers', principally being Latin and Greek editions and grammars unavailable from the printers working in Scotland.[258]

Nevertheless, a number of newer booksellers, setting up in Edinburgh, specialized in books imported from London, starting with one Hooper, an English bookseller licenced to carry books into Scotland on 12 July 1573.[259] Chief among them was Robert Gourlaw, a bookseller and binder, who had taken over from Thomas Bassandyne as the chief importer of English books in Scotland. Gourlaw sold English editions specially supplied by the likes of Thomas Vautrollier and Hercules Frances, to both of whom he owed money at the time of his death in 1585. (Gourlaw was also a creditor to Robert Smyth, an Englishman then operating as a bookseller in Edinburgh.)[260]

There is certainly evidence that the Scottish booksellers vigorously attempted to exclude all foreign competition from the capital. John Gibson, bookbinder, and Robert Lekpreuik, printer, both sued the Englishman Robert Woodhouse in 1580 for selling and binding books while 'being ane forane straynger and vnfrieman' of the city. (Woodhouse was consequently discharged from binding any books in Edinburgh.)[261] Thomas Vautrollier, similarly, was the subject of a number of complaints brought about by Edinburgh booksellers and the town council. Although Vautrollier had exceptional connections at the court of James VI – already having supplied books to the young King James VI through his tutor Peter Young – he was nevertheless ordered to pay custom on the books he brought into Edinburgh 'under the payne of wairding' on 6 April 1580.[262] Vautrollier

---

256. Lee, *Memorial*, p. 51.

257. Lee, *Memorial*, App. XI.

258. Clair, 'Trade-Connexions', pp. 43–4; M. A. Bald, 'Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland: 1500–1625', *The Scottish Historical Review*, xxiii (1926), pp. 254–67. Of the Scottish booksellers recorded in Plantin's account books, only Henry Charteris and Robert Smyth are now known.

259. Lee, *Memorial*, p. 51; Ferguson, 'Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', pp. 151–2; A London bookseller, Henry Cockyn, also imported books from Scotland to England for the Bishop of Ross. *CSP*, v, Nos. 83–90 [Feb. 1574–5].

260. For a list of English books stocked by Gourlaw and for evidence that he was not a native of Edinburgh, *see* Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', pp. 169–78. The complete inventory of Gourlaw is printed in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii, pp. 209–15.

261. Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', p. 152; *ETCR*, vi, fol. 74.

262. Colin Clair, 'Thomas Vautrollier', p. 226; Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', pp. 152–4; *ETCR*, vi, fol. 32. Ferguson lists a number of English books in the King's library, possibly bought from Vautrollier, who was paid £100. in March 1578–9 and £31. 18*s*. 4*d*. in November 1581. *See* also Dickson and Edmond, p. 380.

eventually 'obtained a decree exempting him from the enforcement of customs dues',[263] probably through the efforts of George Buchanan, whose books Vautrollier had printed in London in 1577 and 1580.[264] Despite such connections, Scottish booksellers including Henry Charteris, Robert Gibson, and others, persisted in suing Vautrollier and his servant John Cowper in 1582, for 'retailing books and binding them within the burgh of Edinburgh', without being freemen. This time, they were successful: Cowper was ordered 'to desist and ceis fra all copping and selling in smallis of ony maner of buikis in tymes cuming within this burgh'.[265]

The greatest threat to the Scottish booksellers, however, came from the Londoner John Norton, 'one of the most important booksellers of his time', who opened up an Edinburgh branch by 1587. Initially, Norton had gone into partnership with Andro Hart – an experienced Edinburgh bookseller (who was later to become a printer) – specializing in books imported from Germany, which were less expensive than English imports. Norton, a shrewd operator, quickly capitalized on the advantage of working with an Edinburgh bookseller. Through Hart, he successfully petitioned the Privy Council in 1589 for a release from paying customs duty on books (as Thomas Vautrollier had done in 1579–80).[266]

The partnership between Hart and Norton must have been dissolved by 25 June 1591, when Norton applied for a second licence exempting him from paying duty.[267] Unfortunately for Norton, Scottish booksellers went to great lengths to protect their business. Now on his own, Hart drew up a petition in February 1592–3 – with the booksellers Henry Charteris, Robert Smyth, Thomas Gibson, Edward Cathkin, Robert Woodhouse, and John Symson – against John Norton and his then assistant Edmond Watts for selling books without being freemen of the city. (Norton and Watts had sold 'ane greit number of bwiks of all sorts' from 'ane oppin chalmer upoun the foregaitt'.) As the result of this petition, Norton and Watts were ordered 'to desist and ceiss fra all copping and selling of ony sort of bwicks in smallis in howses buith chalmeris or other places w[ith]in the said burgh'.[268] Although John Norton continued to have dealings with the English printer Robert Waldegrave – whose business had relocated to Edinburgh in 1589–90 – he gave up the Edinburgh branch of his bookselling business in 1596, selling all his excess stock to Andro Hart and Edward Cathkin.[269]

In addition to driving out such foreigners, the Scottish booksellers shrewdly exploited their exemption from paying import tax. In 1601, Andro Hart, in partnership with the Heirs of Henry Charteris, specifically commissioned a foreign edition of the English Bible, with the intent of shipping the entire edition to Scotland tax-free.[270] Such blatant attempts at protectionism could only but further depress the Scottish printing industry, already in decline. As a consequence, the Protestant

263. Clair, 'Vautrollier', p. 226.

264. For publication of Buchanan's *Baptistes* in 1577 and his *Paraphrase of the Psalms* in 1580, *see* Macfarlane, *Buchanan*.

265. *ETCR*, vi, fols. 182–3.

266. *RPCS*, iv, 459–60 [9 Feb. 1589]. Andrew Hart cited this ruling in a 1597 complaint against a customs officer, John Gourlay, who wrongfully exacted duty on books. Lee, *Memorial*, App. XI [1 June 1597].

267. Lee, *Memorial*, App. X; *RSS*, lxxii, 88 [25 June 1591].

268. Lee, *Memorial*, App. LXXI, p. 52, n. [2 Feb. 1592]; *ETCR*, ix, fol. 183v.

269. *See* Lee, *Memorial*, pp. 50–2; Ferguson, 'London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', pp. 182–3.

270. Lee, *Memorial*, p. 53.

government – who badly needed printers to work on their own publication programme – rashly issued a number of 'exclusive' licences, with the bizarre result that many Scottish printers – all working at the same time – claimed the same 'exclusive' privileges for themselves.

The Printing Commissions of John Norton

Robert Waldegrave's move to Edinburgh in 1589–90 was almost certainly the work of the bookseller John Norton. Before that time, Waldegrave – a puritan London printer – had run a secret press in a number of locations, including East Molesey, Northamptonshire, Coventry, and – it is asserted – Rochelle, frequently issuing uncompromising Protestant pamphlets under the pseudonym 'Martin Marprelate', for which he was twice imprisoned.[271] Waldegrave's move to Scotland was clearly aimed at further avoiding such harrassment, while at the same time allowing him to continue his own publication programme.

Norton acted as Waldegrave's London agent, exporting and selling many of the books Waldegrave printed in Edinburgh, specifically for the London market. This arrangement made a great deal of sense for both parties, at once providing a secure financial base for Waldegrave – who until now had been hounded by the Stationers' Company in London – while at the same time boosting the bookselling business of Norton, who as a result had a regular supply of controversial Protestant material, which was constantly in demand.

The major problem with this arrangement, however, was the interception and confiscation of many of the titles destined for Norton's London business by the Stationers' Company of London. One of their largest seizures, occurring on 17 June 1591, involved 600 copies of *The sacrifice of a christian soule* (No. **215**; STC 5192), printed by Waldegrave in 1591. (Other titles also seized at this time include 50 copies of Robert Bruce's *Sermons upon the sacrament* (No. **214**; STC 3924); 30 copies of Théodore de Bèze's *Propositions and principles of divinite* (No. **212**; STC 2053); 30 copies of James VI's *His maiesties poeticall exercises* (No. **217**; STC 14379); 29 copies of John Davidson's *Dr. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland* (No. **200**; STC 6322); and 29 copies of *An humble motion* (No. **201**; STC 7754), sometimes attributed to John Penry.)[272]

In addition to these, Waldegrave issued a pirated edition of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* in 1599 (No. **315**; STC 22542), targeted specifically for the English market. The Cambridge printer, John Legate, and his deputy, William Scarlett, were to handle the English distribution of this book, which was priced at 3*s*. below Ponsonby's official 1598 edition (STC 22541).[273]

The Economics of Printing: Contacts with England

In Scotland, the English ambassador, Robert Bowes, 'kept a close watch on Waldegrave's activi-

---

271. Leland H. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate, Gentleman* (San Marino, 1981), pp. 89–91.

272. Arber, ii, 38; Ferguson, 'Edinburgh Printers and Stationers', pp. 154–5.

273. Ponsonby brought suit against them in Nov. 1599 and collected damages. *See* H. R. Plomer, 'The Edinburgh Edition of Sidney's "Arcadia" ', *Library*, i (1900), pp. 195–205; C. B. Judge, *Elizabethan Book-Pirates* (1934), pp. 100–1; W. A. Ringler (ed.), *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1962), p. 536. For Waldegrave's previous connection with the Cambridge printers Thomas Thomas and John Legate, *see* John Morris, 'Thomas Thomas, Printer to the University of Cambridge: 1583–8', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv (1964–8), pp. 339–62.

ties',[274] complaining first about the publication of *Reformation no enemie* and later requesting that 'Walgrave might be prohibited to exercise his science here [in Scotland] so appearantlie against the State of England'.[275] Waldegrave's value as a printer, however, was too great for the Scots to ignore: throughout the years 1592–4, they made a 'concerted effort' to obtain a pardon for him, including a number of appeals made to Elizabeth I.[276]

Around this time, Waldegrave apparently gave a bond for his good behaviour, undertaking not to 'imprint any thing without the allowance and warrant of the King'.[277] Unfortunately, a number of controversial publications had already stained Waldegrave's hand, including John Penry's *A treatise* (No. **206**; STC 19612) and John Davidson's *Dr. Bancroft's rashness* (No. **200**; STC 6322).

By this point, all of Waldegrave's publications were coming under the scrutiny of the Scottish authorities. In a 1595 book, *An answere*, Matthew Sutcliffe states that he had 'seen a little pamphlet' entitled *Martin's interim*, written by Job Throkmorton: although the work was originally to be printed by Waldegrave in Edinburgh, due to considerable pressure on James VI not to print such Protestant tracts, the project had to be abandoned.[278]

The publication in 1594 of Andrew Melville's *Principis Scoti-Britannorum* (No. **243**; STC 17807) – describing James VI as 'King of all Britain in possession' – further eroded Waldegrave's bad reputation. Bowes angrily denounced the book, charging Waldegrave with 'undutifulness in printing or publishing matter prejudicial to her Majestie'. Waldegrave, however, smoothly defended his actions, insisting that he was ignorant of Latin.[279]

Waldegrave's reputation as a militant Protestant culminated in an accusation made on 2 February 1596–7 that he made 'treasonabill' alterations in the publication of a 1592 Act of Parliament. Although Waldegrave denied the charge, avowing that 'he nevir offendit his Maiestie in thocht, word, or deid', he was nevertheless convicted on 4 February. Shortly afterwards, on 21 February, Waldegrave's 'forged' Act of Parliament was found circulating in Scotland. John Howatsoun was convicted of commissioning and distributing about forty or fifty copies 'amang our souerane lordis lieges'.[280]

Scottish Printing Licences (1590–1604)

The Scottish defence of Waldegrave's subversive printing activities goes to show how desperately the country required a competent printer, particularly to undertake publications for the Crown. To this end, Waldegrave not only received permission from 'the Lordis of the secreit counsell' on 13 March 1590 to print *The confession of faith* (No **209**; STC 22023), but also was appointed Crown printer

274. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, p. 175.

275. For Bowes's correspondence relating to Waldegrave, *see CSP*, x. 280–1, 292, 294, 361–4, 420–1, 435, 702; xi. 53, 114, 420, 430–1, 487, 502. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, p. 369, n.

276. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, pp. 89–91.

277. For Waldegrave's seeking a pardon, *see SP* 52/46/item 22, fol. 347; 52/46/no. 64, fols. 487–92; 52/48/item 52/20 [June. 1592]; 52/54/27 [Aug., 3 Dec. 1594]; Cotton MSS., Titus, Bvi, fol. 154 (old fol. 148). Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, p. 369, n.

278. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, p. 175; Arber, *Introductory sketch*, p. 180.

279. Despite Bowes's acceptance of Waldegrave's apology – acknowledging that the printer 'seems very sorrowful for his fault' – Elizabeth I continued to deny him a pardon. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate*, p. 91.

280. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 400–3; Pitaicrn, *Criminal Trials*, ii, p. 2.

on 9 October 1590 'for all the dayis of his lyiftyme', authorizing him to print the Scottish Acts of Parliament.[281]

Far from appointing a single printer with exclusive privileges, however, the Crown seems to have appointed an unlimited number. Three weeks after Waldegrave's privileges were granted, Zachary Pont was named 'the office of chief printer within this realm'.[282] Further complications were introduced by the bookseller John Gibson, who purchased the licence previously granted to Alexander Arbuthnet, authorizing him to print 'the Bible in our vulgar tongue, with the Psalm book, the double and single Catechise, with the prognostications'.[283] Gibson was additionally granted a licence on 13 May 1590 to print a number of good-selling books, including the Dunbar *Rudiments*, the works of Sir David Lindsay, the *Seven seages*, and the 'Colloquies of Corderius'. By July 1599, Gibson had received yet another licence, authorizing him to print 'baith the Psalmes in verse as lykwayis the samyn in prose'.[284] Robert Smyth also received a licence, granted on 3 December 1599, for the double and single catechisms and the psalm book.[285]

Before any of these licences had expired, the Crown issued a new licence to Robert Charteris, nominating him in the same manner as Waldegrave as 'printer to our sovereign Lord, with power to him, and none others to print all Acts of Parliament, other acts, statutes, proclamations, letters, and charges concerning his Majesty and his estate'.[286] Waldegrave's 'exclusive' privileges were apparently in force at least until March 1604.[287]

The Supply of Scottish Typographic Materials (1590–1600)

The relationship between these Scottish printers was further complicated by a scarcity of typographic equipment. Henry Charteris, having acquired the printing equipment of John Ross in 1581, had his own supply of types and printers' ornaments which he continued to use until his death in 1599. In its early stages, Charteris's own printing programme was unambitious: the publications initially issued from his press were made as cheaply as possible with a minimum of investment. His editions of James VI's *Ane fruitfull meditatioun* (No. **193**; STC 14376) and *Ane meditatioun* (STC 14380), for example, use only one initial between them [**A16**], an unusually sparse decorative arrangement given that these books were commissioned from the Crown.

Charteris issued no publications while Vautrollier was active in Scotland from 1584–5; nor did he start printing again until after Vautrollier's death in 1588. As Vautrollier continued, even in London, to issue books specifically tailored to the Scottish market, such as the 1587 edition of the *Psalms of David* (STC 16583), he undoubtedly continued to have considerable business connections

---

281. Lee, *Memorial*, App. VIII; *RSS*, lxi. 58 [9 Oct. 1590].

282. Ibid., p. 47 [28 Oct. 1590].

283. Ibid., pp. 48–9. George Young obtained Alexander Arbuthnet's licence on 20 Sept. 1585, transferring it to Gilbert Masterton in 1587. Masterton subsequently sold the licence on 20 June 1589 to Gibson, whose right subsisted until 1606, when they were purchased by Thomas Finlason.

284. Ibid., p. 49, App. XII; *RSS*, lxxi [31 July 1599].

285. Ibid., App. XIII; *RSS*, lxxi. 86 [3 December 1599].

286. Ibid., p. 55; App. XIV; *RSS*, lxxiv. 143 [8 December 1603].

287. Ibid. p. 53. Although Waldegrave's licence was for life, it appears afterwards to have been extended to his heirs. Waldegrave's widow, along with the consent of his children, disposed of the licence after his death in 1604.

with Charteris, who normally distributed such books in Scotland.

Henry Charteris only expanded the printing side of his business around 1595, when he had a device cut [**8**] for the publication of the Psalms of David (No. **242**; STC 16584.5 ff.).

Instead, in order to supply his successful bookselling business, Charteris mostly relied on the assistance of other printers. His connections with Robert Waldegrave, for example, were far closer than has previously been realized, a fact which may account for the use of tailpiece **3**, in the hands of both Charteris and Waldegrave between 1595–7. Indeed, the unseen hand of Charteris may well be behind a number of Waldegrave's books, most notably including the 1595 edition of Buchanan's *De prosodia libellus* (No. **251**; STC 3979.5), a publication of some complexity necessitating the work of experienced compositors. An examination of type has also shown Waldegrave's role in printing the prefatory matter of David Lindsay's *Works* (No. **222**; STC 15663), a book having the imprint of Henry Charteris.

Charteris's sponsorship of Waldegrave started in 1589–90, when the English printer first moved to Edinburgh. Probably seeking to wind down his own printing business, Charteris sold a number of printers' ornaments to Waldegrave, including alphabets **11**, **16**, and devices **6** and **10**, and tailpiece **3**. In addition to these, Waldegrave acquired a second stock of ornaments in 1597, possibly also from Henry Charteris, including alphabets **3**, **11**, **12**, factotum **1**, tailpieces **4**, **5**, **12**, **15**, Coat of Arms **5**, **6**, and device **7**. Apart from Waldegrave, Charteris sponsored the printing business of a rival bookseller, Robert Smyth. Smyth's editions of John Rolland's *Seven seages* (No. **259**; STC 21255) and the *Psalms of David* (No. **303**; STC 16586) both use type and woodcut initials (**O21**, **S21**) belonging to Charteris. Charteris commissioned such books, no doubt, with an eye to replenishing his own stock, although Smyth himself stocked copies of the books he printed, according to his inventory.

Robert Charteris took over his father's printing and bookselling businesses upon his death in 1599, again using the same types and ornaments to produce rather undistinguished volumes that were retailed through the bookselling side of his business. Although Robert Charteris's printing business would start expanding in 1603, following the departure of his chief competitor Robert Waldegrave to England, a number of rival printers having considerable capital reserves were also becoming established in Scotland, the most notable of which were Andro Hart and Thomas Finlason.

Robert Waldegrave was by far the most successful of all these competing printers, a position owing as much to his large supply of type, the matrices of which had been brought from London, as to his technical expertise. Although his early association with the bookseller John Norton may have initially helped Waldegrave's business, it was really his later connection with Henry Charteris, then catering to an ever-expanding market for educational text-books, which shot him to pre-eminence. The growing market for such books, originally a creation of the Protestant educational reforms of the 1570s, now deserves to be considered in some detail.

Scottish Latin Grammars

In 1593, an entry in the Register of the Privy Council makes it clear that there was renewed pressure

to complete the 'commoun grammar' of Scotland. This pressure came from the bookseller Henry Charteris, whose successful marketing of grammars during the 1580s had made him a rich man. As a key distributor of such books in Scotland, Charteris was set to make an even greater profit from a completed 'Scottis' grammar, which would be required reading for every school. Charteris's role in this affair is made clear from the July 1593 letters sent to the ministry and presbytery of Edinburgh, 'requesting of thame to tak ordours for making and compleitting of the first and secund parttis of grammar with expeditoun, and gevis full powar and commissioun to Henry Charteris, merchant, berges of Edinburgh, to insist thairupon'.[288]

As the Privy Council had no realistic prospect of completing the grammar without the help of Buchanan or Simson – both of whom by this time had died – there was no alternative but to adopt an existing grammar 'to serve to thair contentment, quhairunto they could bind thameselffis and their colligis'.[289] The most marketable of these was Andrew Simson's section of the 'commoun grammar', also known as the 'Dunbar rudiments', copies of which had been circulating in Scotland for some time. Henry Charteris had already commissioned editions in 1580 and (probably) 1587 from the printing presses of John Ross and Christopher Plantin, and his editions were evidently stocked not only by John Ross and Robert Gourlaw, but also by Robert Smyth, whose 1602 inventory lists 538 copies of the 'secund rudiments of Dunbar'. Despite the extraordinary popularity of the work, however, not a single sixteenth century copy is extant, a situation indicating the ephemerality of such textbooks. In its role as a companion to the established grammar of Despautère, Simson's *Rudiments* (or versions derived from it) would hold sway until the arrival of Ruddiman's grammar in the eighteenth century.[290]

The decision in 1593 to abandon plans for a national grammar must have been a bitter blow to Henry Charteris, whose profits in distributing such a book would have been immense. There was, however, still some profit to be made from the original plan, which Charteris quickly seized upon. Shortly afterwards, probably in 1594, he evidently decided to commission an edition of the incomplete third part of the national grammar, George Buchanan's *De prosodia libellus* (No. **251**; STC 3979.5), from the press of Robert Waldegrave. Charteris's hand in the publication of this work can be detected from the use of initial **I16**, originally part of an alphabet belonging to him. (Although Waldegrave retained most of this alphabet after printing the book, Charteris continued to use initials **A16** and **O16**.) Given Buchanan's reputation, the book – even in its short, fragmentary state – was an undoubted success, becoming a highly regarded account of prosody. Unlike the unpopular Carmichael grammar, however, 'Buquhannanis Prosodia' – together with Despautère's 'Select rules' – became required reading in Edinburgh schools by 1598. As a measure of its success, the work was included as an appendix to innumerable editions of Despautère's grammar, printed during the seventeenth century.

By now, Henry Charteris had clearly established a huge market in Scotland for simplified Latin

---

288. Upton, 'Studies in Scottish Latin', p. 100.
289. *RPC*, v. 111.
290. J. Grant, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland* (London and Glasgow, 1876), pp. 359–60.

grammars, which were being used in schools as 'companion' volumes to the more complex grammar of Despautère. This lesson was not lost on Robert Waldegrave, who shortly afterwards undertook the publication of the Latin grammar of Andrew Duncan (No. **255**; STC 7351), an enterprising schoolmaster from Dundee, who – along with his sponsor John Echlin – regarded Despautère's Latin grammar to be a bewildering 'vast and fearful ocean'. Even though Duncan stripped his own grammar of the complex glosses and mnemonics which characterized the Latin grammar of Despautère, he nevertheless included an appendix which provided a much fuller account of Latin vocabulary. (As a rule, Duncan did not believe that 'at the rudiments stage schoolboys should be weighed down with a farrago of words'.)[291] Duncan also produced a simple introduction to his grammar, the *Rudimenta pietatis* (No. **256**; STC 7352), which was commonly reprinted.

In addition to these simple grammatical texts, Waldegrave also issued a 1597 edition of Duncan's *Studiorum puerilium* (No. **275**; STC 7353), a brief summary of the three parts of Latin grammar (including a section on syntax, which was later anonymously incorporated into Simson's Latin grammar).[292] The vocabulary in all these grammars was highly anglicized, a fact which – given his English origins – might explain Waldegrave's role in printing such books. Capitalizing on this market, Waldegrave also issued a 1596 edition of John Stanbridge's *Vocabula* (No. **274**; STC 23189), which – like the grammars of Duncan – was both totally anglicized and intended to be used at an introductory level (consisting as it did of exercises for declension and syntax taken mainly from the *Sayings of the Sages* and Cato's *Distichs*).

The most significant figure to produce a Scottish grammar, however, was Alexander Hume, who began to work on his *Grammaticae nova* (1612) shortly after he succeeded Hercules Rollock as head of the Edinburgh High School in 1596. There can be little doubt that Hume was at least partly responsible for a renewed interest in the concept of a national grammar, as expressed in the 1597 Act of Parliament.[293] Such interest was later confirmed in a 1607 Act of Parliament, nominating a 'commissionn anent grammar and teacheris thairof'.[294]

Published in 1612, Hume's *Grammaticae nova* represented a radical reworking of Peter Ramus, a logician whose fashionable theories Andrew Melville, among others, had championed.[295] Although, like Ramus, Hume sought to ruthlessly simplify rhetoric, the ultra-conservative educational climate in Edinburgh compelled him to follow the more complicated methodology of Despautère.[296] For

---

291. Durkan, 'Education', p. 143.

292. Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 129f.

293. *APS*, iv. 157; Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 138.

294. *APS*, iv. 374.

295. Ramus enjoyed a far greater following in Scotland than in England, having spread through the influence of the Regent, the Earl of Moray, who previously had been his pupil. The English language translation in 1574 of Roland MacIlmaine [Makylmenaeum], printed in London by Thomas Vautrollier (STC 15241.7), ensured the rapidly spreading influence of Ramus. O. Funke, in his edition of 'Grammatica Anglicana von P. Gr[eaves]' (STC 12208), claims that George Buchanan was the first to introduce Ramistic doctrine into St. Andrews. Buchanan's pupil, Andrew Melville, made Ramus's work known at Glasgow, at about the time it was beginning to penetrate into Cambridge. *See* W. S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England: 1500–1700* (Princeton, 1956), p. 187, which however discounts the role that Melville and Buchanan played in the spread of Ramism in Scotland. *See* also Padley, *Grammatical Theory*, p. 94; Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*; 'Grammatica Anglicana von P. [Greaves] (1594), *Wiener Beiträge*, lx (1938).

296. Padley, *Grammatical Theory*, p. 112; Durkan, 'Education', p. 140.

all that, Hume's work nevertheless represented a new direction in Latin grammars, one in which the rhetorical role of logic, addressed in Ramus, was effectively replaced by a metaphysical and theological view of language. This striking achievement – too often neglected – and its place in the Scottish tradition merits further consideration.[297]

Unfortunately, the obscurity of Hume's grammar, combined with a certain political animosity, ensured its unprofitability: the *Grammatica nova* was never reprinted, and the revisions made in 1633 remain only in manuscript form.[298] With this, the great Scottish tradition begun by Buchanan and carried on in the work of Andrew Duncan, came to an end. Other Scottish grammarians, including Robert Williamson and David Wedderburn, now followed the more conservative (and marketable) line of Andrew Simson; being principally a companion volume to the more complex grammar of Despautère.

Commissions from the Crown

Waldegrave's commission to print the *Poeticall exercises at vacant houres* (No. **217**; STC 14379) of James VI was made shortly after his appointment as Crown printer. This book, probably issued in May 1591, is probably the first in which Waldegrave's official designation as King's printer is used on the title-page.[299] Waldegrave's edition, however, may not have been the first to be printed. A 1589 entry in the Stationers' Register records permission granted for the press of the London printer Richard Field.[300] The lack of skilled workmen operating in Scotland before the arrival of Waldegrave must have forced the Crown to look to London for a printer; the choice of Richard Field in this context is understandable, given his previous association with Thomas Vautrollier.

Waldegrave's edition was expected to achieve good sales on the London market: the printer, himself, reserved at least thirty copies for the bookselling business of William Norton, who subsequently attempted to smuggle them into London. Unfortunately, on 17 June 1591 the Stationers' Company confiscated this shipment, which also included copies of five other books issued from the press of Waldegrave.[301]

There is evidence that Waldegrave also intended to sell his 1597 edition of James VI's *Daemonology* (No. **281**; STC 14364) to the London market: the spelling of the text is considerably anglicized from James VI's original MS. This anglicization, undoubtedly made with the knowledge and permission of James VI, prompted Dr. James Cragie to suggest that James VI himself kept the London sale of the book in mind.[302]

Waldegrave's third royal commission, the *Basilicon doron* (No. **302**; STC 14348), is an altogether

---

297. For Hume, *see* Padley, *Grammatical Theory*, pp. 111–7. Other seventeenth century Scottish grammatical texts include Caspar Schoppe's *Grammatica philosophica* of 1628 and Thomas Hayne's *Grammatices Latinae* compendium of 1640 (STC 12978).

298. Hume's *Of the orthographie and congruite of the Britan tongue*, written *c.* 1617, was unavailable in printed form until H. B. Wheatley's edition of 1865.

299. *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, ed. James Cragie, 2 vols, STS 3rd ser., 22 (Edinburgh and London, 1955), i, xlv, lxix; *RSS*, lxi. 58; Dickson and Edmond, p. 400.

300. Arber, ii. 527. No copy of Field's 1589 edition of *Poeticall exercises* is known.

301. Ibid., xlv; Arber, ii. 38.

302. *Minor Prose Works of King James Vi & I*, ed. James Cragie, STS 4th ser., 14 (Edinburgh, 1982), p. xiii.

much more lavish affair, consisting of only 'seauen' special copies, of which only two survive.[303] The title-page of the book, replete with ornaments, recalls that of Waldegrave's earlier edition of James's *Poeticall exercises*, although the most stunning aspect of this book is Waldegrave's unusual use of a Double Pica Italic type (**IT1**) for the text.

These three royal commissions, all issued from the press of Waldegrave, reflect a degree of patronage unknown since the heady days of James V. Nowhere is this more evident than in the ambitious architectural programme of the period, emphasizing structures of 'strong classicizing tendencies'.[304] Among the most impressive of these is the entrance porch to the Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle (1594), complete with paired Tuscan-styled columns. The neo-classical legacy of such commissions lingered on far after James VI's departure for England in 1603, perhaps culminating in the stunning seventeenth century achievements of William Wallace, who was probably behind the remodelling of the North Range at Linlithgow (1617–20), and the more restrained work of his successor, William Ayton (Aiton), who took over the building of Heriot's Hospital (*c.* 1628–39; 1642–50) in Edinburgh.

The Decline of the Scottish Vernacular Literary Tradition

The intention of James VI to single-handedly create a new vernacular literature through the 'Castilian band' of poets at court similarly reflects his growing ambitions to impose a Scottish royal dynasty on a par with those of Europe. The intellectual rationalization behind such ambitions is articulated in James's own books, the *Basilikon doron* (No. **195**; STC 14348) and his *True lawe of free monarchies* (No. **293**; STC 14409), both used to justify the cult of royal authority, as well as his earlier work, the *Essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**; STC 14373), which overtly encouraged the use of vernacular Scots in poetic discourse. James's patronage resulted in a number of interesting translations, including William Fowlar's translation of Petrarch and Robert Hudson's translation of du Bartas; although by the 1590s, the court 'poesy' had become increasingly waterlogged under the influence of the English.[305]

By this time, the availability of English books, including Bibles, service-books, and metrical psalters, had effectively spelled out the end of the Scottish Lowlands vernacular, which now had been delegated to 'a type of folk dialect not required for formal use'.[306] Although a market existed for a certain tradition of Scottish vernacular verse, including editions of Lindsay's *Works* and Blind Harry's *Wallace*, Scottish scholars, such as Andrew Melville, continued to view Latin as the dominant textual medium. This is hardly surprising, given the emphasis that Scottish education, in the hands of the Protestants, had placed on cultivating a proficient Latin style. Indeed, as Latin had become the *lingua franca* of the professional classes, such as doctors and lawyers, its pre-eminence among

---

303. James VI dispersed the seven copies of the book 'among some of my trustiest servants to be kept closely by them'. James Sempill of Beltrees, one of the courtiers, showed his copy to Andrew Melville, who in turn informed his nephew, James Melville. John Dykes, a colleague of James Melville, then reported the contents of the book to the provincial synod of Fife. T. McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, ii. pp. 161, 488–90. James VI accompanied the 1603 edition of this book with an apologetical preface.

304. Kemp and Farrow, 'Humanism in the Visual Arts', p. 143.

305. Helena Shire, *Song, Dance, and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 44–69.

306. Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V to James VII* (Edinburgh and London, 1965), pp. 258–9.

Scottish intellectual circles had strengthened.

In this context, James VI's endeavours to create a vernacular literary tradition, linked to the European renaissance, were set to flounder, particularly as Latin versification was now such a common feature of Scottish schools.[307] The failure of historians to grasp this connection is epitomized in the recent work of M. L. Clarke, whose claims that 'verse-composition had probably never flourished in Scottish schools' are completely without foundation.[308] The as-yet unpublished St. Leonard's College Orator's Book, on the contrary, explicitly shows the extent to which versification had been incorporated into the Scottish school curriculum.[309]

The effect this introduction had on the production of literary forms in Scotland was pivotal, leading as it did to the predominance of Latin occasional verse in the first years of the seventeenth century. Although often overlooked, such verse was remarkably sophisticated, being the product of an enthusiastic body of students and schoolmasters. The market for publications of these occasional verses was well defined, if the notable success of Andrew Melville's *Στεφανισκιον* (No. **204**; STC 17809) and his *Principis Scoti-Britannorum annorum natalia* (No. **243**; STC 17807), written for the birth of Prince Henry, are any indication. Another significant Latin anthology was George Robertson's *Vitae and mortis Roberti Rollici Scoti narratio* (No. **309**; STC 21101), published by Henry Charteris in 1599, which contained a number of poetic tributes in Latin, including two epigrams by David Hume.

The departure of James VI for England in 1603, however, abruptly ended his plans to create a tradition of courtly Scots literature. The 'Castilian band', which the king himself had cultivated, was dispersed and most of the vernacular writers, reliant on the patronage of the Crown for their livelihood, followed the procession to England, where they hoped to remain part of the Royal entourage. The involvement of these Scottish writers in the remarkable development of Jacobean literary culture in England is a subject which has yet to be properly addressed.

The economic consequences following the union of the Crowns similarly effected the business arrangements of the printers working in Scotland. Robert Waldegrave, perhaps believing himself to be a candidate for Crown printer, departed for England in 1603, bringing with him a number of printing ornaments.[310] Waldegrave's wife, however, remained in Edinburgh, and upon Waldegrave's death in 1604 sold his printing licences to Thomas Finlason, who also acquired some of Waldegrave's printing ornaments. The booksellers Robert Charteris and Andrew Hart both continued as printers, each specializing in titles they could sell through their bookselling businesses.

Although delivering the 'fatal blow' to Scottish literature, the mass exodus of courtiers actually had little effect on the production of Latin verse, which continued to flourish throughout the entire

---

307. Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 184.

308. M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain: 1500–1900* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 139. For versification being a common feature in Scottish schools *see* James Grant, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland* (London and Glasgow, 1876), pp. 337–8; Upton, 'Scottish Latin', p. 189.

309. Information from Ms. Fiona Tait, Department of Archives, Birmingham Central Reference Library.

310. W. A. Jackson, 'Robert Waldegrave and the Books he Printed or Published in 1603', *Library*, 5th ser., xiii (1958), pp. 225–33.

country. In part, this is because versification was regarded as a voluntary activity, not tied to the patronage of the Crown. The relationship between the production of such verse and the Scottish school curriculum was an intimate one, ultimately leading to the involvement of Scottish schoolmasters, on an amateur level, in producing celebratory verse for the Royal visits of 1617 and 1633.

Conclusion

The evolution of Latin as a poetic medium during the seventeenth century in many ways stems from the availability and distribution of printed grammatical textbooks, as discussed above in this study. The failure of the Protestant government to impose a single grammar at a national level raises some interesting political issues which deserve fuller consideration. Clearly, the wide diversity of Latin grammars, easily avilable in Scotland, invited the development of regional differences in the instruction of Latin, which, once established, resisted the idea of central control, as advocated in the Protestant *Book of Discipline*.

The regional orientation of most Scottish Latin verse, unlike anything else occurring in Europe, derived from these different practices of Latin instruction. The result was anything but homogeneous, with towns such as Aberdeen drawing upon local literary traditions in Latin verse. In many cases, such as the Royal visits of 1617 and 1633, regional variations in Latin verse were even used to promote the images of different towns.

From a more political perspective, James Carmichael, in the preface to his 1587 grammar, was the first to point out the association between printed Latin grammars and the rise of Scottish nationalism. In his stirring address to James VI, Carmichael made much of the bond between grammarian and monarch: his point was certainly not lost on the Protestants, who continued to press for the imposition of a national grammar well into the seventeenth century. Ironically, perhaps, it was the very lack of a unified grammar which initiated the intense nationalism characteristic of Scottish Latin verse. Anthologies such as the *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum* (compiled and funded by John Scot of Scotstarvit), with their refreshing, if quirky, range of regional Latin verse, deserve to be understood in the larger context of print culture.[311] Certainly, a greater awareness of the Scottish book trade and its sixteenth century developments, as outlined in this thesis, is at the very least a necessary prerequisite to our own comprehension of Scottish literary culture.

311. For the Scotstarvit anthology, *see* Upton, 'Scottish Latin', Chapter 1.

Scottish Printing Types and Ornaments

Introduction

The most complete assessment of early Scottish type can be found in the pages of A. F. Johnson's 'Type-Designs and Type-Founding in Scotland', a short piece written for the *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, using as its principal source the findings of Colonel Frank Isaac in *English and Scottish Printing Types*.[1] Johnson's piece inevitably reflects his own interests in tracing the distribution of English and Continental types throughout the sixteenth century, a task which would occupy most of his working life. His conclusion, however, that 'Scottish printers obtained their types, with few exceptions, from London and not directly from the Low Countries' (p. 255) deserves more sustained consideration, particularly in light of James Watson's early Scottish printing manual, *A History of the Art of Printing* (1713), which suggests that the majority of early Scottish types came from the Low Countries.[2] Indeed, the evidence as systematically collected for this thesis indicates not only that the system of supplying early typographic materials in Scotland was far more complex than hitherto suspected, but also that an analysis of such material provides new evidence which is highly relevant to our own understanding of the development of the sixteenth-century Scottish book-trade.

French Type and Ornaments in Early Scottish Books

From the very beginning, Scottish printers had great difficulty in maintaining an adequate supply of printing type and ornaments, a situation which would play a significant part in the continuing depression of the entire industry. Scotland's dependency on France as a supplier of early typographic materials was at the root of the problem: with no adequate provision for type-casting facilities, Scottish printers had to look abroad for the supply of their type. The first Scottish tracts, completed in 1508, were set in an English-bodied French Textura [**T6**], probably purchased from the Rouen printer Pierre Violette. The Aberdeen Breviary, printed in 1509–10 also used French type, including a Great Primer Textura [**T2**] and a Brevier Textura [**T9**]. Although types of these designs, modelled after the *Textura rotunda* book-hand, were widely used throughout France, the small scale of their manufacture and distribution ensured that supplies, especially to Scotland, were strictly limited. Apart from causing great difficulties in printing ambitious books, such as the Aberdeen Breviary, this supply problem severely restricted the output of early Scottish printers.

The supply of type in Scotland, however, was to change dramatically with the introduction of a new French design based on the *Textura quadrata* script, a geometrically-based hand made up of sharp angles and diamond shapes. Although still very French in appearance, this new design admitted influences from Germany and, particularly, the Low Countries, in which such angular

---

1. A. F. Johnson, 'Type-Designs and Type-Founding in Scotland', *EBST*, ii (1938–45), pp. 253–72; reprinted in Johnson, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing*, ed. Percy H. Muir (Amsterdam, 1970), 317–26.

2. Johnson's conclusions about the English origin of most Scottish types probably stems from his reliance on the work of Colonel Frank Isaac. Mr. Harry Carter in his preface to Vervliet's *Printing Types* (p. vii), for example, points out that 'Isaac identified the types by their owners and their measurements, but he seldom investigated their careers in other countries or tried to find out who cut them; therefore generally speaking he left it open to his readers to suppose that they were British'.

forms predominated. The startling new appearance of this type, which for all its formality proved easy and pleasant to read, ensured its rapid succession to the more informal and quixotic *Textura rotunda* design.

Unlike previous designs, the new *Textura quadrata* type was cut in a wide variety of sizes which, from a technical point of view, also required an unprecedented range of punches. Clearly, the capital required to produce such punches induced a much more systematic arrangement of international distribution.[3] The fashion for this type was at its height when Thomas Davidson bought his supply around 1525, consisting of a 2-line Great Primer Textura [**T1***a*], an English-bodied French Textura [**T4***a*], and a Small Pica Textura [**T8***a*], all to be used for the most ceremonious of publications, including a *c.* 1525 edition of *Ad serenissimum* (No. **16**; STC 14435), written on occasion of King James V's assumption to power.

The appearance of this type design in early Scottish books is so common that it may with some justification be called the Scottish vernacular idiom. After the death of James V in 1542, when Davidson stopped printing, John Scot acquired Davidson's original types in a worn and battered state, using them continuously until his death or close of business in 1571. Davidson's types finally ended up in the hands of Thomas Bassandyne, who used them infrequently during the first few years of his printing business.

The success of the *Textura quadrata* design, however, far outlived Davidson's original shipment of French type. Exceptionally accurate Dutch or Flemish copies, readily available to English printers, found their way into the hands of Robert Lekpreuik, a Protestant printer active after the Reformation parliament of 1560. Another imitation, somewhat less accurate, was sold to John Ross during the 1570s, and was subsequently used as the 'house' type for Henry Charteris, who acquired Ross's original types after his death in 1580.[4]

The Introduction of Roman and Italic Type

Although Davidson is predominantly known for his use of the fashionable *Textura quadrata* type, he was also the first printer in Scotland to own Roman and Italic types, obtaining his supplies from the continent. Davidson owned two English Romans [**R15** & **R17**], both of which were imitations of the Jenson-style types then being used on the continent, as well as a single Pica Italic [**IT4**], modelled on the humanistic cursive hand.

In their earliest forms, the design of these types can be credited to Aldus Manutius, a Venetian printer at the close of the fifteenth century whose adoption of the formal Roman and informal Italic scripts paralleled the spread of the 'New Learning' from Italy to the rest of the continent. Davidson's use of such types at an early date indicates a considerable awareness of the trend towards a humanistic typographic style, then finding form on the continent. Particularly noteworthy is Davidson's arrangement of the title-page of *Ad serenissimum*, printed *c.* 1525, in which the centred

---

3. Carter, *View*, pp. 65–6.

4. Ross's English-bodied Textura [T5 *b*] differed significantly from the French original, particularly in the design of the letter S, which shows a definite Dutch influence.

Roman type is enclosed within a neo-classic border [title-page border **1**]. Davidson continued to use his Roman type in vernacular works, such as Hector Boece's *Chronicles* (No. **18**; STC 3203), in which the synopses set in Roman provide a welcome contrast to the text set in *Textura quadrata*.

Davidson's Roman and Italic type eventually passed into the hands of John Scot, who also added a number of his own large Roman Capital initial letters [**R1**, **R2**, **R7**], all probably bought from France. The very crudity of these letters, at a time when the rest of Europe was producing more refined designs, points to the severe difficulties of supply and undercapitalization which would continue to dog the printing business of Scot.

As a vernacular idiom, however, the introduction of Roman type into Scotland had to await the arrival of the Protestant printer Robert Lekpreuik, active some thirty-five years after Davidson had first introduced his Roman and Italic types. Although Lekpreuik originally equipped his shop with Dutch or Flemish copies of type modelled on Davidson's *Textura quadrata* [**T1***b*, **T4***b*, **T8***b*], a move which undoubtedly reflects the conservatism of Scottish typographical tastes, his wholesale adoption of Roman type reflects the realities of working for a Protestant government: the production of the 1556 Geneva New Testament and the 1550 Bible, both set in Roman type, had a decisive role in converting both England and Scotland to the Roman letter.

Robert Lekpreuik, who was to acquire his Roman types from France, followed in the tradition set by Estienne and other French Calvinists, using that idiom for the publication of Protestant works, including most notably his 1564 edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order. Lekpreuik's Roman types, almost certainly French in origin, were very distinctive, including three sets of Roman Capitals [**R4***c*, **R9b**, **R12***b*], a Pica Roman [**R22**], and a Long Primer Roman [**R26**]. The details behind Lekpreuik's acquisitions, however, are unclear, perhaps involving the intriguing figure of Alexander Clerk, a Scottish Calvinist living in France who was to become Lekpreuik's patron.

The Supply of Printers' Ornaments

Scottish printers also found it difficult to maintain a regular supply of printers' ornaments, which – like type – had to be shipped from abroad at great expense. Thomas Davidson obtained the majority of his ornament stock from the Low Countries, including three woodcuts [**13**, **14 16**], previously belonging to the Antwerp printer van Doesborch, and various woodcut initials of French design [alphabets **28**, **15**, & **10**]. John Scot later acquired all of these ornaments, using them continuously in his business, despite their worn and battered state.

Unlike Davidson, whose printing business was virtually subsidized by the Crown, John Scot was operating from a shaky financial base, often living a hand-to-mouth existence. The insecurity of his business is reflected in the supply of his typographic materials, particularly noticeable in his use of printers' ornaments, which were clearly too expensive to purchase from abroad. A survey of Scot's woodcut alphabets suggests the real crisis of supply and undercapitalization facing Scottish printers. Out of the three alphabets originally in the possession of Davidson, Scot is known to have used only 5 out of the 24 letters in alphabet **28**, 6 out of the 16 letters in alphabet **15**, and a paltry 1 out of the 8 letters in alphabet **10**. The acuteness of this shortage eventually induced Scot to deface some

of his initial letters in a desperate attempt to increase the range of his alphabets. In alphabet **15**, for example, a crude gouge is cut at the foot of the letter O in an attempt to turn it into a letter Q, and in alphabet **10** a similar gauge is cut across the diagonal of the letter M in order to turn it into the letter N.

Unlike type, which could be cast in large multiples from individual matrices, printers' ornaments were, at this early date, all cut in wood, a more labour-intensive and expensive method of production. There is, furthermore, no clear evidence that any wood engravers were active in Scotland at this early date. Thomas Davidson's woodcut of the Scottish Coat of Arms [**1**] was undoubtedly commissioned from abroad, as was his large woodcut illustrating the efficacy of the Rosary as a method of prayer [woodcut **1**]. The rest of Davidson's ornaments share unmistakable stylistic similarities with those of continental origin, including his printers' device [**5**], depicting a shield hanging from a tree supported by two wild men, which has some iconographic elements.[5]

The difficulties in obtaining a regular supply of these ornaments from abroad are reflected in the stocks of Robert Lekpreuik and John Scot, both of whom also shared woodcuts, including tailpiece **6** and woodcut **21**. The entrepreneurial Scottish bookseller, Henry Charteris, was undoubtedly behind the dispersion of such ornaments, both used in Scot's edition of David Lindsay's *Works* (No. **68**; STC 15658), printed for Charteris in 1568. Charteris's hand may also be detected behind the publication of Lekpreuik's 1571 edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **106**; STC 16579.3), including a new set of ornamental intials [**16**], also imported from London, which were later used in the publications Charteris commissioned from John Ross. Without doubt, Charteris's connections with the London printer John Day ensured the increased availability of some ornaments, including the initial **I24**, although the regular supply of such material continued to be difficult, even after the Reformation Parliament of 1560 opened up trade with England.

The descent of this material and its use by different printers here indicates an unusual phenomenon, where the bookseller, and not the printer, directly controlled access to certain typographic materials. As many of Charteris's larger commissions required a more lavish presentation – with an abundant use of decorative material – he appears to have lent out certain ornamented woodcuts newly imported from England specifically for the production of such editions. Eventually, Charteris took the ultimate step of printing his own books, using the same ornaments he previously lent to printers such as Scot, Lekpreuik, and Ross.

The distribution of ornaments in this manner presupposes a certain perception among Scottish readers of a relationship between the quantity of ornamentation and the value of a book, a correlation which would become even more pronounced in the Royal commissions given to Thomas Vautrollier and Robert Waldegrave, all of which were highly decorated. Along with an increased fluency in the uses of typographic display, such as centred headings, early Scottish printers working for Charteris developed an increased awareness of the decorative idiom, starting with the almost random placement of woodcuts in the books of Scot, and extending to the remarkable title-pages of Robert Lekpreuik,

5. McKerrow 65.

particularly his edition of *Laelii Capilupi cento* (No. **45**; STC 4604), with its effective placement of the arabesque tailpiece [**1**] centred in the inverted triangle of text.

Clearly borrowing from the French decorative idiom, such Scottish printers have seldom been credited with any sense of elegance in book design. In large part, this can be attributed to the very paucity of their type and ornament stock, which severely limited the possibility for typographic display. New developments taking place on the continent, however, affecting the manufacture and design of type soon inaugurated a different era, in which increased availability of type and ornaments made possible further refinements in book design.

Type and Ornaments from the Low Countries

The bookseller and printer, Thomas Bassandyne, was the key transitional figure here, responsible for the more enlightened appearance of the Scottish printed page. Unlike Henry Charteris, who dealt principally with English suppliers, Bassandyne had strong business connections with printers and booksellers in the Low Countries, eventually purchasing his printing type and ornaments from the printing-house of Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, who was by this time supplying type of French design along the major trade routes of the world. In obtaining type from this source, Bassandyne was able to secure a much wider range of designs, many of which could be integrated, including Pierre Haultin's English Roman [**R27**], the Double Pica [**R15**] and Great Primer Romans [**R19**] of François Guyot, a fat 2-line English Titling [**R7**] of Granjon used for display, as well as a Bourgeois Roman [**R37**] of unknown provenance.[6]

The introduction of these fresh designs into the pages of Scottish books brought about a dramatic transformation, enabling Bassandyne to more effectively organize complex material on a spatial level. This is nowhere more evident than in his production of the Bible, completed by Arbuthnet in 1579 (Nos. **147**, **154**; STC 2125), which incorporates a number of different Roman scripts arranged hierarchically, including side-notes in Brevier and arguments in Bourgeois. Such complexity of design was largely unavailable to earlier printers with their severely limited typographical resources.

All of the Roman types that Bassandyne acquired from Christopher Plantin were characteristically French in design. For the display sizes, Bassandyne favoured the work of Robert Granjon [**R9**] and François Guyot [**R13**], who specialized in adapting the older French designs of Claude Garamont and Pierre Haultin to smaller bodies. The older French designs of Garamont and Haultin with their smaller x-heights were also favoured. Robert Lekpreuik probably acquired his Garamont Pica and Long Primer Romans (complete with w and k for the English-speaking market) directly from France [**R22**, **R26**]; and Thomas Vautrollier, somewhat later, acquired his Garamont English Roman [**R18**] from Reyner (Reginald) Wolfe, one of the few English printers to stock the face.

John Ross, unlike other Scottish printers, favoured types with Dutch designs, including a version

6. As Plantin played such an important role in the distribution of types, buying and selling large numbers of strikes and matrices to other printers at the twice-yearly bookfairs at Frankfurt am Main, an examination of his inventories and specimen sheets in the context of Scottish printing deserves sustained consideration. Plantin bought matrices or strikes from the best punchcutters from France and the Low Countries, including Claude Garamont, Robert Granjon, François Guyot, and Ameet Tavernier.

of Van den Keere's 2-line Pica Roman [**R6**]. Characteristically, this type is a fat-faced Roman, with thick strokes, which gives the appearance of being blacker and more condensed than the French types cut in the style of Garamont.[7] Ross also acquired Van den Keere's English Texture [**T5*b***], which is definitely Dutch in design, also from the printing-house of Christopher Plantin. The acquisition of these types in the mid-1570s certainly indicates a mind more receptive to new trends in Dutch design, which more conservatively minded printers, like Thomas Bassandyne, seldom followed. The only other early Scottish printer to use a Roman type of 'Dutch' design was Robert Waldegrave, who acquired Guyot's Pica Roman [**R23**] in 1595.

In addition to his types, Bassandyne also obtained many of his printing ornaments from the shop of Christopher Plantin, including alphabets **11**, **21**, **24**. Instead of cutting each initial in wood, however, Plantin (among other founders in the Low Countries) was by now making exact duplicates of existing woodcuts from moulds cast in fine sand, thereby providing an indefinite number of metal copies at a far cheaper price to his clients.[8] The introduction of this technique was to radically alter the appearance of the printed page in Scotland, since in mass-producing woodcuts, Plantin naturally specialized in selling initial letters which could easily be adapted to the style of any printing-house. The extent to which this affected the appearance of Scottish books can be easily gauged, as Bassandyne used only one ornament, a diamond-shaped arabesque tailpiece [**2**], compared with the six alphabets he bought from Plantin and a further alphabet acquired from Scot [**21**].[9]

The few woodcuts that Bassandyne actually commissioned, such as his devices [**4** & **12**] and the Scottish Royal Arms [**3**] were also undoubtedly purchased from the Low Countries, as was Alexander Arbuthnet's devices [**1**, **7**], bearing the initials of the Flemish artist Assuerus vol Londersel. Such special commissions were undeniably expensive, being reserved for only the most important of books, such as the 1576–9 edition of the Bible (Nos. **147**, **154**; STC 2125) and the 1571 edition of Aesop's *Fables* (No. **100**; STC 185.5), both of which carried new woodcut illustrations. In fact, the circumstances behind the publication of Aesop's *Fables* in Robert Henryson's translation are particularly edifying, since they reveal a hitherto unrealized competitive strain between Bassandyne and his rival Henry Charteris, who commissioned his own edition (No. **75**; STC 185) from the press of Robert Lekpreuik in 1570. In contrast to Charteris's earlier edition, which is crudely printed and without ornamentation, Bassandyne's later edition, printed only a year later, features two new woodcut illustrations almost certainly from the Low Countries, and is set in a striking Civilité type [**C1**], almost certainly ordered through Plantin's printing-house in Antwerp.[10]

The typographic influence of Bassandyne's press remained particularly pronounced: even after his death in 1579 his ornaments and type continued to circulate among Scottish printers until the end of the sixteenth century. Bassandyne's one-time partner, Alexander Arbuthnet, acquired a number

---

7. *See* Vervliet, *Printing Types*, p. 32.

8. Carter, *View*, p. 16 n, 97; Vervliet, *Printing Types*, pp. 30–1; Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii, pp. 63–4; Carter and Davis (ed.), *Moxon's Mechanik Exercises*, p. 371.

9. These figures exclude Bassandyne's specially commissioned woodcuts, listed below.

10. Fox, *Henryson*, pp. li–lii; Harry Carter and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Civilité Types*, Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications n.s., xiv (Oxford, 1966), p. 37; Nos. 139, 140, 326.

of his types and ornaments, using them in a 'somewhat laboured emulation of Northern European Renaissance design', until his death in 1584.[11] John Ross's use of Bassandyne's typographic material, however, was much less straight-forward. Ross acquired one of Bassandyne's old alphabets [**11**] from the hands of Alexander Arbuthnet, probably when the two collaborated on the production of the Bible in 1579. The various commissions Ross undertook for Charteris also enabled him to order three printers' devices [**6**, **6**, **10**], and two ornaments of the Royal Arms [**5**, **6**] at considerable expense.

Upon the death of Arbuthnet and Ross, all this material came into the hands of Bassandyne's rival, Henry Charteris, who by now had consolidated his reputation as the largest and most financially successful bookseller in Scotland. Charteris appears to have had an almost ambivalent attitude towards the printing side of his business, however, preferring instead to commission work from other printers. As a result, he bought in very few ornaments to supplement the stock he acquired from Arbuthnet and Ross, although rather late in the day he did order a printer's device [**8**].

The dispersal of Bassandyne's stock, now in the hands of Charteris, leads to some interesting observations about the descent of material in this period. After 1584, a number of Bassandyne's ornaments disappeared, only to be found in the hands of Robert Waldegrave in 1597. The whereabout of these ornaments before this time remains a complete mystery, although they may well have been in the hands of Charteris, along with Bassandyne's other material. In any case, Charteris gave or sold a number of Bassandyne's other printer's ornaments to Robert Waldegrave upon his arrival in Edinburgh during 1589–90, including alphabets **11** and **16**, devices **3**, **10**, tailpiece **3**, as well as alphabet **21** to Robert Smyth in 1592.

Type from London

The arrival of the Huguenot printer and bookseller Thomas Vautrollier in Edinburgh during the 1580s ushered in another era in the history of Scottish typography, in which he brought the English influence to the fore. Vautrollier's ability as a fine printer was well-known to the Scottish General Assembly, who first requested his presence in Edinburgh in 1580, and to this day Vautrollier has kept his unblemished reputation for quality work. Although he only operated in Edinburgh for two years (1584–5), Vautrollier continued to supply the Scottish booktrade from his London base, printing a 1587 edition of the Psalms of David (STC 16585) specifically for the Scottish market.

Unlike the Scottish printers operating before him, Vautrollier had purchased his own set of matrices from which he could have type cast locally. This at once freed him from the expenses involved in ordering type from abroad, while allowing him easily to recast any damaged sorts. The types Vautrollier used were all available in London: his Pica Roman [**R20**] cut by Pierre Haultin, was probably supplied by Jérôme Haultin, nephew of the punch-cutter, who worked as a type-founder in London. Some of Vautrollier's other types were probably acquired from the London printer Reginald Wolfe, including an English Roman [**R18**] of Claude Garamond, a Pica Italic [**IT3***a*] of Granjon, and a Double-Pica Roman [**R10***a*] of François Guyot, used for initials.

---

11. Kemp and Farrow, 'Humanism in the Visual Arts', p. 39; Pl. 15.

Although John Ross was the first Scottish printer to regularly use Italic type – having acquired the English and Pica Italics [**IT3*c*, IT5*c***] of Robert Granjon – it is only in the hands of the London printers working in Scotland such as Thomas Vautrollier and Robert Waldegrave that these are really seen to an advantage. Granjon's new style italics, supplanting outdated Italian designs, were distinctly Parisian in their fluent and harmonious appearance. Derived from the writing style of the *cancellersca corsiva*, which Granjon knew from writing manuals, these types had an optical effect of balance, which printers such as Plantin and Silvius favoured.[12] Not surprisingly, other punchcutters resident in Antwerp quickly took up and 'improved upon' the design innovations of Granjon, one of which was François Guyot, whose well-formed Italics were probably modelled on the writing book of the famous geographer, Gerard Mercator.[13] Robert Waldegrave owned two of Guyot's larger Italic designs [**IT1**, **IT2**], both of which had become widespread throughout northwestern Europe; almost certainly acquiring these from the London printer John Day, who first used Guyot's Great Primer Italic in 1567.[14] Punchcutters like Guyot catered specifically to foreign markets by designing Italics that could be integrated with their Roman counterparts.[15] Although producing derivative and indifferent Roman types – modelled on the French-style old face – Guyot's innovations nevertheless ensured that his types continued to be in great demand, spawning a page-style in which Roman worked together with Italic, so evident in the work of Waldegrave.

The appearance of such Roman and Italic types, intended to be used together, represents a new direction for Scottish typography, one which has its roots in the school of London printers as epitomized in the work of John Day. The realization of this style in a Scottish press, however, had its ultimate origin in the technological innovations which enabled printers to have their own type cast locally from matrices. Robert Waldegrave bought to Scotland a number of matrices, allowing him immediate access to a wide variety of type designs, all previously used by John Day. These include Guyot's 2-line Great Primer Roman Capitals [**R3**], 2-line Small Pica Roman Capitals [**R8**], Great Primer Roman Capitals [**R14**], an English Roman cut by Haultin [**R16**], a Guyot Pica Roman [**R23**], a Small Pica Roman [**R24**], and a Bourgeois Roman [**R29**]. Waldegrave additionally had a good supply of Italic type, including Guyot's Double-Pica Italic [**I1**], Granjon's Pica Italic [**It3*b***], a second Pica Italic of Granjon [**IT5*a***], and Granjon's Small Pica Italic [**IT6*a***].

Ornaments from London

A survey of Vautrollier's ornament stock, however, reveals a continuing shortage of such material in Scotland. Considering his position as Crown printer, Vautrollier used surprisingly few ornaments in his Scottish books, although his lavish production of James VI's *Essayes of a prentise* (No. **195**; STC 14348) shows just how closely he needed to tailor his decorative material to the nature of his commissions. As with type, however, new advances in the production and distribution of ornaments

---

12. Harry Carter has more recently remarked on Granjon's 'wonderful eye for evenness of inclination achieved by balancing his strokes about a given angle with the vertical'. *View*, p. 123.
13. Vervliet, *Printing Types*, pp. 72–3.
14. STC 159; Vervliet, *Printing Types*, p. 26.
15. Carter, *View*, pp. 96–7; Vervliet, *Printing Types*, pp. 26–7.

allowed printers such as Vautrollier to make maximum use of their minimal resources. Already, the new tendency to use factotums (small, decorated compartments into which different letters could be inserted) lessened the printers' dependency on the supply of ornamental initials, which could be both expensive and erratic. Vautrollier needed only two such factotums [**4**, **7**] and one ornamental initial [**A30**] to produce a variety of decorative effects for all of his Scottish books. For all that, most of Vautrollier's ornaments were shipped from his existing supplies in London, including two printers' devices [**9**, **11**].

Although the majority of Robert Waldegrave's ornament stock also came from London, his position in Scotland is somewhat more complex, involving the acquisition of Thomas Bassandyne's ornaments. Waldegrave's original supply of London ornaments, like his types, came from the printing-house of John Day, whose decorative blocks existed in a number of cast copies spread widely throughout England. The assimilation of this extensive stock with that of Bassandyne's ensured that, unlike other Scottish printers, Waldegrave never experienced difficulties of supply.

Conclusion

During his time in Scotland, Waldegrave incorporated the unprecedented range of type and ornaments available to him in the make-up of his books, consisting of extremely considered lay-outs with great attention to spatial display. Although clearly following the more recent trends of English and continental book-making, particularly as manifested in the work of John Day, such advances could not have technically reached their most definitive form without the exceptional range of type and ornaments that Waldegrave brought to Scotland. In a real sense, the complex spatial arrangement of Waldegrave's books represents a decisive shift in the reading strategies of the Scots, who by now were assimilating printed matter on a more sophisticated level. In large part, this change in Scottish reading habits can be associated with the spread of grammatical texts, which in themselves required an organized structural layout. Although Scottish printers, from Davidson onwards, attempted to frame their texts in this structured way, the very number of new types and ornaments in Waldegrave's hands ensured that he succeeded in producing a tightly organized book structure, with a heirarchy of scripts, difficult to emulate for those who were technically impoverished.

Scottish Printing Types

The following are reproductions with annotations of the sixteenth century Scottish printing types referred to in this study, arranged by typeform (Roman, Italic, Textura, etc.) and ordered within each classification by descending size. These include synopses of 37 Roman typefaces, 10 Italic typefaces, 16 Textura typefaces, 4 Greek typefaces, 6 Uncial typefaces, 2 Music typefaces, and 1 Civilité typeface, all assembled from composite photographs by the author showing the characters of a fount.

Although this list is based on an examination of nearly all the books listed in Appendix I, its provisional nature must be stressed. Most but not all of the types are covered, and there are definitely instances of mixed sorts, particularly between Alexander Arbuthnet and John Ross, which make identification difficult. Furthermore, due to shrinkage of paper, etc., measurements in different books may vary considerably.

The aim of this section is to identify the types of this period and the artists responsible for them, thereby providing evidence about their supply to printers working in Scotland. Although a number of these types were discussed in A. F. Johnson's 'Type-Designs and Type-Founding in Scotland', the more detailed survey presented here actually shows that a number of Scottish types actually originated from the Low Countries. The information discussed here has also assisted in accurately identifying or dating doubtful instances of printing, as presented in Appendix I.

The notes record the size of each type in millimetres, noting (*a*) the length of 20 lines in mm.; (*b*) the x-height in mm.; and (*c*) the height of a non-display capital in mm., preceded by a colon. In the case of display type or square scripts, such as Lombardic or Unical capitals, the latter measurement alone is given. If at all possible, the cutter of each type is specified, and in some cases the foundry or printing-house from which the type originated is identified. A brief history of the type is given, including its appearance in contemporary type specimens in the Low Countries. Features distinguishing similar versions of the same design are also discussed. Where applicable, references to reproductions in previous studies are included.

The specimens shown here were photographed and assembled by the author from books at the Bodleian Library. In some cases, not all the characters of a fount could be photographed using the limited resources at hand. I have tried, however, to include as many ligatures and special character sets as possible.

Roman Types

R1. 4-line Pica Roman Capitals (: 15).

John Scot used a 4-line Pica Roman of unknown provenance, which shares some stylistic similarities with Froben's Roman Capitals (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R12), principally in the slender, hollowed out serifs and the oblique tilt of the O.

R2. 3-line Pica Roman Capitals (: 13).

John Scot used a 3-line Pica Roman of unknown provenance. For stylistic similarities, *see* R1 above.

R3. 2-line Double-Roman Pica (280 × 5 : 9.5).

Robert Waldegrave used François Guyot's 2-line Double-Pica Roman for headings. He probably obtained the fount from John Day, who was the first to use Guyot's type in England. The type appears in the Folger Specimen (TSF, i. p. 1), among other letters also cut by Guyot (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R7), although Waldegrave had a different letter M. It was still being used in England when it appears in a specimen of an unknown English printer, *c.* 1650 (Berry and Johnson, No. 84 and Pl. 19). In the Low-Countries, however, the type was largely superseded in the 1570s by the more modern Dutch designs of Tavernier, Granjon, and Van den Keere (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R7).

R4. 2-line English Roman (280 × 4.75 : 9.5).

Thomas Vautrollier used an early version of the 2-line English Roman of Claude Garamont (R4*a*) for his initials, probably acquiring the fount from Reinold Wolfe. Evidently, Vautrollier's version was without the letter W, which was made up of two Vs. Henry Charteris also used a version of this fount (R4*b*) in his 1596 edition of an Edinburgh University Thesis (No. **265**; STC 7487.1). Robert Lekpreuik also had an early casting of this face (R4*c*), distinguished by the projecting lower serif of the E.

This design was widespread over Western Europe from about 1560 onwards (TSF, ii. 16:16). It is found in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 and the Plantin inventories, where it is ascribed to Garamont ('Early Inv.', p. 21; MA2, 3*a*). The Le Bé typefoundry also ascribes a type of this description to Garamont (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 18). Other specimens showing this type include the Berner Specimen of 1592 (TSF, i. 2) and one sent by Le Bé II to Jean Moretus, *c.* 1599 (TSF, ii. p. 14). *See* also Vervliet 'Les Canons de Garamont', in *Refugium animae Bibliotheca: Festschrift für Albert Kolb* (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 481–500.

R5. 2-line English Roman (250 × 5.2 : 8.2).

Thomas Bassandyne used a 2-line English Roman, commonly called the 'Basle titling', on the title-page of his edition of the Bible (No. **147**; STC 2125). This fount was stocked by printers in many countries, and is found in the 1742 specimen book of Claude Lamesle in Paris. A. F. Johnson has traced it to the office of Froben in Basle in 1517 ('The First Roman Titlings', *Penrose Annual*, xxxix (1937), pp. 57-9). The cutting of this fount is attributed to Peter Schöffer the younger of Mainz and Strasburg (Konrad Bauer, 'Antiqua und Antike', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1958), pp. 16–9). Bassandyne purchased the fount from Christopher Plantin, who owned the matrices of the capitals (MA 131*a*). Following Bassandyne's death, the fount passed to his former partner Alexander Arbuthnet, who also used it in his section of the Bible (No. **154**; STC 2125), and eventually to Henry Charteris, where it was used in the *Works* of David Lindsay (No. **181**; STC 15662). Charteris subsequently lent the fount to Robert Smyth in 1592 for the publication of John Rolland's *Seuin seages* (No. **259**; STC 21255). Although still extensively used in Scotland, these capitals were largely superseded on the continent by Garamont's and Granjon's display letters in 1540–50 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R12).

R6. 2-line Pica Roman Capitals (: 8.0).

John Ross used this 2-line Pica Roman, a version of van den Keere's 2-line Pica (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R13), listed in Plantin's inventory of 1572 ('Early Inv.', p. 36, ST 6*a*), and included in Plantin's Folio Specimen, *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:5) (where it appears with a lower-case by Garamont). This type also occurs in Robert Smyth's edition of the Psalms of David (No. **303**, STC 16586).

R7. 2-line Great Primer Capitals (: 7.5).

John Scot used a 2-line Pica Roman of unknown provenance. For stylistic similarities, *see* R1 above.

R8. 2-line Small Pica Roman Capitals (: 7).

Robert Waldegrave used Robert Granjon's 2-line Small Pica Titling, probably acquired from John Day.

This type is attributed to Granjon in the Plantin inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 50; LMA 13) and in the inventory of Le Bé (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 25). It appears in Plantin's *Index Characterum* (TSF, ii. 1:2) and in the 1592 Berner Specimen (TSF, i. p. 4).

R9. 2-line Double Pica Roman (190 × 3.5 : 6).

Thomas Bassandyne used the fat 2-line English Roman (Petit Canon Romain) of Robert Granjon for display, acquiring the type from Christopher Plantin. Following Bassandyne's death, the fount passed to Alexander Arbuthnet, where it was used in his 1584 edition of an Act of Parliament (No. **290**; STC 21887). Bassandyne and Arbuthnet apparently did not have the lower-case of this fount. John Ross also used the type, which he bought from Christopher Plantin. The lower-case, which was cut some years after the upper-case, is somewhat lighter in design. Following Ross's death, the type passed to Henry Charteris, who lent it to Robert Smyth in 1592 to print John Rolland's *Seuin seages* (No. **259**; STC 21255). Following Henry Charteris's death, the type passed to his son, Robert, who used it in his 1600 edition of John Ruthven's *Gowreis conspiracie* (No. **330**; STC 21465.5). Robert Lekpreuik used an early casting of this fount (R9*b*), obtaining it *c.* 1563 before the lower-case was cut. For details behind the financing of Lekpreuik's acquisition, *see* John Durkan and William Beattie, 'An Early Publication of the Latin Poems of George Buchanan in Scotland from the Press of Lekpreuik', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1983), pp. 77–80.

The fount appears in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 and in his Folio Specimen of *c.* 1560. Although the matrices of this type do not now survive at the Plantin-Moretus Museum, matrices for a 'Petit Canon Romain de Granjon' are nevertheless listed in Plantin's inventories of 1563, 1572, and 1581 ('Early Inv.', pp. 23–4). The *c.* 1598 Le Bé Inventory lists the punches and matrices for this fount (TSF, i. 4; Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 18), which is also shown in the type specimens of K. Berner, 1592, and J. Berner, 1622, where it is incorrectly ascribed to Garamont (TSF, i. pp. 2–3). It is also included in the Vatican specimen of 1628 (Vervliet, *Vatican Specimen*, 29b).

R10. Double-Pica Roman Capitals (140 × 2.7 : 5).

Thomas Vautrollier used the Double-Pica of François Guyot (R10*a*) for initials in his books, acquiring the type from Reinold Wolfe, who used it in a 1572 edition of the Book of Common Prayer. Thomas Bassandyne also used this fount (R10*b*), having acquired both upper and lower-case from Christopher Plantin. Bassandyne's version had two forms of the letter M, one without an upper right serif. After Bassandyne's death, the type passed to Alexander Arbuthnet, and finally to Henry Charteris who lent it in 1592 to Robert Smyth for use in his edition of John Rolland's *Seuin seages* (No. **259**; STC 21255). Bassandyne owned the earlier version of this fount, in which the letter M is distinguished by the upper serifs extending from both sides of each stem; Vautrollier used the later version, distinguished by a singly seriffed M, which was in circulation around 1563 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R17).

The type first appeared in Antwerp *c.* 1544 (TSF, ii. 16:18). Plantin acquired it around 1563, using it frequently until 1569, when he commissioned Granjon to cut a replacement (Arch. Plant. 3, fol. 1). It appears in his Folger Specimen *c.* 1565 and his 1567 *Index Characterum*. John Day first bought Guyot's Double-Pica to England in 1558 (F. Isaac, 'Elizabethan and Roman Types', *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv (1933–4), p. 87), where it continued to be used

until the seventeenth century (Reed, *Old English Letter Foundries*, pp. 93–5).

R11. Double-Pica Roman (140 × 2.7 : 5).

Robert Waldegrave used the Double-Pica Roman of François Guyot, acquiring it from John Day, who was among the first in England to use the type (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R17). This may also be R14, and often appears mixed with R16, for instance on the title-page of Waldegrave's 1599 edition of *Fiue hundreth points* (No. **316**, STC 24836).

The type appears in Christopher Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, ii. 16:18) and the anonymous Folger Specimen, *c.* 1565 (TSF, i. 1). The Plantin Archives record that Plantin bought an 'Assendonica' Roman of Guyot in 1563 (Arch. Plant. 3, fol. 1), which undoubtedly refers to this face. The double serifs on the vertices of the M survive in Waldegrave's early version, whereas they disappear from Antwerp printing soon after 1560 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R17).

R12. Paragon Roman (130 × 2.5 : 4).

Thomas Vautrollier used the 'Parangonne Romaine' of Garamont (R12*a*), a type characteristic of his latest period which appears in type specimens of Plantin and the Berners (TSF, i. pp. 4–5, pls. 2–3; TSF, ii. 16:20, 17:9, 12, 15, 18). Robert Lekpreuik also acquired the type (R12*b*), shortly after it first appeared in Paris *c.* 1560–1.

The type is ascribed to Garamont in the Plantin inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 23; LMA 5; pp. 62–3, MA 97) and in the Specimens of K. Berner and J. Berner; it is also listed in the Le Bé inventory, *c.* 1598.

R13. Great Primer Roman (116 × 2.3 : 3.5).

Thomas Bassandyne used this fount cut by François Guyot for display, having acquired it from Christopher Plantin. The type passed to Alexander Arbuthnet following Bassandyne's death, who used it in his section of the Bible (No. **154**; STC 2125). The old-style Roman face is French in design, and is meant to be paired with Guyot's corresponding Great Primer Italic, which Bassandyne never owned. The B has a larger lower bowl, characteristic of some Dutch types.

R14. Great Primer Roman (116 × 2.3 : 3.5).

Robert Waldegrave used this Great Primer Roman attributed to Tavernier for headings, having acquired it from the London printer John Day. Day first used this fount in 1572 (F. Isaac, 'Elizabethan and Roman Types', *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv (1933–4), pp. 85–100, Fig. 3). The similarity that this type has to a number of Parisian Romans of the same size in use from 1530 has already been noted (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R20). Bolder and blacker than its French counterparts, the face was commonly used in the Low Countries until the end of the sixteenth century. *See* M. Parker, K. Melis, and H. D. L. Vervliet, 'Ameet Tavernier, Punchcutter', *De Gulden Passer*, xxxix (1961), pp. 17–76.

R15. English Roman (104 × 3.2 : 2).

Thomas Davidson used an English Roman, which was an imitation of the Jenson-style types that were current around 1490–1525 in Western Europe. The fount passed to John Scot.

R16. English Roman (96 × 1.8 : 2.9).

Robert Waldegrave used Haultin's English Roman for text, probably obtaining it from the London printer John Day. *See* F. Isaac, 'Elizabethan and Roman Types', *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv (1933–4), pp. 85–100.

R17. English Roman (96 × 2.8 : 1.5).

Thomas Davidson used a second English Roman, also an imitation of Jenson-style types (*see* above, R15). The Roman capitals in this fount vary considerably in height; it is probable that Davidson had an incomplete set. Later John Scot acquired the type.

R18. English Roman (95 × 3.2 : 2.2).

Thomas Vautrollier used the English Roman of Claude Garamont for headings in his books; acquiring the type from Reinold Wolfe, who used it in a 1572 edition of the Book of Common Order.

The fount is originally found in the work of Parisian printers *c.* 1556; the French typefounder Guillaume Le Bé bought the punches from Garamont or his widow and resold them to Christopher Plantin, while keeping a set of matrices (TSF, i. 5). This is confirmed in the 1562 inventories of Plantin, which show he had the punches and matrices for a 'St. Augustin de Garmond', undoubtedly referring to this fount ('Early Inv.', pp. 18–9; ST 13*a*; MA 25*a*). Plantin himself began to use the fount in 1564 (TSF, ii. 16:24) and it occurs on both of his specimens. John Day brought Garamont's English Roman to England in 1572 (Blayney, *King Lear*, Roman 94). Vautrollier used a later version of this fount, in which the letter M is without a serif at the top of the right-hand side.

R19. English Roman (96 × 1.8 : 2.9).

Thomas Bassandyne used the English Roman of Pierre Haultin (R19*a*), which he obtained from Christopher Plantin. After Bassandyne's death, this type passed to Alexander Arbuthnet, who used it for his 1582 edition of G. Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**; STC 3991), and was in the hands of Henry Charteris by 1581, who used it in his edition of *The forme and maner of examination* (No. **175**; STC 11183). Charteris lent the fount to Robert Smyth in 1592 for the publication of Rolland's

Seuin seages (No. **259**; STC 21255). By the time the type appears in R. Smyth's edition of the Psalms of David (No. **303**, STC 16586), the type is badly fouled in the case, with the accented sorts 'î' and 'à' appearing incorrectly on the title-page. The printer John Ross had a different casting of the fount (R19*b*), which can be distinguished by its rather worn state, and the tilted lower bowl of the g. The types 19*a* and 19*b* are mixed in Smyth's books.

Although no matrices survive, the type occurs in Plantin's books and inventories from 1561 ('Early Inv.', p. 14), and is shown in the *c.* 1580 Folio Specimen, but with the wrong capitals (TSF, i. p. 20). The type also occurs in the Schmidt fragments (396), *c.* 1695 (TSF, i. p. 20), the Rolu Specimen, *c.* 1700 (TSF, i. p. 22), and the specimen of Jan van Hout (1593–7), which shows a complete synopsis (information from John Lane). Paulus Manutius of Venice also used it from 1559 (A. F. Johnson 1970, p. 256). In Haultin's own hands, the capitals of this type are mixed with a different lower-case. *See* A. F. Johnson, 'Some Types used by Paolo Manuzio', in *The Library*, 4th ser., xix (1938–9), p. 170, fig. 2. Vatican specimen No. 41.

R20. Pica Roman (86 × 2.2 : 1.8).

Thomas Vautrollier used the Pica Roman of Pierre Haultin for the text of his books, probably supplied from Jérôme Haultin, nephew of the punchcutter, who worked as a typefounder in London. He acquired the type in 1574, without the letter w. This letter was added in 1577, and the type continued to be used as such until 1588. Vautrollier's version of the type is distinguished by the letter g with a bowl smaller than its loop. In 1587, on his return from Scotland to England, Vautrollier acquired a second version of this type, distinguished by the stepped letter i, which superseded the first version. This was the type which passed to Vautrollier's sucessor in London, Richard Field. Although often confused, the two versions of this pica roman are correctly distinguished in Blayney's *Text of King Lear and their Origins*, i (Cambridge, 1982).

The type occurs in a number of specimens, including the Schmidt fragments (393), *c.* 1695 (TSF, i. p. 20) and the Rolu Specimen, *c.* 1700 (TSF, i. p. 22), where it also matches with Haultin's larger English Roman. For an adaptation of Haultin's Pica Roman, *see* A. F. Johnson, 'Some Types used by Paolo Manuzio', in *The Library*, 4th ser., xix (1938–9), p. 170, fig. 1.

R21. Pica Roman (80 × 1.7 : 2.5).

Robert Waldegrave used a version of Garamont's Pica Roman, with a tilted lower bowl of the letter g. He evidently had matrices for the type (W. C. Ferguson, *Pica Roman Types*, p. 1), which he may have acquired from John Day.

The type appears in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, ii. 16:26), the 1592 Specimen of Berner (TSF, i. p. 5), and in the specimen sent by Le Bé to Moretus, *c.* 1599, where its attribution to Garamont is made clear (TSF, ii. p. 14). Another attribution to Garamont also occurs in the unpublished speciman attributable to Fournier l' aîné. Plantin records matrices for these in his 1561 inventory ('Early Inv.', p. 10); three other sets of matrices are found in the inventory of the Le Bé type-foundry (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 10).

R22. Pica Roman (80 × 1.7 : 2.5).

Robert Lekpreuik used a version of the 'Cicero Romain' of Garamont, which first appears in Paris about 1550, and is found in Plantin's hands by 1558.

The attribution to Garamont occurs in the specimen of K. Berner, 1592 (TSF, i. p. 5), and in a specimen of Guillaume II Le Bé (TSF, ii. 18:10). The type also occurs in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, ii. 16:26), the Folio Specimen *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17: 38, 45, 57).

R23. Pica Roman (80 × 1.7 : 2.5).

Robert Waldegrave obtained Guyot's Pica Roman sometime in 1595, where it is used in his edition of *The decree* (No. **252**; STC 5067). As he probably obtained the type directly from the continent, Waldegrave apparently had difficulty obtaining a properly fitting k and w, which are too large for the body. The face was not widely used in England. Waldegrave's casting had the original letter M, with upper serifs extending from both sides of each stem (Ferguson, *Pica Types*, Guyot 2).

The face occurs in the Folger Specimen (TSF, i. 1), and it was later used in London by H. Bynneman in 1574 (F. Isaac, in *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv (1966), fig. 6). The design of this face was soon overtaken by letters of the same size, but more modern in appearance, cut by Tavernier and the French masters (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R27).

R24. Small Pica Roman (70 × 1.5 : 2).

Robert Waldegrave used a Small Pica Roman of Haultin (R24*a*), probably obtained from the London printer John Day. Waldegrave's type was probably not supplied with the letters W and w. John Ross used another casting of this face (R24*b*), almost certainly from Christopher Plantin, with an awkwardly fitting W. Following Ross's death, the type came into the hands of Henry Charteris who used it in his 1588 edition of James VI's *Ane fruitfull meditatioun*. Charteris subsequently lent it to Robert Smyth in 1592 for the publication of John Rolland's *Seuin seages* (No. **259**; STC 21255). Following Henry Charteris's death, the type passed to his son, Robert, who used it in his 1600 edition of John Colville's *The palinoid* (No. **321**; STC 5587).

The type occurs in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, ii. 16:29), and is found in the inventories of both Plantin ('Early Inv.', p. 13, LMA 2) and Le Bé (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 19), each with an attribution to Haultin. In his own work, however, Haultin used a different lower-case letter.

R25. Long Primer Roman (66 × 1.2 : 2).

Thomas Vautrollier used the 'Petit Romain' ascribed to Garamont in the Le Bé Fragments, *c.* 1599 (TSF, ii. 18:9), and also occuring in his inventory (Morison, *Le Bé*, pp. 19–20, 24).

The fount is also included with an attribution to Garamont in the specimens of Konrad Berner, 1592 and Johann Berner, 1622 (TSF, i. 2, 3, p. 5). Plantin did not use this type, although he owned two sets of strikes, purchased in 1572 ('Early Inv.', p. 62, MA 47*a*). Although similar, the design can be distinguished from the 'Garamonde Romaine', used by Plantin and shown in his type specimens (TSF, ii. 16:31; 17:49, 53, 59).

R26. Long Primer Roman (64 × 1.5 : 2).

Lekpreuik used the Long Primer Roman ascribed to Garamont in the Plantin inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 8, MA 48).

This Garamont occurs in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, ii. 16:31), and is similar to the 'Garmonde Romaine de garmond' in the 1592 Specimen of K. Berner (TSF, i. p. 5). The face also occurs in the Folio Specimen of Plantin, *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:49, 53, 59). Lekpreuik's version does not have an M with splayed legs, and includes the letters K, k, and w, cut specially for the English-speaking market.

R27. Long Primer Roman (64 × 1.2 : 2).

Thomas Bassandyne used this Long Primer of unknown provinence to set the arguments in his 1576 section of the Bible (No. **147**; STC 2125). This fount passed to Alexander Arbuthnet after Bassandyne's death, who used it in his section of the Bible (No. **154**; STC 2125). Bassandyne originally obtained the type from Christopher Plantin, who uses it in his *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, ii. 16:33).

Although the Plantin inventories do not give it an attribution ('Early Inv.', p. 11, MA 53*a*), the fount has nevertheless been ascribed to Ameet Tavernier, punchcutter and printer of Antwerp, who specialized in small bodies. Tavernier's types, which characteristically belong to the Old Face class of Romans, share similar design characteristics to the types of François Guyot, specializing in large bodies (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R32).

R28. Bourgeois Roman (54 × 1.7 : .9).

Thomas Vautrollier used a Bourgeois Roman of the 'pre-Garamond' style. He probably obtained the fount from Reinold Wolfe.

This type can be distinguished from the similar, slightly smaller Bourgeois of Granjon included in the Berner specimen (TSF, i. p. 5), which many other printers used (*See* R30; Isaac, *Types*, p. 41).

R29. Bourgeois Roman (54 × 1.1 : 1.7).

Robert Waldegrave used the Bourgeois Roman, with the characteristic lower loop of the g.

This type is attributed to Robert Granjon in the specimen of K. Berner, 1592 (TSF, i. 2, p. 5), and appears on many other sixteenth-century specimens (TSF, i. 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13), including Plantin's Folio Specimen (TSF, ii. 17:56, 67) and the Le Bé fragments (TSF, ii. 18:21). Granjon cut the type around 1570; Plantin used it from 1574. Le Bé had two sets of matrices (Morison, *Le B'e*, p. 20) and four sets of matrices exist at the Plantin Moretus museum ('Early Inv.', p. 43, MA 61; p. 44 MA 63; p. 63, MA 127). Reproduced as fig. 3 in Harry Carter, 'Plantin's Types and their Makers', *Gedenkboek der Plantin-Dagen* (Antwerp, 1956). The small capitals used with this face are actually from a type attributed to Henri Du Tour (*alias* Hendrick van den Keere), appearing in Plantin's Folio Specimen, *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:72), and in Plantin's books from 1579 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, R35). This type is listed in Plantin's 1581 inventory ('Early Inv.', p. 77, MA 70).

R30. Brevier Roman (50 × 1.2 : 1.5).

Thomas Bassandyne used this Brevier Roman in the style of Garamont for the side-notes in his section of the Bible (STC 2125). This fount was originally bought from Christopher Plantin, who bought the punches from Guillaume I Le Bé ('Early Inv.', p. 19; TSF, i. p. 6; *Corr. Plant.* i, pp. 119–20, No. 52). Following Bassandyne's death, the fount passed to Alexander Arbuthnet. This type, or one similar to it, was also used by John Ross in his 1579 edition of Thomas Smeton's *Ad virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltonii* (No. **161**; STC 22651), and passed to Henry Charteris, who used it in his 1588 edition of James VI's *Ane fruitfull meditatioun* (No. **193**; STC 14376). Charteris lent it to Robert Smyth in 1592 to print an edition of Rolland's *Seuin seages* (No. **259**; STC 21255). The fount finally ended up in the hands of Robert Charteris, who used it in 1600 for an edition of John Ruthven's *Gowreis conspiracie* (No. **330**; STC 21465.5).

The type appears in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 and is ascribed to Garamont in a specimen attributed to Fournier l'aîné (TSF, ii. 16:35). *See* also Plantin's Petit Text in TSF, i. p. 6.

Italic Type

IT1. Double Pica Italic (140 × 2.8 : 4.6).

Robert Waldegrave used François Guyot's Double-Pica Italic, probably acquired from John Day, who imported it to England by 1559 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, IT2). The fount with its characteristically narrow A and V is found in English printing until the eighteenth century (Morison and Day, Pl. 156); it occurs in the Folger Specimen (TSF,

i. 1) and in Plantin's *Index Characterum* (TSF, ii. 16:19) of 1567.

Plantin used the type until 1540, when Granjon's new Double-Pica Italic superseded it. The attribution to Guyot occurs in Plantin's 1575 inventory, in which a specimen is pasted in. On the facing page is written 'Ascendonica Cursive de Guiot'. (Plantin-Moretus Museum Archives, xliii, fol. 66). The matrices are at the Plantin-Moretus Museum (TSF, i. 1), perhaps acquired in the seventeenth century.

IT2. Great Primer Italic (110 × 2.4 : 3.5).

Robert Waldegrave used Guyot's Great Primer Italic, probably acquiring it from John Day, who used the type in 1567 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, IT3). Waldegrave's use of this fount in Scotland has already been commented upon (*see* W. A. Jackson, in *The Library*, 5th ser., xiii (1958), p. 228, Pl. 2).

The face occurs in the Folger Specimen (TSF, i. 1), and a set of Plantin's matrices and strikes survive (MA 69, MA 153). Apparently, Plantin's matrices were at Frankfurt in 1588, possibly for hire ('Early Inv.', p. 85). The attribution to Guyot occurs in Plantin's inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 12).

IT3. English Italic (90 × 2 : 2.5).

Thomas Vautrollier used an English Italic (IT3*a*), attributed to Granjon in the Plantin inventories ('Early Inv.', pp. 47–8, MA 128) and in the specimens of K. Berner, 1592 and J. Berner, 1622 (TSF, i. 2, 3). Vautrollier probably acquired this type from Reinold Wolfe. Robert Waldegrave also used this type (IT3*b*), probably acquired from John Day, who used it in 1568 (*see* A. F. Johnson, 'Italic Types', No. 13). John Ross acquired a third casting of this type (IT3*c*) with slightly smaller capitals from Christopher Plantin.

This type also appears in Plantin's Folio Specimen (TSF, ii. 17:27, 33), and in the Vatican specimen of 1628 (Vervliet, *Vatican specimen*, p. 34, No. 44). It is listed in the Le Bé inventory of 1598 (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 18.

IT4. Pica Italic (88 × 1.8 : 3).

John Davidson used a Pica Italic of unknown provenance, which passed to John Scot. This is an imitation of the Aldine-style types that were current around 1490–1525 on the continent.

IT5. Pica Italic (82 × 1.7 : 2.6).

Robert Waldegrave used Granjon's Pica Italic (IT5*a*), acquired from the London printer John Day. This casting had two variants of the letter g; one with a straight back. Thomas Vautrollier owned a second casting (IT5*b*) of this type, probably acquired from the printing-house of Reinold Wolfe, which is characterized by its elongated f and y. Henry Charteris used a third casting (IT5*c*), possibly obtained from John Ross, which was originally bought from Christopher Plantin. Following Henry Charteris's death the type passed to his son Robert, who used it in his 1600 edition of John Colville's *The palinoid* (No. **321**; STC 5587). Granjon cut three italics for this body, all very similar in design.

All these listed here are Granjon's 'Mediane (Pica) Cursive pendante' (TSF, i. p. 5), listed in Plantin's Folio Specimen of *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:39), and appearing also in Plantin's *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, i. 16:27). The design is ascribed to Granjon in the 1592 Specimen of K. Berner (TSF, i. 2). Punches and matrices for the 'pendante' are also listed in the *c.* 1598 Le Bé inventory (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 19). Plantin began using this face in 1562 (TSF, ii. 16:27), it being entered in his inventory of 1561 ('Early Inv.', pp. 13–4, LMA 3. *see* also p. 79, MA 113). He obtained another version of this type in 1565, the 'Mediane cursive droite', as shown in the *Index Characterum* (TSF, ii. 16:28), which is tighter and more upright in design than the 'pendante' discussed in this entry (TSF, i. p. 5).

IT6. Long Primer Italic (65 × 1.5 : 1.8).

Robert Waldegrave used Granjon's Long Primer Italic (IT6*a*), acquired from the printer John Day. For the possible use of Waldegrave's type by Legate, *see* Isaac, *Types*, p. 43. Thomas Vautrollier used a second casting of this fount (IT6*b*), acquired from Reinold Wolfe. This face can be distinguished by the shorter length of the g; the narrower wideth of the w; and the two types of v, one of which is rounded.

This type is attributed to Granjon in the Plantin inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 76, MA 49), the *c.* 1598 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 20), and the 1622 Berner Specimen (TSF, i. 3). It occurs in Plantin's Folio Specimen, *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:54), the 1592 Berner Specimen (TSF, i. 2), and in the Vatican Press Specimen of 1628, No. 57. (Vervliet, *Vatican Press*). A. F. Johnson, in *The Library*, 4th ser., xxi (1940–1) has studied the diffusion of this type. A half-justified strike of 99 matrices survive at the Plantin-Moretus Museum (TSF, i. p. 6).

Textura Type

T1. 2-line Great Primer Textura (220 × 7 : 9.5).

Thomas Davidson first used this unattributed Black Letter (T1*a*) in his *c.* 1525 edition of *Ad serenissimum* (No. **16**; STC 14435). The type originated in Paris *c.* 1504, where it is found in the books of Simon Vostre, and quickly spread throughout France, England, and the Low Countries. Davidson acquired this fount several years before it reached London at the press of R. Wyer in 1531 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T3), although it is impossible to ascertain whether this is a good Flemish or Dutch copy of the

French original. John Scot acquired Davidson's fount in a somewhat battered state; it then passed into the hands of Thomas Bassandyne. Robert Lekpruik obtained a second casting of this fount (T1*b*), probably executed in the Low Countries: this version has capitals that are uneven in height; the a and s are also too large. A third casting is found in the hands of John Ross (T3*c*), who probably acquired it from Christopher Plantin. Unlike Lekpreuik's copy, this type is much closer to the French original, with letters having consistent height. Unfortunately, the inventories of Plantin throw no light on the origin of this face. After Ross's death in 1580, his fount passed to Henry Charteris, who used it in his 1597 edition of the *Works* of David Lindsay (No. **283**; STC 15664.3).

Versions of this type remained in use during the following three centuries, appearing in some dozen type specimens, including Plantin's Folio Specimen, *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:6). Matrices survive at the Plantin-Moretus Museum ('Early Inv.', p. 64), LMA 18; MA 117), although these were probably acquired in the seventeenth century. Other imitations are included as 'Kanon Duyts' in an undated specimen of the Widow and Sons of Dirk Voskens (B.M., Harl. 5930, No. 542); and in the James Foundry (Matrices 70). *See* Carter and Ricks, *Dissertation*, p. 113. The University of Oxford bought a fount of this type in 1701.

T2. Great Primer Textura (115 × 3.5 : 4.5).

Walter Chepman used a French Great Primer Textura of unknown provenance, probably acquiring it from Northern France. For the numerous minor variants of this fount, *see* D. Shaw, 'Notes on Some French Textura Gothic Types of the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', *Hellinga Festschrift*, ed. by A. R. A. Croiset van Uchelen (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 441–6. Chepman's version appears to be the one for which matrices are kept at the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 132; Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T12*b*), although the B, F, I, and g do not match (information from John Lane).

T3. Great Primer Textura (110 × 3.5 : 4.5).

Robert Waldegrave used the Great Primer Textura cut by Van den Keere for Plantin, who had acquired the type by the end of 1570 (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T16). Although the a and g in Waldegrave's casting appear to be from Van den Keere, the S, h, and d, may be sorts from a different fount, possibly a French Great Primer Textura (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T12), the matrices of which are also at the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 132).

The Plantin inventories of 1572 and 1581 ascribe the type to Van den Keere ('Early Inv.', p. 46); Plantin also included the type in his Folio Specimen *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:23).

T4. English-bodied French Textura (95 × 2.6 : 3.5).

Thomas Davidson used an English-bodied French Textura (T4*a*), probably having acquired it from a source in Northern France. There were two versions of this face, having a similar design. The Scottish printers used the one from Rouen (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T25), the version most widely used in France, England, and the Southern Netherlands (where it was current until late in the sixteenth century). Davidson's casting passed to Scot, who used it in a worn state, and in 1571 to Thomas Bassandyne. Alexander Arbuthnet acquired the type after Bassandyne's death. Robert Lekpreuik had a different casting (T4*b*), one which may have been a close copy executed in the Netherlands or Northern France. This copy, characterized by a large w and small K, is not found elsewhere in Scotland.

T5. English Textura (96 × 2.5 : 3.9).

Robert Waldegrave used Van den Keere's English Textura (T5*a*) sparingly throughout the earlier part of his career in Scotland. The use of this type, or one similar to it, in Waldegrave's 1599 edition of *Fiue hundreth points* (No. **316**, STC 24386) is highly unusual, particularly given the late date: the printing of this book was possibly shared. John Ross obtained another version (T5*b*), probably from Christopher Plantin. Ross's type had two forms of the letter s, and passed to Henry Chateris, who lent it to Robert Smyth for use in his 1592 edition of John Rolland's *Seuin seages* (No. **259**; STC 21255). The type was also used in Smyth's edition of the Psalms of David (No. **303**, STC 16586), where it was apparently lacking the letter 'B'. (On the title-page, a lombardic capital is instead substituted.) A 'G' from a different black letter fount is also used on the title-page of this book and on A2r, probably indicating a shortage of type. The type was distributed in Holland by Thomas De Vechter (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T23).

Plantin's inventories attribute the fount to Van den Keere ('Early Inv.', p. 58, ST 36), and Plantin used it from 1572. The fount is included in Plantin's Folio Specimen *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:28).

T6. English-bodied French Textura (95 × 2.9 : 3.5).

Andro Myllar and Walter Chepman used an English-bodied French Textura of Norman origin, probably acquired from Pierre Violette in Northern France, with whom Myllar had business connections. The type has two forms of the letter B.

T7. Pica Textura (80 × 2.5 : 3.4).

Robert Waldegrave used a Lettersnijder Pica Textura, probably acquired from John Day.

This face was attributed to Hendrick van den Keere in the Plantin inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 58, ST 37, MA42), and appears in Plantin's press from 1572. Plantin also included it in his own Folio Specimen, *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17:41).

T8. Small Pica Textura (70 × 2 : 2.7).

Thomas Davidson used an early sixteenth-century Small Pica Textura (T8*a*), probably of Parisian origin, commonly used in French and English printing of the time (Isaac, *Types*, p. 19, fig. 39). This type came into the hands of John Scot, along with Davidson's other Textura faces. Robert Lekpreuik used another, slightly larger version (T8*b*), which had an awkward looking W (probably cut specially). John Ross used a version, ordered from Christopher Plantin (T8*c*), in which the design of the S shows a definite Low Countries influence. This is the type that R. Smyth uses in his edition of the Psalms of David (No. **303**, STC 16586), although on I4r he uses a second capital 'W'. Throughout this book, a substitute capital 'T' from a roman fount is often used (I3v, line 3). Smyth had two versions of the capital 'S'.

Plantin, himself, used the type until about 1570, probably buying a fount from François Guyot (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T41). The type occurs in Plantin's *Index Characterum*, 1567 (TSF, ii. 43).

T9. French Long Primer Textura (62 × 1.7 : 2.5).

Walter Chepman used this type (T9*a*) in printing the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**; STC 15791). John Story used another version, with a narrower e, in printing the *Compassio beate Marie* (No. **15**; STC 15791.5). The type is of French origin, and was soon in use throughout France, the Low Countries, and England from the end of the fifteenth century (Vervliet, *Printing Types*, T41).

Plantin, who used this type until about 1576, probably bought a version from François Guyot: it appears in his *Index Charcterum*, 1567 (TSF, ii: 44), as well as a number of other type specimens.

Greek Type

G1. 2-line Double Pica Greek Capitals (: 9).

John Scot used a 2-line Double Pica Greek capital of unknown provinenace in his 1556 edition of William Lauder's *An compendious and breue tractate* (No. **23**; STC 15314). In this book, the reversed sigma substitutes for the letter Z (B3r).

G2. Pica Greek (86 × 1.7 : 2.3).

Robert Waldegrave used a Pica Greek attributable to Pierre Haultin, probably having acquired it from John Day. This type was widely used in France and London. It is the only Greek plantin had for the Pica body.

Plantin includes this type in his *Index Characterum* (TSF, ii. 16:13) and in his Folio specimen, *c.* 1585. (TSF, ii. 17: 42, 51). The type also occurs in the Vatican Specimen and in the 1592 specimen of K. Berner (TSF. i: 2), where it is incorrectly attributed to Granjon. The correct attribution to Haultin occurs in the inventories of Plantin ('Early Inv.', p. 13; MA 142–3). Not all ligatures are represented in the type synopses.

G3. Long Primer Greek (66 × 1.2 : 1.8).

Robert Charteris used Granjon's Long Primer Greek. Undoubtedly, the type originally belong to Henry Charteris, who would have acquired it from Christopher Plantin.

The type occurs in Plantin's *Index Characterum*, 1567 (TSF, ii. 16: 14) and in his Folio specimen, *c.* 1585 (TSF, ii. 17: 55, 62). It is attributed to Granjon in Plantin's inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 11, MA 51–2) and in the inventory of Le Bé II (Morison, *Le Bé*, p. 21). The type also occurs in the specimen of K. Berner (TSF. i: 2) and J. Berner (TSF. i: 3), where it is correctly attributed to Granjon. The type synopses does not include ligatures for this fount.

G4. Long Primer Greek (62 × .9).

Thomas Bassandyne used a rather primitive Long Primer Greek of unknown provinance in the 1576 edition of the Bible (No. **147**; STC 2125). Revelations, chap. xiii, verse 18 (note).

Civilité Type

C1. Pica Civilité (100(82) × 1 : 2.2).

Thomas Bassandyne used Granjon's Pica Civilité, acquired from Christopher Plantin, who includes it in his *Index Characterum* of 1567 (TSF, ii. 16: 42). Thomas Bassandyne used this type in 1571, some five years before it reached England (Carter and Vervliet, A1). His casting did not contain an uppercase K, X, Y, or Z, although it does contain an uppercase W, which Granjon in France would not have needed. Harry Carter has suggested that Granjon cut this letter for customers of his in the Low Countries (D. Fox (ed), *The Poems of Robert Henryson* (Oxford, 1981), p. li, n).

The attribution to Granjon occurs in the Plantin inventories ('Early Inv.', p. 10). The matrices are still extant in the Plantin-Moretus archives (MA 38, 107).

Uncial Type

U1. 2-line Uncial (: 9).

Thomas Davidson used these uncial types in his edition of Boethius's *History* (No. **18**; STC 3203). This fount later passed to John Scot, who used them in his editions of Lindsay's *Works*. Elsewhere untraced.

U2. 2-line Uncials on Paragon (: 5).

Thomas Davidson used these uncial types in his edition of Boethius's *History* (No. **18**; STC 3203). This fount later passed to John Scot, who used them in his editions of Lindsay's *Works*. Elsewhere untraced.

U3. 2-line Paragon Uncials (: 4).

Used by John Story in his edition of *Compassio beate Marie* (No. **15**; STC 15791.5). Elsewhere untraced.

U4. Breiver Uncials (: 4).

Used by Walter Chepman in his editon of the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**; STC 15791). Elsewhere untraced.

U5. Long Primer Uncials (: 3).

Used by (*a*) Walter Chepman in his edition of the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**; STC 15791) and (*b*) by John Story in his edition of *Compassio beate Marie* (No. **15**; STC 15791.5). Elsewhere untraced.

Music Type

M1. 2-line Bourgeois Single-Impression Music (: 5).

Thomas Bassandyne's Music type (Steele, Type 13, fig. 35), later used by Henry Charteris, was designed by Granjon and purchased from Christopher Plantin. This type is very similar in appearance to the Music type used by Lekpreuik below (M2). Thomas Vautrollier also owned a version of the Granjon face, which he used in psalm books printed in London: there is no evidence, however, that he used this type in any of his Scottish books, nor did the type pass to any Scottish printers, as suggested by D. W. Krummel in his *English Music Printing: 1553–1700* (London, 1975), pp. 63 n, 66.

M2. 2-line Bourgeois Single-Impression Music (: 5).

Robert Lekpreuik's Music type (Steele 'Type 10', fig. 19) occurs only in his 1564 Edinburgh service book (Steele 64). Undoubtedly this was purchased with funds from France provided by Lekpreuik's patron, Alexander Clerk, specifically for the printing of this book. For details behind the financing of Lekpreuik's acquisition, *see* John Durkan and William Beattie, 'An Early Publication of the Latin Poems of George Buchanan in Scotland from the Press of Lekpreuik', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1983), pp. 77–80. The type, therefore, probably originated from France. It is very similar in appearance to the Music type owned by Thomas Bassandyne, later used by Henry Charteris, but with new clefs and directs. *See*, D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing: 1553–70* (London, 1975), pp. 63 n, 66.

Scottish Printing Ornaments

The following are reproductions with notes of the sixteenth century Scottish printing ornaments referred to in this study. These include 35 alphabets, 8 factotums, 12 printers' devices, 1 title-page border, 6 Coats of Arms, 27 woodcuts, and 31 head and tailpieces.

For the purposes of this thesis, ornaments have been defined as impressions made from designs cut in relief on wood or metal, excluding those produced by intaglio processes. Engravings on copper plate were produced separately and differ significantly from ornaments cut in relief, which possess the same properties of raised design characteristic of type. This list will not concern itself with establishing whether or not ornaments are woodcut, engraved, or cast, nor will other than obvious damage be recorded. Type ornaments are excluded on the grounds that such ornaments, common to many printers, are only of minimal use for the purposes of identification. Non-decorative illustrations, Zodiacal signs, and formless woodcuts, all seldom used by more than one printer, are also excluded.

Ornaments in one copy of each of the 337 books printed in Scotland during the sixteenth century were photographed at the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries, the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, Lambeth Palace Library, Edinburgh University Library, the Huntington Library, the Scottish Record Office, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh, Dulwich College Library, Aberdeen University Library, York Minster Library, and Cambridge libraries. Photographs were made using a Contax 139 Quartz camera body, and a Carl Zeiss S-Planar T* Macro lens, using monochrome film. Each frame includes the date of publication, STC number, leaf reference, and details of size. The negatives were kept in numbered 35mm transparent acetate filing sheets, and a contact sheet was made of each film. The individual frames were cut up and indexed by original ornament size. Positive prints of at least one example of every ornament were selected for reproduction.

The method of describing initials used by Stephen Harvard in his *Ornamental Initials* (pp. 1–3) has been followed. The following terms are used to describe methods of lettering. (*a*) ROMAN: refers to the formal Latin alphabet of majuscule and minuscule type; (*b*) LETTRE TOURNÉ: describes Uncial or Lombardic letters; (*c*) LETTRE CADEAU: describes fanciful letters of calligraphic origin. The following terms are used to describe methods of decoration. (*a*) LETTRE FLEURIE: floral or stylized botanical decoration; (*b*) LETTRE CRIBLÉ: a style in which the letter appears in the negative on a solid ground scattered with dots or minute figures; (*c*) ARABESQUE: a style of Islamic ornamentation derived from the classical acanthus leaf and vine; (*d*) HISTORIATION: literal illustration as a means of embellishment; (*e*) GROTESQUE: a decorative graphic style in which distorted animal and human forms are combined with floral and foliate elements.

The measurements are those of the smallest rectangle which, placed with its sides parallel to the edges of the paper, would enclose the ornament. Considerable latitude in measurement must be given, as differences in the ways that paper shrinks when printed wet can alter the measurement of ornaments. Generally, the damper the paper – as it is being printed – the greater the degree of shrinkage. R. B. McKerrow in his *Printers' and Publishers' Devices* found that such shrinkage could affect the measurements of a block by as much as 6% , and in cracked blocks this could increase considerably. He further found that paper often expands in one direction more than in another.

Throughout this study, the measurements given are roughly an average of several different impressions. They are not necessarily the measurements of a particular print selected for reproduction. Photographs of ornaments in tightly bound or damaged books may have been taken at an angle to minimize the risks of damage, so in some cases distortion has resulted.

The ornaments reproduced here are arranged in the following categories: alphabets, factotums, printers' devices, title-page borders, coat of arms, woodcuts, and head and tailpieces. As far as possible within each category the ornaments have been arranged by size, as suggested in pp. xlix–l of R. B. McKerrow's *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*. For further discussion, *see* J. Mitchell's 'The Taxonomy of Printers' Ornaments', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, ix (1985), pp. 45–60, and S. Rawles's 'Description et classification des lettres ornées. Esquisse d'une méthodologie', in *Ornamentation typographique et bibliographie historique*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Isaac (Brussels, 1988), pp. 27–40. Alphabets are defined by the following criteria: (*a*) consistency of design features; (*b*) similarities in size; (*c*) deduction of printer usage; (*d*) stylistic similarities.

The notes record the size of each ornament in millimetres, along with the books in which the ornament appears, as listed in the Appendix. This is followed by a description of the ornament, and references to its use by other printers. As far as possible, the provenance of each ornament has been traced, and similar ornaments used by other printers have been recorded. This follows a survey of STC books on University Microfilms and at the Bodleian Library, as well as an examination of Mr. F. S. Ferguson's collection of printers' ornaments clipped from discarded library books and kept on filing cards at the British Library. If at all possible, the country of origin of each ornament is specified and in some cases the foundry or printing-house from which the ornament originated is identified. Where applicable, references to reproductions or mentions in previous studies are included. The number of times each ornament is used in any one book is not recorded.

Alphabets

Alphabet 1. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (53 × 46).

Robert Waldegrave acquired this series from John Day. Printers in London using similar alphabets include Bynneman, Jugge, Wolfe, and Eliot's Court Press. The design was current among continental printers, including Estienne and Plantin. Following Waldegrave's death, the alphabet passed to Thomas Finlason. *See* C. L. Oastler, *John Day* (Oxford, 1975), fig. 5, ii.

Occurs in I1: **290**, **315**; T1: **279**, **290**.

Alphabet 2. Historiation (49 × 46).

This alphabet originally belonged to Thomas Davidson. The letter H includes a figure of St. John, holding a chalice out of which emerges a snake. The letter P includes an image of St. Peter with his key. The letter S depicts St. Simon with his emblem, a 2-headed saw. The alphabet passed to Scot.

Occurs in B2: **19**; H2: **19**; P2: **20**; S2: **19**.

Alphabet 3. Roman, Lettre Fleurie, one-line border (31 × 32).

Robert Waldegrave acquired the initial I of this series in 1597, probably from Henry Charteris. Copies of the alphabet were widely used throughout England. Printers using it included Thomas Thomas, John Wolfe, Thomas Creede, Valentine Simmes, John Windet, and Nicholas Okes. Some references to the alphabet are included in Peter Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and their Origins* (Cambridge, 1982), Alphabet 9; A. Yamada, *Thomas Creede* (Japan, 1981), Initial N1; W. C. Ferguson, *Valentine Simmes* (Charlottesville, 1968), Initials N9, W4; and J. Morris, 'Thomas Thomas', in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv (1968), pp. 334–62, Alphabet 2.

Occurs in I3: **280**, **281**, **290**, **292**, **297**, **302**, **307**, **308**, **315**, **334**.

Alphabet 4. Roman, Historiation, 1-line border (38 × 38).

Robert Waldegrave acquired this from John Day, who used it in his 1578 edition of Hugh Latimer's *Sermons* (STC 21279), and in his 1558 edition of Joseph's *Compendious history* (STC 14795). The alphabet passed to T. Finlason, and by 1637 to R. Young, who used it in his edition of the Scottish Book of Common Prayer (STC 16607).

Occurs in D4: **290**; O4: **249**, **290**; S4: **212**.

Alphabet 5. Roman, Lettre Fleurie, Criblé Decoration, 2-line border (38 × 34).

John Scot used initial A of this series in his 1552 edition of John Hamilton's *Catechisme* (STC 12731). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in A5: **20**.

Alphabet 6. Roman, Historiation (38 × 38).

Omitted from catalogue. Used only in London for books printed by Thomas Vautrollier, one of which was printed for Henry Charteris (STC 3971).

Alphabet 7. Roman, Historiation, Criblé Decoration (33 × 31).

Robert Lekpreuik used initial W of this series, cut for an English-speaking market. Elsewhere untraced, although R. Grafton owned a copy, used in his edition of P. Vergil (STC 24655).

Occurs in W7: **51**, **52**, **53**, **177**, **178**.

Alphabet 8. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (32 × 33).

Henry Charteris acquired this alphabet probably from England, where the series was commonly used. At least half the printers in London owned collections or odd letters of the design. Charteris loaned the alphabet to Robert Waldegrave for the publication in 1598 of Peter Wentworth's *A pithie exhortation* (No. **299**; STC 25245). Henry Charteris retrieved the series in 1599, and upon his death it appears to have passed to his son, Robert. Perhaps Robert Waldegrave subsequently obtained some of the initial letters, which after his death are used in London by E. Allde and in Scotland by Thomas Finlason. Richard Field had two copies of the letters most frequently called for: two distinguishable forms of the letter T, for example, are in C. Wirsung's *Practise of phisicke* (STC 25864); one with small horizontal break below the foot of the letter, and the other slightly smaller in size, with a more clearly cut design. Field used this alphabet, 1589–1625. Some references to the alphabet are included in Peter Blayney, *The Texts of King*

Lear and their Origins (Cambridge, 1982), Alphabet 4; A. E. M. Kirwood, in *The Library*, iv (1931–2), pp. 1–39; R. B. McKerrow, in *The Library*, iv (1929–30), pp. 121–62; J. Morris, 'Thomas Thomas', in *Transaction of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv (1968), pp. 339–62; C. W. Miller, in *Studies in Bibliography*, vii (1955), pp. 125–51.

Occurs in A8: **310**; G8: **299**; I8: **310**, **321**; L8: **323**; M8: **299**; N8: **322**; P8: **332**; S8: **299**, **300**; W8: **266**, **267**, **273**.

Alphabet 9. Roman, Lettre Fleurie, 1-line border (31 × 32).

Robert Lekpreuik acquired this alphabet, possibly from France, for the publication of Lelio Capilupi's *Cento* (No. 45; STC 4604) for George Buchanan.

Occurs in A9i: **51**, **52**, **53**, **55**, **69**, **126**; A9ii: **52**, **53**; C9: **51**, **52**, **53**, **55**, **114**; D9: **55**; F9: **51**, **52**, **53**, **55**; I9: **45**, **51**, **52**, **53**, **55**, **69**, **70**, **71**, **81**, **101**, **102**, **129**; Q9: **45**, **55**, **111**.

Alphabet 10. Lettre Tourné, Cruciblé Deocration, 2-line Border (33 × 81).

Thomas Davidson probably acquired these from the Low Countries. (*see* Alphabet 28). This series then passed to John Scot, who disfigured the initial M to make an N, which by this time had been lost. R. Pynson used an alphabet of a similar design.

Occurs in A10: **18**; B10: **18**; D10: **18**; I10: **18**; M10: **18**, **20**; N10: **21**, **26**; T10: **18**; V10: **18**.

Alphabet 11. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (31 × 31).

Thomas Bassandyne acquired this alphabet from Christopher Plantin (Harvard 12). Arnold Nicolai originall cut the alphabet in 1563 from the artwork of Geoffrey Ballain of Paris, who also designed the Hebrew, which supplements the alphabet (Harvard 13). The Q in Bassandyne's version is different from Plantin's original, which is dated 1563. Alexander Arbuthnet acquired this alphabet in 1579; by 1582 it was in the hands of Henry Charteris. Charteris passed the alphabet to Robert Waldegrave in 1597; and Thomas Finlason acquired it after Waldegrave's death in 1604.

Occurs in A11: **180 206**, **290 302**, **312**; B11: **147**, **154**, **302**; C11: **180**, **184**, **288**; D11: **248**; E11: **255**; F11: **147**; G11: **158**, **308**; H11: **154**, **180**, **290**, **308**; I11: **147**, **154**, **169**, **180**, **181**; L11 **154**, **218**; N11 **154**; O11: **160**, **249**, **290**; P11: **147**; **150**, **180**, **294**; Q11: **162**, **180**, **207**, **290**, **328**; R11: **180**; S11: **147**, **180**; T11: **147**, **154**, **180**, **214**, **252**, **290**, **315**; V11: **180**, **327**; W11: **183**, **184**, **201**, **209**, **290**, **315**; Y11: **308**; Z11: **281**.

Alphabet 12. Roman, Historiation (30 × 30).

Robert Waldegrave used the letter I of this series, probably acquiring it during 1597. The provenance is unknown, although R. Schilders used an alphabet of similar design. *See* J. D. Wilson, in *The Library*, ii (1909–11), pp. 65–134, Alphabet 28.

Occurs in I12: **281**, **290**.

Alphabet 13. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (29 × 29).

Robert Waldegrauve used the letter I of this series. The provenance is unknown, although Valentine Simmes used an initial of similar design in his 1595 edition of *The gentleman's academie* (STC 3314). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in I13: **270**.

Alphabet 14. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (30 × 30).

Thomas Davidson possibly procured this from the Low Countries. John Scot subsequently acquired the series, the letter T of which Robert Lekpreuik obtained at the start of his printing career.

Occurs in A14: **18**, **19**; T14: **18**, **19**, **20**, **21**, **22**, **23**, **26**, **28**, **30**, **33**, **38**, **40**, **51**, **52**, **53**, **129**.

Alphabet 15. Roman and Lettre Tourneé, Criblé Decoration (27 × 27).

Almost certainly, Thomas Davidson acquired this series from Antwerp or Utrecht (*see* Alphabet 28). The alphabet passed to John Scot, who disfigured the initial O to make a Q, which by this time had become lost. R. Pynson in 1526 and R. Grafton in 1528 were using ornaments of a similar design.

Occurs in C15: **18**, **20**, **22**; E15: **18**, **20**; F15: **18**; H15: **18**, **20**, **26**; K15: **18**; L15: **18**; M15: **18**; N15: **18**; O15: **18**, **19**, **20**, **22**; P15: **18**; Q15i: **18**; Q15ii: **20**, **21**, **23**, **28**, **30**, **36**, **37**, **68**, **74**, **105**; R15: **18**; S15: **18**; T15: **27**; V15: **18**.

Alphabet 16. Roman, Arabesque Historiation (25 × 25).

The bookseller and printer Henry Charteris owned this alphabet, acquiring it from the London printing-house of John Day. Although the letter S occurs with the larger curve uppermost, this was a common feature in several similar alphabets in use in London. Charteris lent the alphabet to various Scottish printers executing commissions for the bookselling side of his business, among them being Robert Lekpreuik and John Ross. The occurrence of this alphabet in any Scottish book before 1590 usually indicates the otherwise unseen hand of Charteris. The alphabet was sold or given to Robert Waldegrave upon his arrival to Edinburgh in 1589–90, although Charteris used it again in 1595 for his edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **267**; STC 16585.5). Following Waldegrave's death in 1604 the alphabet passed to Thomas Finlason.

Occurs in A16: **106**, **138**, **140**, **141**, **170**, **193**, **194**, **266**, **267**; B16: **170**; C16: **155**, **156**, **157**, **161**, **163**, **165**, **221**, **232**, **247**, **314**, **333**; D16: **106**, **138**, **157**, **161**; E16: **219**, **255**, **256**; F16: **142**, **146**, **170**, **229**, **246**, **249**, **254**, **257**, **262**, **285**, **290**, **291**, **312**; H16: **157**, **262**, **296**; I16: **141**, **142**, **170**, **199**, **205**, **209**, **217**, **219**, **220**, **233**, **236**, **238**, **249**, **250**, **261**, **271**, **272**, **314**; L16: **138**, **148**, **149**, **217**, **307**; M16: **158**, **166**, **200**, **224**, **228**, **284**, **291**, **314**, **315**; N16: **244**, **245**, **263**; O16: **106**, **138**, **157**, **170**, **182**, **266**, **267**; P16: **157**, **207**, **210**, **214**, **232**, **235**, **247**, **255**, **256**, **289**, **294**, **296**; Q16: **140**, **157**, **158**, **159**, **198**, **260**, **290**; R16: **213**, **217**; S16: **153**, **155**, **156**, **163**, **208**, **209**, **250**, **253**, **254**, **263**, **264**, **285**, **288**, **296**, **307**; T16: **106**, **138**, **142**, **144**, **161**, **170**, **210**, **213**, **217**, **219**, **220**, **223**, **229**, **230**, **231**, **246**, **253**, **258**, **264**, **290**, **296**, **315**, **320**; V16: **106**, **138**, **161**, **243**, **251**, **252**, **255**; **288**.

Alphabet 17. Roman, Pictorial Historiation, 2-line Border (29 × 23).

Robert Waldegrave acquired this alphabet from John Day. The extended lower bowl of the B indicates a Low Countries origin. Christopher Plantin had an alphabet of similar design (Harvard 46), and R. Schilders used a version in a severely altered state (J. Wilson, in *The Library*, ii (1909–11), pp. 65–134). Other English printers using copies of this design include W. Powell in his 1548 edition of the New Testament (STC 2819); E. Whitchurch in his 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer (STC 16267); T. Gaultier in his 1550 edition of Thomas Paynell's *The piththy* [*sic*] *sayinges of al scripture* (STC 19494). R. Grafton also had a close copy of the alphabet. Following Waldegrave's death, the series passed to Thomas Finlason.

Occurs in B17: **219**, **228**, **238**.

Alphabet 18. Roman, Pictorial (21 × 23).

Thomas Davidson probably acquired this from Antwerp or Utrecht. English printers having similar copies of this series include Wynkyn de Worde, H. Pepwell, R. Grafton, and Thomas Godfrey.

Occurs in W18: **19**.

Alphabet 19. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (21 × 21).

This series, elsewhere untraced, is found in the books of Robert Lekpreuik. The W shows that it was cut for the English-speaking market.

Occurs in L19: **31**, **35**; W19: **34**, **41**, **43**, **48**.

Alphabet 20. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (23 × 23).

This series, elsewhere untraced, is found in the books of Robert Lekpreuik. English printers using alphabets of similar design include W. Copland, in his 1549 edition of Tyndale's New Testament (STC 2857); E. Whitchurch, in his 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer (STC 16267); and T. Marsh in his 1555 edition of the *Psalterium Dauidicum* (STC 16265). Copland also had a second very similar version of the alphabet, which he used in his *c.* 1549 edition of Patrick Hamilton's *Dyuers frutful gatheringes* (STC 12732). Leonard Askell also used a different (but similar) letter B. Steele assigns the design to Antwerp.

Occurs in A20: **33**, **40**, **A41**, **51**, **52**, **53**; B20: **34**, **35**, **38**; H20: **51**, **52**, **53**; M20: **33**, **51**, **52**, **53**; O20: **35**, **51**, **52**, **53**; M20: **29**; S20: **29**; **38**; **51**; **52**; **53**.

Alphabet 21. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (22 × 22).

Bassandyne acquired this alphabet almost certainly from Christopher Plantin. It is a smaller version of Plantin's 30mm Lettre Fleure, designed by Geoffrey Ballan and cut by Arnold Nicolai in 1563 (Harvard 12). The extended lower bowl of the B is a characteristic design feature of the Low Countries. The alphabet passed to Arbuthnet following Bassandyne's death, falling into the hands of Henry Charteris after 1584, who lent some of the initials to Robert Smith in 1592. This alphabet passed to Thomas Finlason in 1604.

Occurs in A21: **136**, **139**; B21: **136**, **139**, **151**; D21: **139**, **151**, **152**; F21: **130**, **136**: G21: **136**; I21: **131**, **136**, **139**; L21: **139**, **151**, **152**; M21: **136**; N21: **136**; O21: **136**, **152**, **190**, **303**; P21: **136**, **147**; Q21: **136**; R21: **136**; S21: **136**, **259**; T21: **100**, **136**, **139**, **147**, **152**; W21: **116**, **139**, **151**.

Alphabet 22. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (21 × 21).

Robert Waldegrave obtained this alphabet from the London printer John Day, although the series may have originally come from the printing-house of Christopher Plantin, who had duplicates of many, if not all, of the letters (Harvard 20). Waldegrave brought this series back to London in 1603; after his death in the following year, E. Allde acquired it. Copies of this alphabet were produced commercially in great quantities, and supplied to printers in England and the Low Countries from the latter half of the sixteenth century. Other London printers to have used copies of this series include T. East in his 1581 edition of John Marbeck's *Book of notes and common places* (STC 17299); and R. Newberry and H. Bynneman in their 1582 edition of William Lambard's *Eirenarcha* (STC 15164a). The numerous variations in detail, however, 'suggest carved copies rather than clichés' (Harvard 20). The letter C, containing a winged cherub's head and two scorpions, was used by J. Wolfe from 1591–93 (Hoppe, in *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv (1933–4), No. 24), and could be part of this alphabet, although it was not in Plantin's original set; N. Okes, likewise, used a copy in his 1613 edition of Mark Ridley's *A short treatise* (STC 21045). This series may be the work of the typefounder Ameet Tavernier, who supplied much of the type for Plantin's early work (*see* Parker, *et. al.*, 'Ameet Tavernier, Punchcutter', in *De Gulden Passer*, ii, 69).

Occurs in A22: **210**, **212**, **218**, **229**, **261**, **285**, **290**, **293**, **301**, **324**; D22: **218**, **258**, **288**; G22: **238**, **255**; T22: **205**, **206**; W22: **201**, **209**, **211**, **213**, **237**, **294**, **301**, **317**.

Alphabet 23. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (22 × 23).

Robert Waldegrave obtained the letter A from the London printer John Day. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in A23: **198**, **244**, **245**, **246**, **255**, **285**, **286**, **287**, **290**, **301**, **325**.

Alphabet 24. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (20 × 20).

The letter I is found in John Day's 1571 edition of George Buchanan's *Ane admonitioun* (STC 3967). It was probably brought to Scotland by Henry Charteris, along with a number of other ornaments. By 1573 the initial is found in the hands of Thomas Bassandyne, who uses it in a proclamation (STC 21943). The initial then disappears, until it is found at the press of Thomas Finlason after 1603.

Occurs in I24: **133**.

Alphabet 25. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (20 × 18).

Robert Lekpreuik used the letter T in this alphabet in his 1566 publications for the government, including the Acts of Parliament (STC 21875 ff) and the *Order and doctrine of the generall faste* (STC 22041). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in T25: **51**, **52**, **53**, **54**.

Alphabet 26. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (20 × 20).

Robert Lekpreuik used the letter R in his 1561 edition of Robert Norvell's *Meroure of an chrstiane* (No. **33**, STC 18688). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in R26: **33**.

Alphabet 27. Roman, Lettre Fleure with Single Border (20 × 20).

Walter Chepman almost certainly acquired the letter B in this alphabet from Northern France. It is used in his 1509–10 edition of the Aberdeen Breviary (No. **14**, STC 15791). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in B27: **14**.

Alphabet 28. Lettre Tourné, Criblé Decoration (19× 19).

Almost certainly, Thomas Davidson acquired this series from Antwerp or Utrecht: in England, Ursin Mylner used an alphabet of similar design in his *c.* 1516 edition of William Lily's *Rudiments* (STC 15609.3). John Scot subsequently acquired the series, which in 1571 passed to Henry Charteris, who lent the letter Iii to Robert Lekpreuik that same year for his commissioned edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order (STC 16579.3). Following this, the series is untraced.

Occurs in A28i: bf **18**, **19**; A28ii: **18**, **19**; A28iii: **18**; B28: **18**; C28: **18**; D28: **18**, **22**, **27**; E28i: **22**; E28ii: **18**; E28iii: **18**; E28iv: **18**; F28i: **19**; F28ii: **18**; G28: **18**, **21**, **28**; I28i: **18**; I28ii: **18**, **138**; K28i: **18**; K28ii: **18**; M28: **18**, **21**, **23**, **28**; N28: **18**; O28: **18**; P28: **20**, **22**; S28: **18**; T28: **18**, **19**; U28: **18**.

Alphabet 29. Roman, Lettre Fleurie, 2-line Border (17 × 17).

This is an alphabet of Dutch origin, which was also copied and widely used throughout England. Robert Lekpreuik acquired the letter T, possibly from the printing-house of Christopher Plantin, who owned a similar version, or from a London supplier, such as John Day, who owned at least two sets. Robert Waldegrave acquired his set, which Lekpreuik never owned, directly from John Day. Several London printers owned copies of this design, including J. Oswen who used a version in his 1549 editions of C. Hegendorff's *Domestycal sermons* (STC 13022) and the Book of Common Prayer (STC 16276); and J. Tisdale who used the letter L in his 1570 edition of Virgil's *Works* (STC 24658). Other London printers using copies include Cawood, Whitchurch and Tottell, R. Ward, R. Grafton, and N. Okes.

Occurs in E29: **207**, **232**, **247**; L29: **275**, **285**; S29: **214**; T29: **39**, **40**, **41**.

Alphabet 30. Roman, Lettre Fleurie, 1-line Border (17 × 19).

Thomas Vautrollier used the letter A of this series of unknown provenance in his 1584 edition of H. Balnave's *Confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in A30: **185**.

Alphabet 31. Lettre Tourné, Criblé Decoration (17× 17).

Robert Lekpreuik used this alphabet of unknown provenance. R. Grafton owned a copy, used in his edition of P. Vergil (STC 24655). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in I31: **35**, **39**, **41**; P31: **41**, **49**.

Alphabet 32. Roman, Lettre Fleurie, 2-line Border (16 × 16).

Robert Waldegrave used this series of unknown provenance in a 1599 edition of Thomas Tusser's *Five hundreth points* (No. **316**, STC 24386). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in I32: **316**; G32: **316**; M32: **316**; W32: **316**.

Alphabet 33. Roman, Historiation, 1-line Border (15 × 15).

Robert Waldegrave used the letter M of this series of unknown provenance for his 1590 edition of H. Damman's *Schediasmata* (No. **198**, STC 6217). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in M33: **198**.

Alphabet 34. Roman, Lettre Fleurie, Lettre Criblé (15 × 14).

John Scot used the initial H in this series of unknown provenance for his 1552 edition of John Hamilton's *The catechisme* (No. **20**, STC 12731). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in H34: **20**.

Alphabet 35. Roman, Lettre Fleurie (14 × 14).

Robert Waldegrave used this alphabetical series of unknown provenance. The initial O was used in a 1599 edition of Thomas Tusser's *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386), which is not signed in Waldegrave's manner.

Occurs in N1: **255**; O1: **316**.

Factotums

Factotum 1. Factotum with two figures and tree. (66 × 61).

Robert Waldegrave acquired this factotum of unknown provenance in 1597. Following his death, it passed to T. Finlason. *See* H. G. Aldis in *TEBS*, iv (1893–4), pp. 1–15.

Occurs in **281**, **290**, **298**, **302**, **313**, **315**, **336**. State 1 is defined by damage to the rule of the inner frame. State 2 adds damage to the inner bottom border 18mm from the left. This occurs in 1597, appearing first in R6v of **290**, but not in P5r of the same book.

Factotum 2. Decorative factotum. (52 × 48).

Robert Waldegrave acquired this factotum of unknown origin. Passed to T. Finlason and his heirs.

Occurs in **335**.

Factotum 3. Decorative factotum. (42 × 39).

Robert Waldegrave used this factotum of unknown provenance. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **249**, **290**.

Factotum 4. Lace factotum. (29 × 29).

Thomas Vautrollier used this factotum of unknown origin. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **187**, **189**, **191**, **192**.

Factotum 5. Decorative factotum. (25 × 25).

Owned by Robert Waldegrave, who used it in his section of David Lindsay's *Works* (A1–8) (No. **222**; STC 15663), which has the imprint of Henry Charteris. Passed to T. Finlason.

Occurs in **198**, **212**, **213**, **214**, **222**, **236**, **238**, **249**, **284**, **290**, **331**.

Factotum 6. Factotum with two naked men. (20 × 20).

Waldegrave used this cast factotum, which was widespread throughout England, sometimes with a border which Waldegrave did not have. *See* A. Yamada, *Thomas Creede: Printer to Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Japan, 1981), Fa 6.

Occurs in **198**, **201**, **213**, **214**, **215**, **217**, **224**, **226**, **235**, **237**, **244**, **245**, **249**, **255**, **256**, **263**, **284**, **290**, **314**, **324**.

Factotum 7. Decorative factotum. (17 × 17).

Thomas Vautrollier used this factotum of unknown provenance. Passed to R. Field, who used it in his 1591 edition of H. Smith's *A preparative to marriage* (STC 22686).

Occurs in **187**, **191**.

Factotum 8. Arabesque factotum. (10 × 9).

Robert Waldegrave used this factotum of unknown provenance. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **209**, **217**, **219**, **223**, **224**, **225**, **226**, **255**, **262**, **275**, **276**, **290**, **295**, **296**, **315**, **329**.

Printers' Devices

Device 1. Framed device of a pelican in her piety. (111 × 85).

A device commissioned from the Flemish wood engraver Anton van Leest (*see* also Device 7), for Alexander Arbuthnet's 1582 edition of G. Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (**180**), printed for the bookseller Henry Charteris. Like Arbuthnet's smaller device, this one is a close copy of a similar device belonging to R. Jugge (McKerrow 123, 125), first used in 1552. The name of Alexander Arbuthnet occurs at the head; and his initials and arms at the foot of the device. The block is signed A. VL. Following Arbuthnet's death in 1584, Henry Chateris acquired both devices, although he did not use them. By 1604, both devices ended up in the hands of Thomas Finlason, who used the smaller without name, initial, engraver's mark, and shield. *See* McKerrow 228, who also wrongly ascribes the device to Assuerus von Londersel, a Flemish artist who executed woodcuts for Nicolas de Nicolay's *Travels*, printed at Antwerp, 1576.

Occurs in **162**, **180**.

Device 2. Device of a miller ascending a windmill by ladder, with a mark and the name 'Androv myllar'. At the upper corner are shields with the arms of France. (107 × 81).

Andro Myllar commissioned this from Rouen, where it is first used in Pierre Violett's 1506 edition of *Expositio sequentiarum*, printed for Myllar. A similar device is found on

bindings with the name Jehan Moulin. Myllar himself first used it with Chepman's device in the Chepman and Myllar prints of 1508. For the use of Myllar's device in dating the prints, *see* W. Beattie, 'Some Early Scottish Books', in *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honour of Robert Gordon Kant*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 107–20. This supersedes Beattie's own notes, in his facsimile edition of the Chepman and Myllar prints (Edinburgh, 1950). Myllar's device does not occur in the 1509–10 Aberdeen Breviary **14**, which can be taken as evidence that he had no part in printing the book. *See* McKerrow Device 22).

Occurs in **3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13.**

Device 3. Device of a shield with the initials W. C. hanging from a tree. Supported by a wild man and woman. (103 × 74).

Walter Chepman undoubtedly commissioned this from France: the figures are closely modelled on a device of the Parisian printer and bookseller, Philippe Pigouchet (McKerrow 29; Silvestre 71). Chepman first used this in the 1508 Chepman and Myllar prints, along with the device of his partner Andro Myllar. The device is also used in the 1509–10 Aberdeen Breviary, but without the device of Myllar.

Occurs in **4, 6, 12, 13, 14.**

Device 4. Device of an anchor and serpent upheld by two hands emerging from clouds. With the initials 'TB' added below the hands. *See* also Device 12. (98 × 68).

Probably cut in the Low Countries, where Bassandyne acquired the rest of his typographic materials. Copied from a device of Jean Crispen, printer at Geneva (1551–1571). *See* McKerrow 176.

Occurs in **136.**

Device 5. Shield suspended from a tree, supported by two wild men. Three owls in the tree and one below. With the initials 'TD' on the shield, and the printer's name 'Thomas Da' at the foot. On the face of the shield are three broad, barbed arrows, interlinked with the initials; these are the armorial charges of the Davidson (Dickson and Edmond, p. 106). (97 × 66).

Probably cut in France, where a similar device is found in the hands of R. Chaudière, printer at Paris, 1516–51 (Silvestre 568; McKerrow 65). Another device, similar to this one, was made for the London printer P. Treveris (McKerrow 60), from whom Davidson received some printing materials.

Occurs in **16.**

Device 6. Framed device of woman with open book and candle, with words 'Verbum Dei'. With initials of John Ross on either side and motto 'Vincet tandem Veritas' in the frame. (97 × 72).

Probably cut in the Low Countries, along with Device 10. John Ross acquired this device in 1575, at the start of his career. Following his death in 1580, it passed to Henry Charteris, who did not use the device. Robert Waldegrave acquired the device from Charteris in 1590, when it furst occurs in his edition of H. Damman's *Schediasmata* (No. **198**; STC 6217). In Waldegrave's hands, the device does not have Ross's initials or the words 'Verbum Dei' in the open book. Following Waldegrave's death in 1604, Thomas Finlason acquired the device, which then passed to Robert Young, and to George Anderson in 1637. *See* McKerrow 189.

Occurs in **140, 153, 159, 168, 169, 170, 198, 221, 243.**

Device 7. Framed device of a pelican in her piety, with supporters. For further description, *see* Device 1. (67 × 55).

Alexander Arbuthnet commissioned two versions of this device from the wood engraver Anton van Leest for his 1582 edition of G. Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (No. **180**; STC 3991), printed for the bookseller Henry Charteris. Charteris provided considerable capital for the publication of this book, which allowed Arbuthnet to invest in such devices. Following Arbuthnet's death in 1584, the devices passed to Charteris, who did not however use them. By 1604, they ended up in the hands of Thomas Finlason, who used them without the name, initial, engraver's mark, and shield (McKerrow 225).

Occurs in **162, 180, 184, 190.**

Device 8. Device of two women labelled 'Iustica' and 'Religio', with mottos 'Svvm Cviqve', 'Devm Cole', and 'his svffvlta dvrant'. Includes the initials of Henry Charteris. (63 × 52).

Henry Charteris probably commissioned this from the Low Countries, especially for his 1595 edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **266**; STC 16585). Following Charteris's death in 1599, the device passed to his son, Robert, who used it until *c.* 1610. It is thereafter found in the hands of Andrew Hart, and in 1621 in the hands of his heirs. In 1633, the Heirs of Andrew Hart use the device with the initials excised for an edition of A. Ramsay's *Poemata sacra*. *See* McKerrow 307.

Occurs in **265, 266, 267, 282, 323, 332.**

Device 9. Device of an anchor held by a hand from the clouds, with foliage and motto 'Anchora Spei' with an oval border. (58 × 45).

Another version of Vautrollier's Anchor device, used only in his Edinburgh editions of 1584–5. Anchor, symbolizing hope, is derived from Hebrews vi 19. *See* McKerrow 232.

Occurs in **187, 191, 192.**

Device 10. Framed device of woman with open book, with words 'Verbum Dei', and candle. With initials of John Ross on either side, and motto 'Vincet Tandem Veritas' in the frame. (50 × 42).

John Ross acquired this device in 1575 at the start of his career, probably from the Low Countries. Along with his other materials, it passed to Henry Charteris after Ross's death in 1580. Charteris did not use the device. Robert Waldegrave acquired the device from Charteris in 1590, using it in his 1590 edition of H. Damman's *Schediamata* (No. **198**; STC 6217), without the initials of Ross and the words 'Verbum Dei' in the open book. Following Waldegrave's death in 1604, Thomas Finlason acquired the device, which then passed to Robert Young, and in 1637 to George Anderson. Used by A. Anderson in 1670, and by his Heirs and successors in 1699. McKerrow 187. *See* also Device 6.

Occurs in **141, 142, 155, 157, 159, 161, 164, 167, 169, 198, 207, 208, 211, 216, 230, 231, 251.**

Device 11. Device of an anchor held by a hand from the sky, with foliage and motto 'Anchora Spei' within an oval. (33.5 × 26.5).

A crude version of Vautrollier's anchor device (McKerrow 170), only used in Vautrollier's Edinburgh editions of 1584. Probably passed to R. Field in 1588–9, and from him to George Miller in 1627. Abraham Myllar acquired the device in 1646. Anchor, a symbol of hope, is derived from Hebrews vi 19. McKerrow 233. *See* also Device 9.

Occurs in **185, 186, 188, 189.**

Device 12. Device of an anchor and serpent upheld by two hands emerging from clouds. With the initials 'TB' for Thomas Bassandyne added below the hands. (32 × 31).

Probably cut in the Low Countries, and copied from a device of Jean Crispen, printer at Geneva, 1550–1571. First used along with Bassandyne's other device in the 1574 edition of Sir David Lindsay's *Works* **136**. McKerrow 178. *See* also Device 4.

Occurs in **136, 139, 151.**

Title-Page Borders

Title-Page Border 1. Oblong compartment, with an ornate pillar on either side, surmounted by a vase with flowers. In the centre of the upper part of the frame is a vase, with a basilik on either side, each with a cornucopie. A group of cherubs is in the lower part. (155 × 107, enclosing 95 × 58).

This is a copy of the border used by J. Schoeffer at Mainz in 1522. Originally, this belonged to Peter Treveris, who used it in his undated edition of R. Whittinton's *Grammar* (STC 25522). Used also in Thomas Davidson's c. 1525 edition of *Ad serenissimum* (No. **16**, STC 14435), with a break of 6mm in the lower outer rule beginning 45mm from the left. *See* McKerrow & Ferguson Border 14.

Occurs in **16.**

Coat of Arms

Coat of Arms 1. The Scottish Royal Arms with unicorn supoprters. Below the shield hangs the order of St. Andrews (i.e. the Order of the Thistle), and above the ribbon is the motto 'In Defens'. At the sides, on small ribbons, are 'Iacobvs Rex 6'. (230 × 170).

Thomas Davidson commissioned this for the 1541 Acts of Pariament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5), although it also appears in his edition of Hector Boece's *History* (No. **18**, STC 3203). Robert Lekpreuik used it also in his editions of the Acts of Parliament. This might be the source of an armorial binding, probably executed in Edinburgh for Mary, Queen of Scots, 1566–8 (Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, p. 43; Pl. 13; G. Gordon Duff, in *SHR*, iv (1906–7), p. 438.

Occurs in **18, 19, 51, 52, 53, 69.**

Coat of Arms 2. The Scottish and Danish Royal Arms, supported by Unicorn and Griffin, with order of St. Andrews at foot, with motto 'In my defenc God me defend'. (121 × 85).

Commissioned for Waldegrave in 1597. Passed to Robert Charteris in 1603, who used it in Andrew Melville's *A godly dreme* (STC 17811).

Occurs in **207, 214, 218, 229, 244, 245, 246, 279, 288, 307, 314, 327.**

Coat of Arms 3. The Scottish Royal Arms, with Unicorn supporters. Below the shield hangs the order of St. Andrews (i.e. the Order of the Thistle), and above the ribbon is the motto 'In Defense'. At sides on small ribbons is 'Iacob*us* Sextvs'. (115 × 82).

A copy of Davidson's 'Coat of arms', probably commissioned for Bassandyne from the Low Countries. Used for printing the 1576–9 Bible (Nos. **147, 154**; STC 2125).

Occurs in **147, 154.**

Coat of Arms 4. Scottish and Danish Royal Arms, supported by a Unicorn and Griffin, with order of St. Andrews and foot. With motto 'In my defenc God me Defend'. (79 × 61).

Robert Waldegrave probably acquired this in 1597, probably with Coat of Arms 5 & 6. R. Schilders used a similar, but not identical, ornament in his 1602 edition of *The psalmes of David* (STC 16589. *See* J. D. Wilson, in *The Library*, ii (1909–11), pp. 65–134, No. 58.

Occurs in **279, 290.**

Coat of Arms 5. Scottish Royal Arms in scrollwork, with initials of Iacobus Rex. (60 × 60).

Waldegrave acquired this in 1597, probably with Coat of Arms 4 & 6.

Occurs in **302, 313, 327.**

Coat of Arms 6. Scottish Royal Arms, with motto 'In my defense God me defend' and initials of Iacobus Rex. (58 × 59).

Waldegrave aquired this in 1597, probably along with Coat of Arms 4 & 5.

Occurs in **281, 290, 291, 297, 298, 312, 336.**

Woodcuts

Woodcut 1. The efficacy of the rosary as a form of prayer. Used by Davidson. At bottom is a representation of purgatory, on either side of which are men and women saying the rosary. In the supper section is a chaplet of fifty roses, divided into five decades by five large roses, representing pater-noster beads. The figure of God is represented in the highest segment of the circle, along with the virgin and saints making their intercession. The upper left corner depicts the Mass of St. Gregory; the upper right corner depicts the stigmata of St. Francis. (184 × 154).

The association of the rosary and passion devotions was common in Scotland, occuring in ll. 5–7 of William Dunbar's 'The Passion of Christ' as well as the *c.* 1626 chapel ceiling of Provost Skene's house in Aberdeen. The design also has points in common with the Fetternear Banner. *See* D. McRoberts, in *Innes Review*, vii (1956), pp. 69–86; and D. McRoberts in *Innes Review*, xxiii (1972), pp. 81–6. Probably acquired from Northern France or the Low Countries.

Occurs in **18, 19.**

Woodcut 2. Headpiece, allegory of Love of God, with motto 'Amor pacis alumnes'. (139 × 23).

Used by Robert Waldegrave. Woodcuts 2–5 are sidepieces to a frame originally belonging to John Day. Cast duplicates were made from the original woodcuts, and used in Cambridge by Thomas Thomas and John Legate, who used them in his 1593 edition of Giles Fletcher's *Licia* (STC 11055). *See* J. Morris, in *Cambridge Bibliographical Society Transactions*, iv (1968), p. 346. The versions in use at Cambridge are different from those belonging to R. Waldegrave.

Occurs in **217, 218, 229, 302.**

Woodcut 3. Headpiece, allegory of Humility, with motto 'Pax infesta malis'. (135 × 23).

See note to woodcut 2 above.

Occurs in **195, 217, 218 229, 302.**

Woodcut 4. Headpiece, with motto 'Castitas'. (119× 23).

See note to woodcut 2 above. Bottom section is missing.

Occurs in **212, 217.**

Woodcut 5. Headpiece, allegory of Truth, with motto 'Veritas'. (121 × 23).

See note to woodcut 2 above. Bottom section is missing.

Occurs in **212, 217.**

Woodcut 6. Christ sitting in Judgement. (120 × 63).

Used by John Scot. Probably acquired from Thomas Davidson, who owned woodcuts of similar design. Scot used this in his 1556 edition of W. Lauder's *Ane compendious tractate* (No. **23**, STC 15314). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **23.**

Woodcut 7. A King in state. (118 × 60).

Probably originally belonged to Thomas Davidson, who acquired it from Lawrence Andrewe: the ornament is used in his 1527 edition of Vincentius's *The myrrour* (STC 24764). *See* also E. Hodnet, *English Woodcuts: 1480–1535* (Oxford, 1973). John Scot used this in his 1556 edition of W. Lauder's *Ane compendious tractate* (No. **23**, STC 15314). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **23.**

Woodcut 8. Satyr holding a circus mirror over his head. (107 × 56).

John Scot used this in his 1556 editions of William Lauder. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **24, 25.**

Woodcut 9. Christ on day of judgement, with depiction of Moses on upper left corner. (101 × 78).

John Scot probably acquired this from T. Davidson, who owned ornaments of similar design.

Occurs in **20, 36.**

Woodcut 10. King pointing a sceptre at Sir Rauf. (82 × 65).

H. Charteris probably acquired this from an English source for use in the 1572 edition of *Rauf Coilzear* (No. **112**, STC 5487), commissioned from the press of Robert Lekpreuik. *See* also woodcut 21.

Occurs in **112.**

Woodcut 11. Crucifixion, with St. Mary and St. John on either side of the cross in an attitude of adoration. (80 × 62).

Thomas Davidson used this ornament, possibly from Utrecht, in his *c.* 1540 edition of H. Boethius's *History* (No. **18**, STC 3203). This may be the possible source for the St. Andrews panel stamp binding, completed in the first half of the sixteenth century (Mitchell, *Scottish Bookbinding*, Pl. 7, pp. 16–7; G. Gordon Duff, 'Some Early Scottish Bookbindings and Collectors', *SHR*, iv (1906–7), p. 432; G. H. Bushnell, *From Papyrus to Print* (London, 1947), pp. 84–5). Elsewhere untraced. Damage occurs to the edges, and on the lower left side of the cross.

Occurs in **18**.

Woodcut 12. Rose. (72 × 44).

Robert Lekpreuik used this ornament of unknown provenance. Possibly Henry Charteris acquired it for him from an English source.

Occurs in **43**, **48**, **61**.

Woodcut 13. Hercules sailing to Hesperia, the island of the sheep, conquering the giant Philotes and his comrade. (69 × 78).

Jan van Doesborch used this in his 1517 edition of *Thuys der fortunen ende dat huys der doot*, and in his 1521 edition of *Die historie*, all printed in Antwerp. *See* W. Beattie, in *EBST*, iii (1957), pp. 31–46. Used in Thomas Davidson's *c.* 1540 edition of Hector Boece's *History* (No. **18**, STC 3203). Elsewhere untraced. Damage occurs to the bottom edge.

Occurs in **18**.

Woodcut 14. Hercules on his return from hunting, shot out of Troy by Laomedon. (69 × 65).

Jan van Doesborch previously used this in his 1532 edition of *Den groten herbarius* (probably printed in Utrecht), and in his undated edition of *Der vrouwen naturere ende complexie*, printed in Utrecht. Earlier, van Doesborch used it in 1521 for his Antwerp edition of *Die historie van den stercken Hercules*. This woodcut is similar, but not identical, to an ornament belonging to the London printer Peter Treveris (which is accidentally reproduced, instead of van Doesborch's original, in Dickson and Edmond, p. 11). *See* W. Beattie, in *EBST*, iii (1957), pp. 31–46. Used in Thomas Davidson's edition of Gavin Douglas's *Palace of honour* (No. **17**, STC 7072.8).

Occurs in **17**.

Woodcut 15. Portrait of a bearded man with hat on right side of compartment. (63 × 33).

Acquired from the Antwerp printer Jan van Doesborch. *See* woodcuts 16, 19. Used in Thomas Davidson's edition of Gavin Douglas's *Palice of honour* (No. **17**, STC 7072.8). Damage occurs to the top edge of this impression.

Occurs in **17**.

Woodcut 16. Upper half of a male and female figure, holding a sceptre in her left hand, within a pillored compartment. (65 × 60).

Jan van Doesborch previously used this in his edition of *Den oorspronck onser salicheyt*. Used in Thomas Davidson's 1541 edition of the Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5). Elsewhere untraced. Damage occurs to the left side 5mm from the top. A close copy is included in van Doesborch's *c.* 1520 edition of *The dialogues of creatures moralysed* (STC 6815).

Occurs in **19**.

Woodcut 17. Angel on a pedestal. (60 × 37).

Robert Lekpreuik used this ornament of unknown provenance in his 1563 edition of George Hay's *The confutation* (No. **40**, STC 12968). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **40**.

Woodcut 18. Figures of death with a serpent twisted around its feet, appearing to a man with a hawk on his wrist. (59 × 65).

Previously, Jan van Doesborch used this in Antwerp in his *Dialoges of creatures moralysed* (STC 6815), *c.* 1530. Used in Thomas Davidson's 1541 Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21877.5). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **19**.

Woodcut 19. Two birds facing each other in a wood. (56 × 67).

Jan van Doesborch previously used this in his Antwerp edition of *The dialogos of creatures moralysed*, printed *c.* 1530 (STC 6815). Davidson acquired the ornament, which subsequently passed to John Scot, who used it in his 1559 edition of David Lindsay's *Ane dialog* (No. **28**, STC 15675).

Occurs in **28**, **68**, **74**, **105**.

Woodcut 20. Two hands emerging from clouds with sword and branch supporting crown. With 'Marte et Minerva' inscribed on ribbon. (50 × 60).

Undoubtedly, commissioned specially for Vautrollier's 1584 edition of *The essayes of a prentise* (No. **187**, STC 14373).

Occurs in **187**, **191**.

Woodcut 21. Head of a man and woman. (46 × 69).

The London printer John Day originally used this in his 1558 edition of Johannes ab Indagine's *Brief introduction vnto the art of chiromancy* (STC 14075). Day's woodcut was copied from one appearing in the French editions of Indagine, printed at Lyons in 1549 (BN: Res v. 2243) and 1556 (L: 719 c.8) by Jean de Tourn, who also used it in a Latin edition of 1582 (L: 8632 b.43). De Tourn's woodcut was, in turn, copied from one appearing in a 1522 edition of Indagine printed at Strasburg by J. Schott. *See* W. Beattie (ed.), *Rauf Coiyear* (Edinburgh, 1966), p. xii. The bookseller Henry Charteris acquired the woodcut from John Day along with other alphabets, and lent it to Scottish printers such as Robert Lekpreuik and John Scot, from whom he commissioned work. The appearance of this woodcut may indicate the otherwise unseen hand of Henry Charteris, who himself used the ornament in his 1597 edition of Sir David Lindsay's *Works* (No. **283**, STC 15664.3).

Occurs in **105**, **112**, **283**.

Woodcut 22. Crown, with wreath and initials for Iacobis Rex. (45 × 33).

Undoubtedly, this was cut specially for Vautrollier's work in Scotland, although it is only found in the 1584 edition of Saluste du Bartas's *The historie of Judith* (No. **189**, STC 21671).

Occurs in **189**.

Woodcut 23. Hercules with a club in the act of striking a centaur. (33 × 50).

John Scot used this ornament possibly as his device. It was apparently part of a larger block, or may have been originally intended for combining with others to form an ornamental framework (Dickson and Edmond, pp. 157–8). Scot probably acquired this from Thomas Davidson, who used woodcuts of a similar design (*see* woodcuts 26, 27). Almost certainly acquired from Northern France or the Low Countries.

Occurs in **20**, **21**, **22**, **23**, **26**, **28**, **36**.

Woodcut 24. Monogram of heavy Roman capitals. (33 × 33).

Probably acquired from Northern France or the Low Countries. Used in Thomas Davidson's 1541 edition of the Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21877.5). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **19**.

Woodcut 25. Man with hound. (30 × 24).

John Scot probably acquired this from Thomas Davidson, who used other woodcuts of similar design (*see* woodcuts 26, 27). Almost certainly acquired from Northern France or the Low Countries.

Occurs in **21**, **68**, **74**, **105**.

Woodcut 26. A griffin. (30 × 24).

Thomas Davidson probably acquired this from Northern France, using it in his 1541 edition of the Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5). John Scot subsequently acquired the ornament, along with a number having similar designs (*see* woodcuts 23, 25).

Occurs in **19**, **68**, **74**, **105**.

Woodcut 27. Naked man with shield and club in the act of striking. (30 × 24).

Thomas Davidson probably acquired this from Northern France or the Low Countries, using it in his 1541 edition of the Acts of Parliament (No. **19**, STC 21878.5). This ornament or one of similar design was used by J. Rastell in his *New commodye* (STC 20721), printed *c.* 1525.

Occurs in **19**.

Headpieces and Tailpieces

Tailpiece 1. Diamond-shaped arabesque. (63 × 50).

Robert Lekpreuik used this arabesque of unknown provenance. A number of London printers used arabesques of similar but not identical design, including T. Harper in his 1629 edition of William Camden's *Historie of Elizabeth* (STC 4498) and John Day in his 1578 edition of Hugh Latimer's *27 sermons* (STC 15279). Day's arabesque tailpiece was not the one used by Lekpreuik.

Occurs in **33**, **40**, **41**, **45**, **49**, **51**, **52**, **53**, **55**, **58**.

Tailpiece 2. Diamond-shaped arabesque. (63 × 50).

This may actually be a damaged version of tailpiece 1, used by Lekpreuik during the 1560s. Thomas Bassandyne acquired it for use in his 1575 edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **139**, STC 16580).

Occurs in **114**, **115**, **128**, **129**, **134**, **139**, **152**.

Tailpiece 3. Diamond-shaped arabesque. (41 × 42).

Henry Charteris acquired this in 1571 for Lekpreuik's edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **106**, STC 16579.3). Undoubtedly, it originated from England, where close copies were used by J. Windet for his 1586 edition of *An historicall discourse* (STC 691), and T. Owen for his 1589 edition of J. Norris's *Ephemeris* (STC 18653). Charteris lent the arabesque tailpiece to a number of printers executing commissions on his behalf, including Robert Lekpreuik, John Ross, and Robert Waldegrave. Henry Charteris himself used it for editions in 1596 and 1599. Following his death, the tailpiece was used by Waldegrave, and finally passed to Robert Charteris. The presence of this ornament usually indicates a commission from Henry Charteris.

Occurs in **106**, **138**, **142**, **153**, **155**, **156**, **159**, **161**, **163**, **165**, **169**, **170**, **204**, **208**, **214**, **257**, **265**, **286**, **287**, **310**, **315**, **337**, **323**.

Tailpiece 4. Headpiece with Scottish Royal Arms. (39 × 163).

Waldegrave acquired this headpiece, probably as part of his 1597 acquisition of Bassandyne and Arbuthnet's old stock from Henry Charteris.

Occurs in **290, 312, 315.**

Tailpiece 5. Oblong tailpiece with spirals. (33 × 81).

Thomas Bassandyne probably originally owned this ornament, which formed part of Robert Waldegrave's 1597 acquisition. The tailpiece almost certainly originated from the Low Countries. One of the spirals on the upper part of this block was defaced between the printing of fols. 35 and 40 in Waldegrave's 1597 edition of the Acts of Parliament (STC 21877). Following Waldegrave's death in 1604, the block passed to Thomas Finlason. *See* Aldis, *Finlason*, No. 5.

Occurs in **281, 290, 291, 302.**

Tailpiece 6. Oval tailpiece. (39 × 40).

Robert Lekpruik originally owned this ornament of unknown origin, lending it to John Scot in 1568 to print an edition of David Lindsay's *Works* for Henry Charteris (Nos. **68** & **74**, STC 15658 ff).

Occurs in **51, 52, 53, 68, 69, 74.**

Tailpiece 7. Arabesque tailpiece. (30 × 30).

Robert Lekpreuik used this tailpiece, which is elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **29, 33, 34, 41, 52, 53, 58.**

Tailpiece 8. Rectangular tailpiece. (21 × 49).

Jan van Doesborch used this in his edition of *The dialoges of creatures moralysed* (STC 6815). Thomas Davidson acquired, but did not use this tailpiece, which subsequently passed to John Scot for his editions of David Lindsay's *Works* (Nos. **68** & **74**, STC 15658 ff).

Occurs in **68, 74, 105.**

Tailpiece 9. Headpiece with birds. (19 × 25).

This cast headpiece was widely used throughout England. In Scotland, both Thomas Vautrollier and Robert Waldegrave had copies: Waldegrave acquired his from John Day, and Vautrollier's passed to Robert Field upon his death. This tailpiece is used in an anonymously printed 1599 edition of Thomas Tusser's *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386), a book correctly attributed to Waldegrave but not signed in his manner. London printers with the design include G. Eld in his 1612 edition of *Great Brittans mourning garment* (STC 13158); B. Alsop in his 1621 edition of William Crashaw's *The jesuites gospel* (STC 6017); T. Creede in his 1598 edition of Robert Dallington's *View of Fraunce* (STC 6203); R. Bradock in his 1602 edition of *Antonios revenge* (STC 17474); W. Jaggard in his 1602 edition of *The whole contention* (STC 26101). Other English printers using this ornament include J. Legate, F. Kingston, and J. Windet. *See* A. E. M. Kirwood, in *The Library*, iv (1931–2), No. 5; J. Morris, in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv (1968), Headpiece 1; D. Woodfield, *Surreptitous Printing in England: 1550–1640* (New York, 1973): Field Ornament 7, Wolfe Ornament 4.

Occurs in **187, 189, 191, 192, 197, 198, 204, 207, 208, 212, 217, 218, 221, 228, 229, 233, 238, 243, 246, 254, 257, 260, 261, 279, 294, 327, 331, 334.**

Tailpiece 10. Headpiece of cupid surrounded by flowers. (18 × 17).

This tailpiece is used in an anonymously printed 1599 edition of Thomas Tusser's *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (STC 24386), a book correctly attributed to Waldegrave but not signed in his manner.

Occurs in **316.**

Tailpiece 11. Headpiece of cupid surrounded by flowers. (18 × 60).

This cast headpiece was widely used throughout England. Robert Waldegrave lent it to Thomas Thomas for the printing of his 1585 edition of William Whitaker's *Answere* (STC 25364). Following Waldegrave's death in 1604, E. Allde acquired the ornament. *See* R. B. McKerrow, in *The Library*, iv (1939–30), pp. 121–62, Ornament 13; and J. Morris, in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv (1968), pp. 339–62, Headpiece 3.

Occurs in **197, 198, 200, 204, 207, 208, 211, 213, 214, 217, 220, 224, 226, 230, 238, 246, 251, 255, 260, 274, 275, 279, 281, 288, 296, 328.**

Tailpiece 12. Lace headpiece. (17 × 69).

Robert Waldegrave acquired this in 1597, along with other ornaments belonging to Thomas Bassandyne from the bookseller Henry Charteris. As with the rest of Bassandyne's stock this tailpiece probably originated from the Low Countries. Waldegrave brought it with him to London in 1603. The ends at either side are cut off with its use in the 1603 edition of *Basilicon doron* (STC 14349). *See* W. A. Jackson, in *The Library*, v (1958), pp. 225–33, No. 10.

Occurs in **281, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 295, 302, 308, 311, 314, 315, 318, 324, 327, 328, 331, 333, 334, 337.**

Tailpiece 13. Lace headpiece. (18 × 59).

Thomas Vautrollier used this lace headpiece of unknown provenance for his 1584 editions of Henry Balnaves's *Confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340) and Thomas Becon's *The sycke mannes salue* (No. **186**, STC 1763). Elsewhere this ornament is untraced.

Occurs in **185, 186.**

Tailpiece 14. Globe with cornucopias. (12 × 49).

Thomas Vautrollier used this headpiece of unknown provenance in his edition of Henry Balnaves's *Confession of faith* (No. **185**, STC 1340). The ornament later passed to R. Field, who used it in four books during 1590–1, including an edition of *A preparatiue to mariage* (STC 22686), by Henry Smith, Monster. *See* A. E. M. Kirwood, in *The Library*, iv (1931–2), pp. 1–39, No. 20.

Occurs in **185.**

Tailpiece 15. Headpiece with 2 dragons on either side. (10 × 57).

This tailpiece of unknown provenance is used in an anonymously printed 1599 edition of Thomas Tusser's *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (No. **316**, STC 24386), a book correctly attributed to Waldegrave but not signed in his manner. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **316.**

Tailpiece 16. Oblong interlaced ornament. (9 × 62).

Robert Lekpreuik used this ornament of unknown provenance. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **29.**

Tailpiece 17. Oblong interlaced ornament. (7 × 70).

Robert Waldegrave used this ornament of unknown provenance, similar to tailpieces 18 and 19 below. *See* W. A. Jackson, in *The Library*, v (1958), pp. 225–33), No. 9. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **285, 287, 289, 294, 295, 308, 316, 324, 329, 333, 334.**

Tailpiece 18. Oblong interlaced ornament of similar design to tailpiece 17 above and 19 below. (7 × 55).

Robert Waldegrave owned this ornament of unknown provenance. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **198, 200, 204, 210, 211, 213, 214, 216, 217, 219, 224, 225, 226, 230, 275, 296, 314, 329.**

Tailpiece 19. Oblong interlaced ornament of similar design to tailpieces 17 and 18 above. (7 × 55).

Robert Waldegrave owned this ornament of unknown provenance. Similar but not identical to an ornament used by T. Este in his 1590 edition of T. Watson's *Italian madrigalls* (STC 25119). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **255, 256, 263, 264, 275, 280, 296, 314, 318, 328, 331.**

Tailpiece 20. Oblong ornament, dated 1582. (8×44).

Tailpieces 20–29 all were owned by Robert Waldegrave, and cut in 1582.

Occurs in **187, 191, 197, 212, 214, 215, 217, 223, 229, 233, 244, 252, 255, 260, 262, 275, 288, 302, 335.**

Tailpiece 21. Oblong ornament with shell.

Used by Robert Waldegrave. (8 × 44).

Occurs in **212, 215, 216, 217, 223, 229, 235, 237, 249, 262, 293, 302.**

Tailpiece 22. Oblong ornament with horned figure and birds. (8 × 44).

Owned by Robert Waldegrave. A copy was also used by T. Buck and R. Daniel, Cambridge in 1634.

Occurs in **204, 209, 212, 213, 215, 217, 255, 262, 325, 334.**

Tailpiece 23. Oblong ornament with winged figure. (8 × 44).

Used by Robert Waldegrave.

Occurs in **212, 213, 215, 217, 223, 226, 231, 235, 237, 262, 325.**

Tailpiece 24. Oblong ornament with bell. (8 × 44).

Used by Robert Waldegrave.

Occurs in **212, 215, 217, 223, 224, 229, 231, 246, 262, 302.**

Tailpiece 25. (8 × 44). Oblong ornament with face at centre and dragon heads at either side.

Used by Robert Waldegrave.

Occurs in **200, 207, 212, 215, 217, 218, 225, 229, 235, 237.**

Tailpiece 26. Oblong ornament with two bearded faces at centre, and angels playing pipes at sides. (8 × 44).

Used by Robert Waldegrave.

Occurs in **212, 213, 214, 215, 218, 229.**

Tailpiece 27. Oblong cut with two reclining figures at either side. (8 × 44).

Used by Robert Waldegrave.

Occurs in **198, 215, 218, 223, 228, 229, 245, 262, 296, 302, 325.**

Tailpiece 28. Oblong ornament with winged horse and two sea-serpents. (8 × 44).

Used by Robert Waldegrave.

Occurs in **212, 215, 217, 218, 229, 244, 245, 262, 274, 296, 325.**

Tailpiece 29. Oblong ornament with cherub at foot. (8 × 44).

Used by Robert Waldegrave.

Occurs in **198, 204, 215, 217, 238, 262.**

Tailpiece 30. Oblong ornament. (8 × 9).

Vautrollier used this ornament of unknown provenance for his 1584 and 1585 editions of *The essayes of a prentise* (Nos. **187** & **191**, STC 14373 & 14374). Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **187**, **191**.

Tailpiece 31. Oblong ornament. (5 × 45).

Robert Waldegrave used this ornament of unknown provenance. Elsewhere untraced.

Occurs in **226**.

R1. 4-LINE PICA ROMAN CAPITALS

A B I O

R2. 3-LINE PICA ROMAN CAPITALS

F

R3. 2-LINE DOUBLE-ROMAN PICA

A B D E

F H I

L M N O

P R S T

X

R4*a*. 2-LINE ENGLISH ROMAN

B G I N S

T W Y

R4*b*. 2-LINE ENGLISH ROMAN

C E I L O

R T

R4*c*. 2-LINE ENGLISH ROMAN

E I M T

R5. 2-LINE ENGLISH ROMAN

A B C D E F

G H I K L M

N O P R S

T V W Y Z

R6. 2-line Pica Roman Capitals

A B C D E

G I

L M N O P

R S T V

X =

R7. 2-line Great Primer Capitals

B F I N O

P R

R8. 2-line Small Pica Roman Capitals

A B C D E F

G H I M

N O P R S

T V X Y -

R9*a*. 2-line Double Pica Roman

A B C D E G

H I L M N O

P Q R S T

a c d e g

h i l m n o

p r s t u

x y æ ſ ﬁ ﬂ

& 1 5 8 9 0 7

. , :

R9*b*. 2-line Double Pica Roman

A B C D E F

G H I L M

N O P Q R S

T V X Y -

R10*a*. Double-Pica Roman Capitals

A C E F H

O S T Y

R10*b*. Double-Pica Roman Capitals

A B C D E F

G H I K L M

N O P R S

T V

a b c d e f

g h i k l m

n o p r s

t u w x y

ct ſ ſſ ſt ſi .

R11. Double-Pica Roman

Tacefhprtu.

R12*a*. Paragon Roman

A C E F G H

I K N O P

R S T X

R12*b*. Paragon Roman

A B C D E

G I L M

N O P R S

T V X ,

R13. Great Primer Roman

A B D E F

G H I M

N O R S

T V

R14. Great Primer Roman

A B C D E G H I K L M

N O P Q R S T V X Y

R15. English Roman

A C D E G I

N Q R S T

a b c d e f g h i l m

n o p r s t u

ſ ſt ſi .

R16. English Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M

N O P Q R S T V W X

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

n o p q r ſ t u v w x y z

ſ ſh ſi ſl ſſ ſſi ff fi fl ffi x & Æ

& ( ) , . ? - ā

ı ȝ 8 o

R17. English Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M

N O P Q R S T V Y

a b c d e f g h i k l m

n o p q r s t u v x y z

ā ē ī ō ū ꝑ ꝰ & ꝙ & œ

ſ ſi ſl ſſ ſt (: ℂ . , ⁹

R18. English Roman

A B C D E F G H I L M

N O P Q R S T V

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

n o p q r s t u v w x y

ſ ſh ſſ ſt ſi fl ffi ffl ā ē ō ſt

& ( ) . , : ¶ è ſl ı + ȝ 8

R19a. English Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M
N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i k l m
n o p q r s t u v w y z
ſ ſi ſſ ſt ſh ſl ſſi fi ff ffi ffl
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
: [ ] ſ ? . ( ) -
á é í ó ú ę ã ẽ ĩ õ è ò
& ct ỹ j

R21. Pica Roman

A B C D E F H I
N O P Q R S T V
a b c d e f g h i l m
n o p q r s t u v x
ſ fi ff ft ffi fh fm
ct z & á ò i ę ũ ( )
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 . : i -

R19b. English Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M
N O P Q R S T V X Æ
a b c d e f g h i j l m
n o p q r s t u v x y z
ſ fi ff ft ffi ff fh ffi
& œ ct à è ù q́ á é ó ú ⁹
1 2 3 4 5 7 9 ●
( ) . , ; : ? - ¶

R22. Pica Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M
N O P Q R S T V W X Æ
a b c d e f g h i j k l m
n o p q r s t u v w x y z
ſ fi ff ft ffi fh ff fh ſh ỹ ó ¶
& ct z è é ó ū á 1 2 4 5
† [ ] ( ) , • - ò

R20. Pica Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M
N O P Q S T V W Y
a b c d e f g h i j k l m
n o p q r s t u v w x y z
ī ẽ ō ū & ct ꝓ
ſ ſh ñ ff ft ffi ff fi fl ffi ffl
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
: ? . , ( ) -

R23. Pica Roman

A B C D E F G H I L M
N O P Q R S T V
a b c d e f g h i l m
n o p q r s t u v x z
ſ fi ff ft fi ffi &
z œ ct à è ì ò ù ā ē Æ ū
ę i ⁹ 1 2 3 5 7 8 9
: . , ? ; -

R24a. Small Pica Roman

A B C D E F G H I L M

N O P Q R S T V VV

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

n o p q r s t u v w x y

ſ ſh ſi ſl ſſ ſt ff fi

& &t á

( ) . , : -

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

R24b. Small Pica Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M

N O P Q R S T V W X Z

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

n o p q r s t u v w x y z

ſ fi ſſ ft ffi fi ff fl ffi Æ

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

à è ò â ç é ō ū æ &t & ’

: . , ; „ - ? ¶ ( )

R25. Long Primer Roman

A B C D E F G H I L

O P Q R S T V

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

n o p q r s t u v w x y

ſ ſh ſi ſſ ſt ffi fi ff fl

5 6 7 8 9

: . , ’ ( ) -

R26. Long Primer Roman

A B E F G I K M

N P R S T

a b c d e f g h i k l m

n o p q r s t u v w x y

ſ fi ſh ff & ī ē . .

1 ’ 7 0

R27. Long Primer Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M

N O P Q R S T V VV X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i k l m

n o p q r s t u v w x y

ſ fi ſh ff ft ff fi fl ffi

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

& &t ȳ ō æ ꝛ ꝓ ꝑ

: ( ) ſ , . -

R28. Bourgeois Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M

N O Q R S T V W

a b c d e f g h i k l m

n o p q r s t u v w y ȝ

A C D L N O T ſ ſh ffi &t ſt ſi

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 ĕ

R29. Bourgeois Roman

A B C D E F G H I L

N O P Q R S T V X Y

a b c d e f g h i j l m

n o p q r s t u v x y

A B C D E I

N O P R S T V

ſ ſſ ſi ſl z & &

([ ] . , :

R30. Brevier Roman

A B C D E F G H I K L M

N O P Q R S T V W Æ

a b c d e f g h i l m

n o p q r s t u v x y z

ſ fi ff fl ffi ffl á é ó ú

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

& &c è q á . ; ( )

IT1. Double Pica Italic

A A B C C D E E F

G H I J K L M M

N O P Q R S T V W

a b c d e f g h i

j k l m n o p r

s t u v y w x y z

ſ ſb ſi ſp ſſ ß ſt æ &

ff fi ſt ſt is as ẽ õ ũ

e . ( ) - : ; ? ,

IT2. Great Primer Italic

A C S c d e f h i l n o r

s t u v w ſi ſt a

IT3a. English Italic



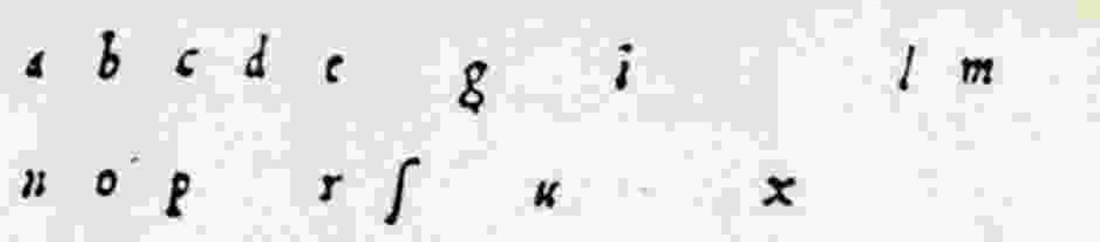
IT3b. English Italic



IT3c. English Italic



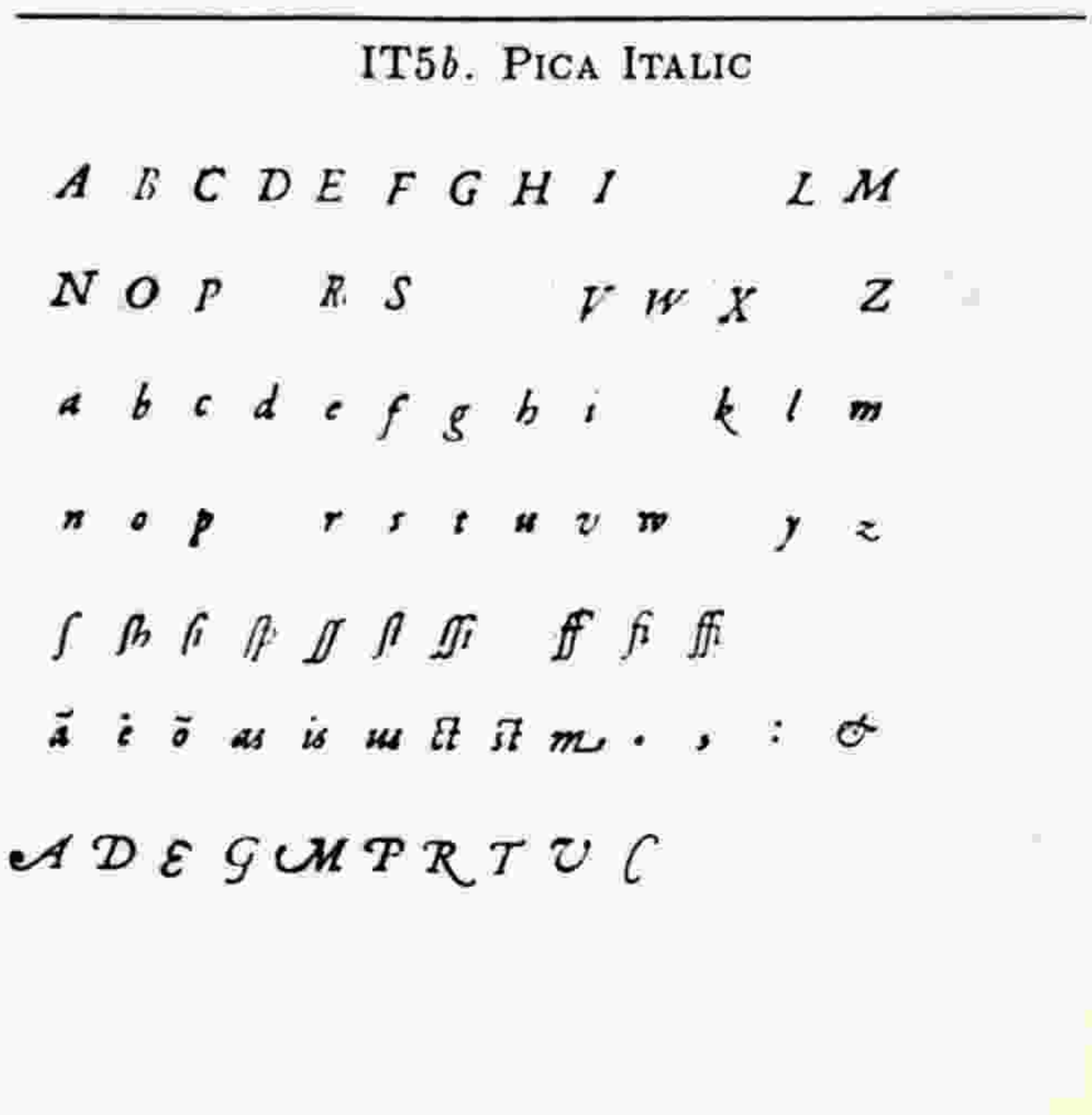
IT4. Pica Italic



IT5a. Pica Italic



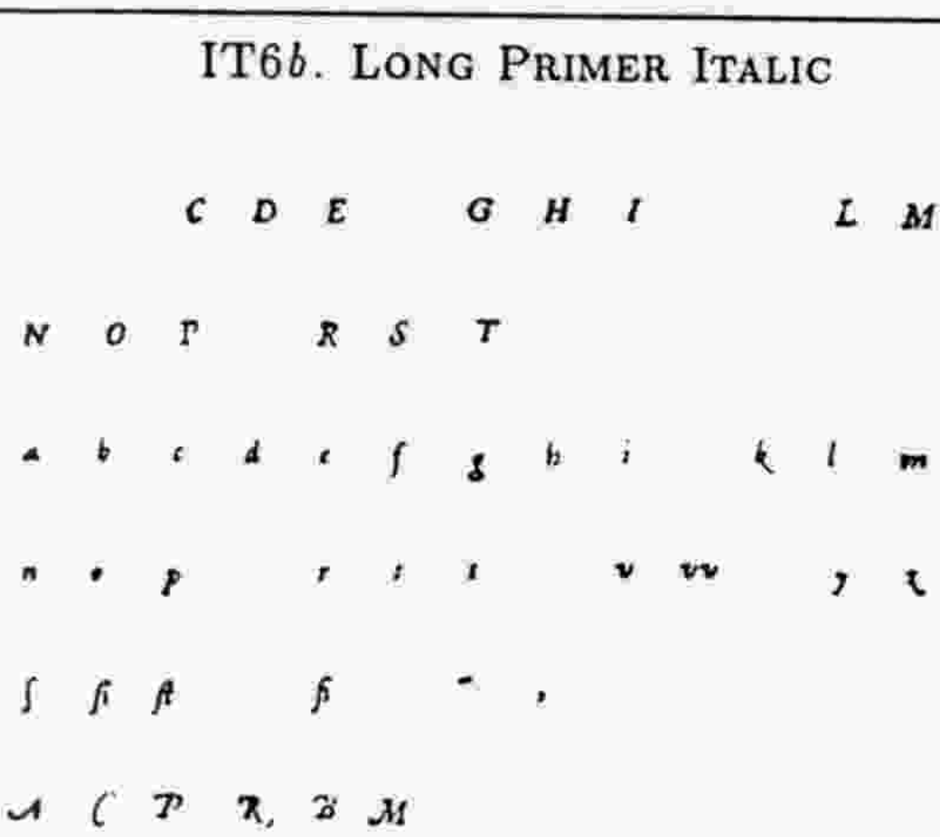
IT5b. Pica Italic



IT6*a*. Long Primer Italic



IT6*b*. Long Primer Italic



T1*a*. 2-line Great Primer Textura



T1*b*. 2-line Great Primer Textura



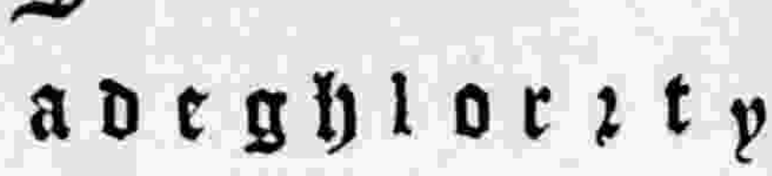
T1*c*. 2-line Great Primer Textura



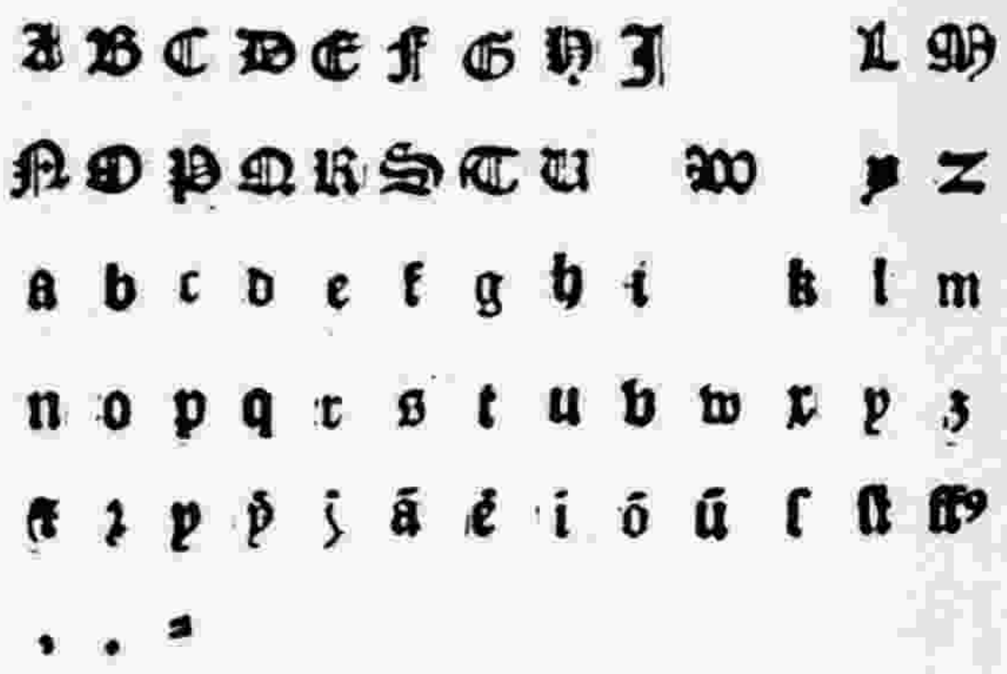
T2. Great Primer Textura



T3. Great Primer Textura



T4*a*. English-bodied French Textura



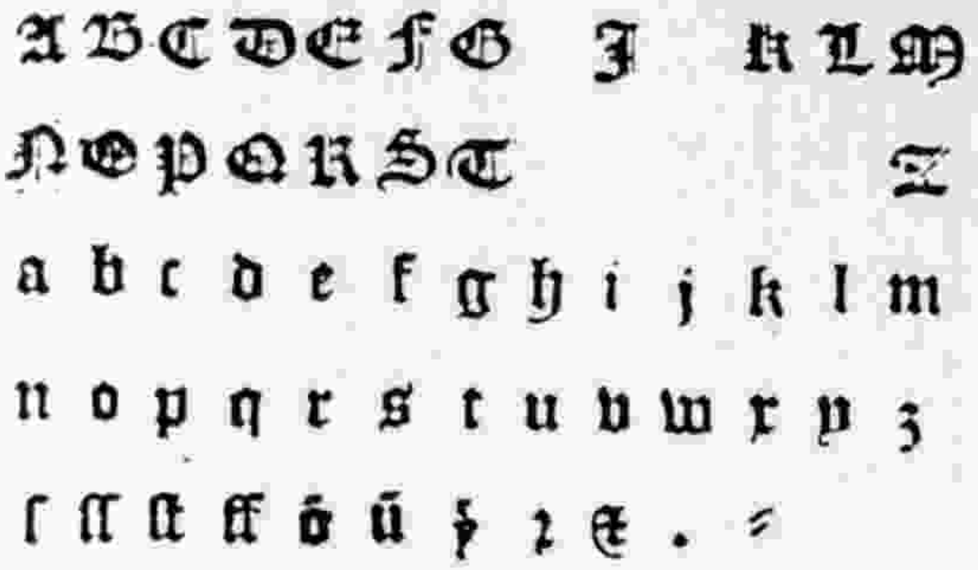
T4*b*. English-bodied French Textura



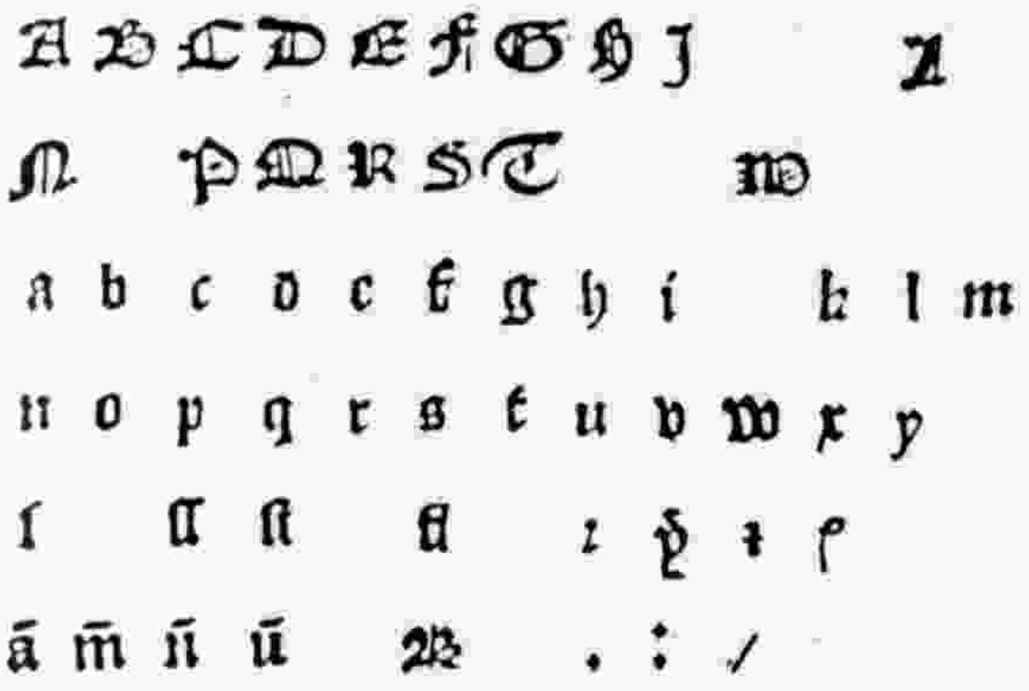
T5*a*. English-bodied Textura



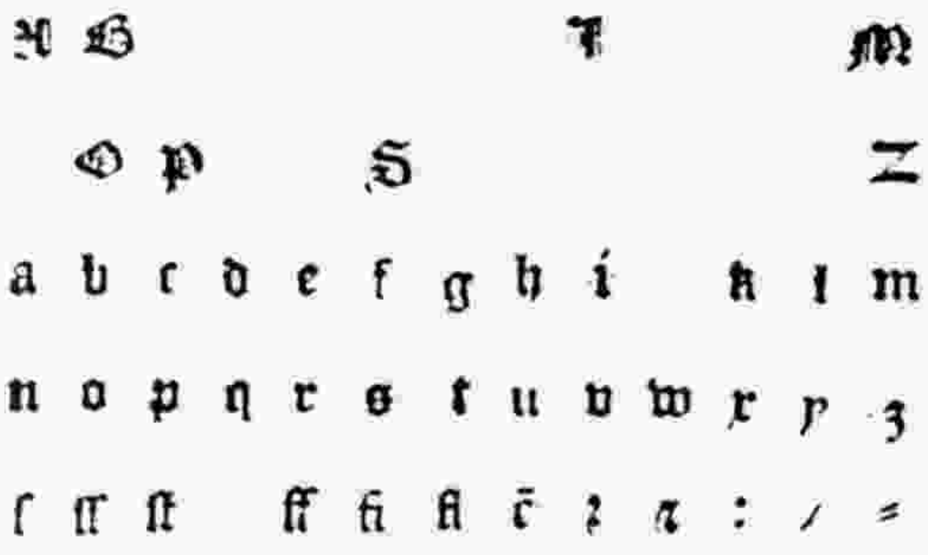
T5*b*. English-bodied Textura



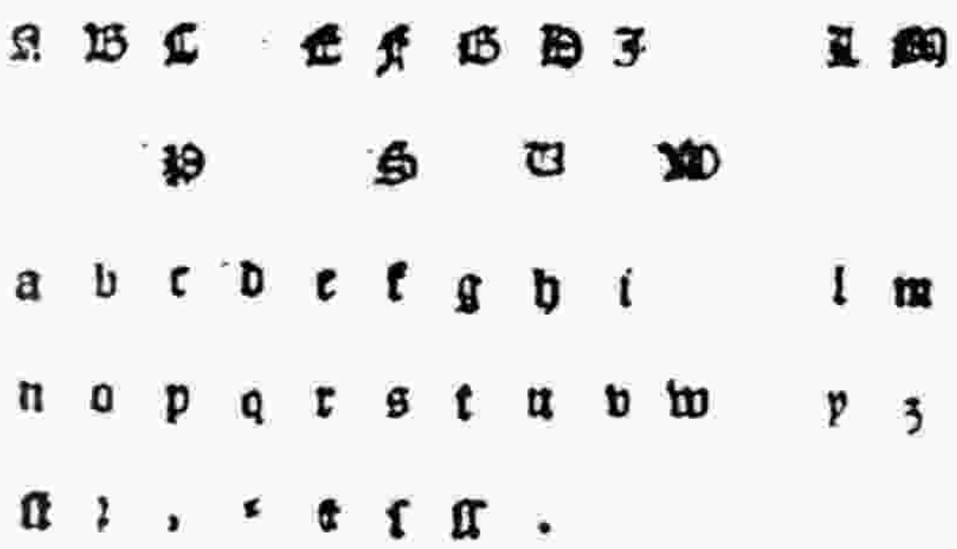
T6. English-bodied French Textura



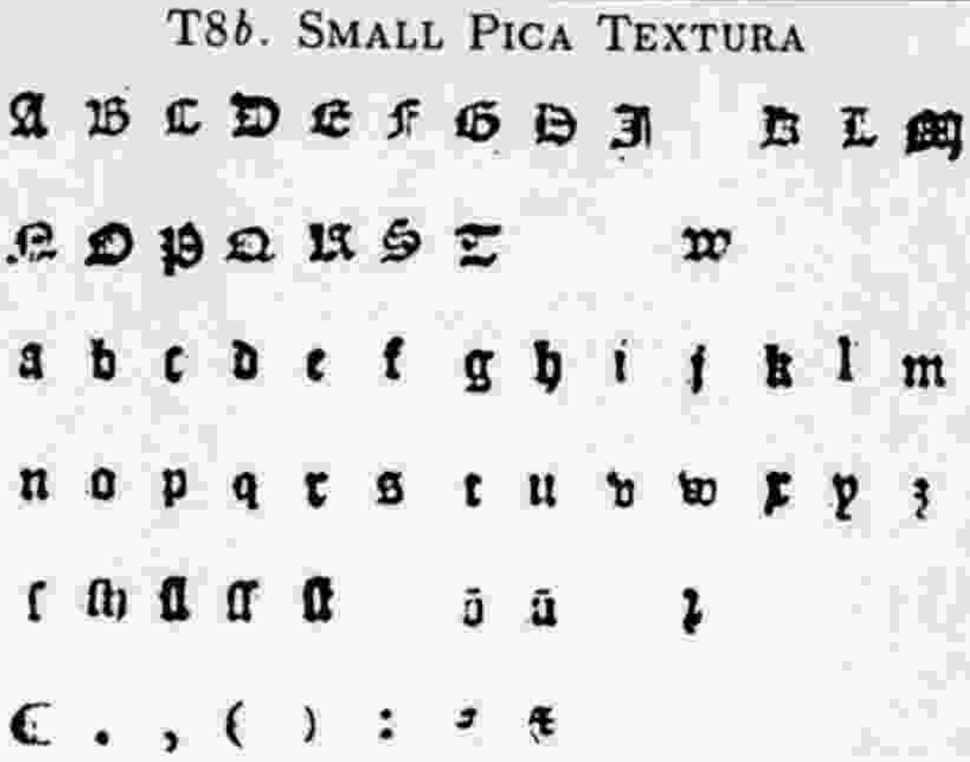
T7. Pica Textura



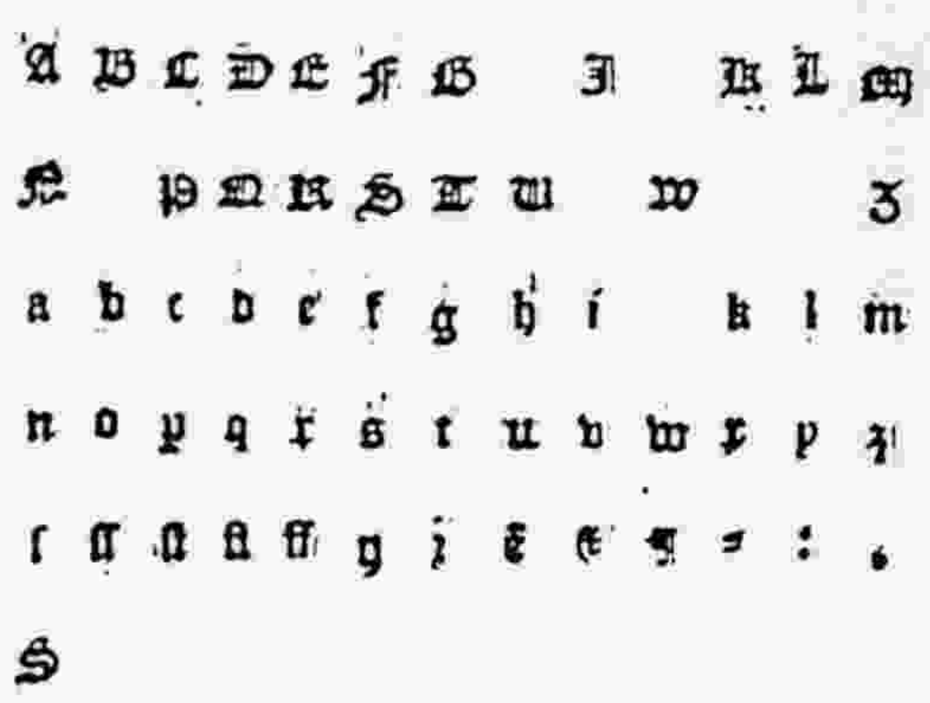
T8*a*. Small Pica Textura



T8*b*. Small Pica Textura



T8*c*. Small Pica Textura



T9*a*. French Long Primer Textura



T9*b*. French Long Primer Textura



G1. 2-line Greek Capitals

Σ

G2. English Greek

Γ Δ Θ Λ Π Σ

α γ δ ε ζ η θ ϑ ι

λ μ ν ξ ο π ϛ τ

υ φ χ ψ ω

ὰ ᾴ ᾶ ᾷ ἃ ἇ ὶ ἰ ᾔ ῆ

ὴ ῃ ἱ ῑ ᾳ ᾷ ὅ ῥ ῤ ὐ ῦ

ῆ ῷ ε ϰ ⊂ ϖ χϸρ ῳῦ

G3. Long Primer Greek

α β c γ δ ε ϰ ϑ ι × λ μ

ν ξ ο π ϖ ρ σ ς τ υ χ ψ ω

G4. Bourgeois Greek

s after this reuelation the Pope or Antichriſt began to be manifeſt
lde: for theſe greke characteres, χι ξ ſt, ſignifie 666: and this no
ıered of the ſimple nomber, λ α ι ν ο ς. which in the whole mak
ſignifieth Lateinus, or Latin, which noteth the Pope or Antichriſt
h in all things the Latin tongue, and in reſpect thereof he contem

C1. Pica Civilité

ſ a c ſ g i l m n p ſ t

U1. Uncials on Double Pica

Ħ Ꝺ ɵ

Ƀ Ɲ Ǫ

ȣ

U2. Uncials on Paragon

Ɑ Ꝺ ɛ Ħ

ơ ɪ o ρ

U3. Paragon Uncials

I S

U4. Brevier Uncials

I

U5a. Long Primer Uncials

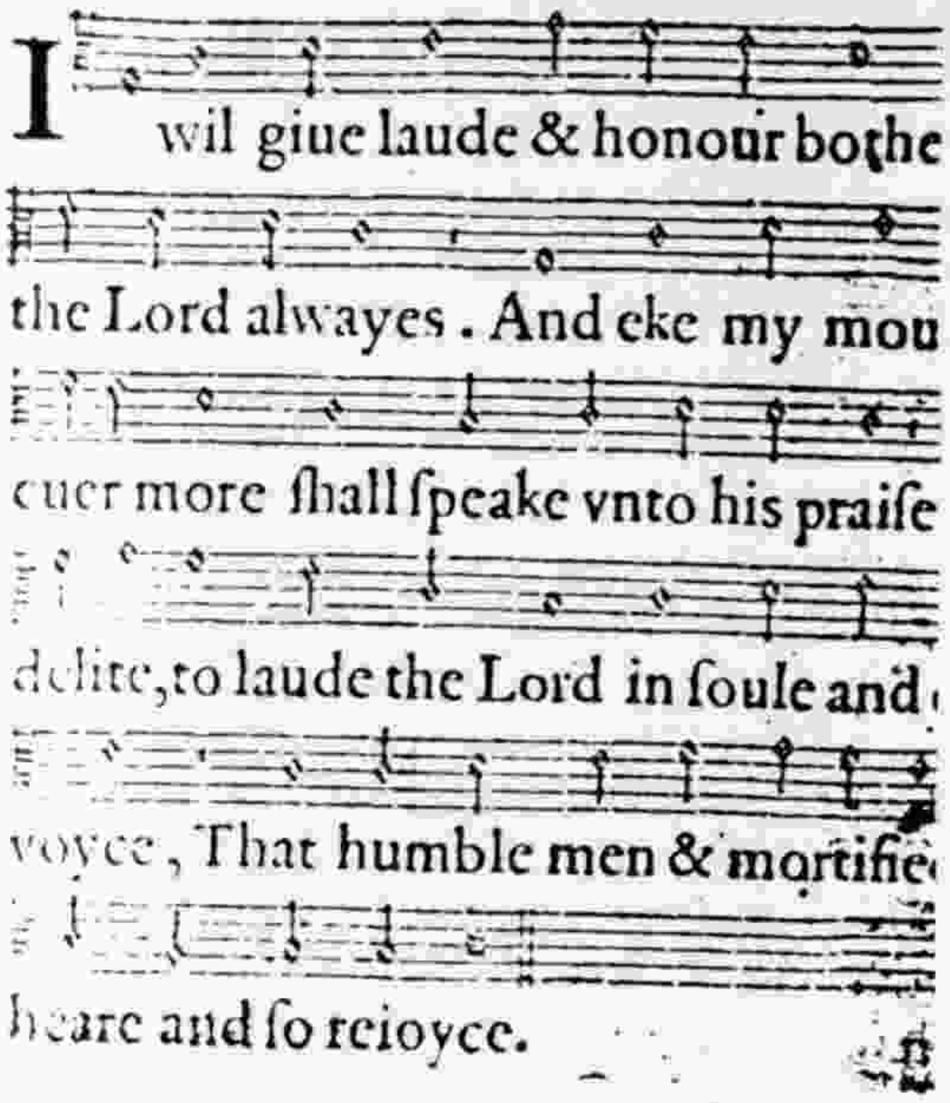
Ħ ɑ Ꝺ ɵ ơ I Ɯ

ɣ o ρ ǫ Ƀ

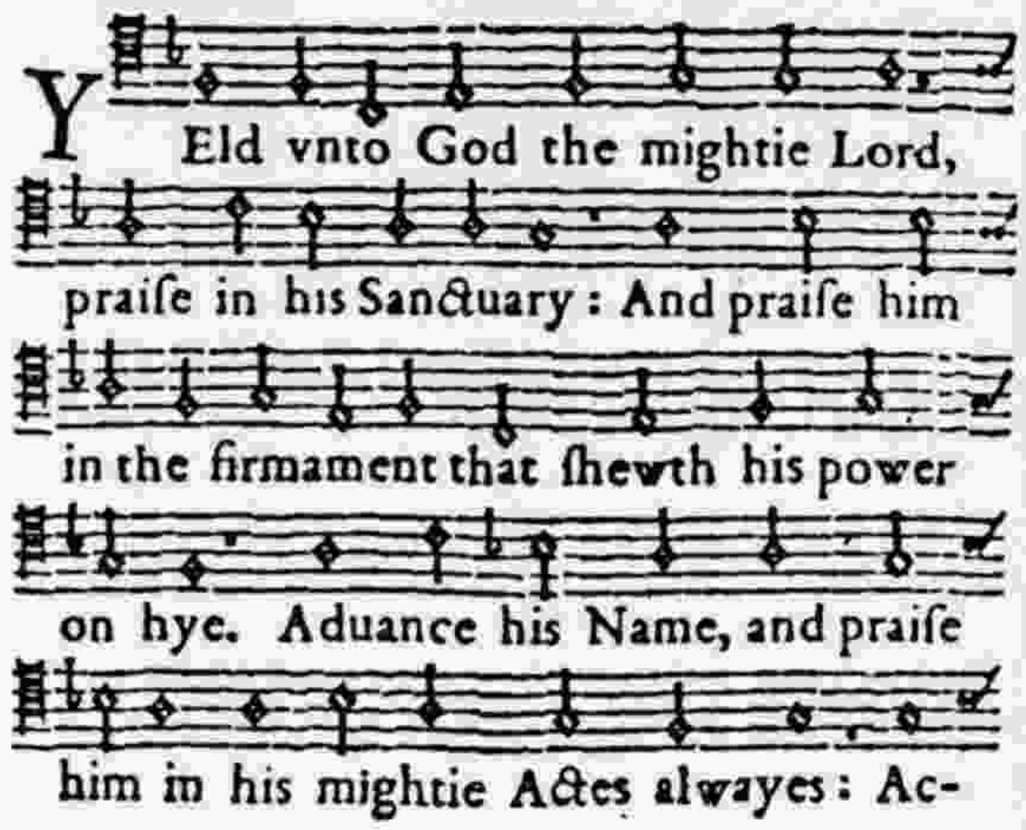
U5b. Long Primer Uncials

ơ Ꝺ

M1. 2-line Bourgeois
Single-Impression Music



M2. 2-line Bourgeois
Single-Impression Music



1





2









3



4







5



6



7



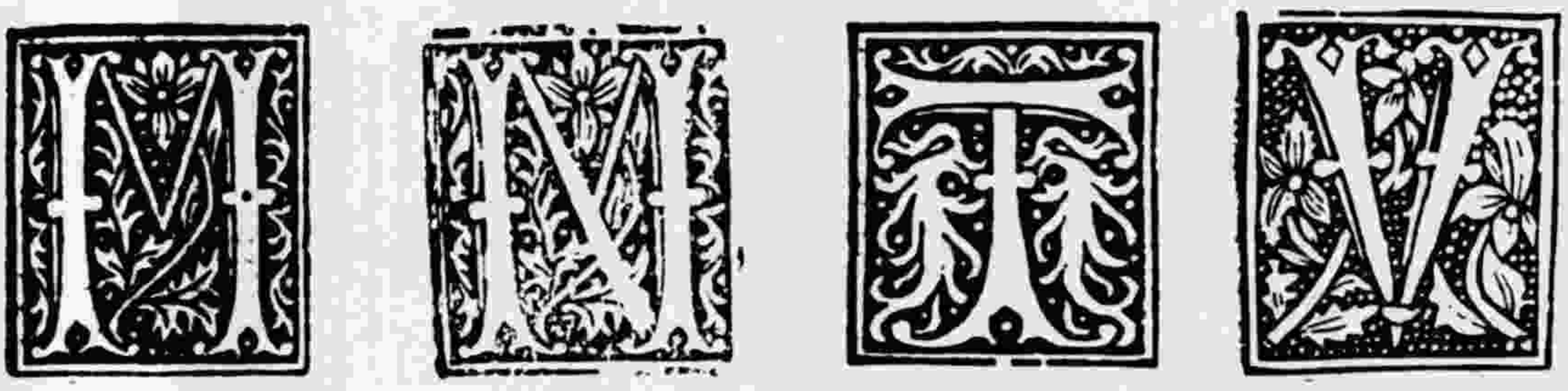
8



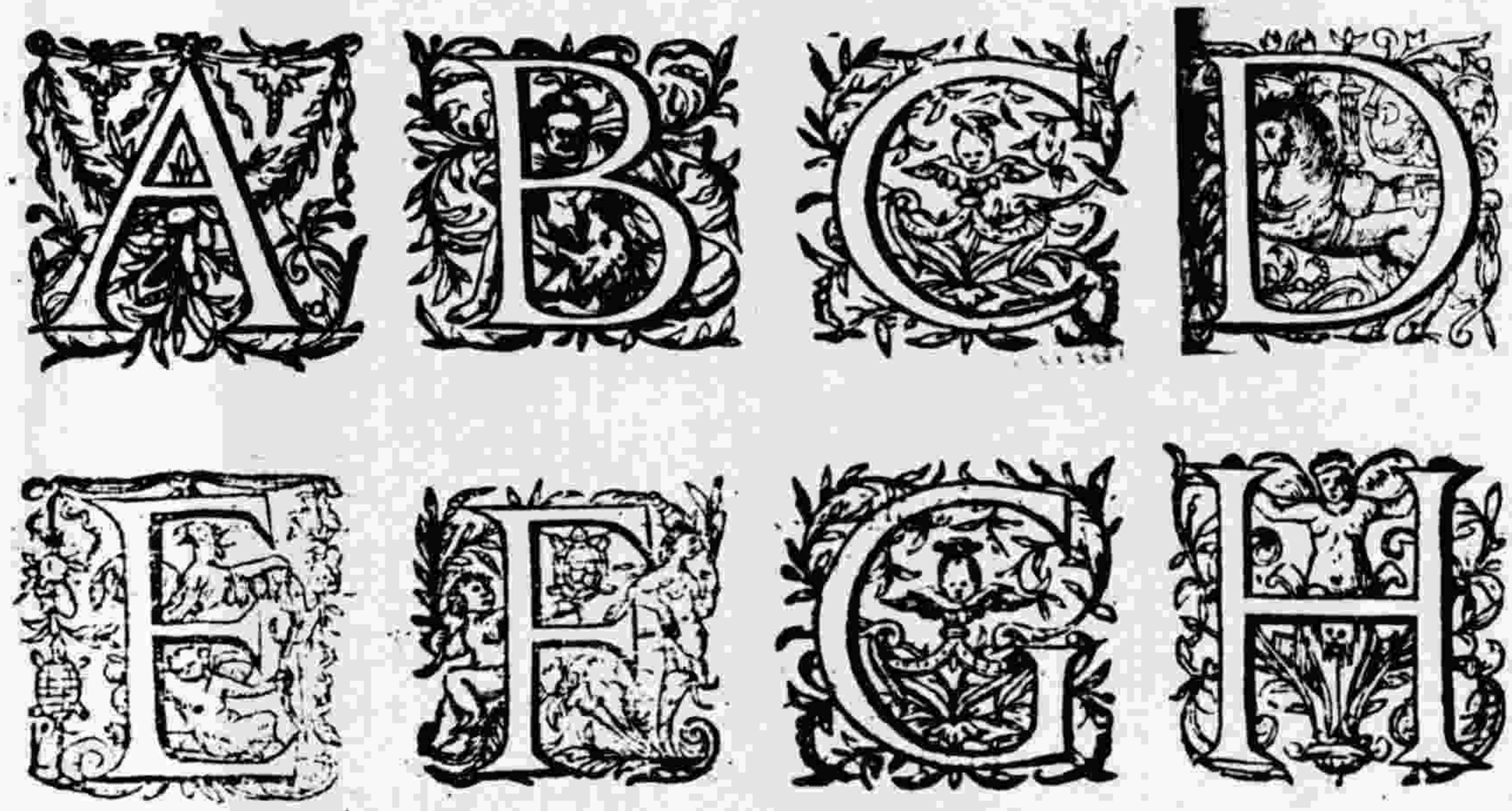
9

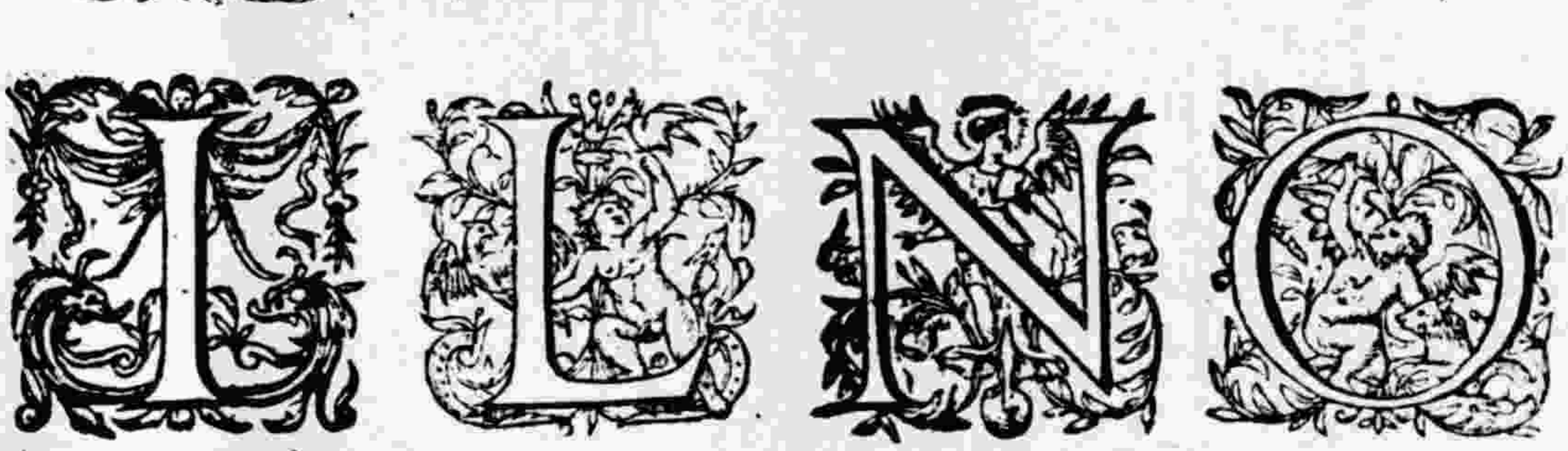
10





11





11













12



13



14




15











15










16





















17



18



19



20





21









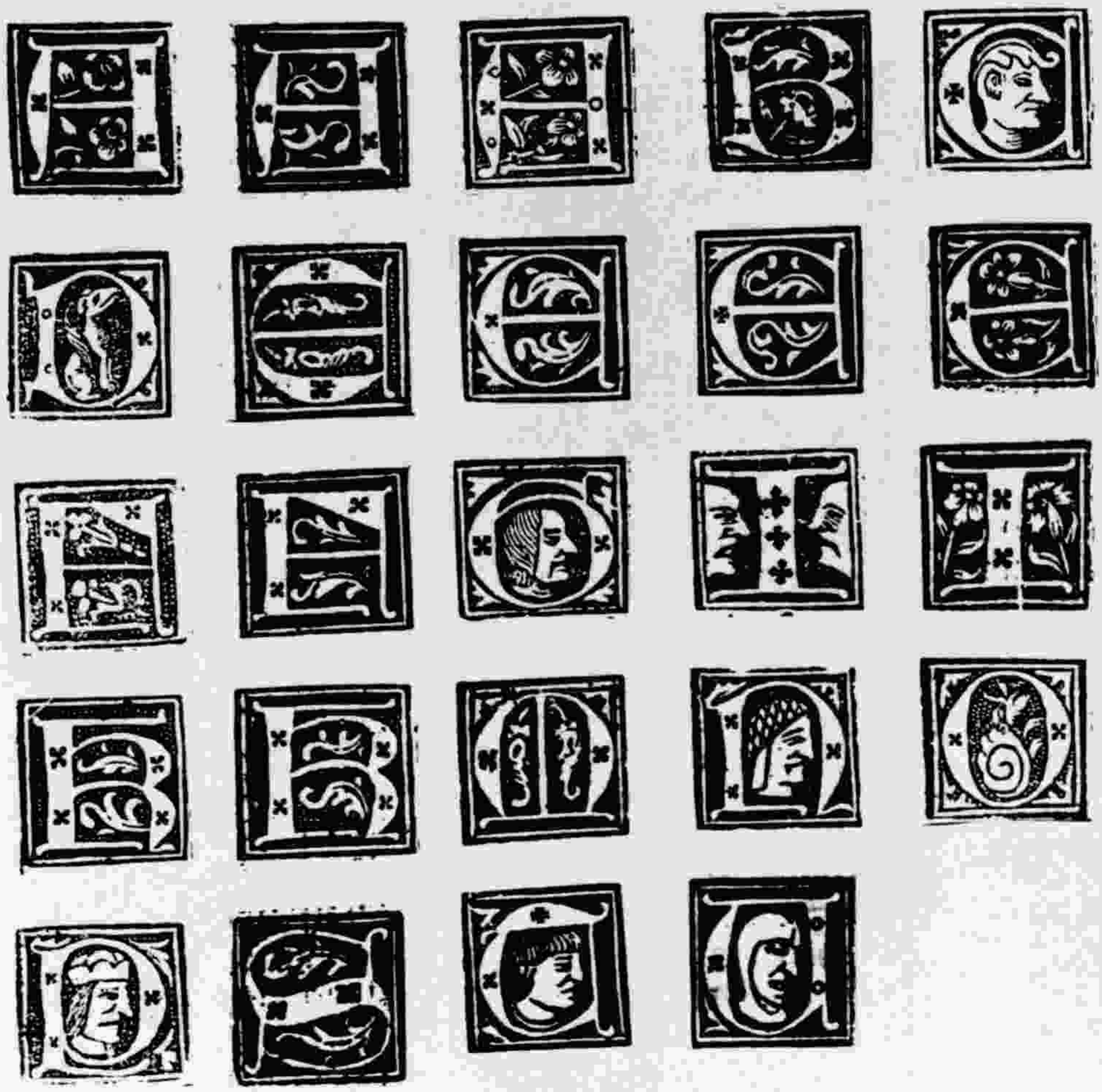
22





23 24 25 26 27

28



29 

30 

31 

32 

33 

34 

35 

Factotums



1



2



3



4



5



6

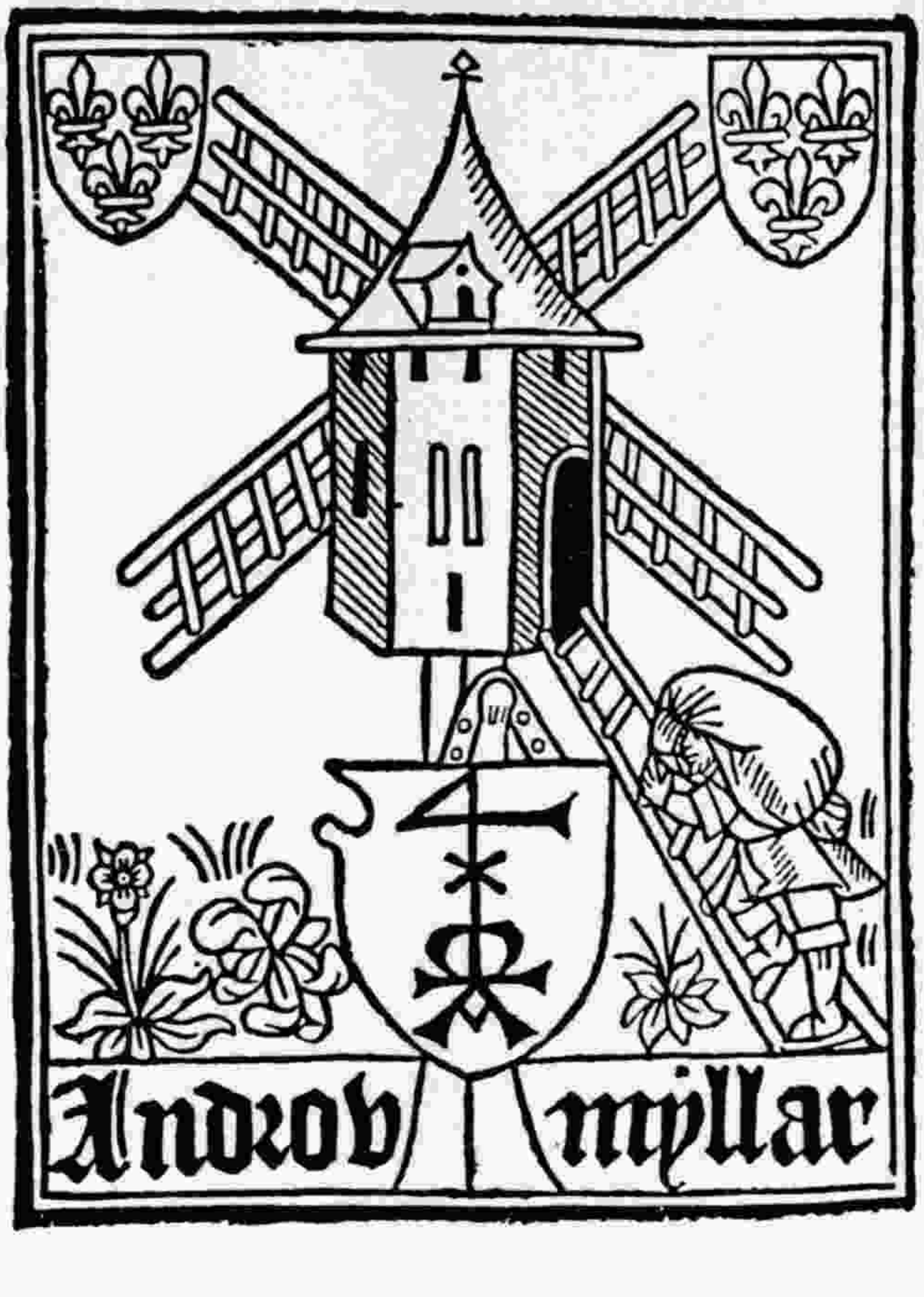


7



8


ALEXANDER
ARBVTHNET
LOVE KEPYTHE LAWE OBEYETH THE KYNGE AND IS GOOD TO THE COMMEN WELTHE
PRO LEGE REGE, ET GREGE
PRVDENCIA
IVSTICIA
A V
A


Androv myllar

3



5



4



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



Titlepage Border




IN
DE
FENS.
IACOBVS
REX. 6

2


IN MY DEFENC
GOD ME DEFEND

6


IN MY DEFENCE
GOD ME DEFEND.

5

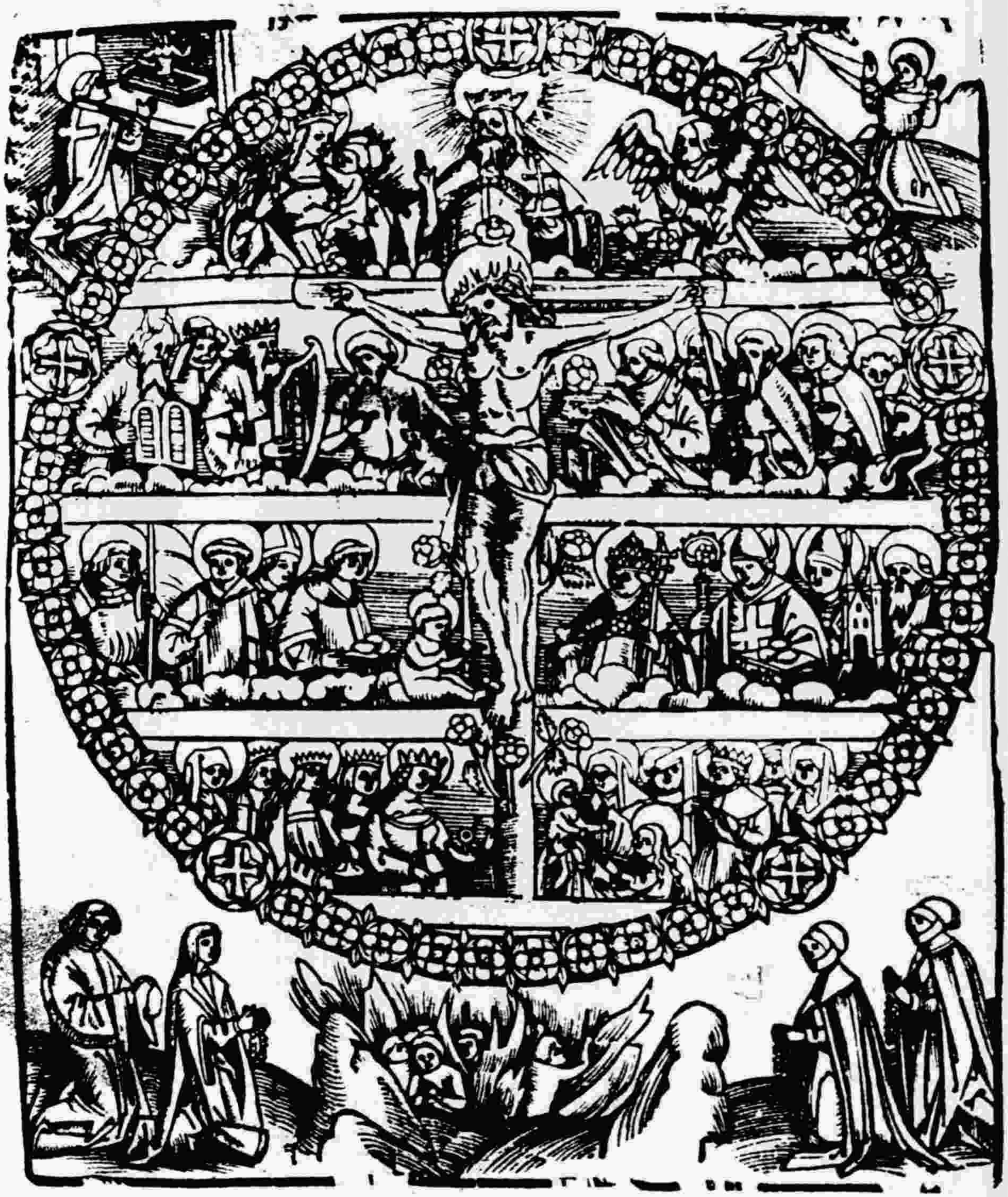

I
R

3


IN
DE
ENS
IACOB⁹
SEXTVS.


INMYDEFENC
GODMEDEFEND

4



2


AMOR
PACIS
decennis

3


PAX
INFESTA
malis.

4


CASTI
TAS.

5


VERI
TAS.

6


Respice finem

7



8



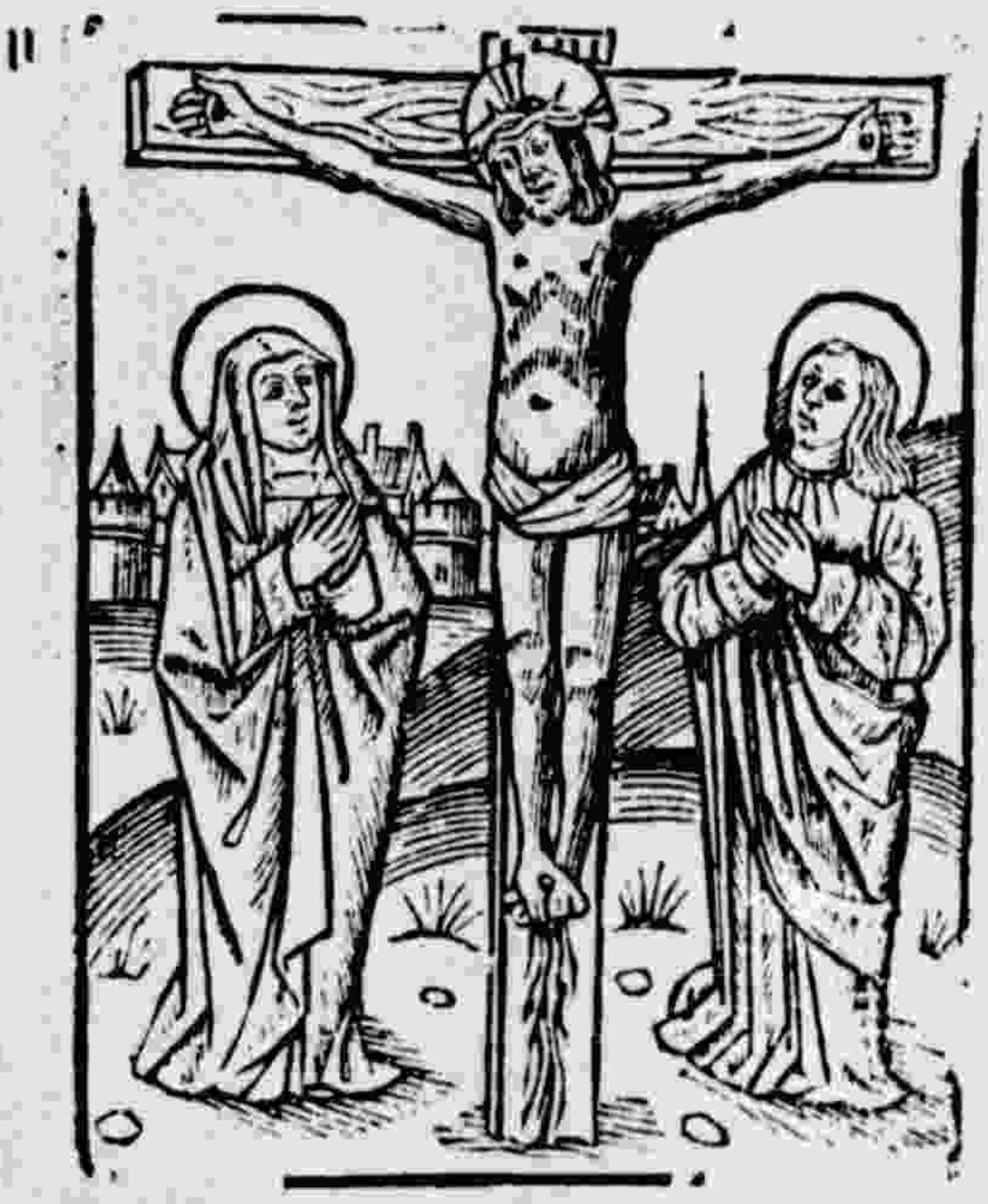
9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



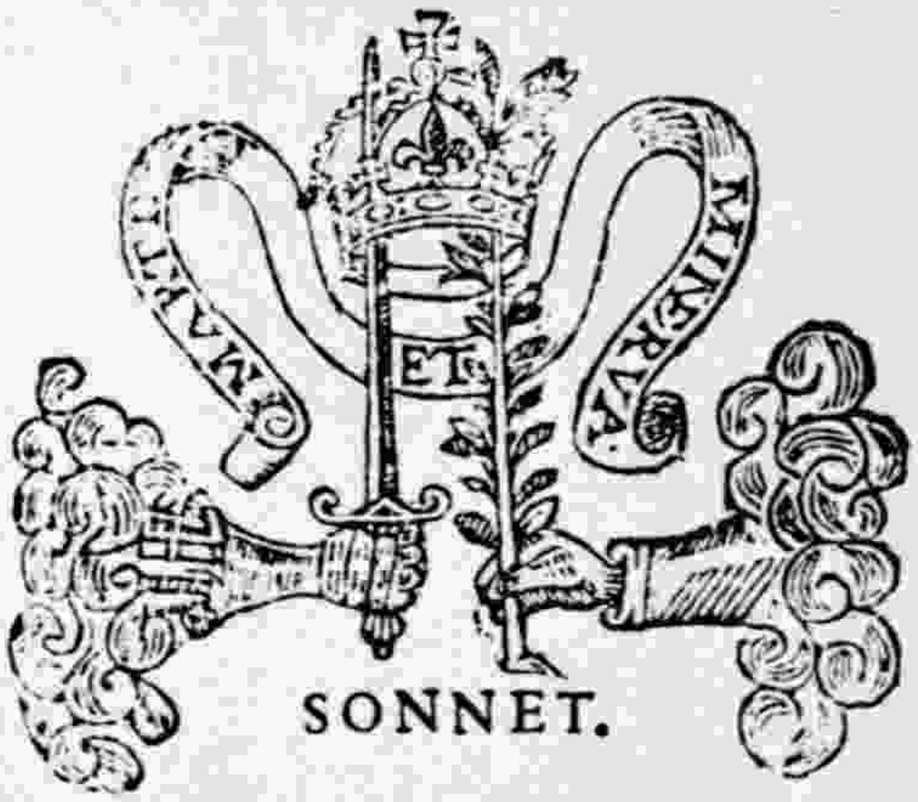
18



19



20



SONNET.

21



22



23



24



25



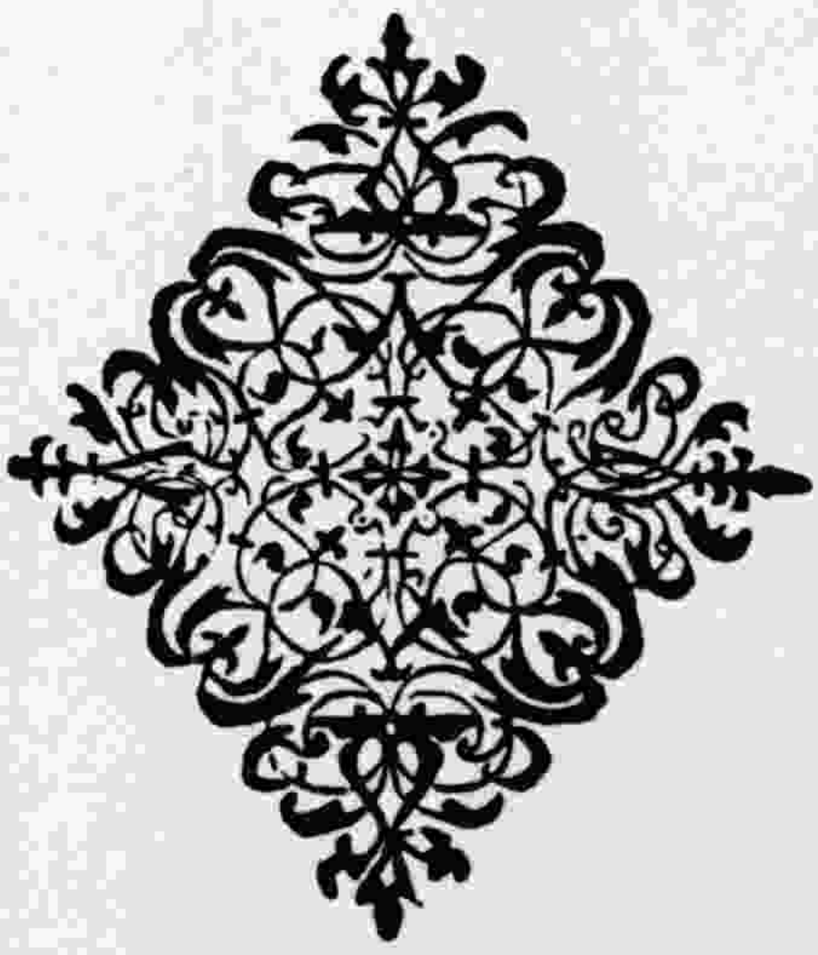
26



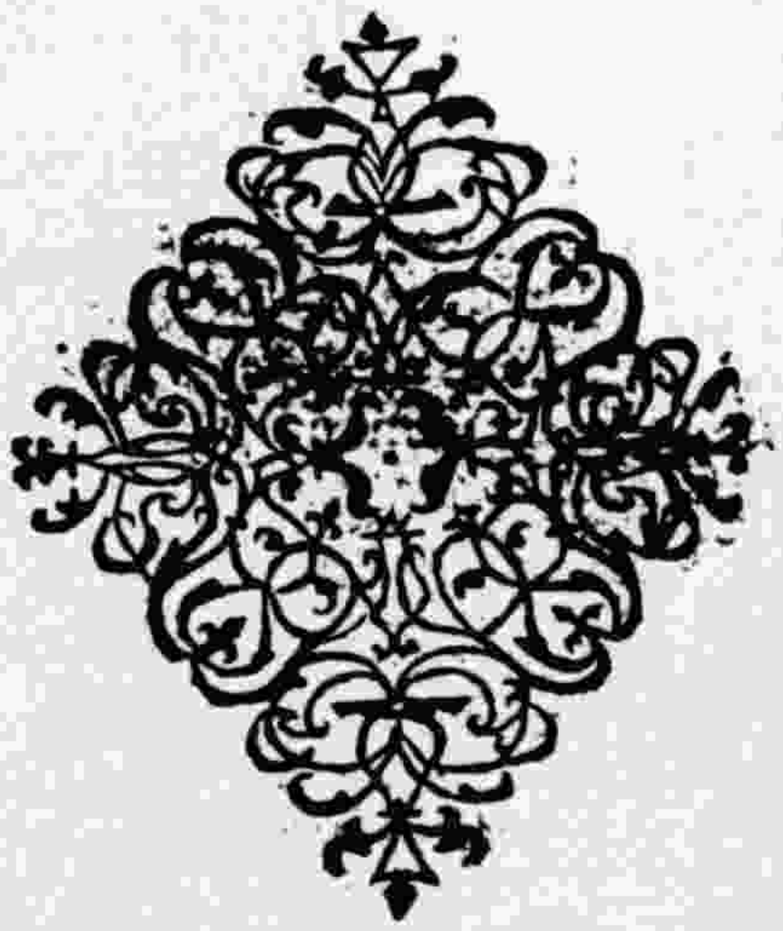
27



Headpieces and Tailpieces



1



2

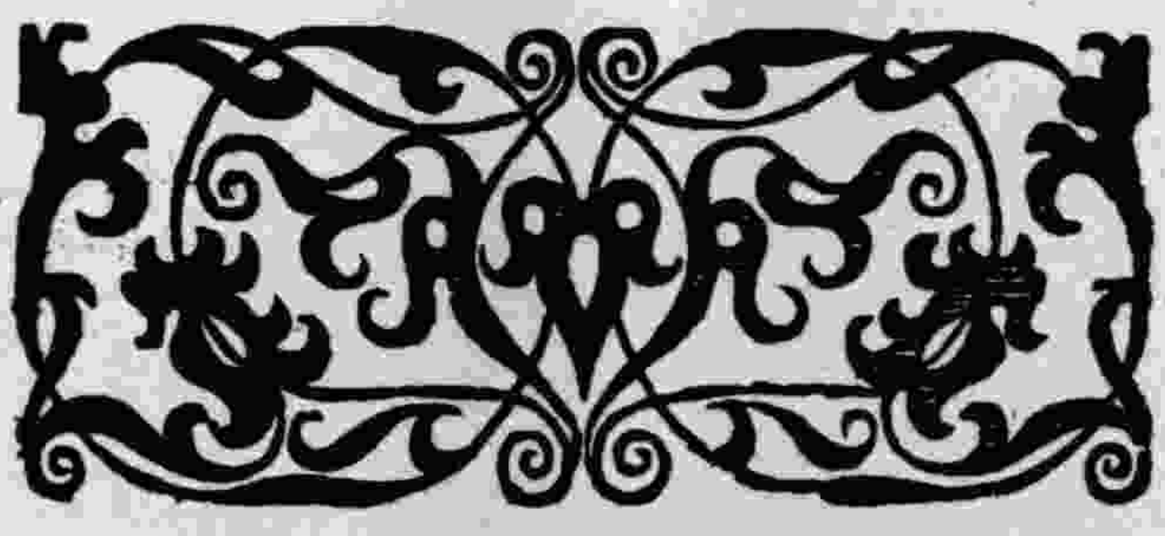


3

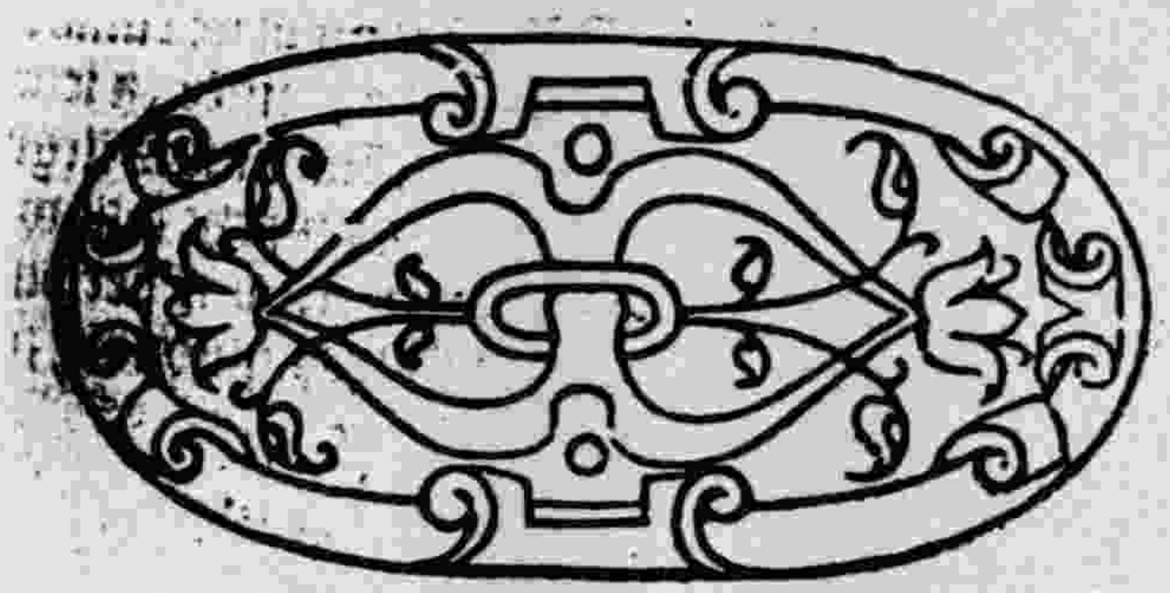
4



5



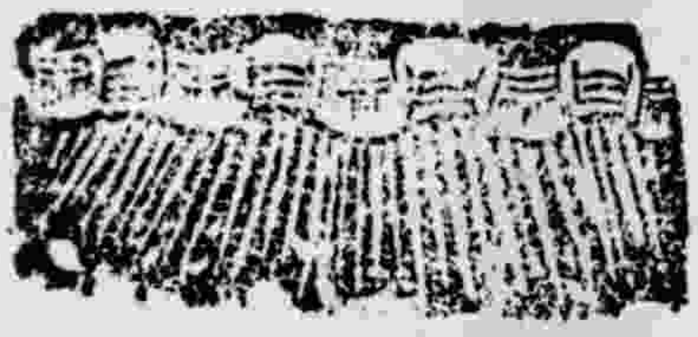
6



7



8



9



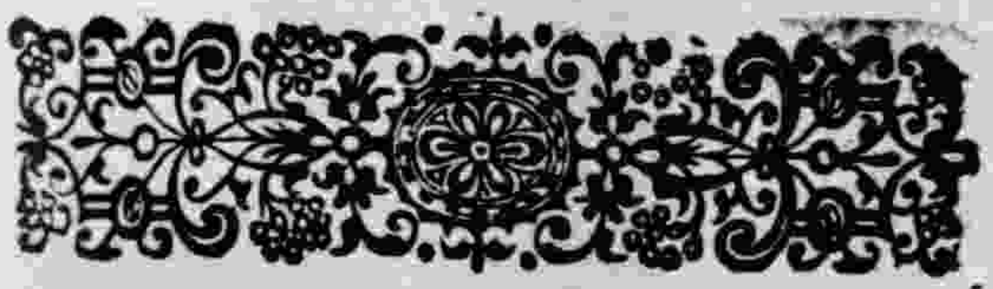
10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



APPENDIX I

Appendix I

The following is a chronological list of the 337 books discussed in the study, included with the aim of giving brief bibliographical descriptions and other relevant information about each item in a single place. In general, the well-defined rules for transcription in the *Short-Title Catalogue* are followed, although on occasion further information is included in the imprint about the role of Scottish booksellers in commissioning books.

Each entry also comprises a collation, description of ornamentation, a census of copies, and references. The reader, however, must bear in mind that the census of copies presented here is derived from a variety of sources, not all of which are accurate. Where possible, I have personally attempted to confirm the existence of copies not previously known and locations which are erroneously listed in the *Short-Title Catalogue*.

I have tried to examine at least one original copy of each book, and have examined all copies at the National Library of Scotland, the Huntington Library, the Bodleian Library, and the British Library. In cases where the original was not available, I have used microfilm or xerox copies

The editorial information in the notes is given to highlight any interesting bibliographic features which may appear. In general, I have tried to list any contemporary manuscript material which might be related to the book under consideration, and have also included information culled from early Scottish printers' inventories. Editions and facsimiles of books are also listed here, as are pertinent references to contemporary articles not already mentioned in the historical narrative.

Two categories excluded from this list are (*a*) books now lost and (*b*) books printed abroad but with a 'Scottish' imprint. Many in the former category are included in the second edition of H. G. Aldis's *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*. Apart from John Day's edition of George Buchanan, those books in the latter category appear to be mostly irrelevant to this study. The anonymously printed edition of Dunbar's *Tua mariit wemen and the wedo* (No. 7; STC 7350) is included as a Scottish book (even though I believe it was printed elsewhere) on the basis that it is traditionally grouped with the so-called Chepman and Myllar prints. The *c.* 1599 edition of John Davies's *Epigrammes and elegies* (STC 6350), sometimes attributed to Robert Waldegrave, is excluded on the grounds that Waldegrave did not use the types in the book. The 1565 edition of *Allegations against the surmisid title of the quine of Scotts and the fauorers of the same* (STC 17564) is also excluded on the grounds that it was printed outside of Scotland. I have, however, included Robert Charteris's edition of *William Wallace* (No. **323**; STC 13150.5) possibly printed in 1601, and Robert Smyth's edition of The Scottish Book of Common Order (No. **303**; STC 16586) which possibly printed in 1602, on the grounds that they may represent Scottish printers' outputs for the years 1600 and 1599 respectively.

1507

1. **Donatus, Aelius.** [A version in Scottish of the Ars minor. Recto begins:] in latin onything at is lik my ii terminationis of participal [etc.] 4°. [*Scotland? Printer of the Aberdeen Donatus, c.* 1507?]

STC 7018 (also erroneously listed as 24623.3). Aldis 5. 1 leaf. No ornamentation. Copy at A.

Probably not a Scottish imprint. For evidence that this was printed abroad, *see* W. Beattie (ed.), *The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, (Edinburgh, 1950), p. xv. Facsimile in *PEBS*, I (Oct 1893). Uses type that is similar but not identical to that belonging to Pierre Violette. *See* F. Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types: 1501–35; 1508–41* (Oxford, 1930); Beattie, p. xv.

1508

2. **Book.** [Book of good counsel to the Scots king. In Scots verse.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, 1508?]

STC 3307. Aldis 3. Dickson and Edmond 7. Beattie 5. Collates A^6. No ornamentation. Copy at E (lacks first and last leaf).

Two stanzas of 'De regimine' are included in the Bannatyne MS. (M 116 & 119). All or most of the poem is in the Maitland and 2 other MSS. *See* STS, 2nd ser. 7, p. 120, ll. 155–61, and STS, 2nd ser. 20, pp. 80–5, ll. 127–33, 183–9 (2 versions). *TP* 1525.5. *Index* 2818.8, dated *c.* 1460. Ed. David Laing, *The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane* (Edinburgh, 1827), p. 13.

3. **Chartier, Alain.** [Ends:] Heir endis the porteous of noblenes translatit out of ⟨Fr⟩ench in Scottis be Maister Androw Cadiou [from Le Bréviaire des Nobles]. 4° in 8s. (*Edinburgh, W. Chepma⟨n⟩ ⟨and⟩ A. Millar*, (20 Apr.) 1508).

STC 5060.5 (formerly 20120). Aldis 13. Dickson and Edmond 3. Beattie 1. Collates A^8. Ornamentation includes device 2. Copy at E (A6–8 only).

Probably descended from the 1498 Lyon print (Pellechet-Polain 3524). This print ran to 8 leaves, including a title with a blank verse, and was probably the source

for the the Asloan MS. version (Beattie, 'Early Scottish Books', pp. 117–8; Beattie, p. 10). Ed. W. Craigie in STS 2nd ser. 14, 16 (p. vi); David Laing, *The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane* (Edinburgh, 1827); J. Pinkerton, *Scottish Poems Reprinted from Scarce Editions*, iii (1792), pp. 67–123. *TP* 1209.

4. **Dunbar, William.** The ballade of ane right noble lord Barnard stewart. [In verse.] 4° in 6's? [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, 1508.]

STC 7347. Aldis 6. Dickson and Edmond 11. Beattie 9. Collates A^6. Ornamentation includes devices 2, 3. Copy at E (4 leaves only).

With acrostic 'BARNARDOS'. The Privy Council may have alluded to this text in their decision about Chepman's complaint against infringement of patent (Beattie, p. xiv). Ed. David Laing, *The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane* (Edinburgh, 1827); D. Laing, *Poems of Dunbar* (1834, 1865); J. Small, in STS 1st ser. 2, 4, 21, 29; J. Schipper (Vienna, 1892–4); J. Kinsley (Oxford, 1979). *TP* 1518.

5 ——. [The flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy. With other poems.] 4° in 6's. [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, 1508.]

STC 7348. Aldis 9. Dickson and Edmond 9. Beattie 7. Ornamentation includes device 2. Copy at E (lacks A1–6).

This print includes an alternative form of the letter B, not found in other Chepman and Myllar prints. There is no leading between stanzas, and the print has two uncorrected faults of setting on the first surviving page (Beattie, 'Early Scottish Books', p. 113). Includes (*a*) 'The Flyting' (ll. 316–end), also in the Bannatyne MS. (M 219) and Maitland Folio MS., both with attributions to Dunbar and Kennedy, but with a different line order. (Kinsley, *Poems of William Dunbar* (Oxford, 1979), p. 284. TP 1581. *Index* 3117.8. *Manual* (4)×.28; (*b*) 'Devyce proves and eik humilitie', attributed erroniously to Chaucer in the Bannatyne MS. (M 349) and in Bodleian MS. Arch. Selden B.24. *TP* 345.5. *Index* 679. Utley 54; (*c*) 'The Praise of Age', attributed to R. Henrisone in the Bannatyne MS. (D 35 & M 65); also in the Makculloch MS. (Univ. of Edinburgh, La. III. 149, f. 87r), where it is anonymous. The version in Chepman and Myllar may be the ancestor of the versions in Bannatyne. For the relationships of the printed editions and MSS. *see* (Denton Fox (ed.), *Poems of Robert Henryson* (Oxford, 1981), p. 450. *TP* 948.7. *Index* 1598. *Manual* (4)×.9.

6 ——. Here begynnys ane litil tretie intitulit the goldyn targe. [In verse.] 4° in 6. [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and Andrew Myllar*, 1508.]

STC 7349. Aldis 7. Dickson and Edmond 6. Beattie 4. Collates A^6. 6 leaves. Ornamentation includes devices 2, 3. Copy at E.

'The Golden Targe' also occurs in the Bannatyne MS. (M 396), and in the Maitland Folio. *TP* 1527. *Index* 2820.5. *Manual* (4)×.77.

7 ——. [The tua mariit wemen and the wedo. And other poems.] 4° in 6's. [*Scotland? Printer of The tua mariit wemen*, 1508?]

STC 7350. Aldis 8. Dickson and Edmond 12. Beattie 10. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

The 92mm type with which this book is printed is the larger of the 2 used in Johannes de Garlandia, *Multorum vocabulorum* and in *Expositio sequentiarum* printed abroad to A. Myllar in 1505 & 1506, probably by Pierre Violete, Rouen. A leaf in the Donatus (STC 7018) is printed with a closely similar type, worn and lacking k. 'The numerous misprints and, in particular, the frequent expansion in Scots passages of "&" to "et" both here and in the Donatus may indicate foreign origin, but equally well the employment, with insufficient correction, of foreign workmen in Scotland' (Beattie, p. xv). Includes (*a*) W. Dunbar's 'Timor Mortibus', also in Maitland Folio MS. (lacking ll. 23–6) and Bannatyne MS. (M 170). *TP* 782; (*b*) 'Ballad of Kynd Kittok', attributed on no good evidence to Dunbar, also in the Bannatyne MS. (M 197). *TP* 1160. *Index* 2244. *Manual* (4)×.61; (*c*) 'Testament of Andro Kennedy', occuring also in the Bannatyne MS., where it is ascribed to William Dunbar, and in the Maitland Folio MS, in a version that is closely related. *TP* 765.

8. **Eglamour, *Sir.*** [Heading *A*1r:] Jesu Christe hevynnis kyng. 4° in 6's. [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and Andrew Myllar*, 1508.]

STC 7542. Aldis 14. Dickson and Edmond 5. Beattie 3. Collates A–C^6 D^4. No ornamentation. Copy at E (lacks A1, A6, D1, D4).

Another version of STC 7541 [Duff 135], printed in London by Wynkyn de Worde. For the relationships of the printed editions and MSS. *see* Gustav Schleich in *Palaestra*, liii (1906), and supplementary information in Carleton Brown and R. H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (Oxford, 1943), No. 1725. *TP* 991.5. Also includes an anonymous poem, otherwise unknown. *TP* 879. *Index* 1466.5.

9. **Golagros.** [D6r:] Heir endis the knightly tale of golagros, and gawane. [In verse.] 4° in 6's. *Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, (8 Apr.) 1508.

STC 11984. Aldis 12. Dickson and Edmond 4. Beattie 2. Collates A–D^6. Ornamentation includes device 2. Copy at E (lacks A1, title).

This is the only known text of 'Golagros and Gawain', although it also is mentioned in the index to Asloan's MS. (W. A. Craigie in STS, 2nd ser. 14, p. xv). *TP* 926.4. Includes also 'Rhyme without accord', a poem written *c.* 1469, attributed to Lydgate by modern editors without MS. evidence. The Chepman and Myllar, Maitland, and Bannatyne (M 123) versions of this poem are related; the Harleian MS., however, represents a different version (ed. MacCracken, 1911–34, ii. 792–4). *TP* 114.5. *Index* 223.

10. **Henry, *the Minstrel.*** [Acts ands deeds of Wallace. In Scots verse by Henry the Minstral, purporting to derive from a Latin work by J. Blair.] 4° in 8's. [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, 1508–10?]

STC 13148. Aldis 10. Dickson and Edmond 14. No ornamentation. Collates A–S^8. No ornamentation. Copies at C (frags. of 5 leaves). G^4 (frags. of 13 leaves).

This book was printed in the English-bodied French Textura type [T6] used also in the Chepman and Myllar prints. The signature Q3 is evidence that the quires each consisted of eight leaves. With signatures running from A–S, this would make the item 144 leaves (H. G. Aldis, 'On Some Rediscovered Fragments of an Edition of Blind Harry's *Wallace* Printed in the Types of Chepman and Myllar', *PEBS*, ix (1912), pp. 87–9). *TP* 144.5. *Index* 2701.

11. **Holland, Richard.** [Buke of the Howlat. In verse.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, 1508?]

STC 13594. Aldis 17. Dickson and Edmond 17. No ornamentation. Copies at Dundee City Archives. C (1 imp. leaf).

For reproductions and transcriptions *see EBST*, xi (1946), pp. 393–7; v, pt. 3 (1983), pp. 25–8. Although there is no indisputable evidence that either Chepman or Myllar printed this item, the type used is the English-bodied French Textura [T6] also found in the Chepman and Myllar prints. The Lombardic initials were also previously used by Chepman and Myllar (W. Beattie, 'An Early Printed Fragment of the "Buke of the Howlat" ', *PEBS*, ii (1946), pp. 396). Ed. by D. Laing for the Bannatyne Club (1823), with additional notes in his *Adversaria* (1867). Laing revised and reissued these Bannatyne Club publications for the New Club (Paisley, 1882). *TP* 923.5. *Index* 1554.

12. **Henryson, Robert.** Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus. [Anon. In verse.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, 1508?]

STC 13166. Aldis 11. Dickson and Edmond 10. Beattie 8. Collates A–B^6. Ornamentation includes devices 2, 3. Copy at E (lacks A3–4).

The last page of this tract is poorly set (Beattie, p. 13). Includes (*a*) a shorter version of 'The Want of Wyse Men', often attributed to Robert Henryson, but not on good grounds. Ed. STS 1st ser. 58, pp. 170–4; Fox *Henryson* (1981). An enlarged version occurs in the Bannatyne MS., where stanzas 4 and 5 are transposed and two stanzas are added before the final one (M 121). *TP* 1119.5. *Index* 2139. *Manual* (4)×.5; (*b*) a short version of Henryson's 'Orpheus and Eurydice', occuring also in the Bannatyne MS. (M 387) and in the Asloan MS. (ff. 247r–256v). For the relationship of these witnesses, *see* Denton Fox (ed.), *Poems of Robert Henryson* (Oxford, 1981), pp. cx–cxiv. *TP* 1809.5. *Index* 3442. *Manual* (4)×.5.

13. **Lydgate, John.** [The complaint of the black knight.] Here begynnys the mayng or disport of chaucer. [Anon. In verse.] 4°. (*Edinburgh, W. Chepman and A. Myllar*, (4 Apr.) 1508).

STC 17014.3 (formerly STC 5099). Aldis 4. Dickson and Edmond 8. Beattie 6. Collates A^8 B^6. Ornamentation includes devices 2, 3. Copy at E.

(*a*) 'The complaint of the black knight' derives from the same source as the versions contained in the Bodleian MS. 3354 (fols. 120–9) and the Asloan MS., which agree with it in many places, e.g. the omission of the two stanzas after 17 and in the attribution to Chaucer, and the wording of the title given in the colophon (Beattie, p. xii; STS edition of Asloan MS., vol. ii, pp. ix, 247–70, 283–4). (*b*) 'When by divine deliberation' occurs twice in the Bannatyne MS. (STS ed., vol. i, pp. 9–10; ii, pp. 102–3). *TP* 906.5. *Index* 1507. Includes also (*c*) 'Quhat meneth this Quhat is this winder vre', part of which occurs in the Bannatyne MS. (M 371), where it is erroneously attributed to Chaucer. *Index* 3911.5. Utley 345.

1509–10

14. **Liturgies – Latin Rite.** Breuiarij Aberdonensis ad per celebris eccl'ie Scoto⟨s⟩ vsum pars hyemalis (estiualis). 2 vols. 8°. *i⟨n⟩ Edi⟨n⟩burge⟨n⟩si oppido, i⟨m⟩ W. Chepma⟨n⟩*, [P.H.:] 1509 (id. Feb.) [P.E.] ((4 June) 1510.)

STC 15791. Aldis 16. Dickson and Edmond 15. McRoberts 58–62. Collates [P.H.:] π^8 $2\pi^8$ A–R^8 ^{2}A–S^8 ^{3}A–O^8. [P.E.:] π^8 A–R^8 ^{2}A–H^8 ^{3}A–Y^8. Printed in red and black. Ornamentation includes initial B27, device 3. Copies at L (P.E., imp). A (imp). E. E^2 (imp). Lord Strathmore (imp).

The copy belonging to the National Library of Scotland (McRoberts 58), shows signs of having been adapted to suit some locality in the south of Scotland. The Glamis Castle copy (McRoberts 59) has MS. additions, showing that it was adapted to suit a locality in central Scotland, and is bound with the Office of Our Lady of Pity (STC 15791.5). The Edinburgh University Library copy

(McRoberts 60) has no additions. The Aberdeen University Library copy (McRoberts 61) is made up of sections from the first two parts of the Aberdeen Breviary. The British Library copy (McRoberts 62) is a fragment consisting of a few leaves. For the limited supply of small type used in this book *see* William James Anderson, 'Nidaros and Aberdeen', *IR*, xvi (1965), 130–4. For facsimile of one leaf *see PEBS*, pt. 2, xiv (1930), p. 98. Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1854), ed. W. Blew with a preface by David Laing. Also issued for the Maitland Club (1854) and the Spalding Club (1854).

1520–30

15. **Liturgies – Latin Rite, *Aberdeen.*** *Officium Novum* [A1r:] Compassio beate Marie. 8°. (*Edinburgi p⟨er⟩ J. Story, mandato K. Stule,*) [*c.* 1520].

STC 15791.5. Aldis 18. Dickson and Edmond 16. McRoberts 65. Collates A^8. Printed in red and black. No ornamentation. Copy owned by Lord Strathmore.

Glamis Castle copy, bound with the Aberdeen Breviary (McRoberts 59). A sheet of 8 leaves, giving two breviary offices: 'Compassio beatae Mariae' and 'In festo corone domini' with the legend: 'De adventu reliquiarum sancti Andreae in scotiam'. The Devotion to Our Lady of Pity was popular in Scotland during the Middle Ages (McRoberts 34). For facsimile *see EBST*, xiv (1930), pp. 103–118.

16. **Foulis, James.** Ad serenissimum Scotorum regem. Iacobum Quintum strena. [In verse.] 4°. (*Ediburgi* [*sic*], *ap. T. Dauidson,*) [1525?]

STC 14435. Aldis 19. Dickson and Edmond 19. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes device 5, title-page border 1. Copy at L.

This poem, written on the occasion of James V's assumption of power, may have been written by James Foulis of Collinton. For the dating and authorship of this item *see* John Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR*, iv (1953), p. 8 n. Facsimile in *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii.

1530–40

17. **Douglas, Gavin, *Bp.*** [The palace of honour. In verse.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, T. Davidson c.* 1535.]

STC 7072.8. Aldis 20. Dickson and Edmond 21. Fragments, 4 leaves. Ornamentation includes woodcuts 14, 15. Copy at E^2 (frags. of A1v–A4v only).

These form part of the first sheet of 4 leaves, and when complete provide the first 184 lines of the poem (P. Bawcutt, *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, STS 4th ser., iii (1967), p. xv). The 1554 ed. by William Copeland of London is a paginary reprint of this ed., or of one close to it. For facsimile *see EBST*, iii (1948–55), pp. 31–46; ed. J. Small, *The Poetical Work of G. Douglas* (Edinburgh, 1874).

18. **Boethius, Hector.** Heir beginnis the hystory and croniklis of Scotland. (*Tr.* J. Bellenden.) fol. (*Edinburgh, T. Davidson,*) [1540?]

STC 3203 (*see* also 24480). Aldis 22. Dickson and Edmond 20. Collates πA–F^6 A^6 B^4 C^6 D^4 E^6 F^4 G^6 H^4 I^6 K^4 L^6 M^4 N^6 O^4 P^6 Q^4 R^6 S^4 T^6 U^4 X^6 Y^4 Z^6 $2A^4$ $2B^6$ $2C^4$ $2D^6$ $2E^4$ $2F^6$ $2G^4$ $2H^6$ $2I^{10}$ $2K^4$ $2L^6$ $2M^4$ $2N^6$ $2O^4$ $2P^6$ $2Q^4$ $2R^6$ S^4 $2T^6$ $2V^4$ $2X^6$ $2Y^4$ $2Z^6$ $\&^6$ $2\mathfrak{Z}^8$. Printed in red and black. Ornamentation includes initials A10, A14, A28i, A28ii, A28iii, B10, B28, C15, C28, D10, D28, E15, E28ii, E28iii, E28iv, F15, F28ii, G28, H15, I10, I28i, I28ii, K15, K28i, K28ii, L15, M10, M15, M28, N15, N28, O15, O28, P15, Q15i, R15, S15, S28, T10, T14, T28, U28, V10, V15; woodcut 1, 11, 13; Royal Arms 1. Copies at A. C (2, 1 lacking title-page). CH. E (2). E^2. INN. M. M^2. N. O (3). O^5. O^{12} (lacks all before C1); F (2). HN. ILL. PML. Y.

This edition of Boethius's *History* includes a a number of poems by the translator, John Bellenden. These include (*a*) 'The Proheme of the Cosmographe' a poem prefixed to Bellenden's *Cosmography* in the *History* and dated *c.* 1530. 'The Proheme' also occurs in the Bannatyne MS. (M4), taken from Davidson's text; there is no other authority for it. *See* Fox & Ringler, p. xxi; E. A. Sheppard, in STS, 3rd ser., 15, pp. 448–53. Bannatyne MS. Item D1 and M3; (*b*) 'The Benner of Peetie', also by Bellenden, occuring in 2 early prints, now lost. There is evidence that the text of 'Benner' in both the Bannatyne MS. and the Marchmont Library MS. were copied from a print. *See* Sheppard, pp. 411–61; (*c*) A 'Ballat apon the Translatione', included in Bellendon's 1531 translation of Boece's History (STS, 3rd ser., 15, pp. 403–9; for MSS. *see* STS, 3rd ser., 10, pp. viii–x). Bellenden expanded and retitled this poem for Davidson's *c.* 1540 edition. A version also occurs in the Bannatyne MS. (M403, D1). *See* E. A. Sheppard in STS, 3rd ser., 15, pp. 437–51. There are a number of other translations of Boethius's *History*, including (*a*) a verse translation by William Stewart (ed. W. B. Turnbull, Rolls Series, 3 vols. (1858)); (*b*) a MS. translation by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, which includes a number of verses by David Lindsay. *See* A. J. G. MacKay, in STS, 1st ser., 42–3, 60; (*c*) the later Mar Lodge translation, described by G. Watson, in STS, 3rd ser., 17; (*d*) Petruccio Ubaldini's *Descrittione del regno di Scotia* (STC 24480), freely translated from this item. For differences between the Auchinleck MS. text and Davidson's printed text, *see* Edith C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands (eds.), STS, 3rd ser.; John Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR*, iv (1953), p. 10, n.

1541–2

19. **Scotland – Statutes.** The nevv actis and constitvtionis of parliament maid be Iames the fift kyng of Scottis. 1540. fol. [Col. on E5r:] (Edinburgh, T. Dauidson, 1541 (8 Feb.))

STC 21878.5. Aldis 21. Dickson and Edmond 18. Collates A–B^6 C^4 D–E^6. Includes initials A14, A28i, A28ii, B2, F28i, H2, O15, S2, T14, T28, W18; woodcuts 1, 16, 18, 24, 26, 27; Royal Arms 1. Copies at E (2, on vellum). HAT (1, on paper).

Sir James Foulis appointed Davidson to print this item, for which he was made Crown printer. A MS. account records that this item sold for 12*s*. per copy (Dickson and Edmond, p. 118). Lekpreuik mentions this item in his 1566 Acts of Parliament (STC 21875 ff.).

1552

20. **Hamilton, John, *Abp.*** The catechisme. That is to say, ane instructioun set furth be Iohne aschbishchop [*sic*] of sanct Androus. 4° partly in 8's. (*sanct Androus, [J. Scot,] by the command and expe⟨n⟩sis of Iohne [Hamilton,] Archbischop of sanct Androus,* 1552 (29 Aug.))

STC 12731 (formerly also 22056). Aldis 23. Dickson and Edmond 23. Collates π^4 [fleur – de – lis]^8 χ1 A–V^8 X^4 Y–2B^8 2C^4 2D–2N^8 2O–2P^4. Includes initials A5, C15, E15, H15, H34, M10, O15, P2, P28, Q15ii, T14; woodcuts 9, 23. Copies at A. E (2). E^2. G^2. L (2). M. O. STU; F. PML. U. Ornament H1 appears on π1v in the Bodleian copy, but does not appear in the 2 National Library of Scotland copies.

1554

21. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** Ane dialog betuix experience and ane courteour, off the miserabyll estait of the warld. And is deuidit in foure partis. [In verse.] 4° in 8's. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot,*] *at the expensis off doctor, Machabevs, in Copma⟨n⟩houin,* [1554.]

STC 15672. Aldis 24. Dickson and Edmond 32. Collates A^4 (–A1) B^4 C–F^8 G^4 H–K^8 L^4 M–Q^8 R1. Stub before Q1[=R2?]. Includes initials G28, M28, N10, Q15ii, T14; woodcuts 23, 25. Copies at C(imp.). E^2. L. L^2 O; F. HN.

As originally issued this contained only 'Ane dialog', commonly known as 'The monarch'. The L, I, O, and E^2 copies also have the extra texts from STC 15675 and probably represent a later issue. Four leaves are missing after L2 in O copy. The stub of R2 appears to be between P8v and Q1r. Although the date on R1v is 1552, an internal calculation within the poem gives the date 1553 D. Hamer (ed.), *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: 1490–1555*, STS, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1931–6); D. Hamer, 'The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay', *The Library*, 4th ser., x (1929). J. Petit (Paris) made 2 paginary reprints of this in 1558. A version of 'The Monarch' (ll. 685–1122) by Richard Maitland occurs in the Bannatyne MS. (M6). *See* Hamer, iv. 290–7; Shire, pp. 14,34. D. Carnegie began a contemporary Latin translation of this, but died before completing it. *See* Gilbert Gray, *Oratio* (1623). A MS. version of this dated 1556 exists (Lambeth MS. 332).

1555

22. **Cockburn, Patrick.** In dominicam orationem pia meditatio. 8°. *Ex typographia Iohannis Scot. In ciuitate Sancti Andrae,* 1555 (15 ca. Oct.).

STC 5458. Aldis 25. Dickson and Edmond 24. Collates π^8 [*]^4 A–L^8. Includes initials C15, D28, O15, E28i, P28, T14; woodcut 23. Copies at E. E^2. Hat (imp.). Paris. STU; F.

1556

23. **Lauder, William.** Ane compendious and breue tractate, concernyng ye office and dewtie of kyngis. [In verse.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot,*] (1556.)

STC 15314. Aldis 26. Dickson and Edmond 25. Collates A^4 B–C^4. Ornamentation includes initials M28, Q15ii, T14; woodcuts 6, 7, 23. Copies at L; HN.

First use in Scotland of Greek type on B3r.

24. **Lauder, William.** Ane godlie tractate or mirrour. Quhairintill may be easilie perceauit quho thay be that ar ingraftit in to Christ. Compyld in meter. 4°. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot*], 1556?

STC 15315. Aldis 85. Dickson and Edmond 119. Collates A–C^4 D^2. Ornamentation includes woodcut 8. Copy at F.

The types R1 and R2 in this book, commonly attributed to Lekpreuik, show that it was printed by Scot. Other evidence confirms this: the arrangement of type ornaments on B1v is typical of Scot: for example, compare the type ornament arrangement on the title-page of No. **21** (STC 15672). Also, Scot, not Lekpreuik, owned the 2-line Uncial type occuring throughout this book. He acquired it from Davidson, and passed it to Bassandyne, where it is used on P8r of No. **136** (STC 15660). I further suspect that No. **25** (STC 15315.5), also attributed to Lekpreuik, was also printed by Scot, and that both books were actually printed *c.* 1556, around the time that Scot printed Lauder's other book, No. **23** (STC 15314). STC provisionally dates No. **24** (STC 15315) as [1569?], and No. **25** (STC 15315.5) as [1570?].

25. **Lauder, William.** Ane prettie mirrour or conference, betuix the faithfull protestant and the dissemblit false hypocreit. [In verse.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot*, 1556?]

STC 15315.5. Aldis 86. Dickson and Edmond 118. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes woodcut 8. Copy at HN.

Although normally attributed to Lekpreuik, this item was printed by Scot *c.* 1556. *See* notes to copies above.

1558

26. **Kennedy, Quintin.** Ane compendius tractiue conforme to the scripturis [*etc.*] 4° in 8's. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot,*] 1558.

STC 14932. Aldis 27. Dickson and Edmond 26. Collates A^4 B–G^8 H^6. Ornamentation includes initials H15, N10, T14; woodcut 23. Copies at A^2. BUTE. DUR^3. E.

Answered in 1563 by John Davidson. An excerpt from this book was sent to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow (*see* notes to No. **38**; STC 6320). Reprinted in David Laing (ed.), *Wodrow Miscellany*, (1844).

1559

27. **Hamilton, John.** [Heading 1r:] ⟨Ane g⟩odlie exhorta⟨tioun...⟩ sett furth be Iohane Archbischope of Sanctandrois. [At the synod at Edinburgh, Mar. 1558 (o.s.)] to all ministers of the sacrament to be red thame to the christiane peple. 4° in 2. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot*, 1559.]

STC 12731.2. Aldis 28. Dickson and Edmond 34. 2 leaves. Ornamentation includes initials D28, T15. Copy at A^2 (deposited at E, imp.).

A practical instruction to be given before the administration of holy communion. *See* William James Anderson, 'Two Documents of the Scottish Reformation: I. The "Twopenny faith" ', *IR*, x, 287–9 (facs. facing p. 290); David Laing, *Bannatyne Miscellany*, iii, pp. 313–20.

28. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** Ane dialog betuix experience and ane courteour, off the miserabyll estait of the warld. Deuidit in four partis. 2 pts. 4° in 8's. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot,*] *at the expensis of doctor Nachabevs* [*sic*] *in Copmanhouin*, [1559.]

STC 15675. Aldis 29. Dickson and Edmond 33. Collates A^4 (–A1) B^4 C–F^8 G^4 H–Q^8 R1 S^8 ^{2}A–^{2}G^8. Ornamentation includes initials G28, M28, Q15ii, T14; woodcuts 19, 23. Copies at O (I, plus Tragedie, etc). E^2 (Tragedie, etc.). L (Tragedie, etc.). L^2; F. PFOR.

Printed in response to J. Petit's pirated editions. The L, O, E^2 copies of Tragedie (S^8) and the other texts (2nd A–G^8) are bound with STC 15672.

1561

29. **Bèze, Théodore de.** Ane oration made ... the ix. day of September, 1561. in the noonery of Poyssy. [*Tr.*] 8°. (*Edinburgh, R. Lekprewik*, 1561.)

STC 2026. Aldis 30. Dickson and Edmond 37. Collates A–E^8. Ornamentation includes initials M20, S20; tailpieces 7, 16. Copy at E.

R. Jugge printed another edition in 1562 (STC 2027).

30. **Scotland, Church of — Confession of Faith.** The confessioun of faith professit, and belevit, be the protestantes vvithin the realme of Scotland. Publisched be thaim in parliament. [17 July, i.e. Aug. 1560.] 4°. [*Edinburgh,*] (*Ihone Scott*, 1561.)

STC 22016. Aldis 32. Dickson and Edmond 27. Collates π1 A^4 B–D^4 E^2. Ornamentation includes initials Q15ii, T14. Copy at L.

Reprinted along with Lekpreuik's 1581 edition by Robert Waldegrave in 1581 (STC 22022) and by Thomas Thomas in 1586 (STC 5155). For Patrick Adamson's Latin trans. of this *see* STC 22028, printed by Lekpreuik in 1572.

31 ——. [Anr. ed.] The confessione of the fayht [*sic*] and doctrin [*etc.*] 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewik*, 1561.

STC 22018. Aldis 31. Dickson and Edmond 35. Collates A–C^8. Ornamentation includes initial L19. Copies at E. C^3, G^4, L^2; PML.

32. **Mary, *Queen of Scotland.*** [A description of Mary's wedding to the dauphin. Scottish tr. with additions of 'Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe'.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1561.]

STC 17566.5. 4 leaves [frag]. No ornamentation. Copy at L^2 (4 leaves.)

Although this book is commonly attributed to Scot, the types R22 & R26 show it actually to be the work of Lekpreuik. For description, *see* D. Hamer, 'The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin: A Scottish Printed Fragment', *Library*, ser. 4, xii (1931–2), pp. 420–8. The presence of Roman type may indicate that this item was printed in 1564 or after.

33. **Norvell, Robert.** The meroure of an chrstiane [*sic*]. [In verse.] 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewik*, 1561.

STC 18688. Aldis 33. Dickson and Edmond 36. Collates A–G^8 H^6. Ornamentation includes A20, M20, R26, T14; tailpieces 1, 7. Copies at C (frag). E^2 (frag), F; HD (frag), MEL (frag).

Largely a trans. from C. Marot. Norvell did not set out for Scotland until 22 Mar. 1561, thereby determining the *terminus a quo* for the date of printing. J. Durkan, in *Bibliotheck*, xi (1983), p. 131; *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign*

Series, in the Reign of Elizabeth: 1564–5, No. 36. Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English printed books* (1595), G2v.

1562

34. **Bèze, Théodore de.** Ane answer made the [twenty-] fourth day of Septembre [1561] vnto the cardinall of Lorraine. Together with an other answer made the 26 day of the said moneth. [*Tr.*] (J. Baron.) 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewik*, 1562.

STC 2000. Aldis 34. Dickson and Edmond 38. Collates A–E^8 F^4. Ornamentation includes initials B20, W19; tailpiece 7. Copy at E (imp, all lacking after F4).

35. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches.** The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments & c. vsed in the English churche at Geneua, also the praiers which they vse there in the Frenche churche. 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewik*, 1562.

STC 16564. Aldis 35. Dickson and Edmond 39. Cowan 7. Collates A–H^8 I^6. Ornamentation includes initials A20, I31, L19, O20. Copy at E.

A transitional form from the Genevan service to the Scottish Book of Common Order (STC 16577 sqq). Ed. D. Laing, *Works of John Knox* (Edinburgh, 1864), iv, pp. 141–214.

36. **Winzet, Ninian.** Certane tractatis for reformatioun of doctryne and maneris. 4°. *Edinburgi, [J. Scot]*, 1562 (21 May [24 May in 3rd tractate].)

STC 25860. Aldis 36. Dickson and Edmond 28. A & R 903. Collates A^4 B–E^4 (–E4). E4= π1 of STC 25861. Ornamentation includes initials Q15ii; woodcuts 9, 23. Copies at A^2 (at E). E^2. LAMPORT; F.

Facsimile ed. in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, vol. 388 (Scolar Press, 1978). Ed. J. K. Hewison, in STS, 1st ser., 15, 22. Reprinted by Maitland Club (1835), ed. by David Laing, with other works by Winzet, originally printed in Antwerp, 1563.

37 ——. The last blast of the trompet of Godis vvorde aganis the vsurpit auctoritie of Iohne Knox. 4°. *Edinburgi*, [*J. Scot*], 1562 (31 July).

STC 25861. Aldis 37. Dickson and Edmond 29. A & R 904. Collates π1 A^4 [π1=E4 of STC 25860]. Ornamentation includes initial Q15ii. Copies at E^2 (imp.); F (imp., lacks all after A4).

This is the work Scot was printing when he was arrested. Facsimile in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, vol. 388 (Scolar Press, 1978). Ed. J. K. Hewison in STS, 1st ser., 15, 22. Reprinted by Maitland Club (1835).

1563

38. **Davidson, John, *Master of the Paedagogue of Glasgow*.** Ane answer to the tractiue [STC 14932] set furth in 1558 be Quintine Kennedy [with Kennedy's] epistle direct to the protestantes, prentit in the last part of this buik. 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewik*, 1563.

STC 6320. Aldis 38. Dickson and Edmond 41. Collates A–H^4 I^2. Ornamentation includes initials B20, S20, T14. Copy at E.

The dedic. to Lord Alexander indicates that an excerpt from Kennedy's original tract was sent to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow. For the reply of Ninian Winzet to this book, *see* McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 456.

39. **Fergusson, David.** Ane answer to ane epistle written by Renat Benedict [Benoist], the French doctor, to Iohn Knox. 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1563.

STC 10819. Aldis 39. Dickson and Edmond 43. Collates A–E^8 F^4 (–F4). Ornamentation includes initials I31, T29. Copies at L. C (lacks F1). E^2; Carnegie Lib.

With the text of Benoist's letter, *tr.* from the Latin by [N. Winzet]. Reprinted by Bannatyne Club (1860).

40. **Hay, George.** The confutation of the abbote of Crosraguels [Q. Kennedy's] masse. 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1563.

STC 12968. Aldis 40. Dickson and Edmond 40. Collates A–P^4 Q^2 R–2B^4. Ornamentation includes initials A20, T14, T29; woodcut 17; tailpiece 1. Copies at L. O (2). DUL. E; F.

Prints and answers excerpts of an MS. treatise. Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595), E5r. Greek is filled in by hand.

41. **Knox, John.** Heir followeth the coppie of the ressoning which was betuix the abbote of Crosraguell and John Knox. 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1563.

STC 15074. Aldis 41. Dickson and Edmond 42. Collates [pointed fist]^4 [cross]^4 [pointed fist]^4 A–H^4. Ornamentation includes initials A20, I31, P31, T29, W19; tailpieces 1, 7. Copies at E; F.

Ed. D. Laing, *Works of John Knox* iv (1864), pp. 169–220.

1564

42. **Adamson, Patrick, *Abp.*** De papistarvm svperstitiosis ineptiis. Patrij Adamsonij, carmen. [In verse.] 8°. *Edinburgi, R. Lekprewik*, 1564 (4 cal. Sept.)

STC 145. Aldis 42. Dickson and Edmond 44. Collates A^8 B^2 (–B2). No ornamentation. Copies at E. E^2. A.

43. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches.** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments & c. vsed in the English church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the churche of Scotland, whereunto are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole psalmes of Dauid in English meter. (The catechisme [formerly also STC 4382].) 2 pts. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1564.

STC 16577. Aldis 42.5, 43. Dickson and Edmond 45, 46. Cowan 8. Collates π^8 $*^4$ A–D^8 (–D8 + χ4) E–G^8 H^4. [Psalms:] a–z^8 A–F^8 $*^4$. [Catechism:] A–L^8 (–L7, 8). Ornamentation includes initials W19; woodcut 12. Copy at O^5.

1565

44. **Bible, *English*.** Heir follouis, ane compendeous buke, of godlye psalmes and spirituall sangis newly translatit out of Latine into Inglis, gadderit out of diuers scripturis. [Attrib. to John, James, and Robet Wedderburn.] 8°. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot*] *at the command and expensis of Thomas Bassandyne*, 1565.

STC 2996.3. Collates A^8 B–P^8. No ornamentation. Copy at GOT.

John Scot's Roman types (R1, R2, R7) are used in this book. As Robert Lekpreuik is not known to have used these types, it is unlikely that he was involved with the printing. Another revised edition was produced in 1567. Ed. A. F. Mitchell in STS, 1st ser., 39 (1897); D. Laing (1868). New STS edition is currently being compiled by A. MacDonald.

45. **Capilupi, Lelio.** Laelii Capilvpi Mantvani cento ex Vergilio de vita monachorvm. [In verse.] 4°. *Edinburgi, per R. Lekprevik*, 1565.

STC 4604. Aldis 46. Dickson and Edmond 51. Collates A–B^4. Ornamentation includes initials I9, Q9; tailpiece 1. Copies at A. C^2.

Pastiche of verses from Virgil made up to attack monks. A seventeenth century trans. in English by G. Lauder was printed in St. Andrews by E. Raban, 1622 (STC 20113).

46. **Craig, *Sir* Thomas.** Henrici illvstrissimi dvcis Albaniæ comitis Rossiæ, et Mariæ Scotorum reginæ epithalamium. [In verse.] 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Lekprevik*, 1565.

STC 5970. Aldis 47. Dickson and Edmond 49. Collates A^8 (–A8). No ornamentation. Copy at E^2.

47. **Gathering.** Ane breif gathering of the halie signes, sacrifices and sacramentis. *Tr.* out of Frenche into Scottis be ane faithful brother [W. Stewart.] 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprevik*, 1565.

STC 11684. Aldis 45. Dickson and Edmond 47. Collates A–L^4 M^2. No ornamentation. Copies at L. E (2). E^2; U.

This is a partial answer to Ninian Winzet's *The buke of fourscoir-thre questions*, printed in Antwerp by A. Diest, 1563 (STC 25859, A & R 902). *Tr.* from *Sommaire recueil des signes sacrez* (1561), sometimes erroneously attrib. to T. de Bèze. 'The translatour to the Reader' may have been written by J. Knox. The General Assembly in 1561 paid W. Stewart £133. 6*s*. 8*d*. to translate foreign books; Stewart received a similar sum in 1562 (McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 457).

48. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches.** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. [A variant of 16577 above, with date on the 1st title-page altered:] 1565.

STC 16577a. Aldis 48. Dickson and Edmond 45, 46. Ornamentation includes initial W19, woodcut 12. Copies at L (2, 1 imp). C^5. E (imp). LIV (imp); F.

49. **Pasquilla.** Pasqvillorvm versvs aliqvot ex diversis avctoribvs collecti. 4°. *Edimbvrgi, R. Lekprevik*, 1565.

STC 19458. Aldis 49. Dickson and Edmond 50. Collates A^4 B–C^4. Ornamentation includes initial P31; tailpiece 1. Copy at C^2.

In addition to being aimed at the friars who preached at the Queen's masses in the city, this and No. **45** (STC 4604) may have been intended to wean Darnley from his Catholicism, by a literary assault on the Catholic Italian, David Riccio, then at court.

50. **Scotland – Statutes.** The actis and constitutionis of parliament maid be Marie quene of Scottis. fol. (*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1565.)

STC 21879. Aldis 44. Dickson and Edmond 48. Privately owned copy (unseen).

1566

51. **Scotland – Statutes.** The actis and constitutiounis of the realme of Scotland maid be Iames the first, secund, [etc. 1424–1564. *Ed.*] (E. Henrison.) fol. (*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1566 (12 Oct.))

STC 21875. Aldis 50. Dickson and Edmond 52. Collates $+^4$ (–+4) a–b^4 c^2 A^4 B–$2Y^4$ $2Z^2$ (–2Z2). Ornamentation includes initials A20, A9i, C9, F9, H20, I9, M20, O20, S20, T14, T25, W7; tailpieces 1, 6; Royal Arms 1. Copies at O. L^2. E. E^8. House of Lords. Sal.

Includes uncancelled fols. 113, 118, 132, 145, with acts favouring the Catholics. Sometimes known as the 'Black Acts'. Most of the original edition was destroyed 'sua that

within schort space therefter, few or nane could be fundin gettabill to buy and sell thareof be the lieges' (Dickson and Edmond, p. 227 n). A copy in the British Library (C. 15. b. 11) has an armorial binding for Mary, Queen of Scots, possibly executed by Lekpreuik himself.

52 ——. [Mixed copies, with title-page of No. **51** (STC 21875) and colophon of No. **53** (21876a).

STC 21876. Ornamentation as No. **51**. Copies at L. O. O^3. O^5. C. E (7). E^2 (3). M (2); F. HN. HD. MIN. U.

53 ——. [Another issue, with cancel title-page and colophon:] (*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1566 (28 Nov.))

STC 21876a. Ornamentation as No. **51**. Copies at L. O. A. E. G^2; F. CU. HD. MICH.

This edition should have cancels for fols. 113, 118, 132, 145, the latter followed by an unnumbered leaf; 2 unnumbered leaves following 158 and 168; 181 replaced by 2 leaves, including the new colophon; and 133 cancelled and not replaced. Title-page line 3 ends: 'First'.

54. **Scotland, Church of.** The ordovr and doctrine of the generall faste, appointed be the generall assemblie [By J. Knox and J. Craig.] 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1566.

STC 22041. Aldis 52. Dickson and Edmond 54. Collates A–G^8. Ornamenation includes initial T25. Copies at C^3. E (2). LINC (imp).

This ed., or the enlarged edition (STC 22043), printed by Lekpreuik in 1574, is listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English printed books* (1595), E1r.

55. **Vaus, John.** Rvdimenta artis grammaticæ per Io. Vavs Scottvm selecta. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Lekpreuik*, 1566.

STC 24623a. Aldis 53. Dickson and Edmond 53. Collates A–O^4 (–O4). Ornamentation includes initials A9i, C9, D9, F9, I9, Q9; tailpiece 1. Copy at HN.

The Huntington Library copy has been copiously annotated by James Jack of Aberdeen, 1571–3, which provides valuable evidence of some of the texts in use at Aberdeen at this period.

1567

56. **Bible, *English*.** [Ane compendious buik of godly psalms and spiritual sangis. Attrib. to John, James, and Robert Wedderburn.] 8°. [*Edinburgh, J. Scot*, 1567.]

STC 2996.5. Aldis 55. Collates A^8 B–O^8 P^4. Copy wanting all before A4. No ornamentation. Copy at Dundee PL (deposited at E; bound with STC 16578.5).

An enlarged edition of No. **44** (STC 2996.3). Later editions were printed by Ross in 1578 and R. Smyth in 1600. The verse 'Say weill is throuchlie a worthy gude thing' is related to the version in the Bannatyne MS. (M129). It contains the first 40 lines, but lacks the last 2 lines (Ed. Mitchell, STS, 1st ser. 39, pp. 207–8.) Another version is included in Corpus Christi, Cambridge MS. 168 (Cox MS.). (Godwin, *Six Ballads*, Percy Soc., vol. xiii, pp. 6–8.) Other printed editions of this are included in STC 12631.3 & 12634. *Index* 3079.7. Later eds. were compiled by Lord Hails (1765) and Sibbald in vol. iii of his *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1802). The 1621 edition was reprinted with a historical introduction by J. G. Dalyell, *Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1801). A new STS edition is currently being compiled by A. MacDonald.

57. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. The haill hundreth and fyftie pslames of Dauid, in Inglis meter, be T. Sternholde. 8°. *Edinburgh, J. Scot*, 1567.

STC 16578.5. Aldis 61. Title-page only. No ornamentation. Copy at Dundee PL (tp. only, bd. w. STC 2996.5, deposited at E).

Although psalms alone are called for on the title-page, no separate Scottish edition of the psalms is known this early. For the first separate edition of the Psalms in metre used in the Church of Scotland, *see* STC 2701 sqq.

58. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. [A trans.] Foirm na nvrrnvidheadh agas freasdal na sacramuinteadh. [*Tr.* J. Carswell.] 8°. *indún Edin., R. Lekpreuik*, 1567 (24 Apr.)

STC 16604. Aldis 60. Dickson and Edmond 55. Cowan 10. Collates A–P^8 Q^4 (–Q4). Ornamentation includes tailpieces 1, 7. Copies at L. E^2 (imp.); PML.

A translation of Knox's liturgy into Gaelic by John Carswell. For an account of this work and translations of extracts into English, *see* John Leyden (ed.), *Scottish Descriptive Poems* (Edinburgh, 1803); Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (London, 1703–1716), p. 127. In 1650, the Synod of Argyle published a Gaelic translation of the first 50 psalms, probably made from the newly authorized version in English. T. McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 178.

59. **Scotland – Proclamations.** Heir followis the proclamatioun that the nobilitie and lordis maid [11 June 1567] declaring the effect of thair assemblie in armour. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, [1567.]

STC 21930. Aldis 66. Dickson and Edmond 56. Cr. 172. No ornamentation. Copies at L^{11} (2; S.P. Scot. Eliz., vol. 13, docs. 54, 55).

60 ——. Heir followis ane act that the Lordis of secreit counsall maid [12 June 1567], declaring Iames Erle Bothwell to be the principall authour and murtherar of the kingis grace. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.

STC 21931. Aldis 54. Dickson and Edmond 57. Cr. 173. No ornamentation. Copies at L^{11} (2; S.P. Scot. Eliz., vol. 13, docs. 56, 57).

61 ——. Heir followis ane proclamatioun that the lordis of secreit counsall maid [etc. For apprehension of Earl Bothwell. 26 June 1567.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.

STC 21932. Aldis 67. Dickson and Edmond 58. Cr. 174. Ornamentation includes woodcut 12. Copy at E.

62. **Sempill, Robert.** ane deeclaratioun [*sic*] of the Lordis iust quarrell. [Anon.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.

STC 22192. Aldis 57. Dickson and Edmond 61. Cranstoun 7. No ornamentation. Copies at L (2), L^{11}.

63 ——. Ane exhortatovn direct to my lord regent. [Anon.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.]

STC 22194. Aldis 59. Dickson and Edmond 114. Cranstoun 6. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

64 ——. Heir followis ane ballat declaring the nobill and gude inclinatioun of our king. [Anon.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.

STC 22196. Aldis 62. Dickson and Edmond 62. Cranstoun 3. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

65 ——. Heir followis ane exhortatioun to the lordis. [Anon. Against Queen Mary and Bothwell.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.

STC 22197. Aldis 63. Dickson and Edmond 60. Cranstoun 26. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

66 ——. Heir followis the testament and tragedie of vmquhile king Henrie Stewart. [Anon.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.

STC 22199 (formerly also 23372). Aldis 64. Dickson and Edmond 59. Cranstoun 4. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

67 ——. The kingis complaint. [Anon.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1567.]

STC 22200. Aldis 65. Dickson and Edmond 115. Cranstoun 14. No ornamentation. Copies at L; HD.

1568

68. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The warkis of the famous and vorthie knicht schir Dauid Lyndesay. Newly correctit and augmentit. [In verse.] 2 pts. 4° in 8's. (*Edinburgh,*) *J. Scot, at the expensis of H. Charteris*, 1568.

STC 15658. Aldis 70. Dickson and Edmond 30. Collates [+]^4 A–B^4 C–F^8 G^4 H–Q^8 R1 ^{2}A–B^8 ^{2}C^6 ^{2}D–F^8 ^{2}G^4 ^{2}H1 ^{2}I–L^8. Ornamentation includes initial Q15ii; tailpieces 6, 8; woodcuts 19, 25, 26. Copies at WN; F. HN.

The texts of 'The monarche' and the 1st series of minor poems were reprinted from the 1559 edition. Apparently, Scot originally intended to exclude 'The tragedie' from this edition, intending to end it at ^{2}H1. It is quite possible at this stage that H. Charteris took over the publication, adding 'The tragedie' and the second series of minor poems. The printed side-notes were originally probably a reader's comments on the margins of his own copy, printed by Scot in the margins of this edition. Some of the side-notes were reprinted by T. Bassandyne in his edition of 1574. The Huntington Library copy was originally owned by John Case.

Ed. J. Small, *et. al.* E.E.T.S. (1865–71); D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1879). From the Danish editions of 1591 it appears that Lindsay's *Works* were *trans.* into Latin by Andrew Robertson of Aberdeen, and subsequently into Danish by Jacob Mattssøn (British Library: C.34.e.58; Edinburgh University Library: De.7.19). For a contemporary reference to this item *see* W. Geddie, in STS, 1st ser. 61, p. 299 sqq. Lindsay's *Works* went through 6 editions in the sixteenth century and 16 editions in the seventeenth century.

Sixteenth century MS. versions of Lindsay's poems include Lambeth MS. 332 (dated 1556); the Edinburgh MS. of 1566; the Bannatyne MS., 1568. D. Hamer (vol. iv, pp. 15, sqq) postulates the existence of a number of lost editions of Lindsay's poems printed by T. Davidson, 1528–37. *See* also D. Hamer, in *The Library*, x (1929–30). J. Scot may have also printed a lost 1547 edition of 'The tragedie of the late cardinal'.

69. **Scotland – Statutes.** The actis of parliament of Iames the sext, king of Scottis. [15 Dec. 1567.] fol. (*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1568 (6 Apr.))

STC 21880. Aldis 68. Dickson and Edmond 63. Collates A–F^4. Ornamentation includes initials A9i, I9; tailpiece 6; Royal Arms 1. Copies at O. L (2). C^2 (lack tp). E (4, 1 lacking tp). E^2. G^2. M; F. HN. CU. HD. MIN. U.

One copy in the National Library of Scotland (H.33.c.24(2)) is a variant setting, without type ornaments to the left of text on the title-page. Partly reprinted in STC 21946.5 sqq.

70. **Scotland – Proclamations.** ane proclamatioun anent the treassonable conspiratouris [etc. 7 May 1568. Issued by Moray after Queen Mary's escape.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, [1568.]

STC 21933. Aldis 72. Dickson and Edmond 65. Cr. 195. Ornamentation includes initial I9. Copies at L. L^5. L^{11} (3).

71 ——. ane proclamatioun set furth be my lord regent [14 May 1568.] declaring the purpose of thame quha assistit with our souerane lordis mother. fol (3). *Edinbvrgh, R. Lekprevik*, 1568.

STC 21934. Aldis 71. Dickson and Edmond 66. Cr. 197. ornamentation includes initial I9. Copies at L. L^{11} (1st sheet only). Losely House, Surrey.

72. **Skeyne, Gilbert.** Ane breve descriptovn of the pest qvhairin the cavsis, signis and sum speciall preseruatioun and cure thairof ar contenit. 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprevik*, 1568.

STC 22626.5. Aldis 73. Dickson and Edmond 64. Collates $A–C^8$ (−C8). No ornamentation. Copy at E.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English printed books* (1595), C4r. Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1860), ed. by William F. Skene.

1569

73. **Knox, John.** The ordovre of excommvnicatiovn and of pvblict [*sic*] repentance, vsed in the church of Scotland. [Anon. June 1569.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Lekprevik*, 1569.

STC 15074.2. Aldis 74. Dickson and Edmond 67. Collates $A–D^8$ E^4. No ornamentation. Copies at L^2. E; F.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English printed books* (1595), G3r.

74. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The warkis [Another issue of STC 15658, with date on R1v:] (1569.)

STC 15658.5. Aldis 104. Dickson and Edmond 31. Collates $[+]^4$ $A–B^4$ $C–D^8$ G^4 $H–Q^8$ R1 $^2A–B^8$ $^2C^6$ $^2D–F^8$ $^2G^4$ $^2H1$ $^2I–K^8$. Ornamentation includes initial Q15ii; tailpieces 6, 8; woodcuts 19, 25, 26. Copy at C^5 (imp., lacking gatherings [+], E, F, ^2H).

Includes circular ornament on A8v.

1570

75. **Aesop.** The morall fabillis of Esope in Scottis meter, be maister R. Henrisone. 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik, at the expensis of H. Charteris*, 1570 (1569 (16 Dec.))

STC 185. Aldis 83. Dickson and Edmond 69. Collates $A–N^4$. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

Printed from an earlier edition, now not extant. H. Charteris was probably responsible for the Latin quotations on the title-page. *See* D. Laing, *Poems and Fables of R. Henryson* (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 265. The *Fabillis* also occur in the Bannatyne MS. (M389, etc), the Asloan MS., the Makculloch MS., and the Harleian MS. (British Library Harleian MS. 3865), a copy of a print. Bassandyne's 1571 was printed in response to this edition. Ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh, 1933; rev. Edinburgh, 1955); Charles Elliott (Oxford, 1963; 2nd ed. 1974); G. Gregory Smith in STS, 1st ser., 55, 58, 64; D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1865); Denton Fox (Oxford, 1981). A facsimile has been published by the De Capo Press (Amsterdam and New York, 1970). *Index* 3703, *Manual* (4) x .3. LSP.

76. **Henry, *the Minstrel.*** [Heading A1r:] The actis and deidis of schir William Wallace, knicht of Ellerslie. [Anon.] 4° in 8's. (*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik, at the expensis of H. Charteris*, 1570.)

STC 13149. Aldis 82. Dickson and Edmond 68. Collates $A–Z^8$. No ornamentation. Copy at L (title-page lacking).

Henry Charteris's inventory lists 102 copies of this book at 10*s*. per copy, totalling £51. Both this edition and the Chepman and Myllar print are descended from John Ramsay's original 1488 MS. (National Library of Scotland: Adv. 19.2.2). The title-page and preliminaries are probably 'literally reprinted' in the 1594 edition of H. Charteris. Ed. W. A. Craigie, in STS, 3rd ser., 12 (facsimile); J. Jamieson (Glasgow, 1869); M. P. McDiarmid, in STS, 4th ser., 4–5; W. Skeat in E.E.T.S. (1889); J. Moir, in STS, 1st ser., 6, 7. *See* also J. F. Miller, *Blind Harry's Wallace* (Glasgow, 1914); *Records of the Bibliographical Society of Glasgow*, vi (1920), pp. 20–38. 7 editions were printed in the seventeenth century.

77. **Howard, Thomas, *Duke of Norfolk.*** A discourse tovching the pretended match betwene the duke of Norfolke and the quene of Scottis. 8°. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570?]

STC 13870.3. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

Possibly printed for H. Charteris from Day's 1569 edition (STC 13869 sqq).

78. **Kello, John.** The confessiovn of maister Iohn Kello [4 Oct. 1570.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 15[70?]

STC 14915. Aldis 84. Dickson and Edmond 85. Collates $A–N^4$. No ornamentation. Copy at F.

79. **Scotland – Proclamations.** [Begins:] Forsamekill as the contempt of the kingis authoritie [etc. Enforcement of letters of horning. 27 Dec. 1569.] fol (2). *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 21935. Aldis 90. Dickson and Edmond 70. Cr. 225. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

80 ——. The kingis maiesteis proclamatioun [8 May 1570] Confuting the pretensis of his hienes rebellis [etc.] fol (3). *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 21936. Aldis 91. Dickson and Edmond 71. Cr. 235. No ornamentation. Copies at L^5. L^{11}.

81 ——. The answer to the sclanderous misreport of tham ethat be seditious, craftie, and fals narratioun labouris to deface the kingis authoritie, and the establischings of his regent [5 Aug. 1570.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 21937. Aldis 92. Dickson and Edmond 72. Cr. 242. Ornamentation includes initial I9. Copies at L11 (2).

82. **Scotland, Church of – General Assembly.** The determination of the Generall Assemblie. Anent the obedience to the kingis maiestie his authoritie. [7 July 1570.] $\frac{1}{2}$sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.]

STC 22046. Aldis 79.5. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

83. **Sempill, Robert.** The admonitioun to the Lordis. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, [15]70.

STC 22187. Aldis 75. Dickson and Edmond 78. Cranstoun 18. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

84 ——. [Anr. ed.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*,] 1570.

STC 22187a. Aldis 76. Dickson and Edmond 78. No ornamentation. Copy at L^5.

This may be the earlier edition.

85 ——. The bird in the cage. [Signed 'Maddie Priores of the Caill mercat'.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22187a.5 (formerly 3084). Aldis 77. Dickson and Edmond 82. Cranstoun 22. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

86 ——. The complaint of Scotland. [Anon. On Regent Moray's death.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.]

STC 22189. Aldis 56. Dickson and Edmond 116. Cranstoun 11. No ornamentation. Copies at L. L^{11}.

Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists 1 copy at 12*d*.

87 ——. The cruikit liedis the blind. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22191. Aldis 78. Dickson and Edmond 77. Cranstoun 16. No ornamentation. Copies at L. L^{11}.

88 ——. The deploratioun of the cruell murther of James erle of Murray. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22192a.3 (formerly 23373). Aldis 79. Dickson and Edmond 74. Cranstoun 13. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

Entered to J. Sampson, i.e. Awdely 1569–70.

89 ——. [Anr. ed.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22192a.5. No ornamentation. Copy at L^5.

In title: 'cruel'.

90 ——. The exhortatioun to all plesand thingis. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22193. Aldis 80. Dickson and Edmond 80. Cranstoun 15. No ornamentation. Copies at L^5. L11.

91 ——. The hailsome adminitioun & c. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22195. Aldis 81. Dickson and Edmond 83. Cranstoun 23. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

92 ——. Maddeis lamentatioun. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22201. Aldis 87. Dickson and Edmond 79. Cranstoun 19. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

93 ——. Maddeis proclamatioun. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.]

STC 22201.5 (formerly 17177). Aldis 88. Dickson and Edmond 117. Cranstoun 20. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

94 ——. The poysonit schot. [Anon. On the murder of Regent moray.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22204. Aldis 89. Dickson and Edmond 75. Cranstoun 17. No ornamentation. Copies at L. L^5.

95 ——. The regentis tragedie ending with ane exhortatoun [*sic*]. *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22205. Aldis 93. Dickson and Edmond 76. Cranstoun 12. No ornamentation. Copies at L. L^5.

For an Anglicized version, *see* STC 22210.

96 ——. [Anr. issue, partly reset:] with ane Exhortatioun. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22206. Aldis 94. Dickson and Edmond 76. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11}.

In title: 'Exhortatioun'.

97 ——. The spur to the lordis. [Anon.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*,] 1570.

STC 22208. Aldis 95. Dickson and Edmond 81. Cranstoun 21. No ornamentation. Copy at L^5.

98 ——. Ane tragedie in the forme of ane diallog betuix honour gude fame, and the authour heirof in ane trance. [Anon. In verse.] 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22209. Aldis 96. Dickson and Edmond 73. Cranstoun 10. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

99 ——. The tressoun of Dunbartane. [Anon.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1570.

STC 22211. Aldis 97. Dickson and Edmond 84. Cranstoun 24. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{11} (2).

1571

100. **Aesop.** The morall fabillis of Esope. Compylit be R. Henrisone. [In verse.] 8°. *Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne*, 1571.

STC 185.5. Aldis 101.9. Collates A–G^8 H^4. Ornamentation includes initial T21. Copies at E. YK.

The 1602 inventory of R. Smyth lists 'sevin hundreth xliij Fabilis of Isope', possibly referring to this edition or another edition printed which is now missing. In 1594 Smyth obtained a grant of the privilege of printing 'The Fabillis of Esope' with other books. The 1585 inventory of R. Gourlaw lists one copy priced at 20*d*. Richard Smith, the London bookseller, printed an anglicized edition in 1577, mentioned in the Stationers' Register on 6 Nov. 1598 as the property of William Wood, Smith's successor. For the relationship between the editions, *see* D. Fox, *Henryson*, pp. lix–lxvi; Ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1865); D. Fox (Oxford, 1981). *LSP*.

101. **Buchanan, George.** Ane admonitiovn direct to the trew lordis maintenaris of the kingis graces authoritie. 8°. *Striviling, R. Lekprevik*, 1571.

STC 3966.5. Aldis 100. Dickson and Edmond 87. McFarlane 195a Collates A–B^8. Ornamentation includes initial I9. Copies at L^2. E (lacks tp).

102 ——. [Anr. ed.] 8°. *Striviling, R. Lekprevik*, 1571.

STC 3968.5. Aldis 100.5. McFarlane 195b. Collates A–B^8. Ornamentation includes initial I9. Copy at E.

With an additional paragraph on A7r, not included in the earlier edition. Another edition was printed in London in 1571 by John Day 'according to the Scotish copie'. Buchanan sent an early draft to Cecil, who added marginal comments (State Papers, Eliz., vol. xvii, No. 24). Other MS. copies at the British Library (Cotton MSS. Cal. C.ii.513–20; Adds. MS. 32,091, fols. 228ff). Ed. P. Hume Brown, in STS, 1st ser., 26, No. 2.

103. **Hay, George.** M. G. Hayi oratio habita in gymnasio Abersonensi [2 July 1569.] 8°. *Edinburgi, R. Lekreuik* [*sic*], 1571.

STC 12968.5. Aldis 101.6. Collates A^8. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

104. **Knox, John.** To his loving brethren whome God ones gathered in the church of Edinburgh. 8° in 4. *Striviling, R. Lekprevik*, 1571.

STC 15076. Aldis 102. Dickson and Edmond 88. Collates A^4. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

105. **Linday, *Sir* David.** The warkis [Anr. issue of STC 15658, w. new prelims., w. imprint:] *Edinburgh, J. Scot at the expensis of H. Charteris*, 1571.

STC 15659. Aldis 103. Dickson and Edmond 31. Collates πA–B^4 B^4 C–D^8 (–D1) E–F^8 G^4 H–Q^8 R1 A–B^8 $^2C^6$ ^2D–F^8 $^2G^4$ $^2H1$ ^2I–K^8 (–K8) $^2L^8$. Ornamentation includes initial Q15ii; tailpiece 8; woodcuts 19, 21, 25, 26. Copy at O (imp., lacking all after $^2L3$.

New preliminaries from H. Charteris, but from 2nd B1 this is identical to the 1568 edition.

106. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. The forme of prayers [a variant of STC 16577, with imprint on the Catechism sub tp:] (*imprinted* 1571.)

STC 16579.3. Cowan 11. Ornamentation includes initials A16, D16, I28ii, O16, T16, V16; tailpiece 3. Copy at E (imp., lacking all after I1.)

107. **Sempill, Robert.** The bischoppis lyfe and testament. *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. *Striuiling, R. Lekpreuik*, 1571.

STC 22188. Aldis 105. Dickson and Edmond 90. Cranstoun 28. No ornamentation. Copy at L^5.

108 ——. The exhortatioun to the lordis. [Anon. In praise of Regent Lennox.] *Ballad.* s.sh.fol. *Striuiling, R. Lekpreuik*, 1571.

STC 22194.5 (formerly 22198). Aldis 101. Dickson and Edmond 89. Cranstoun 26. No ornamentation. Copy at L^5.

A different text from STC 22197.

1572

109. **Barbour, John.** [The acts and life of Robert Bruce. Anon. In verse.] 4° in 8's. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik, at the expense of H. Charteris*. 1572]

STC 1377.5. Aldis 98. Dickson and Edmond 86. Collates A–2C^8 2D^4. Ornamentation includes woodcut 21. Copy at PML.

For the date of publication, *see* STS edition. Hart's 1616 edition is an anglicized version of this. Lekpreuik apparently followed a conflation of the Cambridge MS. of 1487 (St. John's College, Cambridge (G.23); and the National Library of Scotland MS. (Adv. 19.2.2.) of 1469. Ed. M. P. McDiarmid and J. A. C. Stevenson, in STS, 4th ser., 12, 13, 15; W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S. (e.s.), 11, 21, 29, 55; W. Mackay Mackenzie (1909). 6 editions of this item were printed in the seventeenth century. *LSP*.

110. **Bible, *English.*** [From heading C1r:] Cum heir sayis Goodis sone to. [*Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne*].

STC 2997+. No ornamentation. Copy at STU (frag).

Not in STC. The typefaces R5 & T4*b* show that this was printed either by Bassandyne, or (less probably) by Arbuthnet, not by Smyth (who did not use T4*b*) or Scot (who did not use R5). I am very grateful to Prof. A. MacDonald for pointing out the existence of this edition, and also to STU for providing photocopies.

111. **Buchanan, George.** Ane detectioun of the doingis of Marie quene of Scottis. 8°. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 3982. Aldis 107. Dickson and Edmond 91. McFarlane 201. Collates A–H^8 I^2 (–I2). Ornamentation includes initial Q9. Copies at L. E; F. CU. NY.

A MS. version is in the British Library (Cotton MSS., Cal. D.i. fols. 3–28 (Item 1). The Pierpont Morgan Library has a sixteenth century MS. version (MA 42) and a seventeenth century MS version (MA 41). A number of MS. translations exist.

112. **Coilyear, Rauf.** Heir beginnis the taill of Rauf Coilzear how he harbreit king charlis. [In verse.] 4°. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 5487. Aldis 113. Dickson and Edmond 98. Collates A–D^4. Ornamentation includes woodcuts 10, 21. Copy at E.

See EBS, 1916. Facsimile edition, *The Taill of Rauf Coilyear*, ed. W. Beattie (Edinburgh: NLS Keppie Facs. No. 1, 1966). Ed. F. J. Amours, in STS, 1st ser., 27, 38; D. Laing, *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822; rearranged and revised in 1895 by W. C. Hazlitt); W. H. Browne (Baltimore, 1903); S. J. H. Herrtage, in E.E.T.S. (e.s.), 39; M. Tonndorf (Berlin, 1894). A new STS edition by Elizabeth Walsh is forthcoming. *Child* No. 273; *LSP*.

113. **Fergusson, David.** Ane sermon preichit befoir the regent and nobilitie [at Leith, 13 Jan. 1571]. 8°. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 10820. Aldis 111. Dickson and Edmond 99. Collates A–B^8. C^4. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1860), ed. by John Lee, along with Fergusson's 'Testament', 1598.

114. **Discourse.** Ane discovrse tviching the estait present in October 1571. [In a dialogue between Thomas and George.] 8°. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 6909.5. Aldis 110. Dickson and Edmond 101. Collates A–B^8. Ornamentation includes initial C9; tailpiece 2. Copies at L^2; HN.

115. **Knox, John.** An answer to a letter of a Iesvit named Tyrie, be Iohne Knox. 8°. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 15062. Aldis 114. Dickson and Edmond 92. Collates A–E^8 F^6 (–F6). Ornamentation includes tailpiece 2. Copies at L. O. A. E (2). E^3; F.

Reprinted and answered in STC 24476; A & R 832.

116. **Scotland – Proclamations.** The forme of the abstinance, grantit be my lord regentis grace, to the lordis within the castell and toun of Edinburgh. [at Leith, 30 July 1572.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, T. Bassendyne*, [1572.]

STC 21938 (formerly also 11184). Aldis 112. Dickson and Edmond 124. Cr. 276. Ornamentation includes initial W21. Copy at L^{11}.

Signed 'John, Regent, [etc.]'

117 ——. The copie of the proclamatioun...for ane conuentioun of the prefessouris of the trew religioun to consult vpon the conspiracies of the papists. [3 Oct. 1572.] s.sh.fol. *Sanctandrois, R. Lepreuik*, 1572.

STC 21940. Aldis 118. Dickson and Edmond 102. Cr. 280. No ornamentation. Copies at L. L^5. L^{11}. O.

The L^5 copy may be a variant.

118. **Scotland – Proclamations.** The lamentatioun of lady Scotland...speiking in maner of ane epistle. [In verse. Init. P.R. (R. Sempill?)]. 8°. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 22011. Aldis 116. Dickson and Edmond 96. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

119. **Scotland, Church of.** Confessio fidei et doctrinæ per ecclesiam reformatam regni Scotiæ. [*Tr.* by P. Adamson?] 8°. *Andreapoli, R. Lekprevik*, 1572.

STC 22028. Aldis 109. Dickson and Edmond 100. Collates A–C^{8}. No ornamentation. Copies at O^{18}. E. E^{2}. STU.

A translation of *The Confession of faith* (STC 22016).

120. **Sempill, Robert.** The lamentation of the Commounis of Scotland. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 22200.5 (formerly 22012). Aldis 115. Dickson and Edmond 95. Cranstoun 32. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{5}.

121 ——. My lord Methwenis tragedie. *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekepreuik*, 1572.

STC 22202. Aldis 120. Dickson and Edmond 93. Cranstoun 30. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{5}.

122 ——. ane new ballet set out be ane fugitiue Scottisman that fled out of Paris. [On the St. Bartholomew massacre.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 22203. Aldis 119. Dickson and Edmond 97. Cranstoun 38. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

123 ——. ane premonitioun to the barnis of Leith. [Anon.] *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1572.

STC 22204.5 (formerly 15436). Aldis 117. Dickson and Edmond 94. Cranstoun 31. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{5}.

1573

124. **Davidson, John, *Minister of Salt-Preston*.** Ane breif commendatiovn of vprichtnes, amplifyit be Goddis protectioun, in preseruing J. Knox. [In verse.] 4°. *Sanct Androis, R. Lekpreuik*, 1573.

STC 6321. Aldis 123. Dickson and Edmond 105. Collates A–B^{4} C^{2}. No ornamentation. Copy at HN.

125. **Adamson, Patrick, *Abp*.** Gratiarum actio illustrismæ ad potentissimæ do. Elizabetæ Ang. reginæ propter liberatam ciuili seditione Scotiam. [In verse.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1573.]

STC 147. Lemon 65. No ornamentation. Copy at L^{5}.

Includes the types of Lekpreuik (R12, R16, R30).

126. **Edinburgh.** A trew copie of the mutuall band betwuix the castell and toun of Edinburgh, publischit [to demonstrate] how the laird of Grange, aganis his promeis, is the occasioun, of the present vnquyetnes. [Agreement to support James VI and Regent Moray dated 8 May 1568.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1573.

STC 7485. Aldis 131. Dickson and Edmond 107. Cr. 196. Ornamentation includes initial A9i. Copies at L^{5}. L^{11}.

127. **England – Proclamations.** By sir william Drury knight. [Regulations for the English army in Scotland.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1573.

STC 8055. Aldis 125. Dickson and Edmond 106. Cr. 293. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

128. **Pont, Robert.** Parvvs catechismvs qvo examinari possunt iuniores qui ad sacram cœnam admittuntur. [Init. R. P.] 8°. *Andreapoli, R. Lekprevik*, 1573.

STC 20105. Aldis 126. Dickson and Edmond 103. Collates A^{8} (–A8). Ornamentation includes tailpiece 2. Copy at E.

244 copies of 'Latine catechismis' are listed in Bassandyne's inventory at 6*d*. a dozen, totalling £6. 2*s*. Reprinted in the Wodrow Society Miscellany, i (1844), ed. David Laing.

129. **Scotland – Statutes.** In the parliament...be gunne at Striuiling. [28 Aug. 1571 and 26 Jan. 1572.] fol. *Sanctandrois, R. Lekpreuik*, 1573.

STC 21882. Aldis 121. Dickson and Edmond 104. Collates A–C^{4}. Ornamentation includes initial I9, T14; tailpiece 2. Copies at L. O. C. E (3). M; CU. HD. MIN.

Dated 26 Jan. 1572 on B2r. An enlarged edition was printed by J. Ross in 1575 (STC 21883).

130. **Scotland – Proclamations.** A brief declaration how materis hes procedit during the lait abstinence and how...the war is renewit [1 Jan. 1572 (o.s.)] fol (2). *Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne*, 1572 [1573.]

STC 21941. Aldis 106. Dickson and Edmond 125. Cr. 283. Ornamentation includes initial F21. Copy at L^{11}.

131 ——. The kingis maiesties proclamatioun beiring the verie occasioun of the present incu*m*ing of the Inglis forces. With his hienes commandement for thair gude intreatment and friendly vsage. [13 Apr. 1573.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne*, [1573.]

STC 21942. Aldis 128. Dickson and Edmond 126. Cr. 290. Ornamentation includes initial I21. Copies at L. L^{11}.

'Imprintit'.

132 ——. Incuming [Anr. issue] s.sh.fol. Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne, [1573.]

STC 21943. Aldis 127. Dickson and Edmond 126. Cr. 291. Ornamentation includes initial I24. Copy at L^5.

'Imprintit'.

133 ——. Incuming [Anr. issue] s.sh.fol. Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne, [1573.]

STC 21943a. Aldis 129. Dickson and Edmond 126. Cr. 292. Ornamentation includes initial I24. Copy at L^5.

'Imprinted'.

134. **Sempill, Robert.** The sege of the castel of Edinburgh. [In verse.] 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1573.

STC 22207. Aldis 130. Dickson and Edmond 108. Cranstoun 39. Collates A–B^4. Ornamentation includes tailpiece 2. Copy at L.

1574

135 ——. Ane dialog or ⟨mu⟩tuall ta⟨lking⟩ ⟨bet⟩uix a ⟨clerk⟩ and ⟨ane cour⟩teour, concerning ⟨four parish kirks⟩ till ane minister. [Anon. In verse.] 8°. [*Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1573 (o.s.) [1574].]

STC 6323. Aldis 124. Dickson and Edmond 120. Cranstoun 42. Collates A–B^8. No ornamentation. Copy at E (tp defective).

Both Lekpreuik and Davidson were imprisoned for this. *See* Dickson and Edmond, 205, 270–1.

136. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The warkis. [In verse.] Newly correctit and augmentit with sindry warkis quhilk was not befoir imprentit. [Anr. ed.] *Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne*, 1547.

STC 15660. Aldis 135. Dickson and Edmond 127. Collates A^6 B–Z^8 $\&^6$ (–& 6). Ornamentation includes initials A21, B21, F21, G21, I21, M21, N21, O21, P21, Q21, R21, S21, T21; devices 4, 12. Copies at E. BUTE.

Without H. Charteris's preface. At the time of his death, Bassandyne had 510 copies of this in stock: 505 unbound copies were valued at 3*s*. each, totalling £90. 15*s*., and 5 bound copies were valued at 4*s*. each, totalling 20*s*.

137. **Scotland, Church of.** The ordovre and doctrine of the generall fast. [Anr. ed. of STC 22041, enlarged.] (Certaine chapters of the scriptures vsed be the ministers of Edinburgh in the tyme of the pest.) 8°. *Edinbvrgh, Robert Lekpreuik*, 1574.

STC 22043. Aldis 136. Dickson and Edmond 109. Collates A–D^8 E^4 F^2. No ornamentation. Copies at L^2. O (2). C^2. D; F.

This edition, or STC 22041 printed by Lekpreuik in 1568, is listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English printed books* (1595), E1r.

1575

138. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. The forme of prayers. [etc. Anr. ed. of STC 16579.] 8°. *Edinburgh, I. Ros for H. Charteris*, 1575.

STC 16579.5. Aldis 142.3 & 143.5. Collates a–r^8 s–t^6 v–z^8 A–Q^8 Aa^8 ^{2}B–I^8. Ornamentation includes initials A16, D16, L16, O16, T16, V16; tailpiece 3. Copies at L^{15} (1st quire only). E (imp., wanting 2E1, and all before a3 and after ^{2}I8.

139 ——. The CL. psalmes of David in English metre. With the forme of prayers, and ministrations of the sacraments & c. vsed in the churche of Scotland. (The catechisme.) 2 pts. 8°. *Edinburgh, T. Bassandine*, 1575.

STC 16580 (pt. 2 formerly also 4384). Aldis 143. Dickson and Edmond 128. Collates A–$2I^8$. Ornamentation includes initials A21, B21, D21, I21, L21, T21, W21; tailpiece 2; device 12. Copies at O (3, all imp). E (imp, lacking all after N2).

Bassandyne's inventory lists 47 copies of 'fyne catechisses', each at 12*d*., totalling 47*s*., and one 'catechismus Caluini' at 2*s*. 1,280 copies of 'prayaris vpoun the psalmes' are listed in Bassandyne's inventory, at 10*d*. each, totalling 80 merkis. This is a very unusual way of describing the Scottish Book of Common Order, and may instead refer to an earlier edition of 'Prayers upon the Psalms', printed by Charteris in his edition of the Psalm book. This edition may have been translated from the French of Marlorat, and is perhaps a reprint of the 1577 edition, printed in London by W. Seres. Bassandyne's inventory also lists 'ane psalmes of David', valued at 18*d*., a remarkably low price for the edition. For later editions, *see* STC 16580.3 sqq.

140. **Rolland, John.** Ane treatise callit the court of Venvs, deuidit into four buikis. Newlie compylit. [In verse.] 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, I. Ros*, 1575.

STC 21258. Aldis 144. Dickson and Edmond 137. Collates A–I^8. Ornamentation includes initials A16, Q16; device 6. Copies at L. O (frag).

Ed. W. Gregor, in STS, 1st ser., 3.

141. **Scotland – Statutes.** The actis of the parliament of Iames the sext [25 Dec. 1567]. fol. *Edinburgh, I. Ros*, 1575.

STC 21881. Aldis 140. Dickson and Edmond 138. Collates A–F^4. Ornamentation includes initials A16, I16; device 10. Copies at L. O. C. A. E (3). E^2 (3); F. HN. CH. HD. MICH.

Another edition of STC 21880. The Bodleian copy (Vet. A1 d.24) is a variant, without ornament A27 on E1r.

142 ——. In the parliament of Iames the sext [w. parliaments 28 Aug. 1571, 26 Jan. 1572, and 30 Apr. 1573.] fol. *Edinburgh, I. Ros*, 1575.

STC 21883. Aldis 141. Dickson and Edmond 139. Ornamentation includes initials F16, I16, T16; device 10; tailpiece 3. Copies at L. O. C. A. M. E (2). E^2 (2); F (3). HN. CH. HD. MICH.

143. **Scotland – Proclamations.** [Proclamation concerning provision for the poor. 1 Mar. 1574 (o.s.)] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, I. Ros*, [1574 (o.s.) [=1575 (n.s.)].]

STC 21943a.5. Aldis 133.7. Copy at Lord Rosebury (imp).

144 ——. The proclamation of the crying doun of the new plakkis and hardheidis. [Concerning counterfeit coins. 3 Mar. 1574 (o.s.)] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, I. Ros*, [1574 (o.s.) [=1575 (n.s.)].]

STC 21944. Aldis 139. Dickson and Edmond 136. Cr. 324. Ornamentation includes initial T16. Copy at L.

145 ——. Iames be the grace of God fforsamekle as oure richt traist [etc. Letter of the Privy Council charging each parish to advance to A. Arbuthnet £5. Scots for printing the Bible (Nos. **147, 154**; STC 2125). 8 Mar. 1575.] s.sh.obl.fol. [*Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne*, 1575.]

STC 21944.5. Aldis 142.7. Cowan 13. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

146 ——. The act and proclamatioun anent the vniuersall course of the new markit money. [31 May 1575.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, I. Ros*, [1575.]

STC 21945. Aldis 142. Dickson and Edmond 140. Cr. 328. No ornamentation. Copies at L. L^5. L^{30}. O. E. E^2; F.

1576

147. **Bible – English.** The newe testament of ovr lord Iesvs Christ. [Geneva.] pt. 2. (of 2 pts.) fol. *Edinburgh, T. Bassandyne*, 1576.

STC 2125. Aldis 145. Dickson and Edmond 129. Carter 109. DMH 158. Collates A–X^6 (–X6). Ornamentation includes A11, F11, I11, P11, P21, S11, T21, T11; Royal Arms 3. For copies *see* below, No. **154**.

Contains the first word in Greek printed in Scotland (Rev. xiii.v.18 (note)). *See* No. **145** (STC 21944.5) for the financing of this edition.

148. **Estienne, Henri.** Ane meruellous discours vpon Katherine de Medicis. 8°. *Cracow* [i.e. *Edinburgh, J. Ross*,] 1576.

STC 10551. Aldis 145.5. Collates A–H^8 I^6. Ornamentation includes initial L16. Copy at L.

A 1575 edition was printed in London, possibly by H. Middleton (STC 10550).

149 ——. [A variant, w. imprint:] *Paris* [i.e. *Edinburgh, J. Ross*,] 1576.

STC 10551.5. Collates A–H^8 I^6. Ornamentation includes initial L16. Copies at DUL; F.

1578

150. **Bible, *English*.** Ane compendius ⟨buik⟩ of godlie psalmes and spirit⟨uall sangis⟩ collectit furthe of scripture, with ⟨aug⟩mentation of sindrie ballat⟨is⟩ not contenit in the⟨e⟩ first editioun. 8°. *Edinburgh, I. ⟨Ros⟩ for H. Charter⟨is⟩*, 157⟨8.⟩

STC 2996.7. Aldis 148. Dickson and Edmond 141. Collates π^6 A–N^8 (–N8). Ornamentation includes initial P11. Copy at HN.

With calendar prefixed and 5 ballads not occurring in previous editions. The verse 'Sen throw vertew Incressis dignite' is included in the Bannatyne MS. (Items D27; M67) and in Cambridge Univ. MS. Kk.1.5 (where 2nd stanza is omitted). In the 1578 printed text, it is attributed to James I. Ed. A. F. Mitchell, in STS, 1st ser., 39; D. Laing, *A Compendius Book* (Edinburgh, 1868); W. Skeat, STS, 2nd ser., 1, pp. 51–3. A new STS edition is currently being compiled by A. MacDonald. *Index* 3151; *Manual* (4) × .2.

151. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. The CL. psalmes of David in English metre. 2 pts. 8°. (*Edinburgh, [widow of] T. Bassandyne*, 1578).

STC 16580.3. Aldis 150. Cowan 14. Collates A–F^8. Ornamentation includes initials B21, D21, L21, W21; device 12. Copy at E (frag. All lacking before A4, and after F8. A8 missing).

152 ——. [A1r:] The confessioun of our sinnes. 8°. [*Edinburgh, [widow of] T. Bassandyne*], 1578.

STC 16580.7. Aldis 149. Cowan 15. Collates A–C^8 A–$2E^8$. All wanting before A1. Ornamentation includes initials D21, L21, O21, T21; tailpiece 2. Copy at E^7 (imp., has no catechism).

Although commonly attributed to John Ross, this book was actually printed by the widow of Thomas Bassandyne, who owned the types and ornaments.

153. **Rolland, John.** The seuin seages translatit out of prois in Scottis meter [*Tr.* J. Rolland]. 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, I. Ros for H. Charteris*, 1578.

STC 21254. Aldis 152. Dickson and Edmond 142. Collates A–X^8 (–X8). Ornamentation includes initials S16; tailpiece 3; device 6. Copy at HN.

An adapted version in verse of STC 21297 (*Bibliotheck*, v (1967), pp. 67–72). At the time of his death in July 1580 Ross had 200 unbound copies, each valued at 3*s*. 4*d*., totalling £35. Ed. G. F. Black, in STS, 3rd ser., 3; Repr. by the Bannatyne Club (1837), ed. D. Laing. Laing's notes to this edition are included in his *Adversaria* (1867).

1579

154. **Bible–English.** The bible and holy scriptvres. [Geneva.] 2 pts. fol. *Edinbrvgh, A. Arbuthnet*, 1579.

STC 2125. Aldis 151. Dickson and Edmond 129. Carter 109. DMH 158. Collates $(***)^{10}$ a–$4p^6$. Includes ornaments A11, B11, H11, I11, L11, N11, T11; Royal Arms 3. Copies at A. Cant. E (3). E^2. E^4 (3). E^5. E^8. G^2. Glos. INN. L. L^{14}. M (2). Napier Coll., Edin. O. STU; BO^6. HN (2). ILL. LC. NY.

Ideally, there should be 26 engravings in the text, beside maps at Numbers xxxiii and Joshua xv, and a plan at the end of Ezekiel, printed on separate leaves. Apparently there should be 1 f. blank after the Epistle, or at the end of the preliminary matter. The title-page of 3 Macc. is supplied, although the book is not included. A copy in the National Library of Scotland (Cwn.1091) has a 6-leaf almanack following '(***)3', which includes ornaments D5, 62. Herbert reports that the following are inserted in the L^{14} copy: 1) specimens of the last four preliminary leaves, which are differently set up from those in the L^{14} copy (they may be cancelled leaves); and 2) A leaf containing a map which Herbert thinks does not seem to belong to this edition. Regarding the finance of this edition *see* STC 21944.5. This item was also begun by T. Bassandyne, whose name appears on the N.T. title dated 1576, and was continued by Arbuthnet. It was finished after 24 Aug. 1579.

155. **Buchanan, George.** De iure regni apud Scotos, dialogus. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, ap. I. Rosseum, pro H. Charteris*, 1579.

STC 3973. Aldis 156. Dickson and Edmond, p. 344. McFarlane 207. Carter B112. Collates A–O^4. Ornamentation includes initials C16, S16; device 10; tailpiece 3. Copies at L. O. E. G^2. M (2). E^4. Napier College, Edinburgh. Stadt- und Universitäts bibliothek, Bern. C. Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Landesbibliothek, Oldenburg. Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale; F. HN. HD. PFOR. PML.

Reissued for sale in London in 1579 and 1580 without printers' or publishers' name. MS. version: Calthrop Papers, xlviii, fols. 124–74. Several contemporary MS. translations exist.

156 ——. [Anr. issue, w. cancel title-page, without imprint.] 1579.

STC 3974. Aldis 157. Dickson and Edmond 146. Collates A–O^4. Ornamentation includes initials C16, S16; tailpiece 3. Copies at L. E. G^2. P; F. HN. N.

157. **Despautére, Jean.** Iohn. Despavterii Ninivitæ grammaticæ institvtionis. Lib. VII. In compendivm redacti, per Sebastianvm Duisbvrgensem. Adiecta nvnc demvm Scotica dictionvm interprætione. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, ap. I. Rosseum, pro H. Charteris*, 1579.

STC 6781. Aldis 158. Collates A–K^8 L^4. Ornamentation includes initials C16, D16, H16, O16, P16, Q16; device 10. Copies at HN. Private Owner.

158 ——. Syntaxis Ioannis Despavterii, a Sebastiano Novimola Dvisbvrgensi, in absolvitissimam methodum redacta. Item libellus de reciprocis. Accessit & Erasmi Roterodami de ratione stujif paranæsis. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, ap. I. Rossevm, pro H. Charteris*, 1579.

STC 6783. Aldis 159. Collates A–E^8 F^4. Ornamentation includes initials G11, M16, Q16. Copies at HN. Private Owner.

159. **Douglas, Gavin, *Bp.*.** Heir beginnis ane treatise callit the Palice of honovr. [*Ed.*] 4°. *Edinburgh, I. Ros for H. Charteris*, 1579.

STC 7074. Aldis 160. Dickson and Edmond 143. Collates A–K^4. Ornamentation includes initial Q16; devices 6, 10; tailpiece 3. Copies at E. E^2.

In his preface, H. Charteris probably refers to T. Davidson's earlier edition when he mentions 'copyis set furth of auld amangis our selfis'. 280 copies unbound are listed in Ross's will at 15*s*. per dozen, totalling £17. 10*s*. Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists 6 copies each at 12*d*., totalling 6*s*. The copy at the Edinburgh University Library has sixteenth century MS. emendations in the margins. The source of these is uncertain, although they may testify to an early reader's dissatisfaction with the text presented by Charteris. *See* P. Bawcutt (ed.), *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, STS (Edinburgh, 1967), p. ix which also discusses Dr. W. Beattie's letter about this in the *TLS*, dated 26 Feb. 1946. Dr. Bawcutt also notes certain press variants occuring in the two extant copies. For the relationship between the London and Edinburgh editions, *see* Bawcutt, pp. xx–xxvii. The Scottish edition referred to in the prologue by H. Charteris may possibly be the Davidson edition, STC 7072.8. Ed. J. Small (Edinburgh, 1874); reprint for the Bannatyne Club (1827), ed. J. G. Kinnear.

160. **Marienburg.** Absente fra sin [etc. An account of a miracle at Marginburgh, i.e. Marienburg.] *Tr.* furth of Duche in Scottis be Williame Lawsoun. s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, A. Arbuthnet, 1579.*]

STC 17328.7. Aldis 152.5. Ornamentation includes initial O11. Copy at A (2, frag).

Two copies are printed on the reverse of a proof sheet (probably) from the Bible, Old Test. A. Arbuthnet: Edinburgh 1579 (STC 2125). The sheet consists of leaves (2–3) of the Bible, the former mutilated so that only an inner strip $2\frac{1}{2}$–4 inches broad remains. The outer forme has been printed with the Bible text, the two pages of the inner forme each contain the impression of 'Abstene fra sin'. The title-page is dated 10 Oct. 1579.

161. **Smeton, Thomas.** Ad virvlentvm Archibaldi Hamiltonii apostatæ dialogvm, de confusione Caluinianæ sectæ apud Scotos, impiè conscriptum orthodoxa responsio. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, I. Rosseum pro H. Charteris*, 1579.

STC 22651. Aldis 161. Dickson and Edmond 145. Collates ¶^{4} A–P^4 Q^2. Ornamentation includes initials C16, D16, T16, V16; device 10, tailpiece 3. Copies at L (2). O. C (2). D. YK. P. E (4). E^2 (3). O^7. C^2. G^2 (3). Linc. M (2). A; F. HN. CH. HD. U.

The Greek characters are filled in by hand.

1580

162. **Alexander *the Great*.** [The book of Alexander the Great. Heading A1r:] Heir beginnis the first parte of this buik of the conquerour Alexander the grit. [In verse.] 8°. [*Edinburgh, A. Arbuthnet f. H. Charteris, c.* 1580.]

STC 321.5. Aldis 165. Dickson and Edmond 134. Collates A–2E^8 2F^6. Ornamentation includes Q11, devices 1, 7. Copy owned by Lord Dalhousie (imp).

A translation, usually attrib. to J. Barbour, of *Li Fuerres de Gadres* and *Les Vœux du Paon*. Dickson and Edmond (p. 326) assign the date of printing to 1580. According to David Laing, the original title (now missing) was possibly *The Avowis of Alexander*. *See* paginary reprint ed. D. Laing (1831) and his introduction, printed as *Adversaria*. H. Charteris's will lists 12 bd. copies of 'Awowis of Alexander', each at 10*s*., totalling £6. 9*s*. unbound copies are also listed each at 7*s*. 6*d*., totalling £3. 7*s*. 6*d*. Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists a copy valued at 8*s*. Ed. R. L. Graeme Ritchie, in STS, 2nd ser., 17, 12, 21, 25; reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1831), ed. D. Laing. Another Scottish version occurs in the Asloan MS. (ed. W. A. Craigie, in STS, 2nd ser., 14, 16). A complete, unpublished transcript now in the National Library of Scotland, was made by D. Laing, 1826. Laing's preface, omitted from the Bannatyne Club edition, is reprinted in his *Adversaria* (1867).

163. **Buchanan, George.** De ivre regni. [Anr. issue of the 1579 ed., with cancel title-page in a different setting without imprint.] 1580.

STC 3975. Aldis 164. Dickson and Edmond 147. McFarlane 208. Collates A–O^4. Ornamentation includes initials C16, S16; tailpiece 3. Copies at L. O. L^2. C. E. Herzog-August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel; F. HN. ILL. N.

164. **Cato, Dionysius.** Disticha moralia, titvlo Catonis inscripta. Cum epitome in singula disticha. 8°. *Edinburg, apvd I. Rossevm* [*f. H. Charteris*], 1580.

STC 4847. Aldis 166. Collates A^8. Ornamentation includes device 10. Copies at L. O. C. NEK. WOR. Private Owner; F. HN. HD. N. Y.

A similar brief version is printed in STC 4849, 4849.8.

165. **Compendium.** Breve compendivm de concordantiis grammaticalibvs, cum rigimine octo partium orationis. Interloquutores præceptor & discipulus. 8° in 4. *Edinbvrgi, apud I. Rossevm pro H. Charteris*, 1580.

STC 5606. Aldis 163. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes initial C16; tailpiece 3. Privately owned copy.

Includes W. Lily's *Carmen de moribus*.

166. **Description.** Ane breif descriptioun of the qualiteis and effectis of the vvel of the vvoman hill besyde Abirdene. [Sometimes attrib. to G. Skeyne.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, J. Ross*,] 1580.

STC 6767. Aldis 162. Dickson and Edmond 150. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes initial M16. Copies at E; HN.

Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1860), ed. by William F. Skene.

167. **Erasmus, Desiderius.** Dicta sapientvm e Græcis Erasmo interprete. 8° in 4. *Edinburgi, apvd I. Rossevm* [*f. H. Charteris*], 1580.

STC 10478. Aldis 169. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes device 10. Privately owned copy.

Includes W. Lily's *Carmen de moribus*.

168. **Hume, *Sir* Patrick.** The promine, contening the maner, of king Iames, the sext his first passing to the feildis. [Init. P.H. In verse.] 4°. *Edinburgh, I. Ros for H. Charteris*, 1580.

STC 13956 (formerly also STC 12573). Aldis 170. Dickson and Edmond 149. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes device 6. Copies at O. C (frags).

169. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The warkis of the of the famous and worthie knicht Schir Dauid Lyndesay. Newlie correctit and augmentit. 4° in 8's. [*Edinburgh, J. Ross for H. Charteris*, 1580?]

STC 15661. Aldis 172. Dickson and Edmond 157. Collates A–X^8. Ornamentation includes initial I11; devices 6, 10; tailpiece 3. Copy at O.

Another edition of STC 15658, sqq., with mutilated title-page conjunct with A8.

170. **Scotland – Statutes.** In the parliament haldin at Striviling. [25 July 1578 and 20 Oct. 1579.] (Ane proclamatioun for publischeing of the actis of parliament.) [23 Jan. 1579 (o.s.)] fol. *Edinburgh, I. Ros*, 1579 (o.s.) [1580 (n.s.)]

STC 21884 (proclamation formerly STC 21946). Aldis 153 & 160.5. Dickson and Edmond 144. Collates A–F^4 G–H^2. Leaf H1 = STC 21946. Ornamentation includes initials A16, B16, F16, O16, T16; tailpiece 3, device 6. Copies at L. O. C. E (3). E^2 (3). A. Leeds. C (2). M; F (2). HN. CH. HD (2). MIN.

171. **Scotland – Proclamations.** [The kingis majesteis proclamatioun, togidder with certane actis of parliament maid anent the adversaries of Christis evangell. [9 April 1580.] fol. (3). [*Edinburgh, J. Ross*, 1580.]

STC 21946.5. No ornamentation. Copy at E (2nd sheet only).

A fragment, possibly part of an otherwise unknown broadside edition, or alternatively the proof sheets of part of a folio edition. The types (e.g. R9*a*) show that it was printed by Ross. *See* T. A. F. Cherry, 'Two Unrecorded Early Scottish Works', *Bibliotheck*, v (1967–70), pp. 273–6. Barker's 1580 reprint (STC 21947), with the false imprint of Ross, closely follows the Scottish spelling.

172. **Spangenberg, Johann.** [Heading A1r:] De conficiendis epistolis liber. 8°. [*Edinburgh, J. Ross f. H. Charteris*, 1580?]

STC 23000. Aldis 174. Collates A^4. No ornamentation. Privately owned copy.

1581

173. **Adamson, Patrick, *Abp.*** Catechismvs latino carmine redditvs. [In verse.] 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekpreuik*, 1581.

STC 144. Aldis 175. Dickson and Edmond 111. Collates A–E^8 (–E8). No ornamentation. Copies at E. G^2. STU.

174. **Craig, John.** A shorte svmme of the whole catechisme, wherein the question is proponed and answered in a few wordes. 8°. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1581.

STC 5962. Aldis 176. Dickson and Edmond 153. Collates *A*^{8} B–F^8 G^6. No ornamentation. Copies at C^2. O^9. E. YK.

Includes the Scottish Confession of Faith, reprinted from STC 22019.

175. **Form.** The forme and maner of examination befoir the admission to ye tabill of ye Lord, usit be ye ministerie of Edinburgh. 8°. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1581.

STC 11183. Aldis 177. Dickson and Edmond 154. Collates A–C^8. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

Another edition was printed by T. Marsh, 1581 (STC 11183.5).

176. **Fowler, William, *Poet.*** An ansvver to the calvmniovs letter and erroneous propositions of an apostat named M. Io. Hammiltoun. 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewick*, 1581.

STC 11213. Aldis 178. Dickson and Edmond 112. Collates ¶^{4} A–F^4. Copies at L. E (imp). E^2; F (imp).

Entered to T. Marsh, 1 Oct. 1581, but marked 'not printed'. Prints 1 part of a letter which does not otherwise survive; the 15 propositions here are printed with 9 more in STC 12729 (A & R 370). Ed. H. W. Meikle *et. al.*, in STS 2nd ser, 6; 3rd ser., 7, 13.

177. **Scotland, Church of.** Ane schorte and generall confession of the trewe christiane faith and religion...subscriued be the kingis maiestie and his houshold. [28 Jan. 1580 (o.s.)] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewike*, [1581 (n.s.)].

STC 22019. Aldis 180. Dickson and Edmond 329. Ornamentation includes initial W7. Copy at E.

H. Charteris's inventory lists 27 copies of a 'Catechismes Calvini carmini' at 3*s*. each, totalling £4. 1*s*., which may refer to this edition. R. Waldegrave also printed a variant edition in 1581 (STC 22022).

178 ——. Ane schorte and generall confession. [Anr. ed.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewike*, [1581].

STC 22019.5. Aldis 179.7. Ornamentation includes initial W7. Copies at HD. Paris.

In heading: 'fayth'.

179. **Sempill, Robert.** Ane complaint vpon fortoun. *Ballad*. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Lekprewicke*, [1581].

STC 22190. Aldis 179. Dickson and Edmond 121. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

1582

180. **Buchanan, George.** Rervm Scoticarvm historia. fol. *Edimbvrgi ap. A. Arbuthnetum* [*f. H. Charteris*], 1582.

STC 3991. Aldis 182. Dickson and Edmond 130. McFarlane 215. Collates (***)^4 A^4 B–M^6 N–Q^4 (–Q4) R^4 S–2M^6 (–2M6) 2N–Z^6. Ornamentation includes initials A11, C11, H11, I11, P11, Q11, R11, S11, T11, V11; devices 1, 7. Copies at L (4). L^{30}. O. O^3 (2). O^6. O^9. O^{13}. O^{22}. C (2). C^2 (2). CU. CH. DUR^5. Dick Institute. E (2). E^2. E^4. E^8 (2). G^2 (5). HER. M (2). M^2. Lich. WN. R. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen. Landesbibliothek, Hannover. Universitätsbibliothek, Kiel. University and Municipal Library, Leiden. Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Universitätsbibliothek, Regensburg Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm. Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek. Bibliothèque municipale, Versailles. Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna. Bibliotheca Bipontina, Zweibrüken; F (2). HN. HD. N. PML. U. JH. CHI. ILL. Detroit Public Library.

Patrick Galloway (1551?–1626), Minister at Perth, has extensively annotated the Glasgow University Library copy (Hepburn q 7). Reprinted the following year in Frankfurt by J. Wechel. Manuscript versions are in Edinburgh University Library (Dc.4.60), and in the British Library, including parts of this allegedly in Buchanan's hand (Add. MS. 28,167 fols. 1–4). A number of MS. translations exist.

181. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The vvarkis of the famous and worthie knight Sir Dauid Lyndsay. Newly correctit and augmentit. [In verse.] 4° in 8's. [Anr. issue of Ross's ed, w. prelims. reset w. imprint:] *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1582.

STC 15662. Aldis 186. Dickson and Edmond 156. Collates A–X^8. Ornamentation includes initial I11. Copies at E (imp). P (lacks tp).

A reissue of the 1580 edition with new preliminaries. Without 'The historie of Squyer Meldrum', as called for in the contents.

182. **Scotland – Statutes.** In the parliament haldin and begun at Edinburgh. [24 Oct. 1581.] fol. in 4's. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1582.

STC 21885. Aldis 181. Dickson and Edmond 155. Collates A–E^4 F^6 (–F6). Ornamentation includes initial O16. Copies at L. C. O. A. E (3). E^2 (3). M.; F. HN. CH. HD (2, 1 imp).

183 ——. Ane declaratiovn of the iust and necessar causis, moving vs of the nobillitie of Scotland [etc. by J. Colville.] 8°. [*Edinburgh, A. Arbuthnet*], 1582.

STC 21886. Aldis 184. Dickson and Edmond 113. Collates A–B^8. Includes initial W11. Copies at L. L^2. E. A.

Although this item is commonly attributed to Lekpreuik, the types R7, R15, and initial W11 show that it was actually printed by Arbuthnet.

184. **Welwood, William.** Gvilielmi velvod de aqua in altum per fistulas plumbeas facile experimenda apologia demonstratiua. 4°. *Edimbvrgi apud A. Arbuthnetum*, 1582.

STC 25239. Aldis 187. Dickson and Edmond 131. Collates A^4 B^2. Ornamentation includes initials C11, W11; device 7. Copies at E. E^2.

Consisting of sonnets and other poems, partly original and partly translated, as well as a prose piece, 'Ane schort treatise'. The 'Metaphoricall invention of a tragedie called Phoenix' was written in commemoration of the Duke of Lennox. The paraphrase of a part of Lucan was intended to convey James's ambitious notions of royal power. James Carmichael, in a letter written from London to the Earl of Angus [27 February 1585], mentions the recent arrival of the book, adding that 'some sentences and verses are not well liked of, as he being a King of great expectation, to whom his birth-right hath destinat and provided great kingdoms'. (Cald. ii, p. 745; T. McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 341 n.)

1584

185. **Balnaves, *Sir* Henry.** The confession of faith, conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his god. [*Ed.*] (J. Knox.) 8°. *Edinburgh, T. Vautrollier*, 1584.

STC 1340. Aldis 189. Dickson and Edmond 174. Collates A–T^8 V^2. Ornamentation includes initial A30; tailpieces 13, 14; device 11. Copies at L. L^2. L^{15}. O. E. E^2. Linc. S. Pl. YK; F. HN.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595), A4r. In 1547 the author was imprisoned with Knox in Rouen, where he wrote this item. In 1548 the MS. was sent to Knox, who after further revision sent it to Scotland for printing. This revised MS. was apparently lost until just before its publication in 1584 (Dickson and Edmond, p. 387).

186. **Becon, Thomas.** The sicke mans salve. [Anr. ed. of STC 1756.5 sqq. printed by Day.] 8°. *Edinburgh, T. Vautrollier*, 1584.

STC 1763. Aldis 190. Dickson and Edmond 175. Collates A–2B^8 2C^4. Ornamentation includes tailpiece 13; device 11. Copies at L. G^2.

R. Gourlaw's inventory lists 2 copies at 7*s*., totalling 14*s*. T. Bassandyne's inventory lists 7 copies, not this edition, unbound at 6*s*.

187. **James VI, *King of Scotland*.** The essayes of a prentise, in the divine art of poesie. 4°. *Edinbrugh [sic], T. Vautrollier*, 1584.

STC 14373. Aldis 191. Dickson and Edmond 177. Collates $*^4$ A–P^4. Ornamentation includes factotums 4, 7; tailpieces 9, 20, 30; woodcut 20; device 9. Copies at L. L^2. C^2. E (2). E^2 (lacks A2, O1). M. G^2. WN. Wel; F. HN. HD. PFOR. Arthur Houghton.

Consisting of sonnets and other poems, partly original and partly translated, as well as a prose piece, 'Ane schort treatise'. Author's name in an acrostic on A1r. The 'Metaphoricall invention of a tragedie called Phoenix' was written in commemoration of the Duke of Lennox. The paraphrase of a pt. of Lucan was intended to convey James's ambitious notions of royal power. James Carmichael, in a letter written from London to the Earl of Angus [27 Feb. 1585], mentions the recent arrival of the book, adding that 'some sentences and verses are not well like of, as he [James] being a King of great expectation, to whom his birth-right hath destinat and provided great kingdoms. And the verses which are a commentarie to the prose, Quo duce' (Cald. MS., ii, 745; McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 341 n). Trinity College, Cambridge copy is a variant, with 'Till' instead of 'VVhill' as the catchword on H1v (Capell.S.6[1]). Ed. James Craigie, in STS, 3rd ser., 22, No. 4.

188. **Musculus, Wolfgang.** The temporisovr. [*Tr.* into French by Valleran Pulleyn and from French into English by R. P[ont], 1555.] 16° in 8's. *Edinburgh, T. Vautroullier*, 1584.

STC 18314. Aldis 192. Dickson and Edmond 179. Collates A–N^8. Ornamentation includes device 11. Copies at L (tp. only: Ames I, 432). YK; F.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595), K3r.

189. **Saluste du Bartas, Guillaume de.** The historie of Ivdith in forme of a poem. Englished by T. Hudson [for James VI]. 8°. *Edinburgh, T. Vautroullier*, 1584.

STC 21671. Aldis 194. Dickson and Edmond 176. Collates A–G^8 H^4. Ornamentation includes factotum 4; tailpiece 9; device 11; woodcut 22. Copies at L. L^{13}. O^5 (imp, lacking all before B1). E (lacks tp). E^2. PARIS^2; HN.

Ent. to H. Lawnes, 18 Jan. 1608 (Arber, iii. 162). A MS. signature on the title-page of the British Library copy is identified as George Carew (1555–1629). A separate edition dated 1613, now missing, is noted in the British Library MS. (Add. MSS. 24488). Ed. James Craigie, in STS, 3rd ser., 12, 14.

190. **Scotland – Statutes.** In the cvrrent parliament haldin at Edinburgh. [22 May 1584.] fol. *Edinburgh, A. Arbuthnet*, [1584].

STC 21887. Aldis 188. Dickson and Edmond 133. Collates A–D^4. Ornamentation includes initial O21; device 7. Copies at L. O. O^6. BUTE (imp). E (7). E^2 (2); F. HD. IND.

1585

191. **James VI, *King of Scotland*.** The essayes of a prentise. 4°. [A variant, w. imprint:] *Edinburgh, T. Vautroullier*, 1585.

STC 14374. Aldis 197. Dickson and Edmond 177. Collates $*^4$ A–B^4 D–P^4. Includes factotums 4, 7; tailpieces 9, 20, 30; woodcut 20; device 9. Copies at L. L^2. O. C^{10}. E (2). STU; HN. HD. PML.

Factotum 4 appears on C3r in both copies at the National Library of Scotland, but not in the Bodleian copy. The two copies at the National Library of Scotland have different settings on P1v–2r [=Cragie 6]. The Dyson copy at the British Library apparently originally belonged to James VI, bound up with a copy of the 1591 *Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres*. The National Library of Scotland copy (H.38.d.36) includes an engraved portrait of James VI. Ed. James Craigie, in STS, 3rd ser., 22, Nos. 5 & 6.

192. **Scotland – Proclamations.** A declaratiovn of the kings maiesties intentiovn and meaning toward the lait actis of parliament. [By P. Adamson.] 4°. *Edinburgh, T. Vautroullier*, 1585.

STC 21948 (formerly 14372). Aldis 195. Dickson and Edmond 181. Cr. 543. Collates A–C^4. Includes factotum 4; tailpiece 9; device 9. Copies at C^2. E; HD.

Reprinted in 1588 by R. Field, with Vautrollier's imprint, (STC 21948.3, 21948.7).

1588

193. **James VI, *King of Scotland*.** Ane frvitfvll meditatioun [etc.] [On Rev. xx. 7–10.] 4°. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1589.

STC 14376. Aldis 203. Dickson and Edmond 158. Collates A–B^4. Ornamentation includes initial A16. Copies at L. L^2 (2). STD.

Part of this is included in Bodley MS. 165.

194. **Scotland – Statutes.** The act for furthering of iustice in criminall causes. [9 Nov. 1588.] 4°. (*Edinburgh, H. Charteris,*) [1588].

STC 21887.5. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes initial A16. Copy at E^2.

1589

195. **James VI, *King of Scotland*.** Ane meditatiovn vpon the first buke of the chronicles of the Kingis [xv. 25–9, preface signed Patrik Galloway.] 4°. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1589.

STC 14380. Aldis 205. Dickson and Edmond 159. Collates A–B^4. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

196. **Rollock, Hercules.** De avgvstissimo Iacobi 6. Scotorum regis, & Annæ Frederici 2. Danorvm regis filiæ coniugio. Epithalamivm. 4°. *Edinburgi, H. Charteris*, 1589.

STC 21266. Aldis 207. Dickson and Edmond 160. Collates A–B^4 C^2. No ornamentation. Copies at L. L^2. DUL. E. LINC.

1590

197. **Belus, John.** Graviarvm actio ob profligatam Hispanorvm classem. [In verse.] 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1590.

STC 1857. Aldis 214. Dickson and Edmond 183. Collates A^8 (–A8). Ornamentation includes tailpieces 9, 11, 20. Copy at E.

198. **Damman, Hadrianus.** Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis...De nuptiis Scot. regis Jacobi VI et Annae. II. De tempestate...VI. De introitu. [In verse.] 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1590.

STC 6217. Aldis 213. Dickson and Edmond 185. Collates A^4 χB^2 B–H^4 I^2. Ornamentation includes initials A23, M33, Q16; factotums 5, 6; tailpieces 9, 11, 18, 27, 29; devices 6, 10. Copies at L (2). L^2. O. C. E (2). E^2. M. LINC. A; CHI.

Cancels were printed, but apparently not implemented, for at least 2nd B1 and C3,4. That for 2nd B1 (at end of M copy) is printed only on the recto and intended to be pasted down on the recto with a blank slip on the verso covering the rest of the cancelled text. That for C3,4 (at end of C copy) is printed on C3r–C4r only.

199. **Daneau, Lambert.** The ivdgement of...L. Danæus, tovching certaine pointes now in controuersie, [from] his preface before his commentary [on 1 Tim.] written in Latine. [*Ded.* to Prince of Orange.] Now *tr.* 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1590?]

STC 6228. Aldis 213.5. Collates π1 A–C^4. Ornamentation includes initial I16. Copies at O. C^2. D. YK; F.

200. **Davidson, John, *Minister of Salt-Preston*.** D. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the chvrch of Scotland, noted in an answere to a letter of a worthy person of England. By I. D. a brother of the sayd Church of Scotland. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1590.

STC 6322. Aldis 212. Dickson and Edmond 186. Collates A–B^8. Ornamentation includes initial M16; tailpieces 11, 18, 25. Copies at L(2). L^2(2). O^3. O^5. C. E. YK; U.

Text is dated 18 Sept. 1590. The Stationers' Company, London seized 29 copies on 17 June 1591 (Arber, ii. 38). Regarding King James's desire to suppress this *see CSP*, 1509–1603, II: 583–4. Reprinted in Wodrow Society Miscellany (1894), ed. David Laing, with extracts from Bancroft's sermon, 9 Feb. 1589 and misc. documents.

201. **England, Privy Council.** Ane hvmble motion vvith svbmission vnto the privie covnsell. That ecclesiasticall discipline [be] reformed after the worde of God. [By J. Penry.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave.*] 1590.

STC 7754. Aldis 215. Dickson and Edmond 190. Collates A^4 B–O^4. Ornamentation includes initials W11, W22; factotum 6. Copies at L. L^{38}. O (5). O^3 (2). O^5. O^{28}. C. D. E. R; F. HN. HD. U.

Sometimes attributed to John Penry. The Stationers' Company, London seized 29 copies on 17 June 1591 (Arber, ii. 38).

202. **Jonston, John.** De crventa morte Archibalde Hunteri. [In verse.] s.sh.fol. *Edinbvrg, R. VValde-grave*, 1590.

STC 14785. Aldis 216. Dickson and Edmond 187. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

203. **Liturgies – Church of Scotland,** [Scottish Book of Common Order] **Prayeris commonelie vsed in the kirk of Scotland. 8°. [*Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1590.].** STC 16583+. Collates A-B^4 C^2. No ornamentation. Copy at E (frag).

A fragment of 10 leaves. Not in STC.

204. **Melville, Andrew.** *Στεφανισκιον.* Ad scotiae regem, habivm in coronatione reginae. [Coronation on 17 May 1590.] [In verse.] 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde graue*, 1590.

STC 17809. Aldis 217. Dickson and Edmond 188. Collates A^4 B^2. Ornamentation includes tailpieces 3, 9, 11, 18, 22, 29. Copies at L. L^2. DUL. E. E^2; F. HN.

Part of this was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1828), ed. by James T. G. Craig.

205. **Penry, John.** A briefe discovery of the vntrvthes and slanders contained in a sermon, preached the 8. of Februarie 1588. by D. Bancroft. [Anon.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1590.]

STC 19603 (formerly also 1351). Aldis 209. Dickson and Edmond 278. Collates A^4 (−A1) B–H^4. Ornamentation includes initials I16, T22. Copies at L. O. C^2. D (2). D^2. DUR^5. E. P. YK. NLW (2). BO^3; F. HN. HD. U. Y.

206 ——. A treatise vvherein is manifestlie proved, that reformation and those that sincerely fauor the same, are vnjustly charged to be enemies, vnto hir maiestie. 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1590.

STC 19612. Aldis 221. Dickson and Edmond 189. Collates A^4 π^2 B–H^4 I^2. Ornamentation includes initials A11, T22. Copies at L (2). L^2 (4). O. O^3. O^8. O^{28}. O^{30}. O^{35}. C^2. D. DEU. DUR^5. E (2). M. NLW (4). BO^3. P (2); R. WOR. YK (2); F. HN. HD. U. Y.

See Greg, *Register B*:34. Answered in STC 19450, dated 2 July 1590.

207. **Rollock, Robert.** In epistolam Pavli apostoli ad Ephesios, commentarivs. *Edinbvrgi, R. Waldegraue*, 1590.

STC 21278. Aldis 218. Dickson and Edmond 191. Collates 4° : π^4 A–$2P^4$. Ornamentation includes initials E29, P16, Q11; tailpieces 9, 11, 25; device 10; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. L^2. O. O^2. C^3. A. D^2. E. E^8. G^2. P; F. HN. Y.

208. **Russell, John, *Edinburgh Advocate*.** Verba Ioann. Rvsselli ivreconsvlti pro senatv popvlo qve Edinbvrgensi habita, ad reginam Annam, dum Edinburgum ingreditur 19. Maij. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1590.

STC 21459. Aldis 219. Dickson and Edmond 192. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes initial S16; tailpieces 3, 11; device 10. Copies at E^2. DUL; PEN.

209. **Scotland, Church of.** The confession of faith, subscrived by the kingis maiestie and his housheold: togither with the copie of the bande, maid touching the maintenance of the true religion. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-grave*, 1590.

STC 22023. Aldis 211. Dickson and Edmond 184. Collates A^6 B–C^4 D1. Ornamentation includes initials I16, S16, W11, W22; factotum 8; tailpiece 22; Copies at L^2. C^2. E (3). G^2 (2). STD. YK. University of Wales; F.

Reprints Lekpreuik's 1581 edition (STC 22019), adding the Bond and Act of Privy Council, 6 Mar. 1589.

210. **Welwood, William.** The sea-lavv of Scotland shortly gathered for the vse of all seafaringmen. 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1590.

STC 25242. Aldis 220. Dickson and Edmond 193. Collates A^4 B^8 C^6. Ornamentation includes initials A22, P16, T16; tailpiece 18. Copies at O. C; NY^2.

Ed. T. C. Wade, in STS, 3rd ser., 4.

1591

211. **Bastingius, Jeremias.** A catechisme of christian religion, tavght in the Low-Countries, and dominions of the countie Palatine [i.e. the Heidelberg catechism.] With the arguments, by J. Bastin. And now authorized for the vse of Scotland. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, Robert VValde-graue*, 1591.

STC 1562. Aldis 222. Dickson and Edmond 196. Collates A^4 B–I^8. Ornamentation includes initial W22; tailpieces 11, 18; device 10. Copies at O^9. C^3. E; F.

Seized by the Stationers' Company upon arrival in London in June 1591 (Arber, ii. 38). The catechism is extracted from J. Legate's 1589 edition (STC 1564).

212. **Bèze, Théodore de.** Propositions and principles of diuinitie, disputed in the vniuersitie of Geneua, by students vnder T. Beza, and A. Faivs. *Tr.* out of Latin [by J. Penry]. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1591.

STC 2053. Aldis 226. Dickson and Edmond 198. Collates A^4 πB^2 2B–$2M^4$ $2N^2$. Ornamentation includes initials A22, S4; factotum 5; tailpieces 9, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28; woodcuts 4, 5. Copies at L. O. E. NLW. P. YK. O^{21}. O^3. G^2; F. HN. FBL. N. U.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), H2v. The Stationers' Company, London seized 30 copies on 17 June 1591 (Arber, ii. 38). R. Waldegrave printed enlarged editions in 1594 & 1595 (STC 2053.5 & 2054).

213. **Bruce, Robert.** Sermons [11] preached in the kirk of Edinburgh, as they wer receiued. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. VValde-graue*, 1591.

STC 3923. Aldis 223. Dickson and Edmond 194. Collates A^4 B–$2A^8$ $2B^4$. Ornamentation includes initials R16, T16, W22; factotums 5, 6; tailpieces 11, 18, 22, 23, 26. Copies at L(2). O. L^2. E (2). E^2. M. INN; F (2). HN. HD. N. Y. PN^2. ILL.

Dedic. on A2v dated 6 Dec. 1591. Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), H6v.

214 ——. Sermons [5] vpon the sacrament of the Lords supper. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, [1591?]

STC 3924. Aldis 210. Dickson and Edmond 277. Collates A^4 B–T^8 V^4. Ornamentation includes initials P16, S29, T11; factotums 5, 6; tailpieces 3, 11, 18, 20, 26; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. O. L^2. D. E. E^2. YK; F. HN.

Dedic. on A4v dated 9 Dec. 1590. Answered in STC 20633. The Stationers' Company, London seized 50 copies on 17 June 1591 (Arber, ii. 38).

215. **Christian Soul.** The sacrifice of a christian soul conteining godlie prayers, and holy meditations for sundry purposes. 12°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1591.

STC 5192. Aldis 228. Dickson and Edmond 200. Collates A^6 B–N^{12}. Ornamentation includes factotum 6; tailpieces 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. Copies at L (lacking C6, L7). INN; F.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), H2r. The Stationers' Company, London seized 600 copies on 17 June 1591 (Arber, ii. 38).

216. **Heidelberg Catechism.** Catechesis religionis christianæ: quæ in ecclesiis & scholis Palatinatus traditur. [By Z. Ursinus and C. Olevian.] 8°. *Edinburgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1591.

STC 13023. Aldis 224. Dickson and Edmond 195. Collates A–C^8 D^4. Ornamentation includes tailpieces 18, 21; device 10. Copy at STU.

H. Charteris's will lists 416 copies of a 'doubill Catechismes, Waldgravis prent', each valued at 1*s*. 8*d*., totalling £34. 13*s*. 4*d*. Reprinted with commentary in STC 24529.

217. **James VI, *King of Scotland*.** His maiesties poeticall exercises at vacant houres. (The furies [*tr*. by King James from G. de Saluste du Bartas.] – The Lepanto of James the sixt. - La lepanthe [*tr*. by Saluste du Bartas.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, (1591.)

STC 14379. Aldis 225. Dickson and Edmond 197. Collates π^4 A^4 B–L^4 χM1 M–O^4 P^2. Ornamentation includes initials I16, L16, R16, T16; factotums 6, 8; tailpieces 9, 11, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29; woodcuts 2, 3, 4, 5. Copies at L. L^2. O (2). C^2. E (2). E^2. G^2; F. HN. HD (2). PML. Y.

The Stationers' Company, London seized 30 copies on 17 June 1591, 'ten of which were Deliuered to master Paul' (Arber, ii. 38). The Huntington copy has a number of alterations to the text in ink, possibly the work of a press-corrector amending printers' errors which had been overlooked at the proof-correcting stage. Entered to R. Field 7 Aug. 1589. *See* Greg, *Register* B, p. 93. The National Library of Scotland copy has an engraved portrait of James VI (H. 29. c. 18.). The Glasgow University Library copy (Cn.3.1) has a different order of the leaves in the first 2 gatherings. In a Bodleian copy (BB. 19 Art. Seld.) and in the British Library copy (C. 10. d. 17), M1 is placed after P2. A National Library of Scotland copy (Ry. II. f. 22), a Bodleian copy (Vet. A1 3.26), and the Huntington Library copy all have proof alterations in ink. Parts of this are included in MS. Bodley 165–166, autographed in the hand of James VI. Ed. James Craigie, in STS, 3rd ser., 22, No. 7.

218. **Rollock, Robert.** In librvm Danielis prophetae,...commentarius. 4° in 8's. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1591.

STC 21280. Aldis 227. Dickson and Edmond 199. Collates A^4 B–X^8 2A–H^8 $2I^4$ $2K^8$ $2L^2$. Ornamentation includes initials A22, D22, L11; tailpieces 9, 25, 26, 27, 28; woodcuts 2, 3; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. L^2. O. C (2). C^2. A. E (2). E^2. G^2. CARLISLE. P. YK; F. HN. BO. HD.

219. **Smith, Henry.** Certain sermons, preached by H. Smyth. Taken by characterie and examined after. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, [1591?]

STC 22783.3 (formerly 22873). Collates A–G^8 I–K^8 L^2. Ornamentation includes initials B17, E16, I16, T16; factotum 8; tailpiece 18. Copies at A (all lacking after L2); INN.

Reprints a number of his works.

1592

220. **Fenner, Dudley.** Certain godly and learned treatises. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1592.

STC 10769. Aldis 231. Dickson and Edmond 201. Collates A^4 B–N^8. Ornamentation includes initials I16, T16; tailpiece 11. Copies at L. C. D. E. G^2; F. HN. BO^3.

Dedication dated 24 Dec. 1591. Reprints pt. 2 of STC 10765.5, 10768, 10776, 10778, printed in Middelburg by R. Schilders. Entered to T. Man, 21 Jan. 1617, together with certain sermons by Robert Bruce (Arber, iii. 601). Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), E1v. 'Dudley Fenner his catechisme', 8° (1592) is also listed in Maunsell's *Catalogue* on C3v, but no copy is extant. *See* Aldis 230, Dickson and Edmond 202, Herbert 1511.

221. **Jack, Thomas.** Onomasticon poeticvm siue, propriorvm qvibvs in svis monvmentis vsi svnt veteres poetae, brevis descriptio poetica. 4° in 8's. *Edinbvrgi, R. Waldegaue*, 1592.

STC 14293. Aldis 232. Dickson and Edmond 203. Collates A^4 $(***)^2$ B^4 C–L^8. Ornamentation includes initial C16; tailpiece 9; device 6. Copies at L. O. C^2. A. E (2). E^2. E^8. G^2 (2). WN. Blackwell's Cat. B104, No. 81; F. HN. HD. ILL. Y. BO (2).

Dedication dated Aug. 1592. Revision of Jack's original MSS. by Andrew Melville, George Buchanan, Robert Pont, and Hadrian Damman (Dickson and Edmond, p. 422; M'Crie, *Melville*, i, p. 444). The book is dedicated to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, who had been educated under Jack, along with John Graham, a younger son of the Marquis of Montrose. It appears that Robert Rollock had been a scholar of Jack (Rollock calls him 'praeceptor ille olim meus Iacchaeus').

222. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The vvarkis of...Dauid Lyndsay. [Anr. ed. of STC 15662] Newly correctit and augmentit with sindry warkis, quhilk was not befoir imprentit. 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris* [*and R. Waldegrave*], 1592.

STC 15663. Aldis 233. Dickson and Edmond 161. Collates A–X^8. Includes factotum 5. Copies at L. E.

A1–8 was printed by Waldegrave: his types (R10, R21, T9, etc.) and factotum 5 are used. B1–X8 was printed by Charteris: his types (R4*b*, R9*a*, T5, etc.) are used. D. Laing in his edition recorded a 3rd copy in private hands, now missing, bound with a copy of the 1594 edition of 'Squyer Meldrum'.

223. **Perkins, William.** A golden chaine, or the description of theology. Written in Latin and translated by another. 12°. *Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1592.

STC 19661. Aldis 234. Dickson and Edmond 204. Collates A–S^{12}. Ornamentation includes initial T16; factotum 8; tailpieces 20, 21, 23, 24, 27. Copies at O (lacks last leaf). Vienna NL.

Previously translated by R. Hill in STC 19657, printed by E. Alde in 1591. A number of other editions followed, printed by Alde and Legate (STC 19657–19664.5). *See* also Greg, *Register* B, pp. 45–6.

224 ——. A case of conscience the greatest taht [*sic*] ever was. 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1592.

STC 19666. Aldis 233.5. Collates A^8 B–D^8 E^6. Ornamentation includes initial M16; factotums 6, 8; tailpieces 11, 18, 24. Copy at L.

Another edition was printed in 1592 for T. Man and J. Porter (STC 19665–19665.5).

225. **Scotland – Proclamations.** [Heading 1r:] Ane act and proclamatioun for cunzie. [Reofmring the coinange of Scotland. 13 Jan. 1591 (o.s.)] 8° in 4. 8° in 4. (*Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue,*) [1592.]

STC 21949.7. Cr. 726. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes factotum 8; tailpiece 18. Copy at E.

226. **Smith, Henry.** Certain sermons [11] vpon several textes of scriptvre. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1592.

STC 22783.5. Aldis 235.5. Collates A^2 (–A2) B–Q^8 R^4. Includes factotums 6, 8; tailpieces 11, 18, 23, 31. Private Owner.

Reprints first 10 sermons from STC 22717 and the first from STC 22692.

1593

227. **Henryson, Robert.** The testament of Cresseid. [In verse.] 4°. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1593.

STC 13165. Aldis 240. Dickson and Edmond 162. Collates A^4 B^4 C^2. No ornamentation. Copy at L.

H. Charteris's inventory lists 545 copies of this edition at 4*d*. each, totalling £9. 1*s*. 8*d*. R. Smyth's inventory lists 1,638 copies. Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists 3 copies costing 4*d*. each, totalling 12*d*. This edition is possibly a paginary reprint of an earlier edition, now missing, printed for or by H. Charteris. This hypothetical early edition may have been the one stocked by R. Gourlaw, who died before the 1593 edition was issued. The *Testament* is also printed anonymously among G. Chaucer's works in the 1532 Thynne edition (STC 5068, sqq). The poem was part of the Asloan MS. that is now missing. The catalogue of the Harleian Library lists two later editions, one printed in 1605, and one printed in Edinburgh in 1611. D. Laing conjectures that an edition, now missing, of the *Testament* was printed by Chepman and Myllar, *c*. 1508 (D. Laing, *Poems and Fables of R. Henryson* (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 257. Ed. G. Gregory Smith, in STS, 1st ser., 55, 58, 64; D. Fox (Oxford, 1981); D. Fox, *Testament of Cresseid* (1968).

228. **Ker, George.** A discouerie of the vnnaturall and traiterovs conspiracie of Scottish papists. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, [1593.]

STC 14937 (formerly also 14396). Aldis 237 & 238. Dickson and Edmond 279 & 280. Collates A^4 B–D^4. Ornamentation includes initials B17, M16; tailpieces 9, 27. Copies at L. C^2. D. E (2). E^2. G^2; F (2). W. Stirling, Chicago ILL. HD.

The date of the execution was 15 Feb. 1592 (o.s.).

229. **Napier, John.** A plaine discoverie of the whole revelation of Saint Iohn. 4° in 8's. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1593.

STC 18354. Aldis 242. Dickson and Edmond 206. Collates A–S^8 T^4. Ornamentation includes initials A22, F16, T16; tailpieces 9, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28; woodcuts 2, 3; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. O. L^2. L^{30}. L^{38} (lacks A1). O^2. C (2). C^2. E (5). E^2. LINC. G^2. A. P. WN. WOR. YK; F. HN HD. CH. CHI. NY. Y.

This or Waldegrave's 1594 edition are listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595), C2r. Outer sheet of quire B exists in two settings, distinguished by the word 'euidentlie' or 'euidently' in line 4.

230. **Perkins, William.** A direction for the governement of the tongve. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, [1593?].

STC 19689. Aldis 292. Collates A^8 B^8 C^4. Ornamentation includes initials T16; tailpieces 11, 18; device 10. Copies at E^2 (incomplete after C4); U (poss. variant).

J. Legate also printed a 1593 edition (STC 19688).

231 ——. An exposition of the Lords praier, in the way of catechisme. 12°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1593.

STC 19701. Aldis 244. Dickson and Edmond 207. Collates A–G^{12}. Ornamentation includes initial T16; tailpieces 23, 24; device 10. Copy at C (lacks G1–G3, and all after G8).

A version of the enlarged 1593 edition printed by R. Bourne and J. Porter (STC 19700–.5).

232. **Rollock, Robert.** Analysis dialectica Roberti Rolloci Scoti, in epistolam ad Romanos. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1593.

STC 21267. Aldis 245. Collates A^8 π^4 B–X^8. Ornamentation includes initials C16, E29, P16. Copies at L (destroyed; also title-page only Harl. 5990/88). INN; F.

Dedic. dated Nov. 1593. Reprinted for the Wodrow Society (1844–9), ed. by William M. Gunn, with memorial of Rollock (d. 1599) by Henry Charteris.

233. **Scotland – Statutes.** Actis of parliament, past sen the coronatiovn of the kingis maiestie, in furtherance of the progres of religioun, as alswa, concerning the puir. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. VValdegraue*, 1593.

STC 21888. Aldis 236. Dickson and Edmond 205. Collates A–D^4. Ornamentation includes initial I16; tailpieces 9, 20. Copies at L. O. E. G^2; F.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), A1r.

1594

234. **Bèze, Théodore de.** Propositions and principles of divinitie. Newlie corrected with sundrie additions. 8°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave,*] 1594.

STC 2053.5. Aldis 255.6. Copy at Geneva PL (unseen).

Enlarged from Waldegrave's 1591 edition (No. **212**; STC 2053).

235. **Hume, Alexander, *Minister of Logie*.** Foure discovrses of praise vnto God. To wit, 1 In Praise of the mercie and goodnesse [etc., init. A.H.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1594.

STC 13941.5. Aldis 249. Dickson and Edmond 210. Collates A^8 B–C^8 D^4 (–D4). Ornamentation includes initial P16; factotum 6; tailpieces 21, 23, 25. Copy of Viscount Clifden.

Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), E6v.

236 ——. Ane treatise of conscience. Quhairin divers secreits are discovered. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1594.

STC 13943. Aldis 259. Dickson and Edmond 208. Collates A^8 B–H^8. Ornamentation includes initial I16; factotum 5. Copies at L (2). E. E^2. M (imp); F.

Preface dated 26 Sep. 1593. Listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), E6v. Ed. A. Lawson, in STS, 1st ser., 48 (Appendix A).

237 ——. A treatise of the felicitie, of the life to come. [Init. A.H.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1594.

STC 13944. Aldis 248. Dickson and Edmond 209. Collates A^8 B–D^8. Ornamentation includes initial W22; factotum 6; tailpieces 21, 23, 25. Copies at L; F.

H. Charteris's inventory lists a book titled 'Homes Consolatiounes', which may refer to this edition, with a stock of 229 copies costing 3*d*., totalling 56*s*. 3*d*. Listed also in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), E6v. Ed. A. Lawson, in STS, 1st ser., 48 (Appendix C).

238 ——. A reioynder to doctor Hil [13466] concerning the descense of Christ into hell. 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1594.]

STC 13948. Aldis 241. Collates A^4 B^8 C–Z^4. Ornamentation includes initial B17, G22, I16, factotum 5; tailpieces 9, 11, 29. Copies at L. O (2). L^2. O^3 (lacks A4). C^2. E(2). P; F.

Includes Hume's version of his own letter and Hill's reply as well as Hume's rejoinder. One barrel and 2 firkins of copies were seized from a Scottish ship 'of Andrew Blakes' by warrant of the Archbishop of Canterbury dated 2 Dec. 1594 (Arber, ii. 40).

239. **Henry, *the Minstrel*.** The lyfe and actis of VV. VVallace, knight of Ellerslie. 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1594 (1593).

STC 13150. Aldis 250. Dickson and Edmond 166. Collates ^{*4} $^{**}6$ A–Z^8. No ornamentation. Copies at E. E^2 (imp.); HN.

H. Charteris's preface, referring to Lekpreuik's 1570 edition, is reprinted in the *Ballantyne Miscellany*, iii, pp.

157–76. Ed. W. A. Craigie, in STS, 3rd ser., 12 (facsimile); J. Moir, in STS, 1st ser., 6, 7; M. P. McDiarmid, in STS, 4th ser., 4, 5. For relationship between printed texts, *see* McDiarmid, pp. x–xi.

240. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The historie of ane nobil and wailzeand squyer, William Meldrum. [In verse.] 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1594.

STC 15679. Aldis 252. Dickson and Edmond 165. Collates A–C^{8} D^{4}. No ornamentation. Copies at L. E. Aberdeen PL; HN.

Reprinted from the earlier 1580 edition, printed by J. Ross for H. Charteris. H. Charteris's inventory lists 40 copies at 2*s*. each, totalling £4. Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists 6 copies at 12*d*. each, totalling 12*s*. Hamer thinks this refers to a 1580 edition not now extant printed by Ross for Charteris. However, Kinsley thinks it refers to a missing edition printed in 1582 by Charteris, of which the 1594 edition is a paginary reprint. *See* J. Kinsley (ed.), *The Historie of Ane Nobil and Wailzeand Squyer, William Meldrum* (London, 1959); D. Hamer (ed.), *The Works of Sir David Lindsay* (Edinburgh, 1931–6); Hamer, 'The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay' (London, 1929). *LSP*.

241. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [Scottish Book of Common Order]. [The CL Psalmes of David] 8°. [*Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1594.]

STC 16583++. No ornamentation. Copy at E (frags).

Wanting all except 'Ane Almanack for xx. zeiris to cum', leaves quii–[iv].

242 ——. The CL psalmes of David in meter. [With the catechisme of John Calvine.] 8°. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1594.

STC 16584.5. Aldis 256. Dickson and Edmond 163. Cowan 20. No ornamentation. Copies at E (tp only). E^{4} (imp).

H. Charteris's inventory refers to 285 copies of a 'fyne prent' catechism at 2*s*. each, totalling £28. 10*s*., which may refer to this edition. STC 16583 may be in part from this edition.

243. **Melville, Andrew.** Principis Scoti-Britannorvm natalia. [In verse.] 4°. *Edinburgi, R. Waldegraue*, 1594.

STC 17807. Aldis 253. Dickson and Edmond 211. Collates *A*^{4} B^{2}. Ornamentation includes initial V16; tailpiece 9; device 6. Copies at L. E^{2}.

244. **Moresinus, Thomas.** Papatvs, sev depravatae religionis origio et incrementvm. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1594.

STC 18102. Aldis 254. Dickson and Edmond 212. Collates *A*^{8} B–M^{8} N^{4} (–N4). Ornamentation includes initials A23, N16; factotum 6; tailpieces 20, 28; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. L^{2}. O (2). C (2). C^{3}. A. E. E^{2}. E^{4}. P; F. HN. CHI. HD.

Includes tailpiece 20, dated 1582, at top of title-page.

245 ——. Papatvs... [as above, a variant] 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1594.

STC 18102a. Aldis 255. Collates as above. Ornamentation includes initials A23, N16; factotum 6; tailpieces 27, 28; Royal Arms 2. Copies at C. E. E^{2}. Lauriston Castle.

A variant, with tailpiece 28 on the title-page.

246. **Napier, John.** A plaine discoverie of the whole revelation of Saint Iohne. [Anr. ed.] Newly imprinted. 4° in 8's. [*Edinburgh, R Waldegrave*] *printed for J. Norton*, [*London*,] 1594.

STC 18355. Aldis 255.3. Collates A–S^{8} T^{4}. Ornamentation includes initials A23, F16, T16; tailpieces 9, 11, 24; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. L^{38}. O. O^{14}. CASHEL. E. Sal; F (2). HN (imp). Min. N. U.

An entirely new reprinting of Waldegrave's 1593 edition (No. **229**; STC 18354). One of these two editions is listed in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (1595), C2r. For revised and enlarged editions *see* STC 18356 sqq.

247. **Rollock, Robert.** Analysis dialectica Roberti Rolloci Scoti in Pauli apostoli epistolam ad Romanos. 8°. [A variant of No. **232** (STC 21267), w. imprint:] *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1594.

STC 21268. Aldis 257. Dickson and Edmond 213. Collates *A*^{8} ¶5 B–X^{8}. Ornamentation includes initials C16, E29, P16. Copies at L. O^{4}. C (3). E (2). E^{2}. P. G^{2}. A. SLC; F. PEN^{2}.

248 ——. De aeterna mentis divinae approbatione et improbatione, doctrina explicata. s.sh.4°. [*Edinburgh*,] *R. Walde-grave*, 1594.

STC 21275. Aldis 258. Dickson and Edmond 214. Ornamentation includes initial D11. Copies at O. E (2).

The two copies in the National Library of Scotland may represent different states.

249. **Scotland – Statutes.** In the parliament haldin at Edinburgh. [8 June 1594.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1594.

STC 21889. Aldis 246. Collates A–D^{4} E^{2}. Ornamentation includes F16, I16, O4, O11; factotums 6, 5, 3; tailpiece 21. Copies at E (lacks all after D3). E^{2} (2); F. HN.

1595

250. **Bèze, Théodore de.** Propositions and principles of divinitie. 8°. [Another issue of STC 2053.5, w. imprint] [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave,*] 1595.

STC 2054. Aldis 275. Collates π^8 A^8 B–2B^8. Ornamentation includes initials I16, S16. Copies at L. L^2. O (2). C. E^2; F. HD. N. U. Y.

251. **Buchanan, George.** De prosodia libellvs. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue* [*f. H. Charteris*], [1595?].

STC 3979.5. Aldis 264. Dickson and Edmond 287. McFarlane 233. Collates A–B^8 C^2. Ornamentation includes initial V16; tailpiece 11; device 10. Copies at E^2; HN.

Often issued with Despautére's Grammar (*see* McFarlane, pp. 242–6).

252. **Châtel, Jean.** The decree of the covrt of parliament against Iohn Chastel. [*Tr.* attr. to E. Pasquier.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1595.

STC 5067 (formerly also 21890). Aldis 269. Dickson and Edmond 218. Collates A^4 B^2. Ornamentation includes initials T11, V16; tailpiece 20. Copies at E (2).

P. Short printed another 1595 edition (STC 5066).

253. **Clapham, Henoch.** Sommons to doomes daie sent vnto his beloued England, as a memoriall of his loue and loyaltie. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1595.

STC 5345.7. Aldis 267. Dickson and Edmond 216. Collates A^8 B–E^8. Ornamentation includes initials S16, T16. Copies at P (at C). YK.

254. **Davidson, John, *Minister of Salt-Preston.*** A memorial of the life & death of the vvorthye Christians, Robert Campbell and his wife Elizabeth. [Init J.D. In English metre.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1595.

STC 6324. Aldis 272. Dickson and Edmond 217. Collates A^8 B–C^8 (–C7, 8). Ornamentation includes initials F16, S16; tailpiece 9. Copy at HN.

Dedication to Elizabeth Campbel [Davidson's sister], dated 24 May 1595, also indicates that the poems were written 21 years before.

255. **Duncan, Andrew.** Latinæ grammaticae pars prior, sive etymologia Latina in usum rudiorum. (Appendix etymologiae.) [Init. A.D.] 2 pts. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1595 (1495 [*sic*]).

STC 7351. Aldis 271 & 263. Dickson and Edmond 220 & 221. Collates A^8 (–*A*1) ¶^{4} B–G^8 H^4. [pt 2:] A^8 B–F^8. Ornamentation includes initials A23, E16, E11, G22, N35, P16, V16; factotums 8, 6; tailpieces 11, 19, 20, 22; device 10. Copy at HN.

256 ——. Rudimenta pietatis. [etc. A catechism. Init. A.D.] 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1595.

STC 7352. Aldis 278. Dickson and Edmond 219. Collates A^8 B^2. Ornamentation includes initials E16, P16, factotum 6; tailpiece 19. Copies at E; HN.

257. **Edinburgh, *Presbytery.*** The cavses of this general fast, to begin the first sabbath of August nix, 1595. Set out by the presbyterie of Edinburgh for the churches within their boundes. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1595.

STC 7485.5. Aldis 266.5. Collates A^4. Ornamentation includes initials F16; tailpieces 3, 9. Copy at E.

See T. A. Cherry, 'Two Unrecorded Scottish Works', *Bibliotheck*, v (1967–70), pp. 273–6. Printed at the instigation of the presbytery of Edinburgh, the text of this short pamphlet refers back to the meeting of the General Assembly at Montrose in July 1595, which at its 9th session the following month ordained that a general fast was to be observed in all kirks upon the first 2 Sundays of August. Calderwood, *History*, v, p. 576; *Book of Univ. Kirk*, p. 420.

258. **Greenham, Richard.** A frvitfvl and godly sermon; containing doctrine for the reformation of our sinfull and wicked liues. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1595.

STC 12319. Aldis 270. Dickson and Edmond 222. Collates A^8 B–E^8 F^4 (–F4). Ornamentation includes initials D22, T16. Copy at A.

A slightly altered version of the main text of the edition printed in 1595 by J. Danter (STC 12321).

259. **Rolland, John.** Heir beginnis the sevin seages. small 4° in 8's. *Edinbvrgh, R. Smyth*, 1592 (1595.)

STC 21255. Aldis 235. Dickson and Edmond 290. Collates A^6 B–R^8 S^2. Ornamentation includes initial S21. Copy at L.

R. Smyth's inventory lists 45 copies. John Gibson was licensed to print this on 13 May 1590; R. Smyth was also lisenced to print this on 3 Dec. 1599. Ed. G. F. Black, in STS, 3rd ser., 3.

260. **St. Andrews University – *Theses.*** De prædestinatione. Sive de cavsis salvtis et damnationis dispvtatio, præside A. Meluino. C. Johannides [of Dalby] respondebit. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Waldgraue*, 1595.

STC 21555.1. (formerly 14047). Aldis 268. Dickson and Edmond 223. Cant 42. Baxter 948. Collates A^4 B^4 (–B4). Ornamentation includes initial Q16; tailpieces 9, 11, 20. Copies at A. E^2. G^2. STU.

The St. Andrews University Library has a contemporary MS. insertion of date in title.

1596

261. **Burel, John.** [heading π2r:] To the richt high, Lodvvik dvke of Lenox. ['Pamphilus speakand of lufe' and other poems. In verse.] 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1596?]

STC 4105. Aldis 279.5. Collates A^4 B–P^4 (–P4) Q^4. Ornamentation includes initials A22, I16; tailpiece 9. Copy at L (lacks *A*1).

262. **Clapham, Henoch.** A briefe of the bible, drawne first into English poësy, and then illustrated by apte annotations: with some appendices. 12°. [*Edinburgh*,] *R. Walde-graue*, 1596.

STC 5332. Aldis 280. Dickson and Edmond 226. Collates A^{12} B–K^{12} (–K12). Ornamentation includes initials F16, H16; factotum 8; tailpieces 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29. Copies at L (2). O. L^3. E. E^4. U. YK; F. HN. ILL. NY. PML.

263 ——. The sinners sleepe vvherein Christ willing her to arise, receiueth but an vntoward answer. 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1596.

STC 5345.4. Aldis 281. Dickson and Edmond 227. Collates A^8 B–C^8 D^2 E^8 G–L^8. Ornamentation includes initials N16, S16; factotum 6; tailpiece 19. Copies at L^2. YK.

264 ——. Sommons to doomes daie sent vnto his beloved England. 8°. [A variant of STC 5345.7 w. imprint:] *Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1596.

STC 5345.9. Aldis 282. Collates A^8 B–E^8. Ornamentation includes initials S16, T16; tailpiece 19. Private Owner.

265. **Edinburgh University – Theses.** Theses philosophicæ,...præside G. R[obertson.] 4° in 2's. *Edinburgi, H. Charteris*, 1596.

STC 7487.1 (formerly 21100). Aldis 290. Dickson and Edmond 168. Cant. Collates A–D^2. Ornamentation includes tailpiece 3; device 8. Copies at O. D.

266. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. The CL psalmes of David in meter. [Anr. ed.] 3 pts. 8°. 8°. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1596 [tp to pt. 2:] (1595.)

STC 16585. Aldis 287. Dickson and Edmond 167. Cowan 21. Collates π5 **^{2} a–h^8 A–2L^8 2M^4 2N–V^8 ^{2}A–G^8. Ornamentation includes initials A16, O16, W8; device 8. Copies at L. A (pt. 2 only). D (frags). E. LINC; F.

Rearranged so that pt. 2 has psalms and catechism, and pt. 3 has orders of fasting and excommunication. H. Charteris's inventory lists 456 copies of Psalmes 'octauo, fyne prent', each at 13*s*. 4*d*., totalling £304. Also listed are 216 copies of 'Psalmes, in octauo, fyne print' at 12*s*. each, totalling £129. 12*s*. Either could represent this edition.

267 ——. [A variant, dated 1596 throughout.]

STC 16585.5. Ornamentation includes initials A16, O16, W8; device 8. Copies at E. Linc; F. CB (parts 1, 2 only imp).

268. **Rollock, Robert.** Qvæstiones et responsiones aliqvot de foedere Dei. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, H. Charteris*, 1596.

STC 21284. Aldis 288. Dickson and Edmond 169. Collates A–C^8 D^4. No ornamentation. Copies at E. E^2. G^2.

Dedic. on A2v dated 13 March. H. Charteris's inventory lists 433 copies of this edition, each at 1*s*. 6*d*., totalling £32. 9*s*. 6*d*.

269. **Scotland, Proclamations.** Iames be the grace of God. [Threatened Spanish invasion. 2 Jan. 1596.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh*,] *R. Walde-graue*, 1596.

STC 21950. Aldis 283. Dickson and Edmond 232. Cr. 813. No ornamentation. Copies at L^{11}. E.

Last line to the right of the initial begins: 'quhairin'.

270 ——. Iames be the grace of God. [Anr. ed.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh*,] *R. Walde-graue*, 1596.

STC 21951. Aldis 284. Dickson and Edmond 232. Ornamentation includes initial I13. Copies at L. L^5. DUL.

Last line to the right of the initial begins: 'ses'.

271 ——. Iames be the grace of God. [Anr. ed.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh*,] *R. Walde-graue*, 1596.

STC 21951a. Aldis 284.5. Cr. 814. Ornamentation includes initial I16. Copy at E.

Last line to the right of the initial begins: 'to'.

272 ——. At Halirud-hous... [22 Nov. 1596.] The articles set down be his maiestie to be performit be the Erle of Huntlie. s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1596.]

STC 21952. Aldis 286. Cr. 836. Dickson and Edmond 231. Ornamentation includes initial I16. Copies at L^{11}. E.

273. **Scotland, Church of.** A schort and general confessioun of the trevv Christian faith and religion. [Anr. ed. of STC 22019, printed by Lekpreuik in 1581.] s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1596.

STC 22024. Aldis 288.5. Ornamentation includes initial W8. Copy at E.

274. **Stanbridge, John.** Vocabula. Magistri Stanbrigii, ab infinitis qvibvs antae scatebant mendis repurgata. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1596.

STC 23189. Aldis 289. Dickson and Edmond 229. Collates A^8 B^8 C^4. Ornamentation includes tailpieces 11, 28. Copy at E^2.

Reprinted in STC 23193 sqq.

1597

275. **Duncan, Andrew.** Stvdiorvm pverilivm clavis, miro quodam compendio Latinæ linguæ ac poeticæ rudimenta complectens. [Init. A.D.] 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1597.

STC 7353. Aldis 303. Dickson and Edmond 234. Collates A^8 B–C^8 D^4. Ornamentation includes initial L29; factotum 8; tailpieces 11, 18, 19, 20. Copy at E^2.

276. **Fowler, William, *Poet.*** An epitaphe vpon the death of Robert Bowes, who ended this life [16 Nov. 1597.] [In verse.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh,*] *R. VValdegrave*, [1597.]

STC 11214. Aldis 293. Dickson and Edmond 235. Includes factotum 8. Copies at L^{11}. E^2.

Ed. H. W. Meikle, *et. al* in STS, 2nd ser., 6; 3rd ser. 7, 13. Nos. 1a–c.

277 ——. Epitaphe vpon the death of Sir Iohn Seton of Barns knight, ane of the lords of priuie counsell and session. [Init. M.W.F. In verse.] $\frac{1}{2}$ sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1597.]

STC 11214.2. Aldis 247.3. No ornamentation. Copy at E^2.

278 ——. A fvneral sonet, vvritten vpon the death of Elizabeth Dovvglas, spouse to Samvell Cobvvrne. [Init. M.W.F. In verse.] $\frac{1}{2}$sh.fol. [*Edinburgh,*] *R. Walde-graue*, [1597].

STC 11214.4. Aldis 247.6. No ornamentation. Copy at E^2.

Although commonly dated 1594, this item was possibly printed as late as 1597, along with No. 279 (STC 11214.6). *See* notes to No. 279 below.

279 ——. A true reportarie of the most trivmphant baptisme of Frederik Henry. [30 Aug. 1594.] [Anon.] [*Edinburgh*] *R. VValdegraue*, [1597].

STC 11214.6 (formerly 13163). Aldis 260. Dickson and Edmond 285. Collates A^4 B–D^4. Ornamentation includes initial T1; tailpieces 9, 11; Royal Arms 2, 4. Copies at L. L^{13}. E. Copenhagen RL; F. HN. HD.

Ed. Meikle, No. 8. The inclusion of Royal Arms 4, acquired by Waldegrave from Bassandyne's stock in 1597, indicates the date of publication. MS. in Fowler's hand in Warrender Papers in H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

280. **Greenham, Richard.** Propositions containing answers to certaine demaunds in divers spirituall matters. With an epistle against hardnes of heart. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1597.

STC 12323. Aldis 295. Collates A^4 B–E^8. Ornamentation includes initial I3; tailpiece 19. Copies at P; F. Y.

Entered to R. Jackson, 17 Feb. 1598 (Arber, iii. 104).

281. **James VI, *King of Scotland.*** Daemonology, in the forme of a dialogue. [etc.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldgraue*, 1597.

STC 14364. Aldis 296. Dickson and Edmond 236. Collates A^4 χ1 B–L^4 M1. Ornamentation includes initials I3, I12, Z11; factotum 1; tailpieces 5, 11, 12; Royal Arms 6. Copies at L. L^{30}. O (3). O^2. E (3). E^2. G^2; F. HN (2). HD. ILL. PN. PFOR. CH. WIS.

Part of this is included in MS. Bodley 165. Ed. J. Craigie, in STS, 4th ser., 14. This is an anglicized version of the original text. Another MS. is at the Folger Library (MS.v.a.185). For the three states of the title-page, *see* the *Short-Title Catalogue* entry. Entered to J. Legat, 17 Mar. 1598 (Arber, 3. 311). Waldegrave commissioned another edition in 1603 from Hatfield (STC 14366). On 3 Apr. 1603 a copy was entered to Eliazar Edgar, which was probably a pirate of this edition (Arber, iii. 94). For another edition, now lost, recorded by J. G. T. Grässe, *see* J. Cragie, *Minor Works of King James VI and I*, STS, 4th ser., 14 (Edinburgh, 1982).

282. **Lindsay, *Sir* David.** The vvarkis. [Another edition.] 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1597.

STC 15664. Aldis 297. Dickson and Edmond 170. Collates A^6 B–H^8 I^4 K–X^8. Ornamentation includes device 8. Copies at E (imp). Dur (lacks A1–8); Y.

With the heading 'Ane Prologue' on B1r. H. Charteris's inventory lists 788 copies of 'Dauid Lyndesayis' at 8*s*. each, totalling £315. Margaret Wallace's inventory refers to an edition of 600 copies of Lindsay's Works at 7*s*. each, totalling £210. She also had 500 copies of Lindsay's plays at 4*s*. each, totalling £100, which probably refers to R. Charteris's edition of Lindsay's *Satyre of the three estates*, printed in 1602. Robert Charteris also stocked works of Lindsay. Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists 7 copies of a Lindsay edition at 4*s*. 6*d*. each, totalling 31*s*. 6*d*. Another Lindsay edition is also listed, priced at 4*s*. 6*d*.

283 ——. The vvarkis. [Another issue.] 4° in 8's. *Edinburgh, H. Charteris*, 1597.

STC 15664.3. Collates A^6 B–H^8 I–L^8 (–L8) M–Q^8 (–Q1, 8) R–X^8 (–X2, 7). Ornamentation includes woodcut 21. Copies at E; F.

With the heading 'The Prologue' on B1r.

284. **Melville, James.** Ane frvitfvl and comfortable exhortatioun anent death. [Init. J. M.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1597.

STC 17815.5 (formerly 17138). Aldis 294. Collates A^8 B–G^8. Ornamentation includes initial M16; factotums 5, 6. Copies at O. C^3. E. P.

Dedication dated 17 Dec. 1596.

285. **Monipennie, John.** Certaine matters composed together. [Anon.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, [1597.]

STC 18016. Aldis 247. Dickson and Edmond 284. Collates A^2 (–A1) B–C^4 D^2 E–H^4 χH1 ^{2}F–K^4. Ornamentation includes initials A22, A23, F16, L29, S16; tailpieces 12, 17. Copies at L. O. C (lacks tp). E. Viscount Clifden; HN.

The inclusion of ornament L29, acquired by Waldegrave from Bassandyne's stock in 1597, indicates the date of publication. Text dated 1593 on E1v.

286. **Montgomery, Alexander.** The cherrie and the slaye. Composed into Scottis meeter. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1597.

STC 18049. Aldis 300. Dickson and Edmond 239. Collates A^4 B–D^4. Ornamentation includes initial A23; tailpieces 3, 12. Copy at HN.

Ed. G. Stevenson, *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie* in STS, 1st ser., 59; James Cranstoun in STS, 1st ser., 9–11; H. Harvey Wood, *The Cherrie and the Slae* (London, 1937). The poem also occurs in the Laing MS. (No. 447) at Edinburgh University Library, which is not directly related to Waldegrave's editions. Waldegrave's prints have southern (i.e. English) forms of words (*see* Stevenson, p. xvi).

287 ——. The cherrie and the slae. [Anr. ed.] Prented according to a copie corrected be the author himselfe. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1597.

STC 18049.5. Aldis 299. Dickson and Edmond 238. Collates A^4 B–D^4. Ornamentation includes initials A23; tailpieces 3, 12, 17. Copy at E.

288. **Rollock, Robert.** Tractatvs de vocatione efficaci, quae inter locos theologiæ communissimos recensetur. 8°. *Edimbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1597.

STC 21285. Aldis 302. Dickson and Edmond 241. Collates A^8 B–Z^8 $2A^4$. Ornamentation includes initials C11, D22, S16, V16; tailpieces 11, 12, 20; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. O. C. D. E (2). E^2. A. C^2. O^5. G^2; F. HN. HD.

Date on *A*4v is 5 June 1597.

289. **St. Andrews University – *Theses*.** De libero arbitrio theses theologicæ. Præside a. Melvino. Respondente J. Massonio. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Waldegraue*, 1597.

STC 21555.2 (formerly 17647). Aldis 298. Dickson and Edmond 237. Unsigned, 4 leaves. Ornamentation includes initial P16; tailpieces 12, 17. Copy at A.

290. **Scotland – Statutes.** The lawes and actes of parliament, maid be king James the first, and his successours kinges of Scotland. [Includes also Parliaments 1–15 of James VI. Compiled by J. Skene.] 3 pts. fol. *Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1597 (15 Mar.)

STC 21877 & 22622. Aldis 291 & 302.5. Dickson and Edmond 233. Collates [pt. 1:] π^4 a–y^6 2a–d^6 [pt. 2:] A–Z^6 2A–E^6 $2D^4$ ^{2}E–G^6 [pt. 3:] A–D^4 E–F^6 G^2 [De verborum significatione:] H–S^6 T^4. Ornamentation includes initials A11, A22, A23, D4, F16, H11, I1, I3, I12, O4, O11, Q11, Q16, T1, T11, T16, W11; factotums 8, 6, 5, 3, 1; tailpieces 4, 5; Royal Arms 4, 6. Copies at L (3 + 1 destroyed). L^2. O (3). O^9. O^{18}. C^2. D^2. E. E^2. E^8 (2). A. M. N. WIGAN. Essex County Library. LIV^3. CANT. G^2 (6); F (7). HN (3). CHI. HD. NY. $WASH^2$. NEK. Cincinnati U. LA County Law Library.

This edition of the Acts of Parliament was intended to be issued together with John Skene's *De verborum significatione*, a work comprising 'the exposition of the terms and difficill wordes'. The popularity of Skene's work ensured that sheets H1–T4 of pt. 3 were also issued separately (STC 22622). In 1599 an entirely new edition was printed (STC 22014), comprising only 66 leaves, which frequently appears bound with the original 1597 Acts of Parliament. A copy in the National Library of Scotland (H.33.c.32 (1)) may represent an unrecorded new issue. *See* R. Donaldson, 'A "Mixed Edition" of "De Verborum Significatione" ', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1962), pp. 219–20. This item sometimes appears with other insertions. Copies have either a letterpress or an engraved title-page.

291 ——. The qvestions to be resolvit at the convention of the estaits and generall assemblie, at Perth. [By King James.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. VValde-graue*, 1597.

STC 21891 (formerly also 19782). Aldis 301. Dickson and Edmond 240. Collates A^4 (–A4) B^2. Ornamentation includes initials F16, M16; tailpieces 5, 12; Royal Arms 6. Copies at L. L^{11}. E. E^8. G^2; F.

See also No. **336** (STC 21957). A publication consisting of 55 questions drawn up by John Lindsay (and appearing in the name of James VI), intended to bring into dispute the principal heads of the established government (Cald. MS. v. 193–4). The Glasgow University copy has MS. additions in the hand of Andrew Melville giving short

answers to some of the questions (which agree in general with the answers of the synod of Fife). All the questions are included in Spotswood's *History*, and 2 are corrected in the printed edition of Calderwood's MS. (pp. 381–9). *See* also T. McCrie, *Life of Melville*, p. 96 n.

292. **Scotland – Proclamations.** Iames be the grace of God...Forsameikill as we are surely informit [etc. Concerning the return of the Earls of Huntly and Erroll. 22 Nov. 1596.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1597.]

STC 21953. Aldis 285. Dickson and Edmond 230. Cr. 837. Ornamentation includes initial I3. Copy at L^{11}.

The inclusion of initial I3, acquired by Waldegrave from Bassandyne's stock in 1597, indicates the date of publication.

1598

293. **James VI, *King of Scotland.*** The trve lawe of free monarchies. [Signed C. $\Phi\iota\lambda o\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. VValdegraue*, 1598.

STC 14409. Aldis 309. Dickson and Edmond 244. Collates A^4 (–A1) B–D^8 E^4. Ornamentation includes initial A22; tailpieces 12, 21. Copies at L. O. L^2. C. E. E^2.

This was the copy on which subsequent editions printed by T. Creede were based (STC 14410 & 14410.5). In 1603 Creede printed another edition with the imprint of Waldegrave (STC 14411). *See* J. Craigie, *Minor Prose Works of James VI and I*, STS, 4th ser., 14 (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 199.

294. **Melville, James.** A spiritvall propine of a pastour to his people. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1589 [i.e. 1598.]

STC 17816. Aldis 308. Dickson and Edmond 182. Collates A^4 B–G^4 H–I^2 K–Y^4. Ornamentation includes initials P11, P16, W22; tailpieces 9, 12, 17. Copies at L. E (2).

Dated 20 Nov. 1598 on *A*4r.

295. **Netherlands – Southern Provinces.** A trve coppie of the admonitions sent by the svbdued provinces to the states of Hollande. [*Tr.* out of French into Dutch, and subsequently into English by H. W.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue, according to the copie printed in London*, 1598.

STC 18466. Aldis 305. Collates A–C^4. Ornamentation includes factotum 8; tailpieces 12, 17. Copy at L.

Dated 12 Mar. 1598 on A3r. Edition based on one printed by Windet for Wolfe in 1598 (STC 18465), and entered on 12 July 1598 (Arber, iii. 121).

296. **Rollock, Robert.** In epistolam Pavli apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorem (posteriorem) commentarius. (Analysis logica, in epistolam ad Philemonem.) 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1598.

STC 21279. Aldis 307 & 306.5. Dickson and Edmond 245. Collates A^4 B–N^8 O^4 P–Z^8 $2A^2$. Ornamentation includes initials H16, P16, S16, T16 factotum 8; tailpieces 11, 18, 19, 27, 28. Copies at L. O. A. D. E (2). D^2. G^2. INN. NEP. SLC; F. HN.

Dated Aug. 1598 on A3r.

297. **Scotland – Proclamations.** Ane proclamatioun dischargeing the support of the rebellis of Ireland. [8 Aug. 1598.] s.sh.fol. *Edinbvrgh, R. VValdegraue*, 1598.

STC 21954. Aldis 306. Dickson and Edmond 242. Cr. 887. Ornamentation includes initial I3; Royal Arms 6. Copy at L^{11}.

298 ——. Ane act of counsell anent the cunzie. [Requiring yielding up for foreign coins at fixed rates. 18 Dec. 1598.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh,*] *R. Walde-graue*, 1598.

STC 21955. Aldis 304. Dickson and Edmond 243. Cr. 839. Ornamentation includes factotum 1; Royal Arms 6. Copy at L^{11}.

299. **Wentworth, Peter.** A pithie exhortation to her maiestie for establishing her svccessor to the crowne. 8°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave,*] 1598.

STC 25245. Aldis 309.3. Collates A^4 (–*A*1) B–P^8 (–P8). Ornamentation includes initials G8, M8, S8. Copies at L (2). O (2). O^8. C (2). DUR^5. E(3) YK. LINC. P; F. HN. HD. N. U.

In part an answer to STC 19398. *See Acts P.C.* 1600–1, p. 216 regarding inquiries started 11 Mar. 1601 about an edition reputedly printed in Middelburgh. The evidence of types R8, R16, R24*a*, etc., show Waldegrave's part in printing this item, which is also signed in his manner. The initials from alphabet 8, however, belonged to H. Charteris, and were perhaps a loan to Waldegrave.

1599

300. **Edinburgh University, *Theses.*** Thesis philosophicæ,...præside G. Cragio. 4° in 2's. [*Edinburgh,*] *apud H. Charteris*, 1599.

STC 7487.2 (formerly 5972). Aldis 323. Dickson and Edmond 171. Collates $\pi 1$ A–D^2 (–D2). Ornamentation includes initial S8. Copies at O. C. E^2.

301. **Hume, Alexander, *Minister of Logie*.** Hymnes. Or sacred songs, wherein the right vse of poësie may be espied. [In verse.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 13942. Aldis 312. Dickson and Edmond 247. Collates A^4 B–I^4 K^2 (–K2). Ornamentation includes initials A22, A23, W22. Copies at L. E^2; HN.

Ed. Alexander Lawson, in STS, 1st ser., 48; Bannatyne Club, 1832. A late sixteenth century MS. of many of these poems is at the National Library of Scotland (MSS. fol. vol. 55), also having poems of Sempill, probably copied from a printed book, not Waldegrave's 1599 edition. *See* Sibbald, *Chronicle of Scotish Poetry*, i, p. x, which discusses another printed edition, previously belonging to George Paton. Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1832), ed. by John G. Kinnear, along with some of Hume's prose works. David Laing prepared notes for this in his *Adversaria* (1867). Hume's works were also printed for STS, 1st ser., 48; and the 'Admonition' for the Wodrow Society Miscellany, i (1848), ed. David Laing. *LSP*.

302. **James VI, *King of Scotland*.** Βασιλικον δωρον. Devided into three bookes. [Anon.] 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 14348. Aldis 311. Dickson and Edmond 248. Collates A^4 B–X^4. Ornamentation includes initials A11, B11, I3; factotum 1; tailpieces 5, 12, 20, 21, 24, 27; woodcuts 2, 3; Royal Arms 5. Copies at L. E.

Waldegrave's 1599 edition represents a careful revision of the MS. originally in James VI's own hand (MS. Royal 18.B xv). The 1603 edition, partly printed by Waldegrave, follows the original MS. more closely. *See* J. Craigie (ed.), *Basilicon Doron*, STS, 3rd ser., 18, pp. 88–90. Scolar Press facsimile.

303. **Liturgies – Other Protestant Churches** [The Scottish Book of Common Order]. The CL. psalmes of dauid in meitir: with the forme of prayeris vsit in the kirk of Scotland. (The catechisme.) 2 pts. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Smyth*, 1599 (1602).

STC 16586. Aldis 315. Dickson and Edmond 292. Ornamentation includes initial O21. Copy at L.

R. Smyth's inventory lists 135 copies of a 'singill Catchesis', which may refer to this edition. The double catechism listed in Smyth's inventory probably refers to an edition of the Palatinate catechism, not extant.

304. **Luis, *de* Granada.** The conversion of a sinner. 12°. *Edinburgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1599.

STC 16899.7. Copy at HD.

Copy unseen.

305. **Philip II, *King of Spain*.** A briefe and true declaration of the sicknesse, last wordes and death of Philip the second. 4°. *Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 19834. Aldis 311.5. Copy at HD.

Copy unseen. The 2nd part reprints STC 17324. For earlier editions, *see* STC 16899.5. Waldegrave's edition includes 'The happy entrance of Margaret of Austria'.

306. **Philodikaios, Irenicus, *pseud*.** A treatise declaring, and confirming against all obiections the just title of Iames the sixt, to the succession of the croun of England. 4°. [*Edinburgh, R. Waldegrave*, 1599?]

STC 19881.5. Aldis 312.5. Collates A^4 B–F^4 (–F4). No ornamentation. Copies at E. D. YK.

Although signed in Waldegrave's manner, this item has the types of H. Charteris (R6, R9*a*, R19*a*, etc). An enlarged edition was printed in 1634 by the heires of A. Hart. Entered to H. Hooper, 6 April 1603. *See English Historical Review*, li (1936).

307. **Pont, Robert.** Against sacrilege, three sermons preached by R. Pont. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 20100. Aldis 304. Dickson and Edmond 251. Collates A^8 B–G^8 H^4 (–H4). Ornamentation includes initials I3, L16, S16; Royal Arms 2. Copies at E. D. E^2. E^4. G^2. LINC; F.

308 ——. A newe treatise of the right reckoning of yeares, and ages of the world. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 20104. Aldis 313. Dickson and Edmond 250. Collates A^4 B–N^4 O^2. Ornamentation includes initials G11, H11, I3, Y11; tailpieces 12, 17. Copies at L (2). O (all lacking after N4). L^2. O^2. C (3). C^2. D. E (3). E^2. SAL; F. HN. ILL. NY^4.

309. **Robertson, George.** Vitæ & mortis D. Roberti Rolloci Scoti narratio. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, H. Charteris*, 1599.

STC 21101. Aldis 316. Dickson and Edmond 172. Collates A–C^8. No ornamentation. Copies at O. L. BUTE. E (2). E^2; F.

Also includes verse spitaphs on Rollock. Reprinted for the Ballantyne Club (1826); also notes by David Laing in his *Adversaria* (1867).

310. **Rollock, Robert.** Certaine sermons vpon severall places of the epistles of Pavl. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, H. Charteris*, 1599.

STC 21271. Aldis 317. Dickson and Edmond 173. Collates A^8 (–A1) B–S^8 T^4 V^2. Ornamentation includes initials A8, I8; tailpiece 3. Copies at L. E (2). E^2; F. HD (imp). Cincinnati U.

H. Charteris's inventory lists 1,000 copies of this edition at 6*s*. each, totalling £300.

311. **St. Andrews University – *Theses*.** Scholastica diatriba de rebus divinis. A. Melvino moderante. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 21555.3 (formerly 17808). Aldis 319. Dickson and Edmond 249. Cant 44. Baxter 950. A–B^4. Ornamentation includes tailpiece 12. Copies at A. E^2. D. G^2.

The Aberdeen University Library copy has contemporary MSS. corrections and annotations.

312. **Scotland – Statutes.** The lavves maid be King Iames the First and his Svccessovrs. [Another edition, with 'De verborum significatione' reprinted.] *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 21877.5 (also with 22623). Aldis 322. Dickson and Edmond 246. 'De verborum significatione' collates H–S^6, F^6, G^2, and includes includes A11, F16; tailpiece 4; Royal Arms 6. Copies at O (De verborum only). O^2 (letterpress tp). O^{27} (engr. tp, lacks π3–4, supplied in cont. MS). C (imp). E (4). E^2 (6). LEEDS. NLW; F (2). HN. HD. N. Y.

The Folger Library copy differs from STC 21877 in that the first gathering *A* contains only four leaves. There is no printed title-page, and the engraved title-page is conjugate with A^3. In the other F copy ^{2}A1r and ^{2}A4v have been reset.

313 ——. Scotland – Statutes

Apud Falkland.... [31 July 1599.] Ane acte anent the registring of saisings, reversiones, and some vther writtes. s.sh.fol. *Edinburgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 21892.3. (formerly 21956). Aldis 309.6 Cr. 908. Ornamentation includes factotum 1; Royal Arms 5. Copies at O. A^3. Private Owner.

314. **Sharp, Patrick.** Doctrinae christinae brevis explicatio: in tria priora Geneseos capita, symbolum Apostrolorum, [etc.] 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 22369. Aldis 320. Dickson and Edmond 253. Collates A^8 B–T^8. Ornamentation includes initials C16, I16, M16, factotum 6; tailpieces 12, 18, 19; Royal Arms 2. Copies at L. L^{19}. O^{19}. C (3). D. E. E^2. G^2; F. NY^{11}.

315. **Sidney, *Sir* Philip.** The covntesse of Pembrokes arcadia. [Now the third time published. fol. *Edinbvrgh, R. walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 22542. Aldis 321. Dickson and Edmond 254. Collates π^2 A–$2E^6$ 2G–O^6 (–O6) 2P–$3A^6$. Ornamentation includes initials I3, I1, M16, T16, T11, W11, factotums 1, 8; tailpieces 3, 4, 12. Copies at L. C^2 (tp def). C^{13}. E. Juel Jensen; F. CH. CHI. HD. NY.

A piratical venture sponsored by a syndicate of English booksellers, selling their copies 3*s*. below Ponsonby's price. *See* Greg *Register B*: 80, 82, 83, 87; H. R. Plomer, in *The Library*, i (1900), pp. 195–205; C. B. Judge, *Elizabethan Book Pirates* (1934), pp. 101–11; W. A. Ringler (ed.), *Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1962), p. 536. Probably derived from Ponsonby's 1593 ed. (STC 22540).

316. **Tusser, Thomas.** Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie. [In verse.] 4° in 8's. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1599.

STC 24386. Aldis 324. Dickson and Edmond 255. Collates A–K^8 I^2. Ornamentation includes initials G32, I32, M32, O35, W32, tailpieces 10, 15, 17. Copies at L (lacks all after I2). L^{38}.

A1 recto and verso were printed by Waldegrave: they use his types and tailpiece 17. The rest may have been printed by another printer using alphabets **32** and **35**, not otherwise found in Scotland. An English Textura is used to print the text: Waldegrave only occasionally used textura type at the beginning of his Scottish career, and its appearance this late is something of a puzzle, as is the appearance of the two-line textura type not otherwise found in Scotland. *See* notes to type **T5**.

1600

317. **Alexander, William, *Earl of Stirling*.** A short discovrse of the good ends of the higher prouidence, in the late attemptat against his maiesties person. [Anon.] 8°. [*Edinburgh,*] *R. Waldegrave*, 1600.

STC 348. Aldis 338. Dickson and Edmond 256. Collates A^8 B^8 (–B7,8). Ornamentation includes initial W22. Copies at L. C^2. HAT.

For a London piracy of this, *see* STC 348.5.

318. **Becon, Thomas.** The sicke mans salue. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*, 1600.

STC 1766.7. Aldis 325. Collates A–V^8 X^4. Ornamentation includes tailpieces 12, 19. Copies at DUL; F. HART. HD (imp).

For previous editions, *see* STC 1756.5 sqq.

319. **Bible, *English*.** Compendius buik of godly and spirituall sangis. [Anr. ed. of STC 2996.7.] Exactly correctit and newlye prented. 8°. *Edinbrugh* [*sic*]. *R. Smyth*, 1600.

STC 2997. Aldis 327. Dickson and Edmond 293. Collates A–O^8. No ornamentation. Copies at L (lacking O8). STU (frag).

St. Andrews University Library holding is a damaged 8 leaf fragment (gathering C), which is traditionally assigned to this edition (not verified in modern times). R. Smyth's inventory lists 1,034 copies of 'Dundie psalmes', probably refering to this edition. This is probably the 'Ballat buik' of the licence. Robert Gourlaw's inventory lists 2 copies of a 'buik of ballatis' at 2*s*. each, not this edition, totalling 4*s*. Ed. A. F. Mitchell, in STS, 1st ser., 39; D. Laing, *A Compendius Book* (Edinburgh, 1868). A new edition is currently being compiled by A. MacDonald.

320. **Blake, David.** An exposition vppon the thirtie two Psalme. [*Tr.* C. Lumsden.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 3122. Aldis 325.5. Collates A^2 (−*A*1) B–G^8. Ornamentation includes initial T16. Copies at E. D. LK.

321. **Colville, John.** The palinoid of Iohn Colvill, wherein he doth recant his former offences, specially that treasonable discourse against the title of king Iames the sixt, unto the crowne of England. [*Ed.*] (A. C.) 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Charteris*, 1600.

STC 5587. Aldis 326. Dickson and Edmond 297. Collates A–B^8 C^4. Ornamentation includes initial I8. Copies at L. C^3 (lacks tp). E (2, 1 imp). E^2 L. L^{13}; HN.

Colville's refutation of his own non-existent treatise against James's title to the Crown of England. For a 1604 issue printed by R. Charteris for London sale, *see* STC 5588. Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club (1858), ed. by David Laing.

322. **Edinburgh University, *Theses*.** Theses philosophicae,...præside J. Adamsonio. 4° in 2's. *Edinbvrgi, R. Charteris*, 1600.

STC 7487.3. Aldis 341. Dickson and Edmond 296. Collates π1 A–D^2. Ornamentation includes initial N8. Copies at L. O. E^2.

323. **Henry, *the Minstrel*.** The lyfe and actis of the maist illvster and vailzean campiovn VVilliam Wallace, Knicht of Ellerslie. [Anr. ed. of STC 13149.] 4° in 8's. *Edinbvrgh, R. Chateris* [*sic*] 1601 (1600).

STC 13150.5. Aldis 344. Dickson and Edmond 300. Collates a^4 ¶^{6} A–Z^8. Ornamentation includes initial L8; tailpiece 3; device 8. Copies at E. C^4. G^2; NY (imp).

Colophon dated 1600. Ed. J. Moir, in STS 1st ser., 6–7; M. P. McDiarmid, in STS, 4th ser., 4–5. For the relationships between editions, *see* McDiarmid, pp. x–xi.

324. **Howesoun, John.** A short exposition of the 20. and 21. verses of [1 John iii.] Containing a very profitable discourse of conscience. 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Waldegraue*. 1600.

STC 13878. Aldis 339. Dickson and Edmond 258. Collates *A*^{8} B–D^8. Ornamentation includes initial A22; factotum 6; tailpieces 12, 17. Copies at L. E (lacks tp).

325. **Luis, *de Granada*.** Granados spiritval and heauenly exercises. [*Tr.* from Spanish.] 12°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 16921. Aldis 331. Dickson and Edmond 259. Collates A–I^{12} K^6 (−K6). Ornamentation includes initial A23; tailpieces 22, 23, 27, 28. Copy at L.

For previous 1598 edition, *see* STC 16920.

326. **Norden, John.** A pensive mans practise verie profitable for all persons. 2 pts. 12°. (*Edinburgh,*) *R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 18618.3. Collates *A*^{12} B–K^{12} L^6 2A–I^{12}. Copy at C^{19} (unseen).

A piracy of STC 18616 sqq, with all 3 parts bound together.

327. **Quin, Walter.** Sertvm poeticvm, in honorem Iacobi sexti. [In verse.] 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Waldegraue*, 1600.

STC 20567. Aldis 333. Dickson and Edmond 260. Collates *A*^{4} B–F^4. Ornamentation includes initial V11; tailpieces 9, 12; Royal Arms 2, 5. Copies at L. E^2. D; HN.

328. **Rollock, Robert.** Commentarivs D. Roberti Rolloci,...in epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses. 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 21274. Aldis 335. Dickson and Edmond 262. Collates *A*^{8} B–2B^8. Ornamentation includes initial Q11; tailpieces 11, 12, 19. Copies at O. A. CASHEL. E. E^2. P; F. HD. ILL.

329 ——. An exposition upon some select psalmes of David. [*Tr.* out of Latin by C. Lumsden, minister of Dudinstoun.] 8°. *Edinburgh, R. Walde graue*, 1600.

STC 21276. Aldis 334. Dickson and Edmond 261. Collates *A*^{6} (−A3) B–2L^8 2M^2. Includes factotum 8; tailpieces 17, 18. Copies at L. L^3. L^{43}. E. E^2; F. NY.

330. **Ruthven, John, *Third Earl Gowrie*.** Gowreis conspiracie. A discovrse of vnnatvrall and vyle conspiracie attempted against the kings maiesties person at Sanct-Johnstown upon Twysday [5 Aug. 1600.] 8°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Charteris*, 1600.

STC 21465.5. Dickson and Edmond 298. Collates A–C^{8} D^{6}. No ornamentation. Copy at E.

For another 1600 edition printed by V. Simmes, *see* STC 21466 sqq.

331. **St. Andrews University – *Theses*.** De ivstificatione hominis coram Deo, theses theologicæ, qvas A. Melvino, moderante, tveri conabitvr P. Gaddaevs. [22 July.] 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 21555.4 (formerly 11696). Aldis 329. Dickson and Edmond 257. Cant 45. Baxter 951. Collates A^{4} B^{2}. Ornamentation includes factotum 5; tailpieces 9, 12, 19. Copy at A.

332 ——. Theses physicae de generatione et corrvptione quas defendere condabor sub præsidio I. Echlini. T. Mierbekius. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Charteris*, [1600.]

STC 21555.5. Aldis 332. Dickson and Edmond 299. Cant 41. Baxter 953. Collates A^{4} within [*]^{4}. 8 leaves. Ornamentation includes initial P8; device 8. Copy at E^{2} (lacks [*]1).

A copy in the Edinburgh University Library is noted in the library catalogue *c*. 1640, but is now missing. Another copy is included in the Laing sale catalogue (II 1823). An examination of the chain lines suggests that gathering A has been inserted with another (probably unsigned) gathering, of which the first leaf is missing.

333 ——. Theses theologicæ de peccato quas A. Melvino moderante tueri conabor. J. Scharbivs. 4°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 21555.6 (formerly 22368). Aldis 337. Dickson and Edmond 264. Cant 46. Baxter 952. Collates A^{4} B^{2}. Ornamentation includes initial C16; tailpieces 12, 17. Copy at A.

The Aberdeen University Library has a contemporary MS. inscription in the title-page, reading 'amico suo charissimo Magistro Allexandro Andersone donauit Joan[nes Schar]pius.'.

334. **Saluste de Bartas, Guillaume de.** Hadriani Dammanis a Bysterveldt DN. de Fair-hill, Bartasias; qui de mvndi creatione libri septem; liberius tralati et acuti [*sic*]. [In verse.] 8°. *Edinbvrgi, R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 21657. Aldis 328. Dickson and Edmond 263. Collates A^{8} (–A8) B^{8} χC^{8} B–P^{8} R–Z^{8} (–Z7,8). Ornamentation includes initial I3; tailpieces 9, 12, 17, 22. Copies at L. O. L^{30}. C^{3} (2). E (2). YK. WN. LINC; F. HN (tp def).

Dated Feb. 1600 on B3r.

335. **Scotland – Statutes.** Act of parliament anent registration of seasings. [15 Nov. 1600.] s.sh.fol. [*Edinburgh,*] *R. W⟨alde-⟩ grave*, [1600.]

STC 21892.5. Aldis 324.6. Ornamentation includes factotum 2; tailpiece 20. Copies at E^{6}; F (imp def).

336. **Scotland – Proclamations.** Ane act made be his hienes with the aduise of the estaites. [Forbidding purchase of goods from any foreign ship not duly entered at a free port. 30 June 1600.] s.sh.fol. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, 1600.

STC 21957. Aldis 324.5. Cr. 940. Ornamentation includes factotum 1; Royal Arms 6. Copy at L^{11}.

337. **Southwell, Robert.** Saint peters complaint. With other poëms. 4°. *Edinbvrgh, R. Walde-graue*, [1600?]

STC 22960. Aldis 336. Dickson and Edmond 288. Collates A–G^{4}. Ornamentation includes tailpieces 3, 12. Copies at L; F.

A slightly altered version of the text is found only in this edition. For earlier editions, *see* STC 22955.7 sqq.

Concordance between the numeration of entries in this Appendix and the numeration in the Short-Title Catalogue

STC	App.	STC	App.	STC	App.	STC	App.
144	173	**5345.7**	253	**11214**	276	**15076**	104
145	42	**5345.9**	264	**11214.2**	277	**15314**	23
147	125	**5458**	22	**11214.4**	278	**15315**	24
185	75	**5487**	112	**11214.6**	279	**15315.5**	25
185.5	100	**5587**	321	**11684**	47	**15658**	68
321.5	162	**5606**	165	**11984**	9	**15658.5**	74
348	317	**5962**	174	**12319**	258	**15659**	105
1340	185	**5970**	46	**12323**	280	**15660**	136
1377.5	109	**6217**	198	**12731**	20	**15661**	169
1562	211	**6228**	199	**12731.2**	27	**15662**	181
1763	186	**6320**	38	**12968**	40	**15663**	222
1766.7	318	**6321**	124	**12968.5**	103	**15664**	282
1857	197	**6322**	200	**13023**	216	**15664.3**	283
2000	34	**6323**	135	**13148**	10	**15672**	21
2026	29	**6324**	254	**13149**	76	**15675**	28
2053	212	**6767**	166	**13150**	239	**15679**	240
2053.5	234	**6781**	157	**13150.5**	323	**15791**	14
2054	250	**6783**	158	**13165**	227	**15791.5**	15
2125	147 154	**6909.5**	114	**13166**	12	**16564**	35
2996.3	44	**7018**	1	**13594**	11	**16577**	43
2996.5	56	**7072.8**	17	**13870.3**	77	**16577a**	48
2996.7	150	**7074**	159	**13878**	324	**16578.5**	57
2997	319	**7347**	4	**13941.5**	235	**16579.3**	106
2997+	110	**7348**	5	**13942**	301	**16579.5**	138
3122	320	**7349**	6	**13943**	236	**16580**	139
3203	18	**7350**	7	**13944**	237	**16580.3**	151
3307	2	**7351**	255	**13948**	238	**16580.7**	152
3923	213	**7352**	256	**13956**	168	**16583+**	203
3924	214	**7353**	275	**14293**	221	**16583++**	241
3966.5	101	**7485**	126	**14348**	302	**16584.5**	242
3968.5	102	**7485.5**	257	**14364**	281	**16585**	266
3973	155	**7487.1**	265	**14373**	187	**16585.5**	267
3974	156	**7487.2**	300	**14374**	191	**16586**	303
3975	163	**7487.3**	322	**14376**	193	**16604**	58
3979.5	251	**7542**	8	**14379**	217	**16899.7**	304
3982	111	**7754**	201	**14348**	195	**16921**	325
3991	180	**8055**	127	**14409**	293	**17014.3**	13
4105	261	**10478**	167	**14435**	16	**17328.7**	160
4604	45	**10551**	148	**14785**	202	**17566.5**	32
4847	164	**10551.5**	149	**14915**	78	**17807**	243
5060.5	3	**10769**	220	**14932**	26	**17809**	204
5067	252	**10819**	39	**14937**	228	**17815.5**	284
5192	215	**10820**	113	**15062**	115	**17816**	294
5332	262	**11183**	175	**15074**	41	**18016**	285
5345.4	263	**11213**	176	**15074.2**	73	**18049**	286

CONCORDANCE BETWEEN THE NUMERATION OF ENTRIES IN THIS APPENDIX AND THE NUMERATION IN THE SHORT-TITLE CATALOGUE (CONTINUED)

STC	App.	STC	App.	STC	App.	STC	App.
18049.5	287	**21465.5**	330	**21941**	117	**22192a.3**	88
18012	244	**21555.1**	260	**21941**	130	**22192a.5**	85
18102a	244	**21555.2**	289	**21942**	131	**22193**	90
18314	188	**21555.3**	311	**21943**	132	**22194**	63
18354	229	**21555.4**	331	**21943a**	133	**22194.5**	108
18355	246	**21555.5**	332	**21943a.5**	143	**22195**	91
18466	295	**21555.6**	333	**21944**	144	**22196**	64
18618.3	326	**21657**	334	**21944.5**	145	**22197**	65
18688	33	**21671**	189	**21945**	146	**22199**	66
19458	49	**21875**	51	**21946.5**	171	**22200**	67
19603	205	**21876**	52	**21948**	192	**22200.5**	120
19612	206	**21876a**	53	**21949.7**	225	**22201**	92
19661	223	**21877**	290	**21950**	269	**22201.5**	93
19666	224	**21877.5**	312	**21951**	270	**22202**	121
19689	230	**21878.5**	19	**21951a**	271	**22203**	122
19701	231	**21879**	50	**21952**	272	**22204**	94
19834	305	**21880**	69	**21953**	292	**22204.5**	123
19881.5	306	**21881**	141	**21954**	297	**22205**	95
20100	307	**21882**	129	**21955**	298	**22206**	96
20104	308	**21883**	142	**21957**	336	**22207**	134
20105	128	**21884**	170	**22011**	118	**22208**	97
20567	327	**21885**	182	**22016**	30	**22209**	98
21101	309	**21886**	183	**22018**	31	**22211**	99
21254	153	**21887**	190	**22019**	177	**22369**	314
21255	259	**21887.5**	194	**22019.5**	178	**22542**	315
21258	140	**21888**	233	**22023**	209	**22626.5**	72
21266	196	**21889**	249	**22024**	273	**22651**	161
21267	232	**21891**	291	**22028**	119	**22783.3**	219
21268	247	**21892.3**	313	**22041**	54	**22783.5**	226
21271	310	**21892.5**	335	**22043**	137	**22960**	337
21274	328	**21930**	59	**22046**	82	**23000**	172
21275	248	**21931**	60	**22187**	83	**23189**	274
21276	329	**21932**	61	**22187a**	84	**24386**	316
21278	207	**21933**	70	**22187a.5**	85	**24623a**	55
21279	296	**21934**	71	**22188**	107	**25239**	184
21280	218	**21935**	79	**22189**	86	**25242**	210
21284	268	**21936**	80	**22190**	179	**25245**	299
21285	288	**21937**	81	**22191**	87	**25860**	36
21459	208	**21938**	116	**22192**	62	**25861**	37

References

The following is a list of books referred to in the Historial Narrative of this thesis.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, edd. T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1877–1916).

Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413–1588, ed. Annie I. Dunlop (S.H.S. and St. Andrews University Publication No. 56, Edinburgh and London, 1964).

ALDIS, H. G., 'On Some Re-discovered Fragments...in the Types of Chepman and Myllar', *PEBS*, ix (1913), 87–9.

ALLISON, A. F. AND D. M. ROGERS, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England: 1558–1640* (Bognor Regis, 1956). (Published in *Biographical Studies* iii, (1956), nos. 3, 4).

BALD, M. A., 'Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland: 1500–1625', *The Scottish Historical Review*, xxiii (1926), 254–67.

BARWICK, G. F., *A Book Bound for Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1901).

BAWCUTT, PRISCILLA, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992).

———, *et. al.*, *Longer Scottish Poems*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1987).

——— (ed.), *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, STS 4th ser., iii (Edinburgh and London, 1967).

BEATTIE, W., *The Chepman and Myllar Prints* (Edinburgh, 1950).

———, 'An Early Printed Fragment of the "Buke of the Howlat", *EBST*, ii (1938–45), pp. 393–7.

———, 'Fragments of the Palyce of Honour', *EBST*, iii (1951), pp. 33–46.

———, 'Some Early Scottish Books', in *The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honour of Ronald Gordon Cant*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh: St. Andrews University Publications No. LX, 1974), 107–20.

———, 'Two Notes on Fifteenth Century Printing' *EBTS*, iii (1948–55), pp. 75–7.

BLOY, C., *History of Printing Ink* (London, 1967).

BURNET, GILBERT, *Thoughts on Education* (London, 1740).

BUSHNELL, GEORGE H., *From Papyrus to Print*, (London, 1947).

———, 'Portrait of a Bibliophile IV: William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, d. 1497', *The Book Collector*, ix (1960), 19–27.

BIRRELL, T. A., *English Monarchs and their Books*, (London, 1987).

BURNET, GILBERT, *Thoughts on Education* (London, 1740).

BURNS, J. H., 'Three Scots Catholic Critics of George Buchanan', *IR*, i (1950), 92–104.

CALDERWOOD, DAVID, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson, 8 vols. (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842–9).

CAMERON, EUAN K., 'An Early Humanist Edition of Aristotle at St. Andrews', *Bibliotheck*, ix (1976–9), 65–71.

CAMERON, JAMES K., 'Humanism and Religious Life', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), 161–77.

———-, 'A Trilingual College for Scotland', *St. Mary's College Bulletin*, xxxi (1988).

CARLSON, LELAND H., *Martin Marprelate, Gentleman* (San Marino, 1981).

CARNIE, R. H., 'Perth Booksellers and Bookbinders in the Records of the Wright Calling: 1558–1864', *Bibliotheck*, i (1958), 24–39.

CARTER, H., *An Early View of Typography* (Oxford, 1969).

CHAMBERS, R., *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1858).

CHERRY, T. A. F., 'The Library of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, 1560–1565', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), 13–24.

———, 'The Library of St. Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen', *Bibliotheck*, xii (1984), 61–9.

———, 'Two Unrecorded Early Scottish Works', *Bibliotheck*, v (1967–70), 273–6.

CLARKE, M. L., *Classical Education in Britain: 1500–1900* (Cambridge, 1959).

COLEMAN, D. C., *The British Paper Industry: 1495–1860* (Oxford, 1958).

W. J. COUPER, 'George Chalmers's *Historical account of Printing in Scotland*', *Glasgow Bibliographical Society Records*, vii (1923), 62–89.

CLAIR, COLIN, *A History of Printing in Britain* (London, 1965).

———, *Christopher Plantin* (London, 1960).

———, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade Connexions with England and Scotland', *The Library*, 3rd ser., xiv (1959), 28–45.

———, 'Thomas Vautrollier', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1960), 223–8.

CLARKE, M. L., *Classical Education in Britain: 1500–1900* (Cambridge, 1959).

CRANSTOUN, JAMES (ed.), *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, 2 vols., Scottish Text Society, 1st ser. (1889–91).

CUNNINGHAM, I. C., 'Latin Classical MSS. in the National Library of Scotland', *Scriptorium* xxvii (1973), 64–90.

DAVENPORT, C., *Cameo Book-Stamps* (London, 1911).

DAVIDSON, DONALD, 'Influence on the English Printers on the Scottish Reformation', *Records of the Scottish Historical Society*, i (1926), 75–87.

DICKSON, ROBERT, *Introduction of Printing into Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1885).

———, *Who was Scotland's First Printer?* (London, 1881).

DIEHL, EDITH, *Bookbinding, its Background and Technique*, 2 vols. (New York, 1946).

DICKSON, ROBERT, AND J. P. EDMOND, *Annals of Scottish Printing, From the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1890).

DONALDSON, GORDON, *Scotland: James V to James VII* (Edinburgh and London, 1965).

DONALDSON, R., 'An Early Printed Fragment of the "Buke of the Howlat" – Addendum', *EBST*, v (1980–3), 25–8.

———, 'A "Mixed Edition" of "De Verborum Significatione" ', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1962), 2199–20.

———, 'Three More Regent Moray Books', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), 39–43.

DOUGHTY, D. W., 'The Library of James Stewart, Earl of Moray, 1531–70', *IR*, xx (1970), 17–29.

———, 'A Note on Some Old Books Found in the High School of Dundee', *Bibliotheck*, i (1957), 42–6.

———, 'Notes on the Provenance of Books Belonging to Lord James Stewart, Afterwards the Regent Moray, other than those in the University of St. Andrews', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1961), 75–88.

———, 'Notes on the Regent Moray's Books and their Bindings', *Bibliotheck*, vi (1971–3), 65–75.

———, 'Renaissance Books, Bindings, and Owners in St. Andrews and Elsewhere: the Humanists', *Bibliotheck*, vi (1974–5), 117–133.

The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden (1971), p. 226.

DUFF, E. GORDON, 'Notes on a Leaf of an Early Scottish Donatus Printed in Black Letter', *PEBS*, i (1896), 1–3 and facsimiles.

———, 'Scottish Bookbinding, Armorial and Artistic', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, xv (1917–9).

———, 'Some Early Scottish Bookbindings and Collectors', *Scottish Historical Review*, iv (1906–7).

DUNCAN, DOUGLAS, *Thomas Ruddiman* (Edinburgh, 1965).

DUNLOP, ANNIE I., ———, *Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century* (Historical association Pamphlet, No. 124 (London, 1942).

DURKAN, JOHN, 'Addenda to "Further Additions to Durkan and Ross" ', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1982), 57–8.

———, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR*, iv (1953).

———, 'George Buchanan: Some French Connections', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), 66–72.

———, 'Contract Between Clerk and Lekpruik for Printing the Book of Common Order, 1564', *The Bibliotheck*, xi (1983), pp. 129–35.

———, 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland', *IR*, x (1959), 382–439.

———, 'Alexander Dickson and STC 6823', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1961), 183–90.

———, 'Early Humanism and the King's College', *Aberdeen University Review*, xlviii (1980), 259–79.

———, 'The Early Scottish Notary', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, ed. I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 22–40.

———, 'Education: The Laying of Fresh Foundations', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. John MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), 123–60.

———, 'The Early History of Glasgow University Library: 1475–1710', *Bibliotheck*, viii (1976–9), 102–26.

———, 'Giovanni Ferrerio and Religious Humanism in the Sixteenth Century Scotland', *Studies in Church History: Religion and Humanism*, edd. K. Robbins, xvii (Oxford, 1981), 181–94.

———, 'Further Additions to Durkan and Ross: Some Newly Discovered Pre-Reformation Provenances', *Bibliotheck*, x (1981), 87–98.

———, 'David Lauxius', *EBST*, iii (1957), 78–81.

———, 'David Lauxius: A Further Note', *EBST*, iii (1957), 156–7.

———, 'David Lowis or Lauxius of Edinburgh', *Bibliotheck*, iv (1963–6), 200–1.

———, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', *Innes Review*, xxxviii (1987), 71–104.

———, 'The Library of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1961), pp. 97–100. *See* also *Maitland Miscellany*, i, pp. 305, seq.; G. H. Bushnell in Bushnell and Salmond, 'Henderson's Benefaction' (St. Andrews University Publications), pp. 25–48.

———, 'John Major: After 400 Years. The School of John Major: Bibliography', *IR* i (1950), 1–139.

———, 'Native Influences on Buchanan', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreani*, ed. I. D. McFarlane, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, xxxviii (New York, 1986), 31–42.

———, 'The Royal Lecturship under Mary of Lorraine', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxii (1983), 73–8.

———, 'St. Andrews in the John Law Chronicle', in *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1976), 137–50.

———, 'Henry Scrimgeour, Renaissance Bookman', *EBST*, v (1971–4), 1–31.

———, 'Henry Scrimgeour, Fugger Librarian: A Biographical Note', *Bibliotheck*, iii (1960), 68–70.

———, 'Scottish Evangelicals in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xxi.

———, '*The Trompet of Honour* (Edinburgh?, 1537)', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1982), 1–2.

———, *William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow*, reprinted from *IR*, ii (1951), with bibliography and index: Scottish Catholic Historical Committee (Glasgow, 1951).

——— (ed.), *The Protocol Book of John Foular*, (Edinburgh, 1985).

DURKAN, JOHN, AND WILLIAM BEATTIE, 'An Early Publication of the Latin Poems of George Buchanan in Scotland from the Press of Lekpreuik', *Bibliotheck*, xi (1983), 77–80.

DURKAN, JOHN, AND JAMES KIRK, *The University of Glasgow: 1451–1577* (Glasgow, 1977).

DURKAN, JOHN, AND ANTHONY ROSS, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961). A revised edition of 'Early Scottish Libraries', *IR* ix (1958).

DURKAN, JOHN, AND JULIAN RUSSELL, 'Further Additions (including Manuscripts) to J. Durkan and A. Ross *Early Scottish Libraries* at the National Library of Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, xii (1985), 85–90.

———, 'John Grierson's book-List', *IR*, xxviii (1977), 39–49.

DURKAN, JOHN, AND W. S. WATT, 'Adam Mure's *Laudes Gulielmi Elphinstoni*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, xxviii (1979), 199–233.

———, 'George Hay's *Oration* and the purging of King's College, Aberdeen', *Northern Scotland*, vi, 97–112.

EDMOND, J. P., 'Bibliographical Gleanings, 1890–1893; Being Additions and Corrections to *Annals of Scottish Printing*, *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Proceedings*, i (1894).

———, 'Notes on the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers: 1577–1603', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Proceedings*, i, 15 (1893), 1–8.

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ed. G. Burnett (Edinburgh, 1883).

FERGUSON, F. S., 'Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (—1640), *The Library*, 4th ser., viii (1928), 145–98.

FOX, D., 'Manuscripts and Prints of Scots Poetry in the Sixteenth Century', in *Bards and Makars*, ed. A. J. Aitken, *et. al.* (Glasgow, 1977).

GALBRAITH, J. D., 'The Sources of the Aberdeen Breviary' (Aberdeen University M.Litt. thesis, 1970).

GASKELL, P., *A Bibliography of the Foulis Press*, (London, 1964).

———, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972).

GEDDIE, WILLIAM, *A Bibliography of Early Scottish Poets*, STS, 1st ser., 61 (Edinburgh and London, 1912).

GILBERT, J., 'The Unusual Money of Scotland and Exchange Rates against Foreign Coin', in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland*, ed. D. M. Metcalf (London, British Arch. Reports 45, 1977).

GOLDSCHMIDT, E. P., *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbinding*, 2 vols. (London, 1928).

GOODARE, JULIAN, 'Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude', *IR*, xxxviii (1987), 154–70.

GRANT, JAMES, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland* (London and Glasgow, 1876).

GUMUCHIAN ET CIE, LIBRAIRIE, *Catalogue de reliures du xve au xixe siècle* (Paris, 1929).

HALYBURTON, ANDREW, *Ledgers of Andrew Halyburton*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1867).

HAMER, D., 'The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay', *The Library*, 4th ser., x (1929). Also reprinted in D. Hamer, *The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay (1490–1555)*, (London, 1929).

HAY, G., AND D. MCROBERTS, 'Rossdhu Church and its Book of Hours', *IR*, xvi (1965), 3–17.

HEIDTMANN, PETER, 'A Bibliography of Henryson, Dunbar, and Douglas: 1912–68', *Chaucer Review*, v (1970), pp. 55–82.

HILL, G. H., *The Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1920).

HOBSON, G. D., *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, (Cambridge, 1929).

———, 'Further Notes on the Binding of the Haye Manuscript', *PEBS*, xiv (1926–38), 89–97.

———, 'Parisian Binding 1500–1525', *Library*, 4th ser., xi (1931).

HOWELL, W. S., *Logic and Rhetoric in England: 1500–1700* (Princeton, 1956).

JACK, R., *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1972).

JACKSON, W. A., 'Robert Waldegrave and the Books he Printed or Published in 1603', *Library*, 5th ser., xiii (1958), 225–33.

The Poems of James VI of Scotland, ed. James Cragie, 2 vols, STS 3rd ser., 22 (Edinburgh and London, 1955).

Minor Prose Works of King James VI & I, ed. James Cragie, STS 4th ser., 14 (Edinburgh, 1982).

Work of James VI (1616), preface, edited by R. H. MacDonald.

JENKINSON, F. J. H., 'Note on a Volume from the Library of the Dominicans of Dundee', *PEBS*, vi (1901), 181–4.

JOHNSTON, G. P., 'Note on a Unique Tract: Compassio Beate Marie', *EBST*, xiv (1930), pp. 99–118.

JUDGE, C. B., *Elizabethan Book-Pirates* (1934).

KEMP, M., AND C. FARROW, 'Humanism in the Visual Arts', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), 32–47.

BROTHER KENNETH, 'The Popular Literature of the Scottish Reformation', *IR*, x (1959), 295–310.

KNOX, JOHN, *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. James K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1972).

LAING, D., 'An Account of the Scottish Psalter of 1566', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vii (1867–8).

——— (ed.), 'A History of the Estate of Scotland from July 1558–April 1560' in *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society* (Edinburgh: The Wodrow Society, 1844), 51–85.

LEE, JOHN, *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1826).

LE FANU, W. R., 'Thomas Vautrollier: Printer and Bookseller', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, xx (1959–64), 12–25.

LINDSAY, DAVID, *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: 1490–1555*, ed. D. Hamer, 4 vols., (Edinburgh, 1931–6).

'A List of Fifteenth Century Books in the University Library of Aberdeen', *EBST*, xiii (1925).

LYALL, R. J., 'Books and Book-Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain*, ed. J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1990), 239–56.

LYNCH, MICHAEL, 'Introduction' in 'Mary Stewart, Queen in Three Kingdoms', *Innes Review*, xxxviii (1987), 1–29.

———, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991).

———, 'Calvinism in Scotland, 1559–1638' in *International Calvinism 1541–1715*, edited by Menna Prestwich (Oxford, 1985), pp. 225–55.

MCCRIE, THOMAS, *The Life of Andrew Melville*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1819).

MACDONALD, A., 'The Bannatyne Manuscript: A Marian Miscellany', *IR* (1986).

MACDONALD, R. H. (ed.), *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1971).

MCFARLANE, I. D., *George Buchanan* (London, 1981).

———, 'George Buchanan's *Franciscanus* – the History of a Poem', *Journal of European Studies*, iv (1974), 126–39.

MACFARLANE, L. J., *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom and Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1985).

———, 'William Elphinstone's Library', *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxvii (1957–8), 253–71.

———, 'Was the Scottish Church Reformable by 1513?' in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408–1929*, ed. Norman MacDougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 23–43.

MCROBERTS, DAVID, 'Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments', *IR*, iii (1952) 49–63.

———, *Catalogue of Scottish Litiurgical Books and Fragments* (Glasgow, 1953). This is a revised (and renumbered) version of the article in *Innes Review*, listed above.

MAXWELL, ALEXANDER, *The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register with additions from Contemporary Annuals*, (Edinburgh and Dundee, 1884).

MELVILLE, JAMES, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Wodrow Soc., Edinburgh, 1842).

MENZIES, W. B., 'Some Early Bookbindings in the Aberdeen University Library', *Aberdeen University Review*, xxv (1937–8).

MILLER, J. F., 'Blind Harry's "Wallace" ', in *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, iii (1915), 1–25.

MITCHELL, W. S., 'Aberdeen Corner-Square Bindings', *Apollo*, liii (1951), 17–20.

———, *A History of Early Scottish Bookbinding 1432–1650* (Aberdeen University Studies No. 134: Edinburgh and London, 1955).

Monumenta Almae Universitatis Glasguensis, ed. C. Innes, 4 vols., (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1854).

MORRIS, JOHN, 'Thomas Thomas, Printer to the University of Cambridge: 1583–8', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv (1964–8), 339–62.

MUIRHEAD, I. A., 'A Quignonez Breviary', *IR*, xiv (1963), 74–5.

MURRAY, DAVID, 'Some Early Grammars and other School Books in Use in Scotland More Particularly at or Relating to Glasgow, 2 parts, *Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, xxxvi (Glasgow, 1905–6).

OLDHAM, J. B., *Shrewsbury School Library Bindings* (Oxford, 1943).

PADLEY, G. A., *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976).

PAFORT, E., 'A Group of Early Tudor School-Books, *The Library*, 4th ser., xxvi (1946), 227–61.

PHILLIPS, J. E., 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xii (1948), 23–56.

PICK, FRANZ, AND RENÉ SÉDILLOT, *All the Monies of the World: A Chronicle of Currency Values*, (New York, 1971).

PLOMER, H. R., 'The Edinburgh Edition of Sidney's "Arcadia" ', *Library*, i (1900), 195–205.

POLLARD, H. G., 'Changes in the Style of Bookbinding, 1550–1830', *Library*, xi, 1956, 71–94.

The Taill of Rauf Coilyear, ed. W. Beattie (Edinburgh: NLS Keppie facs. 1, 1966).

RIDLEY, F. H., 'Middle Scots Writers', in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, ed. A. E. Hartung, iv (New Haven, 1973).

RINGLER, W. A., JR., *Bibliography and Index of English Verse Printed 1476–1558* (London and New York, 1988).

——— (ed.), *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1962).

ROBERTSON, DONALD, 'A Packet of Books for Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, vi (1971–3), 52–3.

ROBINS, R. H., *Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe* (London, 1951).

ROW, J., *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842).

ROSS, A. P., 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars: 1481–1560', *IR*, xx (1969), 3–36.

———, 'Notes on the Religious Orders', in *Reformation Essays*, ed. David McRoberts, 210–1.

SADLER, RALPH, *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. A. Clifford, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1809).

SCHEPS, WALTER, AND J. ANNA LOONEY, *Middle Scots Poets: A Reference Guide to James I, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas* (Boston, 1986).

SCOTT, W. R., 'Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union', *Scottish Historical Revue*, iii (1905).

'Scots Carmelites and the French Reform', *IR*, v (1954), 141–3.

SHARMAN, J., *The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1889).

SHIRE, HELENA, *Song, Dance, and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969).

SIMPSON, G., *Scottish Handwriting: 1150–1650* (Edinburgh, 1973).

SIMPSON, W. D., 'An Armorial Bookbinding of Bishop William Stewart', *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin*, vi (1925–8).

SINCLAIR, DAVID, 'The Testament of Sir David Synclar of Swynbrocht', in *Bannatyne Miscellany*, iii, 107–10.

STEVENSON, J. H., 'The Fifteenth Century Scots Binding of the Haye Manuscript', *PEBS*, vi (1901–4), 77–82.

UPTON, CHRISTOPHER, 'Studies in Scottish Latin', Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews (1984).

VERVLIET, H. D. L., *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam, 1968).

VOET, LEON, *The Golden Compasses*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969–72).

———, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589)*, 6 vols. (amsterdam, 1980–3).

WARNER, G. F., *Library of James VI: 1573–1583* (1893).

WATERSTON, R., 'Early Paper Making near Edinburgh', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxv (1945), 55–60.

———, 'Further Notes on Early Paper Making near Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxvii (1949), 44–7.

WATSON, FOSTER, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (London, 1908 [Reprinted 1968]).