

II.

NOTES ON THE LIBRARY OF THE SINCLAIRS OF ROSSLYN. By REV. PROFESSOR H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

How much Scottish antiquarians are indebted to the library at Rosslyn Castle is sufficiently proved by the fact that of the twenty-one manuscripts of the *Scotichronicon* of Fordun, described by the late Dr Skene,¹ probably at least five came from that collection—*i.e.*, a larger number than exist at present in any single library—while a sixth, if never actually within the castle, was at least carefully examined by one of its owners. It occurs to me, therefore, that it may interest the Fellows of the Society if I lay before them what little information I have been able to collect as to its history.

External notices of the Rosslyn Library are not numerous. I have, in fact, discovered no more than a few statements, all from the pen

¹ *Historians of Scotland*, vol. i., Introduction; *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, x. 27 *seq.* Dr Skene, whose descriptions I have, however, verified and supplemented by actual inspection of the manuscripts, is my authority for all the copies of the *Scotichronicon* mentioned in this paper.

of Father Richard Augustine Hay, which I here transcribe. In his *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rossllyn*,¹ writing of Sir William Sinclair, who succeeded to the Rossllyn estate on the death of his father in 1554, he says :—

“He gathered a great many manuscripts which had been taken by the rabble out of our monasterys in the time of the reformation, whereupon we find as yet his name written thus, Sir William Sinclar of Roslin, Knight.”

In his *Vindication of Elizabeth More*² he incidentally mentions that the *Black Book of Paisley* “belonged to Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, Lord Justice General.”

We turn next to an entry made in some blank pages at the beginning of the MS. 35. 1. 7 in the Advocates' Library, containing a history of the book to which they are prefixed, by “A. B[rown], bibliothecarius.” He professes to have copied it from the autograph of Hay³ in the year 1777. Remark is made of the number of transcripts of Fordun which had been made by the Canons of St Columba at Incheolm, and then the writer proceeds (p. 7):—

“Quorum omnium principem locum obtinet Codex meus Hayanus, qui a Petro quondam ejusdem insulae Canonico descriptus anno xvii. Jacobi II. regis, atque magno aureorum numero, a Willielmo Orcadam et Cataniae Comite emptus, Cuprum in Angusia delatus est anno mccccxlv. Cum libros undique, ad instruendam illam suam insignem Bibliothecam, Cistercienses Monachi conquirerent, praemijs etiam liberaliter propositis. In eo Coenobio, quod Milcolumbus iv Virgini Deiparae construxerat anno mclxv diu delituit, ad annum nempe post Christum natum mccccclix. Quo anno monasteria universa aedesque sacrae, dijectis altaribus, alijsque ornamentis direptis, incendio absumpta sunt, abactis incolis; aut a fundamentis convulsa, ab hominibus aestu religionis in insaniam prolapsis, inaudito omnibus saeculis immanitatis exemplo.

“Inter spolia, quae nefarijs latronibus in praedam obtigerant, inventi sunt proximo post direptionem anno, a Willielmo a Sancto Claro, quem Maria Lotharinga Jacobi v. Regina vidua juridicundo praefecerat Justiciarij nomine, non

¹ Edinburgh, 1835, p. 136.

² *A Vindication of Elizabeth More from the Imputation of being a Concubine, etc.*, by Richard Hay of Drumboote, C. R., Edinburgh, 1723, p. 27.

³ I have been unable to discover this in the Advocates' Library. I imagine the transcript, which, in default of the original, I follow closely, is not very accurate.

longo a Cupro intervallo Codices aliquot coenobiorum, diversis pellibus obducti, quos omnes; comprehensis in fidis perduellibus, qui motus concitaverant, & ad palum damnatis, ne majora in dies incrementa acciperent. Calviniana impietas, cum domum rediret, secum abduxit, atque in arce sua Roselini ad Escam annem in Lothiana, seposuit, praefixo in limine nominis sui indiculo. Hoc in loco summâ cura reconditi remanserunt, ad annum MDCLI.¹ Quo anno Arx a Monchio Anglicarum legionum ductore, gravi obsidioni obsessa est, admotis ad Septentriones tormentis; quorum disposure edita est ingens murorum strages. . . . Johannes Sinclarius, sive a Sancto Claro, loci Regulus deditionem fecit Libri quoque omnes, effractis Bibliothecae foribus,² a militibus, qui divitum opibus insidiantur, magno Reipublicae nostrae damno, furto abducti. E quibus Ludovicus Stuart eques auratus atque in Suprema apud Scotos curia causarum patronus codicem meum Hayanum, sive Cupraeum, qui tanto cladi superfuert, multo auro lucratus est, Edimburgi cum venalis exponeretur ad Crucem foralem. Quem Codicem a Carolo eius ex filio nepote consanguineo meo Ketelstonij in agro Linnocensi Comarcha dono acceptum veluti Palladium in Galliam detuli anno MDCLXXXIX. navem conductitiam nactus," etc.³

Hay was at Rosslyn at the end of 1688, and of the events of that year he gives us the following account :⁴—

"Those monuments, with some other part of the Chapell were a little defaced by the rable; the eleventh of December 1688, about 10 of the clock at night, after the castle had been spoiled, where I lost severall books of note, and, amongst others, the originall manuscript of Adam Abel, which I had of my Lord Tarbat, then Register."

¹ This date is incorrect. In a letter, dated Edinburgh, Novemb. 20, 1650, which appeared in *Mercurius Politicus*, Nov. 28-Dec. 5, 1650, we read :—"The last week Col. Monk commanded out a small party to Roslin-house, near Dalkeith, where the moss-troopers sheltered themselves. After he had shot with his guns and plaid some granados, they surrendered at mercy. There were not in it above 5 or 6 and 20 men." This extract was kindly communicated to me by Mr C. H. Firth.

² This sentence determines approximately the position of the Library. It remained intact after Monk's cannon had done their worst. It can hardly, therefore, have been in the older buildings which surrounded the courtyard. Nor can it have been in the modern portion added in the 17th century, and still standing. It remains that it was one of the many rooms now shown as dungeons and what not, in the three storeys below the level of the courtyard, and facing the river Esk.

³ A shorter account of the history of the book is given in the *Registra Coenobiorum de Melross et Balmerino* (M'Farlan's transcript, Advoc. Lib. MS. 35. 3. 13, p. 131 seq.); in Hay's *Scotia Sacra*, i, p. 550 seq. (Advoc. Lib. MS. 34. 1. 8); and in his *Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 110.

⁴ *Genealogie*, p. 107.

If we had nothing but these four passages of Father Hay to go upon, we should naturally conclude that the history of the library might be sketched thus. It was gathered by Sir William Sinclair in the third quarter of the 16th century, and mainly consisted of books which he rescued from the wholesale spoliation of religious houses which took place at that period. Pretty clearly, the religious zeal of Sir William in saving monastic possessions from destruction was uppermost in Hay's mind. The library consisted of memorials and relics of the Old Faith. Once collected in this way, it remained practically untouched until looted by the soldiery of General Monk in 1650. On this occasion the books were completely scattered. At least we may infer that few or none remained in 1688; for while Hay is careful, in the context of the passage just quoted, to detail both the injuries done by "the rabble" to the chapel and the portions which remained intact after their assault, he makes no allusion to the destruction of books, with the exception of those which were his own private property.

But it is probably universally admitted that Father Hay is not a writer whose unsupported testimony can be implicitly accepted. We must therefore ask the question—Is there any other evidence available by which we may confirm his assertions about the library, or which may enable us to modify or supplement them? The only such evidence which has come to my knowledge is what may be described as internal: the facts disclosed by the books themselves, which we have good reason to believe at one time formed part of the Sinclair collection. These books, printed and manuscript, I now proceed to examine. As they are for the most part to be recognised by the signatures which they contain of their former owners, I give, in the first place, specimens, in facsimile, of the autographs of the successive lairds of Rosslyn from the beginning of the 16th to the early part of the 17th century, together with that of one other member of the family of Sinclair, the interest of which will soon appear.

A. Sir William Sinclair, *ob.* June 1554.¹ The signature of this

¹ See the retour given in Hay's *Genealogie*, p. 136, dated July 4, 1554, in which it is stated that Sir William Sinclair had died during the month just past.

Sir William varies considerably, and it has therefore been thought well to give several examples. They are all taken from charters preserved at Penicuik House.

1. Bundle 2, No. 7 (dated 12th Oct. 1518).

William Sinclair of Rosburgh

2. Bundle 2, No. 11 (dated 19th October 1527).

Wm Sinclair of Rosburgh

4. Bundle 2, No. 13 (dated 13th April 1549).

Wm Sinclair of Rosburgh

B. Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow (1550), and subsequently (*circ.* 1560) Bishop of Ross, *ob.* Jan. 2, 1564.¹ His signature is singularly uniform. The specimen here given is taken from the Advocates' MS. 35. 6. 7. That it is the signature of this Henry Sinclair will be proved immediately.

Hen. Sinclair

C. Sir William Sinclair, said by Hay to have been Justiciar,² suc-

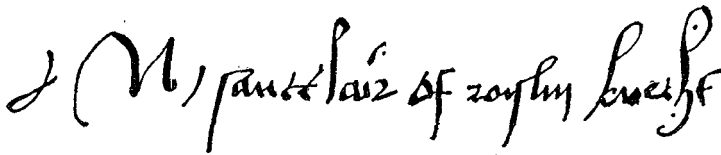
¹ Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops* (ed. 1824), p. 193 *seq.*

² Hay's language seems to imply that he was sole Justiciar of Scotland, but the

ceeded to the estates July 1554.¹ The first of the annexed particularly good examples of his hand was probably written in that year. It is taken from the Abbotsford MS. of the "Book of Battles" (Press Z, shelf 1). The second is from the Advocates' Library MS. 35. 6. 7. The proof that they are correctly assigned to him rather than to his father is deferred for the present.



Wm Sinclair of Rosslyn



D. Sinclair of Rosslyn

D. Sir William Sinclair, son of the last, who held the estates from 1582 till 1612² or later. The first of these signatures is again taken from the Abbotsford "Book of Battles," which yields the finest specimen I have seen. The second is from the Rosslyn Missal, f. 112^b, Advocates' Library MS. 18. 5. 19. Dated examples exist at Penicuik House. The latest which I have examined there is of date 22nd January 1610 (Bundle 16, No. 9). Another, which appears to resemble rather more closely the second of those now given, is of the 23rd July 1585 (Bundle 17, No. 3). Apparently the signature should be read "D. [=Dominus] Sinclair of Roisling."

charter on which he founds his statement empowers him to act as Justiciar in Laudone, *i.e.*, the district south of the Forth. *Genealogie*, p. 139; *cf.* Hume, *Commentaries on the Law of Scotland respecting Crimes*, Edinburgh, 1829, vol. ii. p. 12 *seq.* Hay gives no countenance to the oft-repeated but certainly erroneous statement of later writers, that Sinclair held the office of Justice-Clerk.

¹ See the *retour* cited above.

² See Hay's *Genealogie*, p. 151.

E. Sir William Sinclair, known as "of Pentland," successor of the foregoing. From the Penicuik charter, Bundle 16, No. 12 (dated 11th Dec. 1618).

We now come to the books themselves,—the few scattered fragments known to me of the great library of Roslyn.

I. We take up first of all the deeply interesting volume now in the possession of the Rev. Alexander Thomson Grant, Episcopal clergyman at Leven. This is the only printed book which I have seen containing a Roslyn signature.¹ It bears the title "Clavdii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Philosophi cum primis eruditi de Geographia libri octo Parisiis, Apud Christianum Wechelum M.D.XLVI." The volume is well

¹ Mr Grant, however, tells me that there was another (an Italian work) in the library of the Earl of Roslyn at Dysart.

bound in calf, and in excellent preservation. It has on its upper and lower boards the book stamp of its owner—viz., the Sinclair arms (an engrailed cross on a shield) with the motto ANEXOT KAI ANEXOT, the whole being surrounded by an oval containing the letters “HENRICVS SINCLAR DECANVS GLASGVENSIS 1550.” At the foot of page 433 it has a signature in the same hand as B above. This is scored out with three nearly vertical lines, and on the next page we find “W. SANTOLAIR OF ROISLIN, KNECHT,” in the hand C. “On a fly-leaf at the beginning,” Mr Grant tells me, “is a signature (thrice written) ‘J. Lambert,’ evidently an Englishman of the 17th century. On the same page, and apparently in the same hand, is the name ‘J. Lions.’ The book was subsequently in the possession of Steuart of Allanton, and has in it the *Ex Libris* of that family.”

We learn much from this volume. In the first place, the signature B is definitely fixed as that of Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, and afterwards Bishop of Ross. And this Henry Sinclair is shown to have had a considerable library of printed books. He binds the books which he buys, some of them published on the continent of Europe. He has already, in 1550, immediately after his appointment to the Deanery, his book stamp engraved with his name, arms, and new title. He reads Greek—for this volume has no Latin translation of the original. And, finally, at least part of his collection passed at some time to the writer of signature C. Thus Mr Grant’s book found its way to the library of Rosslyn Castle. In the 17th century it was in the hands of an Englishman, showing that by that time the dispersion of the Rosslyn collection had begun—as, indeed, Hay has already told us.

II. Advocates’ Library, MS. 35. 6. 7—the *Scotichronicon* of Fordun (abridged). We find in this book, on the recto of the first leaf, and again on the last leaf, the same two signatures (B and C) which appear in Mr Grant’s copy of Ptolemæus. The first is in each case scored out, just as before. It should be noticed that on the last leaf the lines drawn through Henry Sinclair’s name are in the same ink as that in which the succeeding signature is penned. Here we have evidence that William Sinclair acquired Henry’s books *immediately*

after they passed out of the possession of the latter. Signature C appears again on the second leaf. One other signature on fo. 2 must receive attention. It is that of JA: BALFOURIUS KYNARDIÆ MILES LEO ARMORUM REX. Now, Sir James Balfour became Lyon King of Arms before 26th March 1630,¹ and about that time bought a large number of manuscript books, most of which are now in the Advocates' Library. He died in 1657. Hence the Sinclair books which came into his hands (and this, as we shall see, was not the only one) must have left Rosslyn before the latter date,—the one now before us probably shortly before or after 1630.²

III. Advocates' Library, MS. 35. 6. 8. Scotichronicon (abridged), lettered on back "Liber Niger Pasleti." The history of this manuscript, so far as I have been able to discover it, is as follows:—It was written by one John Gibson, junior, Notary-Public and Chaplain of Glasgow Cathedral, who finished it on the 4th of March 1501.³ Its

¹ The evidence for this statement is to be found in the manuscripts of Sir James Balfour now in the Advocates' Library. I have examined twenty-two of them, taken at random. Of these, eleven have the signature "JA: BALFOURIUS KYNARDIÆ MILES LEO ARMORUM REX," with a date. The date is in four cases 1629, once above the signature 1629 and below it 1630, four times 1630, once 1632, and once 1649. These facts are sufficient to show that the statement of Sibbald (*Memoria Balfouriana*, Edinburgh, 1699, p. 10), repeated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. iii. p. 54, that his library was collected during the civil war, is misleading, if not incorrect. The signatures in some of the undated volumes prove that they were acquired before Sir James was made baronet (1633). At a later date I find (Advoc. Lib. MS. 18. 4. 3), "EX LIBRIS JACOBI BALFOURII KYNARDIÆ MIL: BARONET' LEONIS ARM: REGIS 1649." See also, for the date of his appointment as Lyon King of Arms, Haig's edition of the *Historical Works of Sir James Balfour*; vol. ii. p. 178 *seq.*

² Certainly not later than 1633. See last note. Mr Murray (*Black Book of Paisley*, p. 43) says it was previously in the Royal Library at Holyrood, but gives no proof.

³ See the colophon of the manuscript in Skene, *Historians of Scotland*, i. p. xxiv. It should be observed that the colophon proper is the *last paragraph* of what Dr Skene quotes. The first three paragraphs (with one or two other unimportant lines of writing) occupy the next page. They seem to be in the same hand, but may have been penned at a later date. The John Gibson who wrote this copy of the Scotichronicon is frequently mentioned in the records of the Diocese of

first owner¹ was a canon of the cathedral of the same name, who appears about this time to have been promoted to the Prebend of Renfrew.² What became of the book after his death³ I do not know. Its next known owner was one John Laing, Rector of Kilpatrick-Juxta, and subsequently (1554) Canon of Glasgow, with the Prebend of Luss.⁴ Subsequently it belonged to Henry Sinclair,—witness his signature, (B), which may be seen between the last line of the text and the colophon. It is natural to suppose that he became possessed of it during his tenure of the Deanery of Glasgow (1550–1560). Like the volumes already spoken of, it passed from Henry Sinclair to Sir William (C). Signature B and the colophon of the manuscript have been scored out; and in the same ink as the scores, a little to the left, is written signature C. The latter appears again on the following page. In the 17th century the book belonged to Sir Robert Sibbald, at the sale of whose collection in 1700 it was purchased for the Advocates' Library.⁵

Glasgow, with one or more of the distinguishing epithets 'junior,' 'notarius publicus,' or 'capellanus' (for I have no doubt all these titles belonged to the same person), between the years 1505 and 1507. See *Liber Protocolorum M. C. Simonis*, A.D. 1499–1513, edited by Bain and Rogers (Grampian Club), vol. ii., Index; *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club), vol. ii. p. 518.

¹ See Skene, *ubi sup.*

² In the inscription at the end of the manuscript he is entitled 'Rector de Renfrew,' and similar designations are found appended to his name from 1503 onwards in the *Protocolla* (see Index). Previously he had held the second Prebend of Glasgow (*Registrum*, vol. ii. p. 496), which was of inferior value (*ib.*, vol. i. pp. lxxiii, lxxii). Goodall (*Scotichronicon*, Edinburgh, 1759, vol. i. p. iv) falls into the error of identifying the two John Gibsons, as others had done before him (Sir George Mackenzie's *Works*, Edinburgh, 1722, ii. p. 364; Hay, as quoted by Pitcairn, *Families of Kennedy*, p. viii). But, independently of the fact that they are often mentioned together in the same document in the *Protocolla*, it is improbable that any one would describe himself as 'Venerabilis et circumspetus vir Johēs Gibson'; and such is the epithet applied to John Gibson the Canon by John Gibson the Scribe.

³ His name last occurs in the *Protocolla* under the date May 31, 1511 (p. 405), by which time John Gibson, junior, was some time dead; see the instrument of May 18, 1510, p. 349. Another Canon was inducted into his stall towards the end of the year 1511 (p. 386). See, for further information about the Gibsons, Murray's *Black Book of Paisley*, pp. 64 *seq.*, 92 *seq.*

⁴ Murray, *Black Book of Paisley*, p. 66.

⁵ Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

These manuscripts and Mr Grant's Ptolemæus leave unanswered two questions—Which of the Sir William Sinclairs of Rosslyn acquired possession of Henry Sinclair's books? and, When did they come into his hands? To these questions the book which we now proceed to examine gives a reply.

IV. The Largs MS. of the Scotichronicon. By this name we must now call the codex which the late Dr W. F. Skene so carefully described in a communication to this Society,¹ under the title of the Whytbank manuscript. Some years ago it was sold at Sotheby's rooms by direction of Alexander Pringle, Esq. of Whytbank, and fell into the hands of Messrs Ellis & Elvey, London, who paid for it £102. Fortunately from them it found a Scottish owner in the person of John Scott, Esq., C.B., F.S.A. Scot., Halkhill, Largs, its present custodian, to whose kindness I owe tracings of the signatures found in it, and much valuable information. It contains a text superior to that of any other copy in the British Isles, being a transcript of the Wolfenbüttel MS., which is the principal authority used by Dr Skene. But our concern is with the signatures of its former owners. They are the following:—

- (1) On fo. 2 and at end of MS., "HEN. SINCLAR episcopus de Ross" = signature B.
- (2) At the end of Bk. I., and several times elsewhere,² }
 "W. SANTCLAIR OF ROISLIN KNECHT." }
 At end of MS., under that of Henry Sinclair, "W. } = signature C.
 SANTCLAIR OF ROISLIN KNECHT Anno Domini }
 Mv^clxv." }
- (3) On a fly-leaf at the end, "Liber Magistri Roberti Elphinstone."
- (4) On the next blank leaf, "Mr Alexander Thomeson Pastor Edinensis, 1636."
- (5) On fo. 1^a, "Ex libris Dⁿⁱ Guil. Cunninghame de Caprintoun," in an early 17th century hand.

The evidence of these inscriptions enables us to draw several important conclusions. In the first place, this book, like the three of

¹ *Proceedings*, x. 27 seq.

² One of these (not mentioned by Dr Skene), of which only a portion remains, has the date "Anno mv^cl . . ."

which we have already spoken, passed from Henry Sinclair to William Sinclair. Again, the Sir William here referred to—the writer of the signature C above—is shown beyond doubt, by the date 1565,¹ to have been the second of that name, who succeeded to the Rosslyn property in 1554. Once more, Henry Sinclair continued to indulge his book-hunting proclivities after his elevation to the episcopate in 1560.² Finally, since Bishop Sinclair died in 1564, we have distinct proof that it was after his death that this manuscript, and probably, therefore, the remainder of his library with it, was deposited at Rosslyn.

Let us now glance at the subsequent history of this interesting manuscript. It was acquired in 1636, as the fourth of the entries just transcribed informs us, by Mr Alexander Thomesone, an Edinburgh minister. It had therefore left Rosslyn before that year. How long before we cannot determine, but it had at least one owner before it came to Mr Thomesone. Not improbably it was purchased within a year or two of 1630, the year, as we have seen, when Sir James Balfour became Lyon King, and was so eagerly buying valuable manuscripts.

V. Advocates' Library, MS. 35. 6. 13. "Extracta ex Cronicis Scocie." The history of this manuscript may be traced for a considerable period. Its editor, Mr Turnbull, is of opinion³ that it was compiled by Alexander Myln, author of the *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*. Immediately after his death in 1548 we find it in the possession of William Chisholm, who was Bishop of Dunblane from 1527 to 1564. By him it was given to Henry Sinclair about the time of his appointment to the

¹ The same date seems to occur in his hand in the *Abbotsford Book of Battles* (No. VIII.). See below p. 104, note ³.

² In saying this, I assume that the addendum "Episcopus de Ross" was written by Henry Sinclair himself. Though the hand in which these words are penned resembles that of William Sinclair's signature, the fact is put beyond question by the circumstance that in both places where it occurs the name of Henry Sinclair is scored out, as in the three preceding books, and that the marks of deletion are drawn through the title as well as the name.

³ *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie*, Edinburgh, 1842 (Abbotsford Club), p. xiv seq.

Deanery of Glasgow. These facts we learn from a note on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book in Henry Sinclair's hand: "Henrici Sinclar decanj glasguen ex dono R^{di} pr̄is Vilelmj epi Dūblanensis 1550." Dean Sinclair's signature (B) is found also on the upper margin of the first page of the text (fo. 1^a), where it has been deleted, as in other cases already mentioned. From him the volume passed to Sir William Sinclair the Justiciar, who has written his name (signature C) in four places, viz., immediately after the note on the fly-leaf quoted above, at the top of the first page of the index, on fo. 1^a (lower margin), and at the top of fo. 296^b—a page which contains the last line of the text and the beginning of some additamenta, to which we must allude again. After his death the book still remained in the library, for we find signature D below C on the lower margin of fo. 1^a. As to the later history of the manuscript, no evidence appears to be forthcoming. It is interesting, however, to notice that if the judgment of its editor is correct, Sir William Sinclair the Justiciar is here again revealed to us in the character of a student. "The manuscript of the compiler," he informs us,¹ "terminates at the top of folio 296 *verso*, and the remaining pages contain several very interesting and curious memoranda, in choice vernacular, of a more recent hand. Of these additional notes the latest is dated 1575. In the same handwriting with these additions, mostly every page of the MS. is annotated," and these annotations are "presumed, *comparatione literarum*, to have been the work of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, to whom the volume formerly belonged."

VI. Advocates' Library, MS. 34. 5. 4. "Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum, ab Alexandro Myln." This manuscript has a peculiar interest, inasmuch as it is the only book known to me which belonged to the Rosslyn Library, and which certainly contains the signature of the third Sir William Sinclair (D) without having had that of his predecessor (C). The name of the later Sir William is written on the recto of the leaf preceding the text in a hand which is undoubtedly that of signature D, but in a form which I have not met with elsewhere

¹ Page x.

—WILLIAM SINCLAIR OF ROISLING KNY^T. On the verso of the same leaf, which contains an elaborate and richly illuminated heraldic design, he began to sign his name in the more usual form, but did not go beyond the third letter of Sinclair. On the next page (fo. 1^a) his signature appears in full in its ordinary form.¹

Was this manuscript added to the Rosslyn Library by the third Sir William Sinclair? This may seem to be the natural inference from the facts just mentioned. If it had come to him by inheritance from his father, we should have expected to find in it signature C, for Hay tells us in the passage quoted above (p. 91) that it was the Justiciar's habit to write his name in his books. On the other hand, it must be observed that Hay does not say that to this practice there was no exception; and if he had done so, such an assertion ought not to be taken too literally. Hereafter we shall give reasons for believing that a book in which no Sinclair signatures appear, nevertheless belonged to the Justiciar. Thus the argument from the absence of his name is not conclusive. And there is an argument of some weight on the other side. This manuscript, in the opinion of Mr Turnbull,² was written by the same scribe as the volume of excerpts last mentioned (No. V.). It seems, therefore, not improbable that they found their way by the same route into the Sinclair Library. And the other was certainly at Rosslyn in the lifetime of the Justiciar. It is not wholly unreasonable to conjecture (under the guidance of the dates) that at the death of Myn in 1548 these two books (possibly with others) passed to Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane; that shortly afterwards (1550), they were presented by him to Henry Sinclair; and that, with the remainder of his library, they came to Rosslyn Castle in 1565.³ That the writing of Henry and his nephew does not appear in the *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld* may be accounted for, on this hypothesis, by the specially

¹ This page is given in facsimile in the Bannatyne Club edition of Myn's Work (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1831).

² *Extracta e Variis Cronicis*, p. xv.

³ The editor of the *Lives* says (p. vi) that the first possessor of the book was Thomas Greig, Prebendary of Alicht, and that from him it passed to Sir William Sinclair (apparently the Justiciar); but for neither statement is sufficient evidence given.

ornate character of the pages which, according to their usual custom, they might have been expected to sign—those at the beginning of the volume.

VII. Advocates' Library, MS. 35. 1. 7. Scotichronicon. This is the manuscript, from the history of which by its owner, Father Hay, we have already quoted. That it was carried off by Monk's soldiers from Rosslyn in 1650, as Hay says, we need not doubt. His earlier statement that it was recovered by Sir William Sinclair from the spoil of the Monastery of St Mary at Cupar-Angus in 1560, is amply corroborated by the fact that it is inscribed at the beginning "liber monasterij beate marie de cupro," and that it has the signature C on the first page of the text. It is not very likely that this entry suggested to Hay the invention of his circumstantial narrative.¹

VIII. Abbotsford MS., Z. 1. "Larbre des Batailles" and other writings. We have here² quite a repertoire of signatures of the Sinclair family. Signature C is found three times on the verso of fo. 1, twice in rubric, once in black. It may be seen also on ff. 21^a, 85^a, 129^b, 130^a, and in the inside of the binding at the beginning.³ Signature D is on fo. 2^a. There are also two other signatures, of which one certainly is not, the other does not seem to be, by the same hand as any of those already given. They are here reproduced in facsimile, in the hope that some of the Fellows of the Society may be able to identify them. The first is on f. 1^b, just above the middle one of the three specimens of C, and also on a fly-leaf at the end of the MS. (f. 133^a); the second occurs

¹ See also Murray's *Black Book of Paisley* (Paisley, 1885, p. 6). At p. 48 Mr Murray, by a curious oversight, remarks that "the Book of Cupar seems to be an exception to [Sir W. Sinclair's rule of writing his name in his books], as although it was in his possession, he has not proclaimed this to the world through his autograph."

² A portion of the manuscript has been printed with the title *The Buke of the Order of Knyghthood, translated from the French, by Sir Gilbert Hay, Knight. From the Manuscript in the Library at Abbotsford.* Edinburgh, 1847 (Abbotsford Club). The remainder is being edited by Mr J. H. Stevenson for the Scottish Text Society.

³ It has here a somewhat enigmatical date, which should apparently be read "anno lxx" (=1565!).

twice in the inside of the board at the end of the book, and is written upside down.

Olav Sinclair of Roslyn
king

William Sinclair of Roslyn

The colophon of this manuscript¹ is too interesting for our purpose not to be quoted. It runs thus :—

“Translatit out of latin into scotts² be me Deine thomas gwld munk of new-bothill at ye request of ane honorable mā Williame Santclar barron of roislin pentland and harberschire Anno dñi m v° liiij.”

The date (1554) does not exclude the supposition that the “honorable man” for whom the book was transcribed was the first Sir William Sinclair (signature A), who died in the June of that year. But his name does not appear in the volume; and any one who will inspect signature C where it first occurs, at the top of the page on which the text begins (fo. 1^b), elaborately and carefully written in red, will be convinced that it was penned by the first owner of the manuscript.³

¹ This colophon refers, not to the three treatises translated from the French by Sir Gilbert Hay, which occupy the greater part of the volume, but to one of two articles transcribed on the three concluding leaves, viz., a letter from Thomas, Bishop of Orkney, in 1446, to the King of Norway, respecting the genealogy of William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney.

² This early mention of the lowland dialect of English as the “Scots” language is interesting. See Ellis’ *English Dialects* (English Dialect Society, 1890), p. 132.

³ It is remarkable that in six of the eight places where Sir William Sinclair

Sir William, therefore, was no mere religious zealot, who gave a home to manuscripts merely because they had belonged to monastic societies, as we might possibly have inferred from Hay. He was a man who had books copied for him because he valued them for their own sake. Nor did he gather a library for the sole purpose of boasting that he had one—a curious but not uncommon mania. He was a student who read his books. This will be still more evident to those who have perused the following note on the last page of the manuscript copy of the *Scotichronicon* belonging to the Earl of Moray, and preserved at Donibristle.¹ This book probably never belonged to the Sinclairs. It may never even have rested on the shelves of their library, but Sir William had read it.²

“This cronicle is sene oure be William Sanclair of Roislin Knyght and compylit, augmentit, drawn out of yir cronicles following selicet ye grett cronicle of Scene³ . . . with sundrie uther writtin cronicles, sic as culd be gottin for ye tyme verray auld schap of lettres sum in paper and sum in parchement bayth textyr writ.”

Of the subsequent history of the Abbotsford manuscript little is known. In 1722 it was in the possession of George Mackenzie, M.D., who described it in the third volume of his *Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, published in that year. Ultimately it was acquired by Sir Walter Scott, but how or when cannot be discovered.

But we must now for a time take leave of Scotland, and glance at the Sinclair manuscripts which have wandered into the great libraries across the Border. We find there a very interesting group.

signed this volume he writes simply W. SANTCLAIR OFF ROISLIN. In the two remaining instances the word “knecht” is added. This may indicate that he obtained the book before his father’s death—*i. e.*, in the *first half* of 1554.

¹ I have not been able to see this manuscript.

² Mr David Murray (*The Black Book of Paisley*, Paisley, 1885, p. 16) says “It seems to have been *in the hands* of Sir William Sinclair.” He gives no evidence of this, and the note which I have copied from the MS. does not appear necessarily to imply so much.

³ One of the chronicles here mentioned appears to have been among those in Sir William’s own library—“ane greit buik callit ye cronicle of Couper.” See No. VII.

IX. Bodleian Library, Fairfax 11. Of this manuscript I believe no published account exists: none at least is known to me, and I therefore give somewhat fully the information supplied to me by the Rev. H. A. Wilson of Magdalen College. It is a pleasure to have this opportunity of recording my sincere gratitude to him and to the Rev. E. S. Dewick, for enabling me, at the cost of much time and trouble to themselves, to lay before the Society valuable accounts of this and the two following codices. The main contents of Fairfax 11 are the New Testament in an English version. Prefixed, however, to the Gospel according to St Matthew, we find also (a) a kalendar, and (b) a table or 'rule' showing the places from which are taken the "lessoñs, pistlis, and gospels yat ben rad in ye chirche after ye uss of Salisbiry." The date of the MS. is probably early in the 15th century, or possibly very late in the 14th. It contains several signatures of members of the Sinclair family. On fo. 2^a (the first page of the kalendar) we have D, and another signature of which more anon. On fo. 18^b (the last page of the table of 'lessonns') we find C, which appears again on the last page of the manuscript, fo. 198^b. On fo. 81 there is a date carefully written "2 April 1561," and a cursive scrawl which may have been a signature. On fo. 120^a there is another scrawl, partly obliterated, which looks as though it might have been a signature (possibly C), but it cannot be described as legible. The book seems to have been written in England, since the language is English, not Scots. But the name of St Thomas of Canterbury appears in the kalendar without erasure or mutilation, which makes it probable that it was not in England in 1538 or the following years. Nothing can be gathered from the manuscript as to the way in which it came into the possession of the Sinclairs.

All this seems to be in no need of comment. If we had no other evidence we might be inclined to conjecture that the date "2 April 1561" was that of the acquisition of the manuscript by Sir William Sinclair (C). But we must not overlook the signature which occurs above D on fo. 2^b. I have discovered no other closely resembling it in the Sinclair books which have come under my notice. Unfortunately it has been found impossible to give a satisfactory reproduction of the much-faded writing here. But I may make one or two observations upon

it. In the first place, it is almost certainly not by the same hand as C. In this conclusion, based on a photograph, I am glad to be supported by the judgment of Mr Wilson and other excellent authorities who at his request examined it in the manuscript itself. Whether the signature can be classed with any of those of which facsimiles have been given is more open to question. I am myself inclined to think that it should be referred to group A, and in this view I can claim the more or less confident support¹ of several of the experts to whom I have just now referred. It is true that it differs in some respects from all the specimens of this signature which I have given, both in the form of the letters and in the spelling of the surname (apparently "Santcaris" —the letter 'l' having been accidentally omitted), and of the word "Roising"; but the four examples given above vary so much among themselves, that this need cause no surprise. However, the identification is not one which can be pressed, and I therefore content myself with saying that if the signature be not A, I know of no other with which it can be classed.

In addition to the signatures of members of the Sinclair family, we have twice on fo. 2^b of this manuscript the name "C. Fairfax." This is the signature of Colonel Fairfax, uncle of the well-known Parliamentary General. There is also a note stating that the book was "bought in Scotland." The purchase was probably made in, or a little after, 1650, as we know that about that time Colonel Fairfax acquired three Scottish manuscripts, one of them by purchase.² Ultimately the book became the property of General Fairfax, and was by him be-

¹ I ought, however, to say that the opinion of these authorities rests upon a comparison of the signature with tracings which I had made from the Penicuik charters. When I subsequently laid the photograph beside the charters themselves, my confidence in the identification was perhaps somewhat lessened. It was certainly not increased.

² Bodleian Fairf. 8 has the inscription "Mr James Drummond: 1650: Gifted this book to Coronall Fairfax the. 17. of Decemb: ano. 1650" (*Nat. MSS. of Scotland*, ii. No. 80). One wonders whether it may not have found its way from Rosslyn to the neighbouring Hawthornden, but there is no evidence that it had belonged to the Sinclairs. Bodleian Fairf. 5, from the Monastery of Sweet-heart, was bought by Fairfax at Edinburgh in 1652. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, 2nd ed. (1890), Appendix VI. p. 441.

queathed with other valuable manuscripts to the Bodleian Library in 1671.¹

X. Bodleian Library, Fairfax 12. Bede's Ecclesiastical History. This manuscript has been described by Mr Plummer in his recent edition of the writings of Bede.² I extract a few sentences from his account of it.

"It is inscribed," he says, "'e libris Monasterii Sancti Germani de Selby Com. Ebor. Chron. xii.' There are inscriptions in English and Latin showing that it was given in Sept. 1650 by Walter Cant, advocate of Edinburgh, to Colonel Charles Fairfax. Before this it had belonged to 'W. Santclair of Roislin, Knecht; Anno 1591, 2 Januarii.' The name of another possessor of it seems to occur: 'Sam. Coluile, Scotus.' This Charles Fairfax was a son of the first Lord Fairfax, brother of the second, and uncle of the third, the famous parliamentary general. . . . Some elegiac verses addressed to him are on the fly-leaf of the MS."

The signature of "W. Santclair" here mentioned is that which we have called C. It occurs both on the first and last leaves of the text, and is accompanied with the date in the first place only. Now here we are met with a difficulty. The writer of C, as we supposed we had proved, was the Sir William Sinclair who died in 1580. How then did he date his signature 1591? The answer is clearly, however much appearances may seem to be against it, that Mr Plummer is incorrect in assuming that the date belongs to the signature. But I gather that in reality appearances are against Mr Plummer's assumption. Mr George Parker of the Bodleian Library (to whom I owe my first knowledge that this and the preceding manuscript contained Sinclair autographs), writing, I believe, without knowledge of Mr Plummer's description, merely remarks, "Near this signature is { Anno 1591
2 Januarij." And Mr Wilson, whom I asked to examine the manuscript with the special object of discovering whether there was any connection between the two entries, gives as his opinion that both in ink and handwriting the signature and the date differ.

¹ Macray, *op. cit.*, p. 137 *seq.*

² Vol. i., Introduction, p. cxxi *seq.*

The name of the supposed owner, "Sam. Coluile," might prove of considerable importance for our inquiry. But Mr Wilson, on whose judgment I have complete reliance, is inclined to think that this is the name, not of a former possessor of the book, but of the writer of the elegiac verses on Fairfax.

We may infer, then, as to the history of this manuscript, that it came originally from Selby, that it belonged to Sir William Sinclair the Justiciar (C), that it passed with the rest of the library to his son (D), that some time before September 1650 it had left Rosslyn and come into the hands of the advocate Walter Cant, that by him it was presented to Charles Fairfax, from whom it was acquired by his nephew General Fairfax, and that finally by his testament it became the property of the Bodleian.

XI. British Museum. Lansdowne MS. 197. Wyntoun's Chronicle. This manuscript has been described by the late Mr David Laing in his edition of Wyntoun.¹ It contains the signatures B and C (both in the upper margin of fo. 3 at the beginning of the text). It is therefore one of the books which came to Rosslyn about 1565 from Bishop Henry Sinclair of Ross. It had been removed from the Sinclair library at least as early as the beginning of 1629, for we read on fo. 1,

"W. Ker of Lintoun²
y^o 26 day of Marche 1629."

¹ *Historians of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. xix.

² The first letter of this name is indistinct. But the correctness of the reading here given is vouched for by two Crown grants entered in the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, which run as follows:—

Regist. Magni Sigilli Reg. Scot., 1620–1633, p. 522, No. 1565 (Mar. 20, 1630). "Rex . . . concessit D. Jacobo Pringill de Gallascheillis militi et Willelmo Ker de Lintoun . . . duas partes . . . ville et terrarum de Bimersyde . . . in balliatu de Lawderdail, vic. Beruick," etc.

Ib., 1634–1651, p. 134, No. 340 (July 11, 1635). "Rex . . . concessit et de novo dedit Colonello Thome Ker et Cristine Ruthven eius sponse terras et predium de Fairnielie cum earum manerie . . . in foresta de Ettrik, warda de Tueid, vic. de Selkirk;—quas quondam Wil. Ker de Lintoun, et Rob. Pringill olim in Baitingbus tunc de Stithill, resignaverunt in favorem dictorum Tho., etc., tanquam assignatorum D. Willelmi Sinclair de Paintland militis," etc.

The manuscript has been thought to have belonged, like IX. and X., to Lord Fairfax, and Mr Laing accepts this theory.¹ But the proof seems not altogether convincing. On fo. 1 we find "W. S.—(these letters in a hand which looks very modern, according to Mr Dewick)—out of Lord Somers' collection. Sam. E. Umfreville, 1738." On. fo. 2 a slip is pasted in, on which is the following note ("of W^m. Guthrie Esq^r," as it is inscribed by another hand):—

"This MSS. formerly belong'd to the Sinclairs of Roslyn an Antient family in Louthian and then to the Kers of Kirtony (*sic*, a misreading of "Lintoun"), and I am apt to think that it had been carry'd from Scotland by Cromwell² and presented to Fairfax who was very curious in Mss collections and probably the lord Sommers bought it at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham who marry'd Fairfax's Daughter and Heiress."

I know of no other evidence connecting the book with the Cromwellian General.

XII. British Museum, Royal Library, 13. E.X. Scotichronicon: the "Black Book of Paisley." I have had considerable hesitation in adding this manuscript to the list of Sinclair books. It yields no indication similar to those which we have found in all the other volumes which have been examined of having belonged to members of that family. But it seems difficult to resist the evidence which connects it with Rossllyn. There is first of all the fact³ that it was rescued from Paisley at the destruction of the monastery in 1559. Who saved it we do not know, but it would be no random guess if one were to conjecture that William Sinclair had some share in the enterprise. And then we have the positive statement of Hay that the book belonged to him.⁴

¹ He states that it "was brought from Scotland by General Fairfax." This contradicts William Guthrie's note.

² It will be noticed that the four books already mentioned, which came from Scotland and were afterwards included in General Fairfax's collection, were not "carry'd from Scotland by Cromwell."

³ Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.*, Lib. xv. No. 1010.

⁴ *Vindication of Elizabeth More*, p. 27. I must not conceal my belief that it is far from impossible that Hay may have here confused the Black Book with its abridgment, the so-called "Liber Niger Pasleti," now in the Advocates' Library (above, No. III.).

Further, "ye greit cronicle of Paslay, callit ye blak buik," is one of those with which Sir William is said to have compared the Donibristle copy of the *Scotichronicon*.¹ And, finally, an annotator of the *Extracta e Chronicis Scotice* (above, No. V.) alludes to it and other books which Sinclair is known to have used for the same purpose. Assuming, then, that the book belonged in the third quarter of the 16th century to the Sinclairs, what do we know of its later history? Here is Hay's statement²:—

"There was an abridgment of our Chronicles kept here (*sc.* at Paisley), called the Black Book of Paisley: 'Tis now in the Royal Library of St James's, bound in a Red Cover. . . . It belonged to Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, Lord Justice General: It was in Bishop Spottiswood's Custody whilst he compiled his Church History. During our late Troubles it fell into General Fairfax's Hands, by whom it was carried into England."

And again,³ "The Black Booke of Pasley, frequently cited by Buchannan, together with the famous Booke of Pluscardin, I find listed in the Catalogue of Bishop Spottiswood's Library."

Now Archbishop Spottiswood died in 1639. It follows that this book had left Rosslyn before that year. When we remember that Sir William Sinclair of Pentland was the Archbishop's son-in-law,⁴ and that about 1630 he was getting rid of the books which had been collected by his grandfather, it seems reasonable to conclude that Spottiswood himself purchased, or induced his royal patron James VI. to purchase, the volume about that year. At least we may be fairly confident that 1630 is the approximate date of its removal from Rosslyn. There is no valid evidence pointing to an earlier year,⁵ and if it had come much later to

¹ Skene, *Historians of Scotland*, i. p. xvi.

² *Vindication*, *ubi sup.*

³ Quoted by Pitcairn, *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the name of Kennedy, from an original MS. in the Advocates' Library*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. vii.

⁴ Hay, *Genealogie*, p. 153.

⁵ The statements of John Spottiswood and Dempster are sufficiently confuted by Mr Murray (*Black Book of Paisley*, p. 51 *sqq.*), of whose researches I have made free use in these pages.

Spottiswood it would have been of little service to him in his historical researches.

If the suggestion here made be correct, that the book was purchased, not by Archbishop Spottiswood, but by James VI. for him, we can perhaps account for the tradition which connects it with Holyrood.¹ It may well be supposed that after the manuscript was bought by the King it lay for a time in the Royal Library before being finally transferred to the custody of the Archbishop.

On the death of Archbishop Spottiswood the book became the property of his son, Sir Robert Spottiswood, with whom it remained till his execution in January 1646.²

For the next few years the history of the manuscript is difficult to trace. Hay tells us that it was brought to England by General Fairfax.³ This can scarcely be accepted as probable. It is more likely⁴ that it fell into the hands of General Lambert, and was by him carried across the Border. Mr Murray seems disposed to believe that after Sir Robert Spottiswood's execution it returned to Rosslyn Castle, and that on the surrender of the castle in November 1650 it was acquired by Lambert. This hypothesis is in itself improbable; it is entirely unsupported by evidence, and it does not explain the fact which appears to have suggested it. For Rosslyn Castle was destroyed by Monk, and Lambert does not appear to have been with him at the time.⁵ But however this may be, the book belonged to Colonel Charles Fairfax in 1650, as his signature,⁶ with the date, appears on fo. 15. From him it descended to his nephew, General Lord Fairfax, by whom it was given or sold to Charles II. Ultimately, with the remainder of the Royal Library, it found a home in the British Museum.⁷

¹ Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 55, 56.

² For this statement we have the authority of John Spottiswood and Sir Robert Sibbald, quoted by Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

³ See above, p. 112.

⁴ For the evidence, see Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁵ W. S. Douglas, *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns*, London, 1898, p. 169, and above, p. 92.

⁶ Not, as Mr Murray says (p. 53), that of General Fairfax.

⁷ Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 58 sq.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the last Sinclair book on my list, I may now bring together what we have elicited as to the history of the Rosslyn Library from those which we have already passed under review.

We have found that probably some manuscripts were collected by the first Sir William Sinclair of Rosslyn (see No. IX.). He was succeeded in the estate in 1554 by his son, the second Sir William, a true student (see under Nos. V., VIII.) and lover of books. The greater part of the collection was acquired by him, all but two (VI., XII.) of the books which we have hitherto examined bearing his signature. Some, as Hay tells us, he saved from the plundered monasteries (VII., XII.), others were copied for him by his own desire (VIII.). About the year 1565 the library received a large accession on the death of his uncle Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross. The collection of the latter, now added to the Rosslyn Library, contained printed books in various languages (I.), as well as many manuscripts (II., III., IV., V., XI.). On the death of this Sir William, he was succeeded by a son of the same name. There is no indubitable evidence that he added any volumes to the collection (but, see VI.); but that he took some interest in it is proved by the frequent occurrence of his fine signature in the books (V., VI., VIII., IX., X.). Another Sir William succeeded some time after 1612, and held the estates till 1650. In his time the dispersion of the library began. A large number of MSS. were removed about 1629 or 1630 (II., IV., XI., XII.), others perhaps later (IX., X.). Hay tells us nothing about this, but the fact is indubitable, and the reasons for it may easily be conjectured. When Sir William Sinclair of Pentland came in for his property, he found it already heavily encumbered.¹ His own mode of life was not such as to admit of economy, however anxious Hay may be to belittle the excesses of which he was guilty.² And accordingly the encumbrances

¹ The third Sir William "resigns his lands lying within the Earledome of Cathnes in 1612," Hay, p. 151. In 1610, "Pentland was wodset to Archibald Douglas of Toftis in liferent, and to his sons in fee under reversion, to which Sir William was made sessioner," *ib.*, p. 153. See also the account of the straitened circumstances of the family at this time in "the humble petition of the Lady Roslin to the King's most excellent Majesty," *ib.*, p. 167 *sq.*

² *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires*, p. 154. "Sir William Sinclair, the father, was

increased during his tenure of the estate.¹ Such a man was not likely to value very highly the library which had fallen to him by inheritance. He had already abandoned the practice of his predecessors: not a single signature appears from his pen in any of the books, unless indeed it was he who displayed his ignorance by writing his name upside down in the Book of Battles (VIII.). When creditors pressed, the library would be one of the first things to be sold. But however this may be, it seems that the remains of the great collection were but scanty when, a few weeks after Sir William of Pentland's death, Monk appeared upon the scene, and his soldiers destroyed or carried off all that was left.

What became of the scattered volumes? Some were secured by Sir James Balfour (II.), some passed into the hands of other collectors (IV., X., XII.), some crossed the Border, and of these a few ultimately became the property of General Lord Fairfax (I., IX., X., XI., XII.), at least one was taken to France, though it now happily once again has found a home in Scotland (VII.), and of others the later history cannot be traced.

With these facts in our memory we may turn to our last Sinclair Book.

XIII. Advocates' Library, MS. 18. 5. 19. The Rosslyn Missal. This book was probably written, as I hope to be able to show elsewhere,² for use in the Cathedral Church of St Patrick, Downpatrick, Ireland. Palæographers, though with some hesitation, are inclined to believe that it is of 14th century date. In all probability it did not long remain in the church where it was penned.³ It is so full of serious errors of the a leud man. He kept a miller's daughter, with whom it is alledged he went to Ireland; yet I think the cause of his retreat was rather occasioned by the Presbyterians, who vexed him sadly because of his religion, being Roman Catholic."

¹ *Ib.*, p. 155. "Sir William Saintclare and his Lady wodset the baronie of Roslin to Mr Symon Ramsey of Litthill, the year 1630. He gave also a charter of Dredayne to Mr James King, 1628: the like charter had been granted by Sir William, his father, in 1598." On the financial difficulties of the family later in the century see Hay, p. 163 *sq.* It might have been interesting to peruse the "long enumeration of burdens upon the lands . . . with which it seems altogether unnecessary to fatigue the reader" (*ib.*, p. 164, *note*).

² In the forthcoming edition of the Rosslyn Missal (Henry Bradshaw Society).

³ This conclusion is to some extent supported by the presence in its pages of some irreverent, or at least irrelevant, scribblings of the 14th century.

scribe, none of which are corrected, that it must have been quite useless as an altar book, and it could not, for the same reason, have served as an exemplar copy. We can scarcely believe that it would have been preserved, except by some outsider who carried it off as a literary treasure. It would seem to have been at Rosslyn at the end of the 16th century, since signature D (2) appears on fo. 112^b.¹ And further, there is an almost illegible scribbling in a late 16th century hand, on fo. 63^a, in which "Lesswaid" is mentioned. In the next century it was deposited in Sir James Balfour's library at Denmilne. This may be proved by more than one argument. On a fly-leaf is written '50 Denmilne' in a hand familiar to those who have inspected similar inscriptions in Balfour's books. The equally familiar device, representing apparently a cross, anchor, and heart combined, which Balfour sketched at the end of many of his MSS., appears on fo. 135^b. It is bound in leather, with clasps, like many other books from the Denmilne collection, and the pattern of the one remaining clasp is identical with that found on many clasps attached to Balfour books. And finally, in a hand which I judge to be that of one of Balfour's librarians, it bears the title on a fly-leaf, "Liturgia S^{ti} Columbani Abatis (*sic*)." Now, in the Advocates' Library may be seen a curious sale catalogue² of the MSS. of James Balfour, which were disposed of by auction at Edinburgh in 1698. The leaves of the catalogue are pasted into a little book of blank paper bound in leather boards, and opposite each item is recorded what seems to be the price paid for it by the agent of the library. Under the head of "MSS. of Theologie" we read "30. Liturgia Sancti Columbani Abbatis, s3." The manuscript under review was therefore purchased by the Faculty

¹ Mr David Laing, in the preface to his edition of the *Aberdeen Breviary*, remarks (p. vii, *note*) that "on one of the blank spaces it has the signature of 'Sinclair of Roisling,' a well-known collector of the early part of the 16th century." This is a mistake. The signature is quite clearly that of the third Sir William Sinclair (D). And we may add that we are not aware of any person of this name who was a collector of books, "well-known" even to Mr Laing, at the beginning of the 16th century.

² The title runs: "A Catalogue Of Curious Manuscripts, being Historical, &c., &c. Collected by Sir James Balfour of Kinnaird Knight-Baronet, and Lyon King at Arms, kept in his Famous Study of Denmilne; And now exposed to Sale. Edinburgh, &c., 1698." See also Sibbald's *Memoria Balfouriana*, p. 30.

of Advocates for the sum of three shillings in 1698; and in their library it has remained ever since.

All this is matter of practical certainty. We must venture into the region of speculation in order to answer three questions which here suggest themselves:—1. When was the missal deposited at Rosslyn? 2. When did it come into Sir James Balfour's possession? 3. How came it from Ireland to Scotland? Let us take them in their order.

1. We have seen that it contains the signature of the third Sir William Sinclair (D). But, as we have said already, there is no clear evidence that this Sir William added new books to the Rosslyn Library. On the other hand, he undoubtedly often signed volumes which had been the property of his father. It seems, therefore, much more likely that it was through the second Sir William that this missal found its way into the Sinclair collection. True, his signature (C) is not found in it. But this can be easily accounted for. The book is imperfect, both at the beginning and the end, and it is at the beginning and end of books that the signature C is most usually written, though it often occurs elsewhere as well. The Rosslyn Missal was mutilated, no doubt, when Sir James Balfour acquired it, but it does not follow that the mutilations had taken place when it reached Rosslyn. One or two specimens of C may therefore have been inscribed on its pages, and have subsequently disappeared. Assuming that Sir William "the Justiciar" was its owner, he may have procured it either from some monastery which fell a victim to the assaults of the mob about 1560, or, a few years later, by inheritance from his uncle the Bishop of Ross.

2. Many, if not most, of Sir James Balfour's manuscripts were added to his library, as we have already seen reason to believe, in the year in which he was made Lyon King of Arms. In the same or the preceding year, as we have also proved, Rosslyn Library lost many of its books. There is therefore probability in the supposition that the Missal at that time passed directly from one collection to the other.

3. In answering our third question, we have to depend on conjecture still more than before. There has been at all times a close connexion between Ireland and Scotland. And in particular, at least one case

may be mentioned in which religious houses in the two countries had inter-relations.¹ We find in the chartulary of the Priory of St Andrews² a grant to the Canons of St Andrews, by Hugo de Lasci, of the churches of Ruskach and Carlingford, in the County Louth, together with all churches and chapels of the whole of Coling. The charter is undated, but it was confirmed in the twenty-first year of Henry III. (1237). How long this charter remained in force it is impossible to say. Whether it is quite exceptional, or one of many similar instances of ecclesiastical affiliation between the two countries, I am not aware.³ But the gift perhaps indicates that there was considerable intercourse between the religious houses of Ireland and Scotland at the period at which it was made.

Under these circumstances, it may seem vain to speculate as to how the Rosslyn Missal made the journey from Downpatrick to its later home. But I venture to let the following guess speak for itself. The character of the manuscript has already led us to the conclusion that it was probably never actually used for the purpose for which it was prepared, and that it is likely that it left Downpatrick not long after it was written. Can we point to any event, say in the early 14th century, which may give a clue to the persons by whom it was removed? I think we can.

Edward Bruce entered upon his unhappy invasion of Ireland in 1315. Under this year we find the following entry in the *Annals of Ireland*, attributed by Ware to Pembridge⁴ :—

“Eodem anno, dicti Scoti, terra propria non contenti preminia superbia Hiberniam in parte boreali apud Clondonne [*i.e.*, Glendun, County Antrim] applicuerunt, sex millibus pugnatorum et in bellis peritorum, scilicet Dominus Edwardus le Brus, germanus Roberti, Regis Scotorum, et cum eo comes de

¹ As was pointed out to me by the Bishop of Edinburgh.

² Bannatyne Club edition, p. 118.

³ Druin-la-croix (or White-Abbey), Co. Antrim, was a dependent cell of Dryburgh. See Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down*, etc., p. 277; Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 6 sq. Ralph, Bishop of Down, A.D. 1202-1213, had been Abbot of Melrose, Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁴ *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin* (Rolls Series), vol. ii. p. 344.

Morreth, etc. Ultoniam manciparunt, et Dominum Thomam de Maundevice ceterosque fideles a terra propria expulerunt."

And again, under A.D. 1316¹:—

"Monasteria Sancti Patricii de Duno et de Saballo² et diversa alia tam monachorum quam canonicorum, Predicatorum et Minorum spoliantur in Ultonia a Scotis."

Under the same year³ Grace has the briefer entry:—

"Monasteria S. Patricii de Dune et de Saballo cum multis aliis spoliantur."

These are, I believe, the only references to the looting of Downpatrick Cathedral by Bruce's soldiers in the *Annals*. But we may be quite sure that the church books formed part of their booty on this occasion. For under the same year, in Clyn's *Annals*,⁴ we have a notice of the sacking of another monastery by the same army, in these words:—

"Eodem anno Scoti cum Hibernicis combusserunt Dondalk et locum Fratrum spoliarunt *libris*, pannis, calicibus, vestimentis, et multos occiderunt."

That our Missal, which must have been so attractive with its fresh and brilliant colouring and unsoiled pages, was among the books abstracted from Downpatrick is, at least, not unlikely. Edward Bruce was slain at Dundalk in 1318, and so ended his fatal expedition. A miserable remnant of his army contrived, not without great difficulty, to return home to Scotland, under the leadership of one John Thomasson. To quote the lines of Barbour's famous epic⁵:—

"Iohne Tomasswn, that wes leder
Of thame of Carrik that thair wer,

¹ Page 352.

² Downpatrick and Saul,—the latter of which is about two miles distant from the former.

³ *Jacobi Grace, Kilkenniensis Annates Hiberniæ*, edited by the Rev. R. Butler (Irish Archæological Society), 1842, p. 76.

⁴ *The Annals of Ireland, by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling*, etc., edited by The Very Rev. R. Butler (Irish Archæological Society), 1849; Clyn's *Annals*, p. 12.

⁵ I quote from Skeat's edition (Scottish Text Society, 1894), vol. ii. p. 119 *sqq.* bk. xviii. ll. 117-122, 158-161, 188-204).

Quhen he saw the discumfiting,
 With-drew him till aȝe Erische king
 That of his acqwyntans had he ;
 And he resauit him in lawte."

Sir Philip Mowbray also escapes, and then we read :

" This Iohne wroucht syne sa vittely,
 That all that thidder fled than wer,
 [Though] that thai lesit of thair ger,
 Com till Cragfergus haill and feir.

And thai that war in-to the vay,
 To schir Eduard send fra the king,
 Quhen thai herd the discumfiting,
 Till Cragfergus thai went agane ;
 And that wes nocht forouten pane
 For thai war mony tymes that day
 Assalit with Erischry, [bot thai]
 [Ay] held to-gidder sarraly,
 Denfendand thame so wittely
 That thai eschapid oft throu mycht,
 And mony tymes als throu slicht ;
 For oft of thairis till thame gaf thai
 Till let thame scathless pass thar vay :
 And to Cragfergus com thai swa.
 Than batis and schippes can thai ta,
 And salit till Scotland in hy,
 And thar arivit all sauffy."

If one of these Carrick men brought the Missal with him, it is likely enough that it would be placed in a neighbouring monastic library.¹ And thence it may have come to Henry or William Sinclair.

¹ Ardrossan contributed its contingent to Edward Bruce's army : and Ardrossan Church was affiliated to Kilwinning Abbey, over which, two centuries later, Henry Sinclair presided (*The Ancient Church of Scotland*, by Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 262).