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RESEARCH NOTES

Ian Campbell

An ‘Inventair of som of the earill of Dunfermline his buiks in Pinkie June 1625’: a fragment of the library of Alexander Seton (1555–1622)

At ‘A New Platform for Scottish Renaissance Studies’ – a conference held at Perth, October 2013, in memory of Charles McKean – Dr Shannon Fraser of the National Trust for Scotland gave a paper on Fyvie Castle that referred to specific books belonging in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to its owner, Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie, later the first earl of Dunfermline.¹ This aroused my interest since in a paper at the same conference I had argued that the plan and architectural details of Careston Castle in Angus demonstrated the strong likelihood that pattern books by [Jean-Jacques](#) Androuet du Cerceau were circulating in Scotland by the 1590s.² Dr Fraser, and Professor Michael Bath (also at the conference), told me of the existence of the inventory, which is the subject of this paper, among the Crawford Papers in the National Library of Scotland, and Professor Bath subsequently sent me his paper which refers to the French translation of Philostratus listed in the inventory as a source for some of the images in the painted ceiling of the gallery at Pinkie.³

Having obtained permission to look at the inventory, I began combing it for works on architectural or antiquarian subjects but, given its relative shortness, quickly decided to transcribe the whole to make it available to other scholars. In reply to my request to publish the inventory, however, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres pointed out that Professor Peter Davidson was about to do just that, and the latter’s very fine article appeared last year.⁴ The article provides a listing of the contents of the inventory, and brilliantly sets it in the context of Seton’s life and contemporary Scotland. Professor Davidson nevertheless does not claim to have said the last word on the inventory in his article, which was done under tight time constraints: his listing in Appendix 1 is selective and sometimes only gives the author’s name, omitting the name of the work and its size (e.g. item 4 below). In some cases our readings differ by

one letter, leading to very different identifications (e.g. item 51). In subsequent discussions, he has very generously allowed me to build on his foundations. Rather than only highlighting where our interpretations differ, it seemed more useful to publish the whole inventory giving as full a transcription as possible, so that readers do not have to switch between his and the present article. Nevertheless, I would urge anyone who finds this article first to read it in conjunction with Professor Davidson's so that they have the full context, since I will confine my remarks to matters immediately pertaining to the inventory.

The inventory is written on the recto and verso of a sheet of paper 32 cm long and 22 cm wide, with a central horizontal fold and five other folds each about 5.5 cm apart.⁵ The books are listed in columns corresponding to the folds in a hand identified as that of David Lindsay (1587–1642, created Lord Lindsay of Balcarres in 1633), who had married Alexander Seton's daughter, Sophia, in 1612 (figs 1 and 2).⁶ Lindsay does not always give both the author and the book title, but he nearly always specifies the numbers of volumes and their size, which allows one to make reasonably educated guesses about which works and even which edition Seton owned, although of course these must in most cases remain conjecture in the absence of other corroborating information. ~~Two items appear to be manuscripts (items 12 and 81), but otherwise only three items have defied identification (items 79, 80, 83).~~ The inventory lists 127 different works, many of which have more than one volume making 178 volumes in all of which 99 are folios (c. 30 × 48 cm), 32 quartos (c. 24 × 30 cm), 43 octavos (15 × 23 cm), one duodecimo (c. 12.5 × 19 cm) one sextodecimo (10 × 17 cm) and two of unknown size. Two items appear to be manuscripts (items 12 and 81). There is a loose grouping by subject but some categories occur more than once, and occasionally works appear which seem to be out of place both for their subject and their size (e.g. item 62).

The purpose of the inventory, made three years after Seton's death, is unclear. Lindsay specifies that it lists only *some* of the books at Pinkie. Davidson's suggestion, that it represents the contents of one room is attractive, and would account for why so few Greek and Latin classics are represented, although one cannot discount the possibility that the rest of the library at Pinkie had already been dispersed.

The majority of the works are in Latin, followed by twenty four in French, seventeen in Greek (but in most cases probably editions with accompanying Latin translations), twelve in English and nine in Italian. Scottish authors are few – only

James VI's works (item 89); William Barclay's *De potestate pape* (item 95); Thomas Dempster's revision of Giovanni Rosini's *Antiquitates* (item 87); and, if Peter Davidson's identification of the Codex Sconensis' (item 12) is right, Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*.⁷ One item, the *Rates of Marchandizes* (item 120) may have been printed in Edinburgh although similar quarto editions were also published in London and Dublin.

Seton's faith is represented by over fifty volumes of theology, church history and spiritual reading. Most of the early and medieval Church fathers appear in one collection (item 20) with a few editions of individual Latin (items 27 and 30) and Greek (items 9, 21–24), patristic authors and of Philo of Alexandria (items 16–17). Aquinas (item 26) is the only medieval theologian in an uncollected edition, although Durand's *Rationale* is also present (item 75). Contemporary theology and apologetics are mainly represented by the works of Robert Bellarmine and Carolus Scribanus (items 28 and 74). Baronius' *Annals* are the major works of church history (items 13 and 62) though there is also Bede's history of the English church (41) and Jan Gruter's compendium of ecclesiastical chronicles (item 80). There are also four contemporary Catholic devotional works (items 104, 108–9, 111), comprising seventeen volumes, and eight volumes of Plantin's great polyglot bible (item 19).

Geography is absent apart from one work although it does cover the world (item 1), and ancient history fares little better with only Dion Cassius (106) and a French translation of Livy (item 8), though Sabellico's two-volume universal history (item 2) would be a useful reference work. Post-antique there are Holinshed's chronicles of Britain and Ireland (item 6), histories of Spain and the Turks (items 122–123), and Jan Gruter's compendium of chronicles (item 79). There are a few antiquarian works, including Fulvio Orsini's *Illustrium imagines* (item 112) and ~~equally~~ Guillaume du Choul's *Discours* (item 65) which includes illustrations of temples, Roman baths and military camps.

Most of the Latin poets were collected together in the 1603 *Corpus omnium veterum poetarum* (item 61), but a few appear in their own editions, along with other literary authors (items 24, 31, 33, 76–78, 99–100). Modern humanist literature includes the works of Paolo Giovio (item 7), Angelo Poliziano (item 39), Thomas More (item 42) and Aretino (item 98, assuming Pietro is meant).

Architectural works include the treatises of Palladio (item 50) and Serlio (item 52) as well as those specifically on military architecture by de' Marchi item (56) and by

Durer (his very rare *De Urbibus* (item 51). Du Cerceau's handbook on perspective (53) is filled with architectural illustrations, and Seton also had his survey of the principal French royal and aristocratic seats, *Les Plus excellents bastiments* (item 55). The presence of a folio volume listed as *Antiquitates Romanae Italica* (item 54) is almost certainly an illustrated volume of ancient Roman buildings, rather than, as one might think, an Italian translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman antiquities*). Vitruvius' definition of architecture as comprising three parts – building, the making of sundials, and machines – accounts for the architectural books being grouped with several on sundials, timekeeping, geometry and mathematics (items 43–49). These along with several outliers including item 35, Scaliger's *De Emendatione temporum* no doubt reflect James VI's move for Scotland to adopt the Gregorian calendar, which resulted in January 1 becoming the start of the New Year in 1600.

Six or seven works deal with military topics, both ancient (items 69 and 73) and modern (items 91–2), while around eight concern modern statecraft, including speeches (item 117) and letters of politicians (item 85) and collections of the laws of England (items 82 and 94) or the acts of the *parlement* of Paris (item 93).

A few works may be at Pinkie because it was Seton's *villa suburbana*, including Gerard's *Herbal* (item 121), Oppian's books on hunting and fishing (item 114), and a modern book on falconry (item 66). Two works are of hermetic interest, one on the Rosicrucianism (item 96) and one on alchemy (item 118).

Lastly, we must mention the presence of several encyclopaedic works which even alone would have furnished Seton with a decent reference library, including Raffaele Maffei's *Commentaria urbana* (included in his *opera* (item 3) Photius' *Bibliotheca* (item 14); Zwinger's five-volume *Theatrum vitae humanae* (item 32), and Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* (item 124), even if the most obvious one, Pliny's *Natural History*, is absent.

It is hoped that this brief overview will stimulate deeper investigation into the fragment of Alexander Seton's library, which confirm the claims of his biographers that he was an immensely cultured and cosmopolitan Renaissance man.⁸

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THE TRANSCRIPTION

The numbers in the left column are my addition. The middle column of the table below attempts to transcribe the folio as faithfully as possible. Items marked in bold are additions to Davidson's Appendix 1. Only major variations in readings between Davidson and here are signalled. The suggested editions in the right column are based on the size and number of the volumes given in the transcription. Again, only major differences between Davidson's suggestions in Appendix 2 and those here are given.

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Crawford Personal Papers,
Acc. 9769/14 /2 /2

	Transcription	Suggested edition
	[fol. 1r, col. 2]	
	Inventair of som of the earill of Dunfermeline his buiks in Rinkie Pinkie June 1625	
	[fol. 1r, col. 4]	
	Inventair of som of the Earill of Dunfermeline his buiks in Pinkie June 1625	
1.	La cosmographie de Belleforrest . 3 . vol . fol ^o .	<i>La Cosmographie Universelle, contenant la situation de toutes les parties du monde . . . Augmentée, ornée & enrichie par F. de Belleforest</i> (Paris, 1575), 2 vols in 3. ^[9]
2.	Sabellici Æneados . 2 . vol. fol ^o .	<i>Rapsodie historiarum enneadum Marci Antonij Coccij Sabellici ab orbe condito pars prima quinque complectens enneades premissis earundem repertorijs auctis & recognitis ab Ascensio cum authoris epitomis</i> (Paris [1513]), 2 vols.
3.	Raphaelis Volaterrani Opera . fol ^o .	<i>Raphaelis Volaterrani opera. Quibus praeter commentaria vrbana, accessere nonnulla opuscula lectu dignissima. Omnia hac nouissima editione emendatissima, & nitori suo genuino restitute</i> (Lyons 1599). ^[10]
4.	Polydori vergilii Adagiorum liber . fol ^o .	<i>Polydori Vergilii Vrbianis Adagiorum liber . . .</i> (Basle, 1521).
5.	Idem de Inventione rerum . fol^o.	Polydore Vergil, <i>De rerum inventoribus libri octo . . .</i> (Basle, 1525)
6.	The Historie of Britain by	<i>The . . . chronicles, comprising 1. the</i>

	Hollinshed . 2 . vol. fol ^o .	<i>description and historie of England, 2. the description and historie of Ireland, 3. the description and historie of Scotland... by Raphaell Holinshed . . .</i> (London, 1586–7), 3 vols in 2.
7.	Paulus Jovius . 2 . vol. fol ^o .	<i>Pauli Iovii novocomensis opera quotquot extant Omnia . . .</i> (Basle, 1578), 2 vols. ^[11]
8.	Tite Live en françois par viginere . 2 vol. fol^o.	<i>Les Decades qui se trouvent de Tite Live, mises en Langue Francoise: la première, par B. de Vigenere . . .</i> (Paris, 1583), 2 vols (reprinted 1615–17).
9.	D. Basilii magni opera . fol ^o .	<i>Omnia D. Basilii Magni archiepiscopi Caesareae Cappadociae, quae ad nos extant, opera . . .</i> (Basle [1552]).
10.	Theatrum genealogicum . fol ^o .	<i>Theatrum genealogicum ostentans omnes omnium aetatum familias . . . , ingenio et labore M. Hieronymi Henninges . . .</i> (Magdeburg, 1597), 4 vols. ^[12]
11.	Genealogia Romanorum Imperatorum fol ^o .	Andreas Angelus, <i>Genealogia Imperatorum ac regum aliorum . . . ab Adamo usque ad annum M.D.LV.</i> (Rome, [1555?]).
12.	Codex sconenis . fol ^o .	Probably ‘Brechtin’ manuscript of the Scotichronicon, now National Records of Scotland, MS. GD 45/26/48 ^[13]
13.	Annales Baronii . 5 . vol. fol ^o .	C. Baronius, <i>Annales ecclesiastici . . .</i> (Antwerp, 1589–1607), 12 vols. ^[14]
14.	Photii Bibliotheca . fol ^o .	<i>Bibliothēkē tou Photiou. Librorum quos legit Photius patriarcha excerpta et censurae . . . David Hoescheli . . . primus edidit . . .</i> (Augsburg, 1601).
15.	Icones animalium . fol ^o . ^[15]	<i>Icones Animalium . . quae in Historia Animalium C. Gesneri describuntur</i> (Zurich, 1553). ^[16]
16.	Philojudeus in libros Mosis . fol ^o .	<i>Philonos Ioudaiou eis ta tou Moseos kosmopoietika, istorika, nomothetika. Tou autou monobibla. Philonis Iudaei in libros Mosis de mundi opificio, historicos, de legibus. Eiusdem libri singulars</i> (Paris, 1552).
17.	Eiusdem Lucubrationes.	[<i>Philonis Iudaei . . . Lucubrationes omnes quotquot haberi potuerunt nunc primum Latinae ex Graecis factae, per S. Gelenium, etc.</i>] (Basle, 1561).
18.	Stobæus . fol ^o .	Johannes Stobaeus, <i>Sententiae : ex thesauris Graecorum delectae . . . Huic editioni accesserunt . . . eclogarum physicarum et ethicarum libri duo</i> (Geneva, 1609). ^[17]
19.	Biblia regia . 5 . vol. cum	<i>Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece,</i>

	eorundem apparatu . 3 . vol. fol ^o .	& Latine [ed. by B. Arias Montanus] (Antwerp, 1569–73), 8 vols.
20.	Bibliotheca patrum . 7 vol. fol ^o .	<i>Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum supra ducentos, qua continentur, . . . illustr. per M. de la Bigne</i> (Paris, 1575), 8 vols.
21.	Chrisostomi opera . 5 . vol. fol ^o .	<i>Joannis Chrysostomi opera latine, tomis V comprehensa</i> (Basle, 1521–1522), 5 vols. ^[18]
22.	Cyrillus . fol ^o .	<i>Diui Cyrilli . . . opera omnia, duobis tomis comprehensa</i> (Paris, 1572; reprinted 1604/5).
23.	Origenis opera . fol ^o	<i>Origenis Adamantii Magni illius et vetusti scripturarum interpretis et secundi ecclesiae post apostolos magistri. Opera</i> (Paris, 1604), 3 vols in 1.
[fol. 1r col. 5]		
24.	Clemens Alexandrinus græcolatinus . fol ^o .	<i>Clementis Alexandrini omnia quae quidem extant opera, nunc primum è tenebris eruta latinitateque donata / Gentiano Herueto Aurelio interprete</i> (Florence, 1551).
25.	Historia patrum . fol ^o .	Renatus Laurentius La Barre, <i>Historia Christiana Veterum Patrum . . .</i> (Paris, 1583).
26.	Summa Thomae . 3 . vol. fol ^o .	<i>Diui Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici ordinis fratrum praedicatorum totius theologiae summa, in tres partes digesta</i> (Lyon, 1588), 3 vols.
27.	Ambrosii opera . fol ^o .	<i>Diui Ambrosii . . . omnia opera, per eruditos viros emendata</i> [ed. by Erasmus] (Paris, 1529).
28.	Bellarmini opera . fol ^o vol.	<i>Opera omnia Roberti Bellarmini . . .</i> (Cologne, 1617–1620), 7 vols.
29.	Chronographia Genebrardi . fol ^o .	<i>Gilberti Genebrardi theologi Parisiensis . . . chronographiae libri quatuor . . . ab . . . 1584 . . . ad . . . 1609 . . .</i> (Lyon, 1609), 2 pts in 1 vol.
30.	Tertulliani opera . fol ^o .	<i>Opera Tertvlliani et Arnobii / omnia stvdio et labore Renati Lavrentii de La Barre . . .</i> (Paris, 1580).
31.	Les Tableaux de plate peinture de Philostrate . par viginere . fol ^o .	<i>Les images, ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrates . . . et Les statutes de Callistrate. Mis en fr. par B. de Vigenère . . .</i> (Paris, 1614).
32.	Theatrum vitae humanae . 5 vol. fol ^o .	<i>Theatrum humanae vitae Theodori Zuingeri Bas, tertiatione nouem</i>

		<i>voluimibvs [sic] locupletatum, interpolatum, renouatum / Jacobi Zvingeri fil. (Basle [1604]), 30 vols in 5.</i>
33.	Philostrati opera . fol ^o .	<i>Philostrati . . . opera quæ exstant. Philostrati iunioris Imagines et Callistrati Ecphrases. Item Eusebii Cæsariensis episcopi liber contra Hieroclem . . . (Paris, 1608).</i>
34.	Athenaeus . fol ^o .	<i>Athanei Deipnosophistarum libri quindecim, cum Iacobi Dalechampii Cadomensis Latina interpretation. Editio postrema. In qua . . . adiectae sunt margini ex . . . Casavboni in auctorem Animaduersionum libris XV . . . (Lyon, 1612).</i>
35.	Scaliger de Emendatione temporum . fol ^o .	<i>Iosephi Scaligeri Ivl. Caesaris F. Opvs novvm de emendatione temporvm in octo libros tribvtvm (Paris, 1583).</i>
36.	Clavius de horologiis . fol ^o .	<i>Gnomonices libri octo : in qvibus, non solum horologiorum solarium, sed aliarum quoque rerum . . . avctore Christophoro Clavio Bambergensi Societatis Jesu (Rome, 1581).^[19]</i>
37.	Osorius . 3 . vol. fol ^o .	<i>H. Osorii . . . Opera omnia, H. Osorii nepotis . . . diligentia in unum collecta, etc. (Rome, 1592), 4 vols.</i>
38.	Rodolphus Hispinianianus de origine templorum . fol ^o .	<i>De origine, progressu, vsu, et abusu templorum, ac rerum omnium ad templa pertinentium libri V / Auctore Rodolpho Hospiniano Tigurino (Zurich, 1587).</i>
39.	Angeli Politiani opera . fol ^o .	<i>Angeli Politiani opera . . . quibus accessit Historia de coniuratione Pactiana . . . (Basle, 1553).</i>
40.	Antiquitatum convivalium . lib. 3 . fol ^o . ^[20]	<i>Johann Wilhelm Stuck, Antiquitatum conuiuialium libri III. in quibus Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Romanorum aliarumque nationum antiqua conuiuiorum genera, mores, consuetudines, ritus ceremoniæq; conviviales atque etiam alia explicantur, (Zurich, 1597; 1st edn 1582).</i>
41.	Historia ecclesiastica Angliæ Bedæ . fol^o.	<i>Ecclesiasticae historiae gentis Anglorum libri quinque . . . Beda Anglosaxone authore (Antwerp, 1550).</i>
42.	Thomæ Mori opera . fol ^o .	<i>Thomæ Mori Angli . . . omnia . . . latina opera . . . (Leuven, 1565).</i>
43.	Clavii Astrolabium . 4 ^o .	<i>Christophori Clavii . . . Astrolabium (Rome, 1593).</i>
44.	Orontius de Horologiis . 4 ^o .	<i>Orontij Finei Delphinatis . . . De solaribus</i>

		<i>horologiis, & quadrantibus, libri quatuor . . .</i> (Paris [1560]).
45.	Theodosii Tripolitæ Sphæri rerum lib . 3 . 4 ^o .	<i>Theodosij Tripolitæ sphaericorum libri iii [transl.] a C. Clauio demonstrationibus . . .</i> (Rome, 1586).
46.	Algebra Clavii .	<i>Algebra Christophori Clavii</i> (Rome, 1608) (4 ^o)
47.	Mechanicorum liber . fol ^o .	[Guidobaldo Del Monte] <i>Guidi Ubaldi e Marchionibus Montis Mechanicorum Liber</i> (Pesaro, 1577)
48.	Apollinii Pergæi Conicorum lib . 4 . fol ^o .	<i>Conicorum libri quatuor . . . e Graeco conuertit, & commentariis illustrauit. Apollonius, Pergaeus</i> (Bologna, 1566).
Fol. 1r, col. 6		
49.	Euclides Candallo . fol ^o .	<i>Euclidis . . . Elementa geometrica, libris xv. His accessit decimus sextus liber, authore Fr. Flussate Candalla</i> (Paris, 1566).
50.	Architectura di Palladio . fol ^o .	Andrea Palladio, <i>Quattro libri dell'Architettura</i> (Venice, 1570).
51.	Albert Dureri de urbibus . fol ^o . ^[21]	<i>Alberti Dureri Pictoris et architecti praestantissimi De vrbibus, arcibus, castellisque condendis, nunc recens è lingua Germanica in Latinam traductae</i> (Paris, 1535). ^[22]
52.	Architectura di sebastiano Serlio . fol ^o .	Probably S. Serlii . . . <i>de Architectura libri quinque . . . a J. C. Saraceno ex Italica in Latinam linguam . . . conversi . . .</i> (Venice, 1569).
53.	Leçons de perspective positive . fol ^o .	<i>Leçons de perspective positive par Jaques Androuet du Cerceau architecte</i> (Paris, 1576).
54.	Antiquitates Romanæ Italicæ . fol ^o .	Gilles Sadeler, <i>Vestigi delle antichita di Roma, Tivoli, Pozzolo et altri lvochi</i> (Prague, 1606). ^[23]
55.	Les Bastiments de France . fol^o.	Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents bastiments de France</i> (Paris, 1576–79), 2 vols but often bound into 1.
56.	Architectura de Marchii . fol ^o .	Francesco de Marchi, <i>Della Architettura Militare . . . libri tre</i> (Brescia, 1599).
57.	Tableaux de tous les arts liberaux . fol ^o .	Christofle de Savigny, <i>Tableaux accomplis de tous les arts libéraux</i> (Paris, 1587).
58.	Theoricae planetarum Purbachii . 8 ^o .	Georg von Peurbach, <i>Theoricae novae planetarum . . . Francisci Maurolyci computus ecclesiasticus, siue, de ratione anni. Henrici Glareani, Helvetii, de geographia, vel, rudimentorum</i>

		<i>mathematicorum, liber unus . . .</i> (Cologne, 1591).
59.	Le grand lapidaire . 12 ^o . ^[24]	John Mandeville, <i>Le grand lapidaire ou sont declarez les noms des pierres orientalles</i> (Paris, 1561). ^[25]
60.	Blundovils Theoriks . 4 ^o .	Thomas Blundeville, <i>The theoriques of the seuen planets . . . Now more plainly set forth in our mother tongue . . .</i> (London, 1602).
61.	Corpus Poetarum . 2 vol. 4 ^o .	Pierre de Brosse (ed). <i>Corpus omnium veterum poetarum Latinorum secundum seriem temporum . . .</i> (Lyon, 1603), 2 vols.
62.	Baronii opera . fol ^o .	<i>Annales ecclesiastici ex XII tomis Caesaris Baronii . . . in epitomen redacti, opera Henrici Spondani</i> (Mainz, 1614)
63.	Praxis Politica . 4 ^o .	‘Philippus Honorius’ [Justus Bellus] <i>Praxis prudentiae politicae . . . Opus collectum ex Italicis . . . nunc Latine simul & Italice editum</i> (Frankfurt, 1610).
64.	Monstrorum historia .	Johann Georg Schenck, <i>Monstrorum historia memorabilis</i> (Frankfurt, 1609).
65.	Discours sur les medails . 4 ^o .	Guillaume du Choul, <i>Discours de la religion des anciens Romains, de la castramentation & discipline militaire d’iceux : Des bains & antiques exercitations grecques & romaines ... Illustré de medailles & figures retirées des marbres antiques . . .</i> (Lyon, 1567).
66.	La fauconnerie de plusieurs . 4 ^o .	<i>La favconnerie de Iean de Franchieres . . . avec tovs les avtres avthevrs qui se sont peu trouuer traictans de ce subiet. De nouveau reueue, corrigee & augmentée, outre les precedentes impressions</i> (Paris, 1602).
67.	Opera omnia Lypsii .	<i>Justi Lipsii opera omnia quæ ad criticam proprie spectant . . .</i> (Antwerp, 1585).
68.	Traictes de ciphres de Viginere . 4 ^o .	<i>Traicté des chiffres, ou secretes manieres d’escrire par Blaise de Vigenere, Bourbonnois</i> (Paris [1586]).
69.	Onosander par Viginere . 4 ^o .	Onasander, <i>L’art militaire, mis en langue fr. et illustré d’anotations par B. de Vigenère</i> (Paris, 1605).
70.	Remonstrances de messire Jacques de la Guesle . 4 ^o . ^[26]	<i>Les remonstrances de . . . Iacques de la Guesle . . .</i> (Paris, 1611). ^[27]
71.	Bodinii Demonomania . 4 ^o .	Jean Bodin, <i>Demonomania de gli stregoni, cioè fyrori, et malie de’ demoni, col mezo de gli hvomini : diuisa in libri IIII / di Gio. Bodino francese; tradotta dal Kr. Hercole Cato . . .</i> (Venice, 1587). ^[28]

72.	Baifius de re navali et vestiararia . 4 ^o .	<i>Lazari Bayfii annotationes in l. II. de captiuis, & postliminio reuersis: in quibus tractatur de re nauali . . .</i> (Paris, 1549), 2 pts in 1 vol.
73.	Commentaires de Cæsar . par Vigenere . 4 ^o .	<i>Les Commentaires de Cesar des guerres de la Gaule . . . Mis en françois par Blaise de Vigenere . . .</i> (Paris, 1576).
74.	Theatrum honoris Clari Bonarsii . 4 ^o .	[Carolus Scribanius] <i>Clari Bonarscii Amphitheatrum honoris, in quo Caluinistarum in Societatem Iesu</i> (Antwerp, 1605).
[fol 1v col. 1]		
75.	Rationales Durandii . 4^o.	<i>Rationale diuinorum officiorum a Gulielmo Durando . . .</i> (Venice, 1609).
76.	Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica .	<i>Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon libri III. Scholia vetusta . . . [Graece]. Cum annotationibus Henrici Stephani . . .</i> ([Paris] 1574).
77.	Statius cum commento Placidi Lactantii . 4^o.	<i>Papinii Svrcli Statii Opera quae extant : Placidi Lactantii in Thebaida et Achilleida commentarijs . . .</i> (Paris, 1600).
78.	Claudianus cum commento Claveri .	<i>Cl. Claudiani . . . opera, cum annotationibus St. Claverii . . .</i> (Paris, 1602).
79.	Cronicon Polyticum . 2 . vol. 8^o.	Jan Gruter (ed.), <i>Chronicon chronicorum politicum : quo imperatores, reges, duces, principes, marchiones, comites, &c. recensentur</i> (Frankfurt, 1614), 2 vols.
80.	Cronicon Ecclesiasticum . 2 vol. 8^o.	Jan Gruter (ed.), <i>Chronicon chronicorum ecclesiasticum</i> (Frankfurt, 1614), 2 vols.
81.	The Institutiones of the order of the garter . 4 ^o .	Possibly NLS MS. 7143 ^[29]
82.	A collection of the statuts of England . fol ^o .	W. Rastell (ed.), <i>A colleccion of all the statutes of England (from the beginning of Magna Carta unto . . . 1557)</i> (London, 1557).
83.	Registrum brevium . fol^o.	W. Rastell (ed.) <i>Registrum omnium brevium, tam originalium, quàm judicialium . . .</i> (London, 1593; 1st edn 1531).
84.	Harangues Militaires . 2 vol. 8^o.	François de Belleforest, <i>Harangves militaires et concions des princes, capitaines, ambassadevrs, et avtres</i> Seconde edition . . . ([Geneva] 1595), 2 vols.
85.	Del govnero [sic] di regni et republiche . 4^o.	Francesco Tatti Sansovino, <i>Del governo et amministrazione di diuersi regni, et republiche . . .</i> (Venice, 1583).
86.	Discorsi politici di Fabio	<i>De i discorsi politici di Fabio Albergati:</i>

	Albergati . 4°.	<i>libri cinque nei quali viene riprouata la dottrina politica di Gio. Bodino, e difesa quella d'Aristotele . . . (Rome, 1602).</i>
87.	Rosinus Dempsteri . 4°.	<i>Antiquitatum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum: in quo praeter ea quae Ioannes Rosinus delineauerat . . . adduntur . . . Thoma Dempstero . . . auctore. Editio noua (Geneva, 1611)</i>
88.	Ouvertures des parlements . 4°.	<i>Louis d'Orléans, Les ouvertures des Parlements . . . Ausquelles sont adjoustées cinq remonstrances, autrefois faictes en iceluy (Paris, 1607).</i>
89.	K. Jams 6. his works . fol°.	<i>The workes of the most high and mightie prince, James by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. (London, 1616).</i>
90.	Plinii secundi panegiricus . 4°.	<i>Justus Lipsius, Dissertativncvla apvd principes: item C. Plini Panegyricvs liber Traiano divtvs; cum eiusdem Lipsi perpetuo commentario (Antwerp, 1600).^[30]</i>
91.	Theorik and pratique of warr . 4°.	<i>The theorike and practike of moderne vvarres : discoursed in dialogue vwise. VVritten by Robert Barret . . . (London, 1598).^[31]</i>
92.	Martiall Discipline . 4°.	<i>The approoued order of martiall discipline, with euery particuler offycer his offyce and dutie . . . newlie written by Gyles Clayton (London, 1591).^[32]</i>
93.	Placita curiæ Parisiensis . fol°.	<i>Jean de Luc, Placitorum summae apud Gallos curiae libri XII (Paris, 1553).</i>
94.	The Englisch acts of parlament . fol°.	<i>The statutes at large : conteyning all such acts which at any time heretofore haue beene extant in print from Magna Charta, vntill the sixteenth yeere of the raigne of our most gracious soueraigne lord Iames, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland (London [1618]), 2 vols.^[33]</i>
95.	Barclaviis de potestate Papæ . 8°.	<i>William Barclay, De Potestate Papae: An et quatenus in reges et principes seculares ius & imperium habeat: Liber posthumus [edited by John Barclay] (Pont à Mousson, 1609).</i>
96.	Nouhousius de fratribus roseæ crucis . 8° ^[34]	<i>Heinrich Neuhaus, Pia et utilissima admonitio de fratribus Rosæ-Crucis, nimirum, an sint? quales sint? unde nomen illud sibi asciverint? et quo fine</i>

		<i>eiusmodi famam sparserint</i> (Danzig, 1618). ^[35]
97.	Raguaglie di Parnasso . 2 . vol. 8°.	Traiano Boccalini , <i>De' Ragguagli di Parnaso</i> (Milan, 1615), 2 vols.
[fol. 1v, col. 2]		
98.	Aretini opera . 2 . vol. 8 .	³⁶
99.	Scaliger in Ausonium . 8°.	<i>D. Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis . . . opera in meliorem ordinem digesta. Recognita sunt a Ios. Scaligero Iulii Caes. f. et infinitis locis emendata</i> (Heidelberg: Commelinus, 1588).
100.	Idem in Appendicem virgilli	<i>Pvblii Virgilii Maronis Appendix : cum supplemento multorum antehac nunquam excusorum poematum veterum poetarum / Iosephi Scaligeri in eadem appendicem commentarij & castigations</i> (Lyons, 1572).
101.	Friscglini facetiæ . 8°.	Nicodemus Frischlin, <i>Facetiae selectiores</i> (Leipzig, 1600). ^[37]
102.	Pancirolli res memorabiles . 8° . 2 . vol.	<i>G. Panciroli . . . rerum memorabilium libri duo . . . Ex Italico Latine redditi & notis illustrati ab H. Salmuth. Editio secunda</i> (Amberg, 1612), 2 vols.
103.	Reglement des monnoyes . 8°.	<i>Edict du Roy sur le faict et reglement general de ses monnoyes</i> (Paris, 1602).
104.	Vivis excitationes animi ad deum . 16°.	<i>Ioannis Lodouici Viuis Valentini, Excitationes animi in Deum</i> (Basle, 1540).
105.	Lettere di principi . 4°.	Girolamo Ruscelli, <i>Lettere di Principi</i> (Venice, 1562).
106.	Dion Cassius . 8°.	<i>Dionis Cassii . . . Historiæ Romanæ libri xlv</i> [tr. by G. Xylander] (Frankfurt, 1592).
107.	Fulgosii memorabilia . 8°.	Battista Fregoso, <i>Baptistæ Fulgosi de dictis factis memorabilibus collectanea: a Camillo Gilino latina facta</i> (Antwerp, 1565).
108.	Les oeuvres de Camus . 10 vol. 8°	<i>Les Diuersitez de Messire Iean Pierre Camus</i> (Paris, 1614), 10 vols.
109.	Oeuvres de Vair . 5 . vol. 8°.	<i>Les oeuvres du Sr Dv Vair premier president au parlement de Prouence . . . Dernière edition, reueuë & corrigee . . .</i> (Rouen, 1612), 5 vols.
110.	Gnomologia . 8° .	Johannes Buchler, <i>Gnōmologia, seu, Memorabilium cum primis Germanicæ, Gallicæque linguæ, sententiarum, Latino carmine descriptio; præter ænigmata diuersa</i> (Cologne, 1602).
111.	La verité de la religion de Charron . 8°.	Pierre Charron, <i>Les trois veritez. 2^e ed. reueüe, corrigée & augmentée</i> (Bordeaux,

		1595).
112.	Illustrium Imagines . 4°. ^[38]	Theodore Galle, <i>Illustrium imagines ex antiquis marmoribus nomismatib. et gemmis expressæ quæ extant Romæ, maior pars apud Fulvium Vrsinum . . .</i> Antwerp 1606. ^[39]
113.	Pontificum Romanorum Effigies . 8°.	<i>Pontificum Romanorum effigies . . . Opera et studio. Ioannis Baptistae de Cavallerijs collectæ ac typis aeneis incisæ</i> (Rome, 1580).
114.	Opianus de venatione . et Piscatione . 8°.	<i>Oppiani ... de venatione lib. IIII. De piscatu lib. V</i> (Leyden, 1597)
115.	Ayala de jure bellico . 8°.	<i>Balthazaris Ayalæ, I.C. et exercitus Regij apud Belgas supremi iuridici De iure et officiis bellicis et disciplina militari libri III</i> (Douai, 1582).
116.	Paradini symbola heroica . 8°.	<i>Symbola heroica M. Claudii Paradini . . . et D. Gabrielis Symeonis; multo, quàm antea, fidelius de Gallica lingua in Latinam conuersa</i> (Antwerp, 1567).
117.	Harangues aux estats . 8°.	[?] <i>Recueil concernant les Estats, tenus sous plusieurs Roys de France. Avec figure, harangues, ordres et ceremonies obseruées en iceux</i> (Paris, 1614).
118.	Aurum potabile . 8°.	<i>Angeli Salæ Chrysologia seu examen auri chymicum in quo demonstratur, auro nec inesse substantiam aliquam potabilem, nec illud arte spagyrica transmutari posse in substantiam aquosam, oleosam vel salinam; et quid proprie intelligatur per aurum potabile</i> (Hamburg, 1622). ^[40]
119.	Mercurii Gallobelgici opera . 8°.	<i>Mercurius gallobelgicus: sive rerum in Gallia & Belgio potissimum: Hispania quoque, Italia, Anglia, Germania, Polonia, vicinisque locis</i> (Cologne or Frankfurt between 1596 and 1624). ^[41]
120.	The raits of merchandises . 4°.	<i>Rates of merchandizes . . . for payment of . . . customes . . .</i> 4°, printed by Thomas Finlason (Edinburgh, 1611). ^[42]
121.	Gerards herball . fol°.	<i>The Herball Or Generall Historie of Plantes . . . Gathered by John Gerarde</i> (London, 1597).
122.	The historie of Spain . fol°.	<i>The generall historie of Spaine . . . written in French by Levvis de Mayerne Turquet, vnto the yeare 1583: translated into English, and continued vnto these times by Edvvard Grimeston, Esquire</i> (London, 1612).

123.	The Turks historie . folº.	Richard Knolles, <i>The generall historie of the Turkes . . . vntill this present yeare 1603</i> ([London] 1621).
124.	Bibliotheca Gesneri . folº.	Konrad Gesner, <i>Bibliotheca universalis . . .</i> (Zurich, 1545)
125.	Lexicon scapula . folº.	Johann Scapula, <i>Lexicon graecolatinum novum . . .</i> (Basle, 1580).
126.	Syntagma juris canonici Gregorii . folº.	Pierre Gregoire, <i>Iuris canonici sev pontificii partitiones, in quinque libros digestae : Syntagma speciale totivs ecclesiastici iuris futurae</i> (Frankfurt, 1595).
[fol. 1v, col. 3]		
127.	Monumenta Italiae . folº.	Lorenz Schrader, <i>Monumentorum Italiae quæ hoc nostro sæculo et à Christianis posita sunt libri quatuor</i> (Helmstadt, 1592).

¹Shannon M. Fraser, “‘To receive guests with kindness’: symbols of hospitality, nobility and diplomacy in Alexander Seton’s designed landscape at Fyvie Castle”, *Architectural Heritage* 26 (2015), 121–40.

² Ian Campbell, ‘From du Cerceau to du Cerceau: Scottish aristocratic architectural taste, c.1570–c.1750’, *Architectural Heritage* 26 (2015), 55–72.

³ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Crawford Personal Papers, Acc. 9769/14 /2 /2; Michael Bath, ‘Philostratus comes to Scotland: a new source for the pictures at Pinkie’, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 5 (2013), on line at <http://www.northernrenaissance.org/philostratus-comes-to-scotland-a-new-source-for-the-pictures-at-pinkie/> (accessed 26 January 2016).

⁴ Peter Davidson, ‘Alexander Seton, first earl of Dunfermline: his library, his house, his world’, *British Catholic History* 32 (2015), 315–42.

⁵ The sheet is actually composed of two parts, a folio 27.5 cm long with an added strip of 5.5 cm.

⁶ Davidson, ‘Alexander Seton’, 318

⁷ *Ibid.*, 317

⁸ Maurice Lee jun., ‘Seton, Alexander, first earl of Dunfermline (1556–1622)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25113> (accessed 26 January 2016)

⁹ Davidson (‘Alexander Seton’, 333): ‘Cosmographie de Belle’.

¹⁰ Davidson (*ibid.*, 340) suggests *Raphaelis Volaterrani De Institutione Christiana Ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. Libri Octo* (1520).

¹¹ The collected works are the most likely option but other candidates are Giovio’s *Vitae illustrium*

virorum : tomis duobus comprehensae . . . (Basle [1578]); or his *Historiarvm svi temporis tomus primus [et tomus secundus]* (Florence 1550–1552).

¹² The inventory only specifies one volume, rather than four, which may indicate that it was not complete.

¹³ Davidson, ‘Alexander Seton’, 317.

¹⁴ Seton’s set appears to be incomplete but see also item 62 below.

¹⁵ Davidson (‘Alexander Seton’, 334): ‘Icones animarum’.

¹⁶ Or Zurich 1560 and Heidelberg 1606. Based on his reading, Davidson (‘Alexander Seton’, 338) suggests, *Joannis Barclaii Icon animorum* (London, 1614).

¹⁷ Davidson’s suggestion (‘Alexander Seton’, 341), that the author referred to is Joannes Stobaeus is very attractive: his works were originally published as two works, the *Eclogues* and the *Sententiae*, and the 1609 edition is the first to collect them together.

¹⁸ Or *Opera D. Ioannis Chrysostomi, Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, quotquot per Graecorum exemplarium facultatem in Latinam linguam hactenus traduci potuerunt* (Basle, 1558), 5 vols in 4; or *Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opera* (Paris, 1614), 5 vols in 4.

¹⁹ This has been chosen because it is a folio, whereas, the other contenders, Clavius’ *Horologiorum noua description* (Rome, 1599), and his *Compendium brevissimum describendorum horologiorum horizontalium ac declinantium* (Rome, 1603) are both quartos.

²⁰ Davidson (‘Alexander Seton’, 334): ‘Antiquitatu [?] ronvinabium Lib 3, folio’.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 335: ‘Alberti Dureri de orbibus folio’.

²² Davidson’s reading of ‘Urbibus as ‘orbibus’ leads him to suggest the book was Mashallah’s [Messahalal], *De Scientia Motus Orbibus* published in Nuremberg in 1504, with a title woodcut by Dürer.

²³ Davidson (‘Alexander Seton’, 336) suggests either Dionysius of Halicarnassus or Girolamo Francini, *Antiquitates Romanae* (Rome, 1599), which is illustrated with woodcuts. I have argued (see p. oo above) that it is unlikely to be the former from the subject matter of neighbouring books. The Francini suggestion is more attractive but I can find no folio edition of it.

²⁴ Davidson (‘Alexander Seton’, 335): ‘Le Grand Epidaure 12°’

²⁵ But note this edition is octavo rather than duodecimo.

²⁶ Davidson (‘Alexander Seton’, 335): ‘Remonstrances de Mesire Jacques a la g[r]osle 4°’

²⁷ Davidson (*ibid.*, 340), suggests Jacques Faye d’Espeisses, *Les Remonstrances ou harangues faites en la cour de Parlement à Paris aux ouvertures des plaidoyries, par feu M. Jacques Faye* (Paris: N. Lescuyer, 1600).

²⁸ Davidson, (‘Alexander Seton’, 337) suggests a Latin edition: *Io. Bodini Andegavensis De magorum daemonomania libri IV*.

²⁹ Nothing was published on the Garter before Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672); this item must therefore be a manuscript. NLS, MS. 7143 is a presentation copy to James V of the history and rules of the order and probably dates from 1535 when he was made a member of the order.

³⁰ Pliny the Younger's *Panegyric* is rarely printed separately from his letters. One quarto edition was printed in Nuremberg in 1520 but Lipsius' edition seems more probable for Seton to have owned.

³¹ Davidson ('Alexander Seton', 342) suggests Bernardino de Mendoza, *Theorica y practica de Guerra* . . . (Antwerp, 1596).

³² Or *The pathwaie to martiall discipline : deuided into two bookes, verie necessarie for young souldiers, or for all such as loueth the profession of armes* . . . (London [1585]), 4^{to}.

³³ This seems the most likely candidate, even though there ought to be two volumes listed in the inventory.

³⁴ Davidson, ('Alexander Seton', 335): '[?]Nenhensius de fratribus roseae crucis'.

³⁵ Davidson (*ibid.*, 339) suggests Johann Valentin Andreae, *Cento de fratribus roseae crucis* (1618).

³⁶ From the neighbouring books this is likely to be the works of Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), but I have found no two-volume octavo edition, which can be described as *opera*.

³⁷ Another edition appeared in the same year printed in Strasbourg.

³⁸ Davidson ('Alexander Seton', 335): 'Illustrorum imagines 4^o'

³⁹ Davidson (*ibid.*, 337), suggests this was Andrea Fulvio's, *Illustrium imagines* (1517) but it was an octavo rather than a quarto.

⁴⁰ Davidson ('Alexander Seton', 336) suggests Francis Anthony, *The Apologie or defence of a verity heretofore published, concerning a medicine called 'Aurum potabile'* (London 1616), which would seem more likely than my suggestion except that it was a quarto rather than an octavo.

⁴¹ This publication, chronicling events in Europe was published intermittently from 1596 to 1624. There seems no way of knowing which issue or issues Seton owned.

⁴² There are several quarto editions of the *Rates* published before 1622, mostly in London but also in Dublin and Edinburgh.