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Alexander Cunningham, Book Dealer: Scholarship, Patronage, and Politics

JOHN W. CAIRNS



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INTRODUCTION

Robert Harley (1661-1724), first Earl of Oxford, and leading politician, was one of the great British collectors of books and manuscripts of his age.¹ In 1717, he received a Newsletter from a correspondent, who, after retailing some political and other gossip, wrote:

Mr Al[exander] C[unningham] humbly and earnestly desires your Lordship to send, or bring to Town 'Horace' of 1477, printed by Lavagnia, and 'Justinian's Institutes' of the first edition. There is a very curious collection of books coming from Italy, and such as will tempt Devon[shire], Sunderland, &c.²

This is a particularly telling quotation that introduces Alexander Cunningham and four facets of his life. It also hints at much about the circumstances of scholarship in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.³

By 1717, Cunningham had worked for many years to produce a new edition of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, and, in particular, a better edition of Justinian's *Digest*, the anthology of the writings of the great Roman jurists completed in Byzantium in AD 533. He never finished the work.⁴ It is probable that the copy of the *Institutes*, the elementary textbook for students issued in AD 533, was solicited to aid these researches.⁵ In 1717, Cunningham was working on an edition of Horace, provoked by Richard Bentley's famous edition of 1711; this, together with his *Animadversiones* on Bentley's work, was printed in The Hague in 1721.⁶ Cunningham will have wanted the 1477 Horace for this research.⁷ The books coming from Italy probably originated in Venice.⁸ This reflects Cunningham's important role as a dealer in books, if a highly unusual one.⁹ William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire, and Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, were noted book-collectors, the latter one of the greatest of the age.¹⁰

The fourth facet of Cunningham's life to which this quotation introduces us is his association with noble patrons.¹¹ This link with Harley illuminates the circumstances of the production of scholarship in this period. It is worth noting, however, as will be discussed below, that Cunningham was very close to Sunderland, Harley's rival in politics and book collecting.¹² Yet Cunningham

still expected Harley to assist him. Further, and the point here developed, the quotation indicates the importance of major private libraries to scholars. In much of Europe, the sixteenth century had seen a decline in university and other institutional libraries. Through the seventeenth century, this gave major private libraries, such as those of Cardinal Mazarin or Nicolas Fouquet, a central role in scholarship.¹³ Some statistics hint at just how important such private libraries could be. By 1709, there were 16,297 volumes, including 658 manuscripts, in the University Library at Cambridge.¹⁴ Sunderland died young in 1722: but he had already collected some 21,000 printed books. When Edward Harley died, his collection contained 50,000 printed books and 41,000 pamphlets and prints.¹⁵ The vicissitudes of the seventeenth-century's wars and politics had also given collectors important opportunities for acquisition.¹⁶

It has long been recognised that around the turn of the seventeenth century there was a new spirit of competitive book collecting among the British nobility.¹⁷ Contemporaries were aware of this, and, in 1714, William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle and then Londonderry, praised the nobility's 'laudable Emulation' in vying to buy rare and valuable books.¹⁸ The point has not been particularly explored for Britain; but possession of a great library - together with the possibility of granting privileged access to it - furthered noble patronage of scholars and other members of the world of the learned.¹⁹ Scholars required the patronage of the great men who had assembled such libraries in order to have access to the rare books they needed.²⁰ But such patrons also needed to have learned clients, who could advise and assist in the creation of their great collections. Patrons gained an association with the world of scholarship, science and learning that validated their position in society. Clients gained political support and had their scholarship endorsed as significant and important. Patrons and clients were thus involved in a complex, mutually beneficial, nexus of reciprocal relationships.

It was the new significance of the private collection that partly prompted Gabriel Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris, 1627), which was translated into English by John Evelyn in 1661.²¹ Naudé emphasised that the owners of such libraries ought to make their collections accessible.²² His contemporary John Dury, appointed Keeper of the King's Library during the Commonwealth, though perhaps with different motives, also stressed the importance of access to libraries.²³ The cultural and scholarly importance of significant private libraries was such that Richard Bentley's allegedly restrictive attitude to granting access to the King's Library at St James, of which he was Keeper, earned him opprobrium and stimulated Jonathan Swift's satire, *Battle of the Books*.²⁴ In contrast, book collectors who allowed access to the contents of their libraries gained public plaudits and praise for the refinement, rarity and extent of their collections, as well as for their own cultivation and liberality. Thus very warm acknowledgements were made to Sir David Dalrymple and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, both of whom built up important libraries, in the preface to Ruddiman's edition of George Buchanan's *Opera* printed by Robert

Freebairn.²⁵ It is worth noting the very different from those of Ruc controversial; but access had none

There is little doubt but that they were greedy for books. But the wide such as theirs must again be stressed editions with fine bindings, though were essentially scholarly libraries and historians.²⁷ They reflected aristocrats adopted certain of the professional.²⁸ The contrast with library recently detailed by T. A. I emulation was given a new forum

These are the contexts in which I have explored his life elsewhere *Digest*.³⁰ The late Govaert van de editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis*. Swift has analysed Cunningham Sunderland in collecting his outstanding unpublished doctoral thesis.³² His role in the trade in books, particularly account of his life, making some

A LIFE IN BOOKS

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The foundations of Cunningham and education. He was born in landowner in Ayrshire.³⁵ His family lairds in Ayrshire. His family under Charles II.³⁶ He is probably M.A. from the University of Edinburgh Archibald Campbell, Lord Lort

Freebairn.²⁵ It is worth noting that Dalrymple's and Fletcher's politics were very different from those of Ruddiman and Freebairn, and the edition was controversial; but access had nonetheless been granted.²⁶

There is little doubt but that individuals such as Sunderland and Harley were greedy for books. But the wider social and political significance of libraries such as theirs must again be stressed. These were not 'noble' libraries of fine editions with fine bindings, though they indeed contained such volumes. They were essentially scholarly libraries, catering to the needs of critics, antiquarians, and historians.²⁷ They reflected a particular historical moment when great aristocrats adopted certain of the educational values of the scholar and learned professional.²⁸ The contrast with the type of seventeenth-century gentleman's library recently detailed by T. A. Birrell is stark.²⁹ Aristocratic competition and emulation was given a new forum. The implications are profound.

These are the contexts in which Cunningham's career should be understood. I have explored his life elsewhere, with a particular focus on his work on the *Digest*.³⁰ The late Govaert van den Bergh has discussed the significance of the editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis* in Cunningham's own library.³¹ Katherine Swift has analysed Cunningham's role as an agent and advisor for the Earl of Sunderland in collecting his outstanding library, particularly in her excellent but unpublished doctoral thesis.³² Here I want to assess more fully Cunningham's role in the trade in books, particularly antiquarian books. I shall start with an account of his life, making some remarks on his links with the book trade.

A LIFE IN BOOKS

Robert Wodrow, Librarian of the University of Glasgow, described Cunningham as a man who 'understood the editions of books nicely'.³³ Another contemporary assessed him in 1698 as 'a very Learned and Curious Man in Books'.³⁴ This antiquarian, bibliographical knowledge evidently marked Cunningham in the eyes of others. Of course, any historical scholar and editor had to have a knowledge of bibliography, as early editions were recognised not only as potential sources of information from manuscripts but also as sources of variant readings and emendations both *ope codicis* (by the authority of a manuscript) and *ope ingenii* (by the authority of skill and knowledge). Cunningham's work on the *Digest* of Justinian and the text of Horace required him to have such knowledge. But, if building on the necessary scholar's and critic's level of understanding, he clearly went beyond it, to acquire a detailed knowledge of books, their value, and the antiquarian book trade in Europe.

The foundations of Cunningham's bibliographical skills lay in his family and education. He was born in the 1650s, the son of a minister of the Kirk and landowner in Ayrshire.³⁵ His background was among the many Cunningham lairds in Ayrshire. His family were committed Presbyterians and suffered under Charles II.³⁶ He is probably the Alexander Cunningham who graduated M.A. from the University of Edinburgh in 1676, one of his classmates being Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne, the future 10th Earl and first Duke of Argyll.³⁷

He then moved to Utrecht where he studied law with Johannes Voet, a man who was to become his friend and who was to immortalise him as his 'former pupil, beloved as one of the best'.³⁸ It is likely that he also took classes at Utrecht with J. G. Graevius, the Dutch polyhistor and bibliophile, who later gave lectures on bibliography.³⁹

By this time Cunningham had already become noted as a scholar and bibliophile, trusted by collectors to acquire books for them. Thus, in May 1678, James Fall, Principal of the University of Glasgow, and a noted bibliophile, recommended Cunningham (described as a law student in Utrecht) to the Earl of Tweeddale as someone who could be commissioned to buy books for him at auctions in the Netherlands. He was already doing so, according to Fall, for Robert Cunningham.⁴⁰

This link with Fall was important to Cunningham, and it suggests that he already had strong connections with an interesting circle of Scottish book collectors. An *alumnus* of the University of Edinburgh, where he had studied under Robert Leighton as Principal, Fall was a bibliophile with good links to other collectors.⁴¹ He remained deeply attached to Leighton, another important collector, who became Bishop of Dunblane and then Archbishop of Glasgow, a charge he resigned in 1674. Fall, along with Gilbert Burnet, future Bishop of Salisbury, attended Leighton on his deathbed in 1684, and then assisted in the establishment in Dunblane of the important library Leighton left to the diocese. Fall continued to be interested in the Leightonian Library, even after he had left Scotland in 1690.⁴² Fall was also a good friend of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, a noted traveller as well as bibliophile, whose library was one of the most important collected in Scotland at this period.⁴³ In the 1670s, the two men had gone book-hunting together in Paris.⁴⁴ Fletcher had been tutored by Gilbert Burnet, when he had been parish minister of Saltoun.⁴⁵ Cunningham was much the same age as Fletcher, and the two men were to become close friends, Cunningham even attending at Fletcher's deathbed.⁴⁶ Perhaps they already knew one another; if not, their obvious connection was through Fall. In all, this was an interesting group. Fall, Leighton, and Burnet were all moderate Episcopalians under the Restoration; Fletcher, in contrast, was a man who made himself unpopular with the Restoration regime, and who was condemned as a traitor in 1685.⁴⁷ Despite Cunningham's background among the Covenanting Presbyterians of Ayrshire, he was able to mix with bibliophiles of varying political and religious views.

No information has yet come to light as to when Cunningham left Utrecht. It was certainly no later than 1680 when Voet left for Leiden.⁴⁸ Cunningham was home in Scotland by early 1681.⁴⁹ Thereafter, we lose sight of him until early 1686, when he is found at Huntingdon near Cambridge.⁵⁰ By this time he was known to Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, who was to be turned out of his diocese at the Revolution.⁵¹ Politics made the 1680s a good time for Cunningham to be out of Scotland. It is a fair speculation that between 1681 and 1686 he had been travelling abroad, studying, buying books for himself and others, perhaps even employed as a tutor. Thus, by 1687, he had become known to Antonio

Magliabechi, Librarian of Gran scholar and bibliophile.⁵²

In 1685, the Duke of Queens Lord George Douglas, who was to 1693 he travelled with Lord G Basel, and Geneva, before, in 1 Florence, Naples, Bologna, Ver visiting Regensburg, Vienna, Pra to Breslau, Cracow, Warsaw, Lub Hanover, they returned to Amste and they were back home in Scot where they visited universities, l W. Leibniz, Ezechiel Spanheim, books: in Utrecht Cunningham and taught him about books. By a library of over 800 titles, cons (particularly numismatics), and were often of high quality, with Stephanus, and Plantin. Lord G collection to the Advocates' Lib

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In 1695, Cunningham was Library to the Faculty of Advoc the same time, he donated to E pupil Lord George, one of the or the Spanish heretic Servetus.⁶¹ London, presumably in attendar Countries.⁶³ It is evident that the and Cunningham, because of L

Magliabechi, Librarian of Grand Duke Cosimo III in Florence, a renowned scholar and bibliophile.⁵²

In 1685, the Duke of Queensberry employed Cunningham as tutor to his son, Lord George Douglas, who was intended for a career as a diplomat.⁵³ From 1686 to 1693 he travelled with Lord George, going to Utrecht, Heidelberg, Strassburg, Basel, and Geneva, before, in 1689, crossing the Alps, and then visiting Milan, Florence, Naples, Bologna, Venice, and Padua. In 1692, they travelled north, visiting Regensburg, Vienna, Prague, Dresden, and Berlin. From Berlin they went to Breslau, Cracow, Warsaw, Lublin, and Danzig, from where, by Copenhagen and Hanover, they returned to Amsterdam. At the end of 1692 they left for England, and they were back home in Scotland in January 1693. This was very much a tour where they visited universities, libraries, and scholars. They met men such as G. W. Leibniz, Ezechiel Spanheim, and Samuel Pufendorf. Moreover, they collected books: in Utrecht Cunningham already took Douglas to bookshops and auctions and taught him about books. By the time of their return, Douglas had collected a library of over 800 titles, consisting of law, classical literature and antiquities (particularly numismatics), and Italian books (16% of the total). The editions were often of high quality, with imprints from the presses of Aldus Manutius, Stephanus, and Plantin. Lord George died in 1693, and the Duke donated the collection to the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh.⁵⁴

Between 1693 and 1695, Cunningham perhaps once more visited Italy, probably going at least to Florence and Rome.⁵⁵ This again may have involved acting as a tutor to a young nobleman; but it will certainly have involved him in further study and acquisition of books. His attendance on Lord George Douglas must have been judged a success, because in 1694 he was considered as tutor or governor for both the young Earl of Roxburghe and Lord Lorne, the son and heir of Campbell of Argyll, his old classmate at Edinburgh.⁵⁶ He was in fact chosen as Lorne's tutor. Lorne had been born in 1680, and in 1694 he was thought to be still too young to travel abroad.⁵⁷

In Britain, Cunningham by this time was involved in the linked intellectual circles that included John Locke, Charles Boyle, and Joseph Addison.⁵⁸ For example, it was through Francis Gastrell, an associate of the bibliophile Robert Harley, and Boyle Lecturer in 1697, that Cunningham met Christopher Codrington, a friend of Addison.⁵⁹ It is also clear that although Cunningham was perhaps becoming more linked with Whig circles, he also was happily moving in Tory circles.

In 1695, Cunningham was in Edinburgh and handed over Lord George's Library to the Faculty of Advocates on the Duke of Queensberry's behalf.⁶⁰ At the same time, he donated to Edinburgh University Library, in memory of his pupil Lord George, one of the only three known copies of the suppressed work of the Spanish heretic Servetus.⁶¹ Cunningham nonetheless spent much of 1696 in London, presumably in attendance on Lorne.⁶² In 1697, the pair left for the Low Countries.⁶³ It is evident that there was some conflict at this time between Lorne and Cunningham, because of Lorne's interest in the army in the Low Countries,

where he was nominally colonel of a regiment: as Duke of Argyll he was to become a famous soldier.⁶⁴ In October 1697, Cunningham was considering whether or not to visit Paris, accessible once again because of the Treaty of Rijswijk.⁶⁵ He visited there in the first half of 1698, when he probably bought a number of manuscripts.⁶⁶ It is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that Cunningham and Lorne, after a return to Scotland in the second half of 1698, travelled to Italy.⁶⁷ However that may be, in March 1699, Cunningham was back in London: he visited Locke in the country.⁶⁸ By mid-May, he was planning to leave for the Netherlands again.⁶⁹ He was there by early July.⁷⁰ Although his subsequent movements are uncertain, it is just possible he then went on to Italy with Lorne.⁷¹ In mid-1700, however, Cunningham was back in London, planning a trip to France and then Italy with Lorne.⁷² They went by way of the Netherlands.⁷³ In November 1700, they were in Paris; they were still there in January 1701.⁷⁴ On 24 March 1701 they were in Padua, where Lorne signed the register of foreign visitors at the university.⁷⁵ Thereafter, their movements are once more uncertain. It may be they were back in Paris in August 1701, before travelling back to Italy;⁷⁶ it is perhaps more likely that they were back in London.⁷⁷ Certainly in 1703 Cunningham turns up at The Hague, having travelled from London.⁷⁸

Between 1703 and 1716, Cunningham appears to have remained at The Hague. The outbreak of the War of the Spanish succession restricted travel, until the now United Kingdom of Great Britain concluded the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.⁷⁹ It is worth noting that in the spring of 1715, Cunningham's old friend and fellow bibliophile, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, travelled from London to the Netherlands where his nephew, another Andrew Fletcher, was a law student at Leiden, to see both his nephew and Cunningham.⁸⁰ Fletcher then travelled to Paris, reaching the city towards the end of October 1715.⁸¹ He attempted to entice Cunningham to Paris, where he wanted his advice and assistance in book buying, although he eventually sent queries by post in order to benefit from Cunningham's bibliographic expertise.⁸² Cunningham stayed at The Hague, however, until he travelled to London in 1716.⁸³

Though it is possible that he made short trips back to the Netherlands, Cunningham stayed in London until 1719. It is clear that he spent much of the time in these years helping the Earl of Sunderland with his library.⁸⁴ This went to the extent of offering 200 guineas to the bookseller Nathaniel Noel to allow the Earl first choice of his antiquarian books.⁸⁵ He returned to The Hague in 1719, where he lived until his death in 1730. He may have made at least one trip back to London.⁸⁶ Until Sunderland's death in 1722, he continued to supply the Earl with books.⁸⁷ He then helped the Earl's executors unravel the complexities of the nobleman's debts for books.⁸⁸ By now aged, Cunningham no longer went on the long journeys that had characterised his earlier life. But he still continued active in the book trade, as agent and dealer.⁸⁹

AGENT AND BOOK DEALER

Before going on to discuss Cunningham's career as agent and book dealer in

greater detail it is important to state that Cunningham was a famous scholar. Dutch scholars such as Pieter Bleeker considered him at least their equal. Jacob Gronovius' 'old friend',⁹¹ Alexander Cunningham' as 'more than a few years later he described Cunningham. He was also, as we have seen, at least acquainted with Addisley, Leibniz, as well as with the noted Professor of Law at Utrecht, an accomplished chess player; indeed some thought

Cunningham spent a lot of time in London. But this was not the type of person you would expect. For example, young clergymen, was not his usual occupation. His period with Lord George was a diplomatic career. His time with the Duke of Argyll was in a similar function. He was employed in various parts of Europe, and because he was a great landowner, he nonetheless made great distinctions of rank, but he was sufficiently of Block. He was sufficiently of his family's status that he created a great landowner in Midlothian, clearly superior in knowledge about the Duke of Argyll's status and honour - an important matter rather than boys, had to accept

This meant that, in acting as an agent, he was not a tradesman. His dealings with Sunderland were going to be of a different kind. In fact, say, the Huguenot book dealer participated in the new, more varied variety of ranks mixed. He was a Slaughter's, famous for the dealings with Sunderland.

When Cunningham returned to London, he described him as having 'been in the middle of it'. It was in this period, in the middle of the War of the Spanish Succession with Lord Lorne (who in 1703 was interesting to have confirmation of his own or with Lorne. At the time

greater detail it is important to stress some points. Though now largely forgotten, Cunningham was a famous scholar in his own day. He was the friend of notable Dutch scholars such as Pieter Burman, Johannes Voet, and J. G. Graevius, who considered him at least their equal.⁹⁰ Graevius described him in 1700 as his and Jacob Gronovius' 'old friend'.⁹¹ In 1724, Burman could describe 'the most learned Alexander Cunningham' as 'most closely connected to me by a long friendship',⁹² a few years later he described Cunningham as his 'old and most trusted friend'.⁹³ He was also, as we have seen, a close friend of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and at least acquainted with Addison.⁹⁴ He was on friendly terms with Locke and Leibniz, as well as with the noted Dutch lawyers and scholars Cornelis van Eck, Professor of Law at Utrecht, and Cornelis van Bijkershoek.⁹⁵ He was a famous chess player; indeed some thought he was the best in Europe.⁹⁶

Cunningham spent a lot of time as a governor or tutor to young noblemen. But this was not the type of position of menial dependency associated with, for example, young clergymen, waiting for a parish, teaching juvenile charges Latin. His period with Lord George was part of the young man's preparation for his diplomatic career. His time with the second Duke of Argyll must have served a similar function. He was employed to travel with them because of his knowledge of Europe, and because he was well known in scholarly circles. In a society of marked distinctions of rank, he was a gentleman as well as a scholar. If not a great landowner, he nonetheless was a landowner with his territorial designation of Block. He was sufficiently conscious of the importance of this to his and his family's status that he created an entail over his land.⁹⁷ Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, who had been a Commissioner to Parliament, and who was an important landowner in Midlothian, clearly saw Cunningham as his social equal, but as his superior in knowledge about books and scholarship.⁹⁸ In rank Cunningham was thus below the Duke of Argyll or the Earl of Sunderland, but he was a man of status and honour - an important consideration, as his noble charges, young men rather than boys, had to accept his guidance.

This meant that, in acting as an agent for a collector, or in selling books, he was not a tradesman. His social relations with someone such as the Earl of Sunderland were going to be quite different from Sunderland's relationship with say, the Huguenot book dealer, Paul Vaillant.⁹⁹ At the same time, Cunningham participated in the new, more open, public culture of the age, where men of a variety of ranks mixed. He attended the coffeehouses in London, particularly Slaughter's, famous for the playing of chess.¹⁰⁰ This will have facilitated easy dealings with Sunderland.

When Cunningham returned to The Hague in 1703, Cornelis van Bijkershoek described him as having 'been away for five years in Italy, Spain, and France'.¹⁰¹ It was in this period, in the gaps between the War of the League of Augsburg and the War of the Spanish Succession, that Cunningham had been travelling with Lord Lorne (who in 1703 inherited the Dukedom of Argyll).¹⁰² It would be interesting to have confirmation that he had indeed visited Spain either on his own or with Lorne. At the time of his death, he certainly owned some rare books

printed in Spain.¹⁰³

It is obvious that Cunningham's travels to Italy with Lorne and with Douglas will have allowed him to buy books, not only for his own collections and work, but also to sell on his own behalf or as an agent.¹⁰⁴ He may even have made contacts who were subsequently able to supply him with works he or his associates wanted, but of this we have no evidence. Apart from the period 1716-1719 that he spent in London, Cunningham thereafter lived at The Hague. He evidently found the United Provinces agreeable as a home, and a suitable place to pursue his own researches. But they were also the centre of the antiquarian book trade, with frequent auctions.¹⁰⁵ For example, important libraries were sent from France to be auctioned there.¹⁰⁶

Wodrow claimed that Cunningham helped the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Somers, Lord Cowper, the Earl of Oxford (Harley), and the Earl of Ilay to collect their libraries.¹⁰⁷ Of his assistance to Sunderland there can be no doubt, and it will be returned to below. There is also clear evidence that Cunningham helped Harley, Sunderland's rival in politics and collecting. An undated note from Cunningham to the bookseller Nathaniel Noel concerning the delivery of books is found in the Harleian papers.¹⁰⁸ Harley's Librarian, Humfrey Wanley, also refers at one point to books of Alexander Cunningham in a closet.¹⁰⁹ This undoubtedly explains his expectation of access to Harley's library. He almost certainly helped Ilay, who was the brother of his former charge Lorne/Argyll.¹¹⁰ Assistance to Somers and Cowper, both prominent Whig politicians, associates of Sunderland, is therefore plausible.¹¹¹ And we know of others whom he helped, or to whom he sold books, such as Christopher Codrington,¹¹² John Moore, Bishop of Norwich (1691-1708) and then of Ely (until 1714),¹¹³ and Andrew Fletcher, whom he advised in particular on law books.¹¹⁴

His assistance to Moore indicates the quality of books and manuscripts he was able to provide. From Humfrey Wanley, who as well as Harleian Librarian was a distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholar, we know that he sold a group of manuscripts to Moore that included the famous 'Moore Bede'.¹¹⁵ This is an outstandingly important manuscript of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* that was written in the eighth century in an Anglo-Saxon minuscule in the north of England.¹¹⁶ At the end of the manuscript is a text of Caedmon's Hymn.¹¹⁷ The manuscript had a French provenance, as did most of the others that Cunningham can be inferred as selling to Moore.¹¹⁸ It is likely that he had bought them in Paris in 1698.¹¹⁹ Another major manuscript in the collection he sold to Moore was a copy of the *Opus agriculturae* of Palladius written in Caroline minuscule at St Denis in the second quarter of the ninth century.¹²⁰ These manuscripts included twenty-eight written in Greek.¹²¹ Two are worth mentioning here. The first (CUL, MS Kk.V.11) is a manuscript of the *Synopsis Maior* of the *Basilica* with some *Novellae*. This was written at Salamanca in 1564 by Nicolas de Torre, copied from a twelfth-century manuscript. The jurist Eduardo Caldera commissioned the copy. The second (CUL, MS Ff.IV.3) consists of the first seventy-seven chapters of Demetrius Chomatenus

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At much the same time as assisting Christopher Codringt In 1700, he was described as in Europe at any pryce' and a Collection'.¹²⁸ Codrington int Oxford, where it was already first evidence of his activity for to Cunningham by Spencer (' July 1700 for £168/8/- 'for B journeys, including those with these two great patrons as we to leave with Lorne for France Cunningham would 'miss not

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Codrington and Moore London in 1716. Much of h assisting the Earl with his b his library after he had move Groom of the Stole in the s King on his journeys to Han where he would see Cunnin purchased books for Sur Cunningham's personal col!

on marriage and two works by Constantine Harmenopulus. These Byzantine works were of interest to Spanish humanist jurists of the circle around Antonio Agustín.¹²² It is possible that these manuscripts had been in the collection of the Count-Duke of Olivares before ending up in France.¹²³ These two manuscripts reflect Cunningham's specialist interests and knowledge of Roman law, and indeed his work on editing the *Digest*. As manuscripts, they were interesting for their contents. It is worth noting that among the small number of Spanish humanist works Cunningham owned was Eduardo Caldera, *De erroribus pragmaticorum libri quatuor*.¹²⁴ He also sold to Moore a copy of the rare and valuable printed work by Agustín, *De nominibus propriis του Πανδεκτου Florentini* (Tarragona, 1579), which he later asked to borrow.¹²⁵ He provided other rare works for the Bishop.¹²⁶ McKitterick rightly judges Cunningham as having 'rendered Moore considerable service'.¹²⁷

At much the same time as these transactions with Moore, Cunningham was assisting Christopher Codrington and the Earl of Sunderland with their collecting. In 1700, he was described as buying for Codrington 'the most valuable books in Europe at any pryce' and as having 'gott together for him' a 'rare and vast Collection'.¹²⁸ Codrington intended to leave his library to All Souls College Oxford, where it was already kept, together with funding for a building.¹²⁹ The first evidence of his activity for Sunderland comes from a promissory note granted to Cunningham by Spencer (who had not yet succeeded to the Earldom) on 1 July 1700 for £168/8/- 'for Books receiv'd from him'.¹³⁰ Cunningham's earlier journeys, including those with Lorne, must have allowed him to collect books for these two great patrons as well as Moore. Certainly when Cunningham planned to leave with Lorne for France and Italy in June 1700, Codrington anticipated that Cunningham would 'miss nothing that is curious'.¹³¹

After 1703, Cunningham lived in The Hague, but as a dealer he sometimes acted along with his nephew James Logan, who was based in London.¹³² Thus he continued to supply Sunderland with large numbers of books on a regular basis.¹³³ The Earl's papers for this period contain several lists of books and accounts demonstrating these activities.¹³⁴ He also collected books for Codrington's library for some years after he moved to The Hague, though some of what he sent was disparaged by Codrington's Librarian.¹³⁵ There is no direct information in this period about furnishing Moore with books, but he expected Moore to look favourably on requests to borrow.¹³⁶

Codrington and Moore were dead by the time Cunningham returned to London in 1716. Much of his time during the next three years was devoted to assisting the Earl with his books.¹³⁷ He continued to help Sunderland develop his library after he had moved back to The Hague in 1719. Sunderland became Groom of the Stole in the same year, which required him to accompany the King on his journeys to Hanover. This meant he would pass through The Hague where he would see Cunningham and acquire books. Sometimes Cunningham purchased books for Sunderland; sometimes Sunderland bought from Cunningham's personal collection, including books with which the Scotsman

did not necessarily wish to part.¹³⁸ When Cunningham bought at auction and elsewhere, he claimed to offer the Earl first choice of his purchases.¹³⁹ On Sunderland's behalf he negotiated with the Abbé Greco in the purchase of books acquired in Italy, particularly incunables, ensuring that his patron got the pick and at good prices.¹⁴⁰

Sunderland's sudden death in 1722 ended all this activity on his behalf. But Cunningham had always acted for others (otherwise the issue of allowing the Earl first choice of the books he acquired would not have arisen) and he continued to do so. When young Andrew Fletcher became a curator of the Advocates Library on 6 January 1719, he approached Cunningham about the acquisition of law books.¹⁴¹ It may even be that Cunningham dealt with the great Dutch collector Samuel van Huls.¹⁴² But his continuing activity in the antiquarian book trade in the Netherlands is clear.¹⁴³ Thus, he bought books for Andrew Fletcher, now Lord Milton, in 1725, at the auction in Amsterdam of the great library of Cardinal du Bois.¹⁴⁴ The others for whom we can trace him acting include Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto.¹⁴⁵ In 1729, the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh acquired books (mainly on law) from Cunningham, bought through Gavin Hamilton, an Edinburgh bookseller.¹⁴⁶

By the mid-1720s, the now aged Cunningham was no longer able to embark on long journeys to find books. He shared his expertise, however, with the young scholar J. P. d'Orville who was leaving for France and Italy. After some delay he gave d'Orville advice on the books to be found in Italy, on what to buy, on how to acquire them, and on how to send them home.¹⁴⁷ All of this will have reflected his practice and experience. D'Orville was sent a list of books with guidance on prices, indicating where he could exceed the prices marked. Conscious of the market value, Cunningham emphasised that fine old editions of the classics, such as those by Aldus and Torrentinus, were 'much lower' than they were a few years earlier. What Cunningham listed were 'saleable books'. This meant that d'Orville had to buy an extra copy of any book he wished to keep. Cunningham generally advised d'Orville to buy good modern Latin and Italian poets and histories and 'all the Editions of the Classicks if cheap and fair', but especially those of Horace and Virgil and other poets printed by 'old' Aldus, and all editions before 1480 'if cheap', mindful of the remarks on the fall in value of such editions. To give some examples of specific advice, Cunningham said that he should buy a copy of the Torelli edition of the Florentine manuscript of the *Digest* if he could get it for four Roman crowns. He pointed out that that the Nuremberg edition in three volumes by Haloander was 'rarer than the pandectae Florent. 1 pistole'. Cunningham also advised on how to seek out rare books, by finding the booksellers in each town who managed to obtain books from private libraries and monasteries, and on how to ship them home from Italy.¹⁴⁸

It would be interesting to know what Cunningham's financial arrangements were. Did he buy at auction on commission? Did he buy cheap and sell dear? In 1700, Leibniz's correspondent, Thomas Burnett, informed him that Codrington

'hath bein most kynd to, and he will not want to live upon I granted Cunningham an ann he also made a legacy of 100 Cuningham'.¹⁵⁰ In 1701, over separate payments to Cuning bequeathed £100 sterling to C to whom I have been much of services these many years', w in collecting his library.¹⁵² Ga frequent cash-flow problems discharged only a small part incurred further debt to Cuning been paid by drawing bills of Sunderland's succession to payment to Cunningham. P James Logan helped make the Logan will have had a very d the arrangements could be co Earl a bill for £15 payable to 'a few books' that Cuningh books that Bishop Moore ha Earl had obtained £10 worth have been a transaction which possible. One senses a variet annuity suggesting again a tradesman, but instead a gen

A SCHOLAR AND I

Cunningham's success as ar which leant strength to his once he had developed his on his purchases and to neg Earl stating that a list of lav his patron could believe hir rare law books, such as tho he successfully tempted his Cunningham could thus rea collection of law books ov 'to take the counsel and ad collector should take the ad by being thus qualified', are well upon every subject'.¹⁶ other noble collectors.

'hath bein most kynd to, and dealt most nobly with Mr Cunningham ... so that he will not want to live upon by this Collonel Codrington's favor'.¹⁴⁹ Codrington granted Cunningham an annuity, confirmed in his will dated 1702, in which he also made a legacy of 100 guineas to his 'verry good friend Mr. Alexander Cuningham'.¹⁵⁰ In 1701, over the months June to August 1701, Moore made three separate payments to Cunningham amounting to over £90.¹⁵¹ Andrew Fletcher bequeathed £100 sterling to Cunningham 'for the love and favour I bear to [him] to whom I have been much oblidge and from whom I have received many kind services these many years', which looks like an allusion to the assistance he gained in collecting his library.¹⁵² Gaining payment from an extravagant nobleman with frequent cash-flow problems could be a slow business. Thus, Sunderland had discharged only a small part of his debt of £168/8/- by the end of 1703, and had incurred further debt to Cunningham for books.¹⁵³ Cunningham seems to have been paid by drawing bills of exchange on the Earl, as well as perhaps in cash.¹⁵⁴ Sunderland's succession to the Earldom in September 1702 probably eased payment to Cunningham. Perhaps the involvement of Cunningham's nephew James Logan helped make their transactions more businesslike, particularly since Logan will have had a very different relationship with Sunderland.¹⁵⁵ Sometimes the arrangements could be complicated. Thus, in 1703, Cunningham drew on the Earl a bill for £15 payable to the goldsmith John Campbell. Of this, £5 was for 'a few books' that Cunningham had sent Sunderland; the remaining £10 was for books that Bishop Moore had acquired from Cunningham in 1701, for which the Earl had obtained £10 worth of books from the Bishop in exchange.¹⁵⁶ This must have been a transaction which Cunningham's knowledge of both collections made possible. One senses a variety of methods of remuneration, with the legacies and annuity suggesting again a consciousness that Cunningham was not a regular tradesman, but instead a gentleman.

A SCHOLAR AND HIS PATRONS

Cunningham's success as an agent and dealer arose from his skills as a scholar, which lent strength to his recommendations. A nobleman like Sunderland, once he had developed his trust in Cunningham, could rely on him to advise on his purchases and to negotiate the prices. When Cunningham wrote to the Earl stating that a list of law books contained items 'both scarce and curious', his patron could believe him.¹⁵⁷ Cunningham's expertise and ability to supply rare law books, such as those 'printed in Spain Italy Sicily France' with which he successfully tempted his patron in 1720, were what Sunderland needed.¹⁵⁸ Cunningham could thus reassure him of the superiority of specific parts of his collection of law books over that of Huls.¹⁵⁹ Naudé had advised the collector 'to take the counsel and advice of such as are able to give it'. In particular the collector should take the advice of 'men of Letters, sober and judicious ... who by being thus qualified, are able to speak to the purpose, discourse and reason well upon every subject'.¹⁶⁰ Cunningham played this role for Sunderland and other noble collectors.

Throughout their collaboration, Cunningham assisted Sunderland to collect law books and (mainly) Latin classics. Dr Swift has pointed out that Sunderland's library 'owed its distinctive character' to Cunningham.¹⁶¹ What Cunningham provided was the collection more of a scholar than a connoisseur and statesman. There were comprehensive collections of the editions of individual works. His comment to the Earl about an edition of Horace in folio, Venice 1509, bought for him in The Hague, as having 'more Rare reading *sic* than any edit [i.e. edition] I have yet seen' is the remark of the critic and textual scholar.¹⁶² Many of the individual books supplied by or through Cunningham were not of themselves of great importance, but the sum of whole was. It was the entirety of the collection that was significant.

Cunningham's expertise in law books was particularly important. Many of those to whom he provided books in Scotland were lawyers. As yet, there has been little study of lawyers' libraries in Scotland of this period, but one can note in the collections of a man such as Charles Areskine, Lord Tinwald, legal rarities of the type in which Cunningham was interested.¹⁶³ Law books were one class of material with which he particularly helped Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. It may have been with these that he particularly assisted Ilay, Somers, Cowper and others, although he was well able to assess and value other works, most obviously editions of the classics and incunables, as his advice to d'Orville shows. His dealings with Moore included valuable and rare manuscripts, while those with Sunderland did not; he evidently could read, appreciate, and value these.

Bishop Nicolson said of Harley's library that it was not possible 'to reckon up all the Helps that Divines, Lawyers, Physitians, Architects and Philologists' had gained from access to it 'for the furtherance of their respective Studies'.¹⁶⁴ Fletcher and Dalrymple in Scotland allowed access to their collections, even to men of quite differing political views. This appropriately emphasises that major private libraries, such as those of Sunderland or Harley, in this era were open to scholars who in fact required access to their treasures. The quotation with which this paper started shows that Cunningham expected to be able to borrow from them. And indeed he did so. In 1705, he is reported as having brought to The Hague from 'the library in England' (presumably Sunderland's) a large number of rare law books.¹⁶⁵ He continued to borrow from Sunderland's and Moore's libraries rare works that he had provided for them.¹⁶⁶ This meant that he could further his own scholarly endeavours through the guidance he gave on the development of a noble collection and the books he supplied for it. No doubt this was some compensation for the fact that it could be difficult to refuse to sell to a noble patron a work he wanted from Cunningham's own library.¹⁶⁷

Cunningham received considerable patronage from noble collectors. His access to their libraries furthered his own scholarly work, though there can be no doubt but that the time he had to devote to these men and their interests inhibited progress on, for example, his edition of the text of Justinian's *Digest*. In turn, the noble collectors acquired prestige as connoisseurs of books through their association with Cunningham, and were able to extend their political and

other influence into the reputations of the books they collected. It is feasible that Cunningham, situated in The Hague, could have acted as a politician. Swift has even employed in cryptography by work during the war years to

Cunningham was in a position to be of use to his friends, and was solicited to intervene with his father-in-law to secure an army captaincy for his brother. Sunderland's assistance on this point was sought assistance for Thomas at The Hague, who had published Bentley.¹⁷¹ During a visit to Cunningham's cousin, and his undertakings effective, how sought advancement for Andrew Sunderland.¹⁷³ His father, Henry Fletcher was duly appointed now first Lord of the Treasury. The slowness of success in Cunningham but this was possibly unfair. It may have seemed to an outsider that the Earl, Cunningham had to plead with Sunderland was rather than Cunningham could not be trusted on him and trusted him. Yet to deliver posts and grants to the world at large. It made a system of patronage by which he emphasises once again the fact that he had a more complicated scholarship and politics.

Cunningham's contributions are underestimated. While some of the books he collected are now scattered, Harley's collection of private libraries are now in what are essentially the 18th century, great institutional libraries. Bishop Moore's library was presented to the University of King and presented to the University Library. Its significance was presented to All Souls and bears the impact of Cunningham's

other influence into the republic of letters. Though there is no direct evidence, it is feasible that Cunningham, so well-connected in the scholarly world, and situated in The Hague, could assist Sunderland with information valuable to a politician. Swift has even speculated that Cunningham may have been employed in cryptography by Sunderland to assist in the government's secret work during the war years to 1713.¹⁶⁸

Cunningham was in a position to seek favours from Sunderland for his friends, and was solicited to do so. In 1703, he requested that Sunderland intervene with his father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough, to help procure an army captaincy for his brother Charles.¹⁶⁹ In 1720, he regularly solicited Sunderland's assistance on behalf of his cousin from St Kitt's.¹⁷⁰ He also sought assistance for Thomas Johnson, the Scottish publisher and bookseller at The Hague, who had published his edition of Horace and *Animadversiones* on Bentley.¹⁷¹ During a visit to The Hague Sunderland promised to help Cunningham's cousin, and he obtained a gift of £200 for Johnson. Making these undertakings effective, however, was not always easy.¹⁷² In 1717, Cunningham sought advancement for Andrew Fletcher ('no young man is dearer to me') from Sunderland.¹⁷³ His father, Henry, had hopes of Cunningham.¹⁷⁴ In 1718, young Fletcher was duly appointed Cashier of the Excise in Scotland (Sunderland was now first Lord of the Treasury).¹⁷⁵ Fletcher's father had been frustrated at the slowness of success in Cunningham's attempts to procure a post for his son;¹⁷⁶ but this was possibly unfair.¹⁷⁷ Though Cunningham's access to Sunderland must have seemed to an outsider to make it easy for him to procure favours from the Earl, Cunningham had to play a complicated game. Seeking political patronage from Sunderland was rather beyond the usual sphere of libraries and books; Cunningham could not be too importunate, although the Earl obviously relied on him and trusted him. Yet, Cunningham's links with Sunderland and ability to deliver posts and grants must have raised his importance and prestige in the world at large. It made him to some extent a political player in the great system of patronage by which Britain and its Empire were governed.¹⁷⁸ This emphasises once again the extent to which he was not in any way a tradesman, but had a more complicated role as a gentleman in the inter-linked worlds of scholarship and politics.

Cunningham's continuing impact on British intellectual life should not be underestimated. While some of the great libraries that he helped owners to collect are now scattered - such as Sunderland's and Fletcher's, as well as Harley's collection of printed books - or destroyed - such as Ilay's - many are now in what are essentially public collections, as, through the eighteenth century, great institutional libraries were developed or reinvigorated.¹⁷⁹ When Bishop Moore's library was sold in 1715, it was bought as a whole by the King and presented to Cambridge University Library. It tripled the size of the University Library. Its significance has been lasting.¹⁸⁰ Codrington's Library was presented to All Souls in Oxford. The Advocates Library in Edinburgh still bears the impact of Cunningham's taste and skills. No doubt many items from

the scattered libraries have by now made their way into public collections. Further work on Cunningham and his patrons may increase our knowledge; but the legacy of this confluence of scholarly and noble taste is clear.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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31. G. C. J. J. van den Berg, 'Alexander Cunningham's *C Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschi* (2000), pp. 99-115.

32. See Swift, 'Formation of the Library', esp. vol. I, pp. 2280; Katherine Swift, 'Biblic Sunderlandia: The Making of an Eighteenth-Century Library' *Bibliophily*, edited by Robin and Michael Harris, *Publishing Occasional Series 2*, (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), pp. On the Sunderland Library's Katherine Swift, 'Poggio's C the Fate of the Sunderland *Quaerendo*, 13 (1983) 224-2 (responding to M. H. Hoeflich *Scholars and British Lords: Quintilian in the Seventeenth Eighteenth Centuries*', 12 *Q* (1982) 52-59).

33. Robert Wodrow, *Anale Materials for a History of Re Providences; Mostly Relating Ministers and Christians*, edited by Leishman, 4 vols., (Edinburgh: Leishman Club, 1842-1843), vol. IV, p. Wodrow, see L. A. Yeoman, 'Robert (1679-1734), Ecclesiastical Historian', in ODNB.

34. Martin Lister, *A Journal in the Year 1698*, 3rd ed. (London: Tonson, 1699), p. 101.

35. The parish records for where he was born, do not survive for this period, making it impossible to be precise about his date of birth; see Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Diges' 90.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

37. See Edinburgh University Library [hereafter EUL], Laureation

sober works related to his profession as an advocate. Birrell shows that in this Lauder is typical.

30. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest'.

31. G. C. J. J. van den Bergh, 'Alexander Cunningham's Corpus Juris', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 68 (2000), pp. 99-115.

32. See Swift, 'Formation of the Library', esp. vol. I, pp. 232-280; Katherine Swift, 'Bibliotheca Sunderlandia: The Making of an Eighteenth-Century Library', in *Bibliophily*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris, Publishing History Occasional Series 2, (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), pp. 63-89. On the Sunderland Library's MSS, see Katherine Swift, 'Poggio's Quintilian and the Fate of the Sunderland Manuscripts', *Quaerendo*, 13 (1983) 224-238 (responding to M. H. Hoefflich, 'Dutch Scholars and British Lords: Poggio's Quintilian in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 12 *Quaerendo*, 12 (1982) 52-59).

33. Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: or, Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences: Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians*, edited by M. Leishman, 4 vols., (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842-1843), vol. IV, p. 152. On Wodrow, see L. A. Yeoman, 'Wodrow, Robert (1679-1734), Ecclesiastical Historian', in ODNB.

34. Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, 3rd ed. (London: Jacob Tonson, 1699), p. 101.

35. The parish records for Cumnock, where he was born, do not survive for this period, making it impossible to be precise about his date of birth: see Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 87-90.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

37. See Edinburgh University Library [hereafter EUL], Laureation Album

1585-1809, MS Da. 34 (for 1676); *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity, and Law, of the University of Edinburgh, Since its Foundation* (Edinburgh, 1858), p. 108; EUL, Register of Edinburgh University Matriculations 1627-1703, MS Da. 34, p. 91. Alternatively, it is possible that he studied at the University of Glasgow: Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', p. 93.

38. Johannes Voet, *Commentarius ad Pandectas: in quo, praeter romani juris principia ac controversias illustiores, jus etiam hodiernam, et praecipuae fore quaestiones excutiuntur*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Johannes Verbessel, 1698-1704), XLVIII. xix.2: 'auditor olim inter primos charus'. On Utrecht as Cunningham's place of legal study, see Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', p. 94, esp. note 90.

39. See M. H. Hoefflich, 'Bibliography in the Seventeenth Century: J. G. Graevius' Lectures', *The Library*, 32 (1977), 48-52.

40. James Fall to the Earl of Tweeddale, 13 May 1678, National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], Yester Papers. MS 14407, fols. 53-54. See M. C. T. Simpson, 'Some Aspects of Book Purchasing in Restoration Scotland: Two Letters from James Fall to the Earl of Tweeddale, May 1678', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 6, Part I (1990), 2-9. It is unclear who this Robert Cunningham was.

41. J. F. Leishman, 'Principal James Fall of Glasgow (1647-1711)', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (N.S.) 7 (1924), 342-350; Simpson, 'Two Letters from James Fall', pp. 2-6.

42. Robert Douglas, 'An Account of the Foundation of the Leightonian Library', in *The Bannatyne Miscellany: Containing Original Papers and Tracts, Chiefly Relating to the History and Literature of Scotland. Volume III* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1855), pp.

227-272.

43. See Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana*.
44. James Fall to the Earl of Tweeddale, 13 May 1678, NLS, Yester Papers, MS 14407, fols. 53-54.
45. Fletcher, *Political Works*, p. xii.
46. Andrew Fletcher to Henry Fletcher, n.d., NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fols. 173-174.
47. Fletcher, *Political Works*, pp. xii-xiii.
48. See, e.g., Robert Feenstra and C. J. D. Waal, *Seventeenth-Century Leyden Law Professors and their Influence on the Development of the Civil Law: A Study of Bronchorst, Vinnius and Voet* (Amsterdam: North Holland Pub. Co., 1975), pp. 35-38.
49. National Archives of Scotland [hereafter NAS], Register of Deeds, RD2/69, pp. 339-340 (Cunningham signed a deed in Edinburgh as cautioner for a debt on 10 Feb. 1681).
50. W. A. Kelly, 'The Library of Lord George Douglas (c. 1667/8-1693?)' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1975), Part 2, p. 30.
51. *Ibid.*, Part 2, pp. 29, 62; Paul Hopkins, 'Turner, Francis (1637-1700), Bishop of Ely, Nonjuror, and Jacobite Conspirator', in ODNB.
52. See J. Gronovius to A. Magliabechi, 9 May 1687, in *Clarorum Belgarum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnullosque alios epistolae ex autographis in Biblioth[eca] Magliabechiana, quae nunc Publica Florentinorum est adservatis descriptae*, 2 vols. (Florence: Ex typographia ad insigne Apolinis in platea Magni Ducis, 1745) vol. II, pp. 168-169. On Magliabechi, see, e.g., E. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527-1800: A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 267-268.
53. See Kelly, 'Library of Lord George Douglas', pp. 30, 62.
54. See W. A. Kelly, 'Lord George Douglas (1667/1668?-1693?) and his Library', in *Miscellany Three*, edited by W. M. Gordon (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1992), pp. 160-172; and W. A. Kelly, *The Library of Lord George Douglas (ca. 1667/8?-1693): An Early Donation to the Advocates Library*, Libri Pertinentes, no. 5 (Cambridge: L. P. Publications, 1997), pp. 1-21.
55. J. G. Graevius to A. Magliabechi, 9 June 1698, *Clarorum Belgarum ad Ant. Magliabechium ... epistolae*, vol. I, p. 318 (mentioning that Magliabechi saw Cunningham about three years ago); Lister, *A Journey to Paris*, p. 101 (mentioning an encounter with Cunningham in Paris in the first half of 1698 and describing Cunningham as having 'been lately at Rome', which seems likely to have been before 1696).
56. J. Fall to Earl of Tweeddale, 22 Oct. 1694, NLS, Yester Papers, MS 7017, fols. 90-91.
57. *Ibid.*
58. See Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 104-106.
59. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 20 Oct. 1700, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek [hereafter NSLB], LBr. 132, fols. 102-103; Scott Mandelbrote, 'Codrington, Christopher (1668-1710), Colonial Governor and Benefactor', in ODNB; E. Craster, *The History of All Souls College Library*, edited by E. F. Jacob (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), pp. 68-69.
60. Kelly, *Library of Lord George Douglas*, p. 19.
61. M. Servetus, *Christianismi restitutio*, Vienne 1553, EUL, Pressmark Df.8.90; EUL, Register of Donations, MS Da. 1.31, fol. 50.
62. See T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 27 Jan. 1696, NSLB, LBr. 132, fols. 32-33; G. W. Leibniz to T. Burnett, 17 Mar. 1696, in *Gothofredi Guillelmi Leibnitii ... opera omnia*, edited by Louis Dutens, 6 vols. (Geneva: Fratres de Tournes, 1768),
- vol. VI, pp. 231-235 (the scroll c NSLB, LBr. 132, fols. 35-36 is Apr. 1696); W. Carstares to W. 3 Nov. 1696, in R. H. Story, *W. Carstares: A Character and Car the Revolutionary Epoch (1649-1696)* (London: Macmillan, 1874), pp. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 30 1696, NSLB, LBr. 132, fols. 42.
63. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz 1697, NSLB, LBr. 132, fol. 54.
64. Earl of Argyll to W. Carstares 10 July 1697, in *State-Papers and Letters Addressed to William Carstares Confidential Secretary to King William III during the Whole of his Reign; and Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, edited by Joseph McCormick (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell and J. W. Carstares, 4 Aug. [1697], EUL Dk.1.1², fol. 212. The only full biography is Patricia Dickson, *of the Battles: John, 2nd Duke of Greenwich, 1697-1703*, 16 (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1974). See also Alexander Murdoch, 'John, Second Duke of Argyll and of Greenwich (1680-1743), Aristocrat and Politician', in ODNB.
65. A. Cunningham to W. Carstares 20 Oct. 1697, in *Carstares' State Papers*, pp. 360-361.
66. Lister, *A Journey to Paris*, p. 101; H. Wanley to J. Smith, 27 Jan. 1703, in *Letters of Humfrey Wanley Palaeographer, Anglo-Saxon Librarian 1672-1726*, edited by E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 223.
67. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 110.
68. T. Burnett to J. Locke, 17 Mar. 1696; A. Churchill to J. Locke, 1699, in *The Correspondence of John Locke*, edited by E. S. de Beer, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) vol. VI, pp. 586-591.

- vol. VI, pp. 231-235 (the scroll copy in NSLB, LBr. 132, fols. 35-36 is dated 17 Apr. 1696); W. Carstares to W. Dunlop, 3 Nov. 1696, in R. H. Story, *William Carstares: A Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch (1649-1715)* (London: Macmillan, 1874), pp. 257-258; T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 30 Nov. 1696, NSLB, LBr. 132, fols. 42-43.
63. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 4 May 1697, NSLB, LBr. 132, fol. 54.
64. Earl of Argyll to W. Carstares, 10 July 1697, in *State-Papers and Letters Addressed to William Carstares, Confidential Secretary to K. William during the Whole of his Reign; afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, edited by Joseph McCormick (Edinburgh: W. Strahan and T. Cadell and John Balfour, 1774), pp. 316-318; A. Cunningham to W. Carstares, 4 Aug. [1697], EUL, MS Dk.1.1², fol. 212. The only full-length biography is Patricia Dickson, *Red John of the Battles: John, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich, 1680-1743* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973). See also Alexander Murdoch, 'Campbell, John, Second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich (1680-1743), Army Officer and Politician', in ODNB.
65. A. Cunningham to W. Carstares, 20 Oct. 1697, in *Carstares' State-Papers*, pp. 360-361.
66. Lister, *A Journey to Paris*, p. 101; H. Wanley to J. Smith, 28 Aug. 1703, in *Letters of Humfrey Wanley, Palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian 1672-1726*, edited by P. L. Heyworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 223.
67. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 109-110.
68. T. Burnett to J. Locke, 17 Mar. 1699; A. Churchill to J. Locke, 8 Apr. 1699, in *The Correspondence of John Locke*, edited by E. S. de Beer, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976-1989), vol. VI, pp. 586-591.
69. A. Cunningham to J. Locke, 15 May. 1699, in *ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 624.
70. See J.-B. du Bos to J. Locke, 7 July 1699, P. van Limborch to J. Locke, 3 Aug. 1699, F. van Limborch to J. Locke, 3 August, in *ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 647-648, 660-662, 663-664.
71. See Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', p. 111.
72. J. Locke to N. Toinard, 5 and 11 June 1700, in *Correspondence of Locke*, vol. 7, pp. 88-90; C. Codrington to Dr Charlett, 25 June [1700], Bodleian Library, Oxford [hereafter Oxf. Bod.], MS Ballard 20, fol. 57. On the dating of the latter letter, see Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', p. 114, note 228.
73. J. G. Graevius to J. Gronovius, 9 Aug. 1700, in Universitätsbibliothek München [hereafter UB München], MS 648.
74. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 18 and 20 Nov. 1700, NSLB, LBr 132, fol. 106; NAS, Register of Deeds, RD. 2/85, pp. 189-190.
75. H. F. Brown, *Inglese e Scozzesi all'Università di Padova dall'anno 1681 sino al 1765* [Contributo del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, lettere ed arti alla Celebrazione del VIII Centenario della Università di Padova] (Venice: Premiate Officine Grafiche Carlo Ferrari, 1921), pp. 139-213 at p. 183.
76. A. Cunningham to W. Carstares, 22, 26 Aug. 1701, *Carstares' State-Papers*, pp. 709-711. I am, however, now less inclined than I was earlier to attribute these letters to Cunningham the critic: see Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 114-115, notes 230-231; rather, they probably were from Alexander Cunningham the future Ambassador.
77. Bishop Moore recorded paying various sums to Cunningham in June, July, and August 1701: McKitterick,

Cambridge University Library, p. 137 and p. 137 note 120.

78. C. van Bijkershoek to C. van Eck, 6 Sept. 1703, University Library Utrecht [hereafter UB Utrecht], MS 1000 7B3; A. Cunningham to Earl of Sunderland, 8 Nov. 1703, British Library [hereafter BL], Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 8.

79. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 307-319.

80. H. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 29 Mar. 1715 and scroll (n.d.), NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fols. 87 and 120.

81. A. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 27 Oct. 1715, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fols. 109-110.

82. A. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, Nov. 1715 and 10 Mar. 1716, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fols. 115-116, 129-130. See Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 317-319.

83. J. G. Reinerding to G. W. Leibniz, 4 May 1716, NSLB, LBr. 765, fol. 33-34; A. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 26 May? 1716, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fol. 190.

84. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 319-323.

85. *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715-1726*, edited by C. E. and R. C. Wright, 2 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), vol. I, p. 22; A. Cunningham to P. Burman, 28 June 1717 (old style), University of Leiden Library [hereafter UB Leiden], MS Burm. Q.23.3 demonstrates Cunningham's strong involvement with Sunderland in this period.

86. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 324-339.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.

88. A. Cunningham to unnamed, 23 Aug. 1723, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS

Add. 61659, fol. 40.

89. Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 324-326.

90. On Graevius and Burman, see J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vols., 3rd ed., repr. (New York: Hafner Pub. Co., 1967), vol. II, pp. 327-328, 443-444; on Voet, see Feenstra and Waal, *Seventeenth-Century Leyden Law Professors*, pp. 35-43.

91. J. G. Graevius to L. T. Gronovius, 9 Aug 1700, UB München, MS 649.

92. *C. Valerii Flacci Setini Balbi argonauticon libri octo. ...curante Petro Burmanno* (Leiden: S. Luchtmans, 1724), p. 153.

93. *Publii Ovidii Nasonis opera omnia, IV. voluminis comprehensa*, edited by P. Burman, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: Various Publishers, 1727), vol. III, p. 767.

94. See Cunningham, *Animadversiones*, p. 214. Addison also enjoyed Sunderland's patronage.

95. On the links with Locke and Leibniz, see the correspondence already cited as well as Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 86-87, 102-106. On the links with van Eck and van Bijkershoek, see *ibid.*, pp. 340-348.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

97. NAS, Register of Tailzies, RT 1/8, fols. 83r-86v.

98. 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 317-319.

99. Swift, 'Formation of the Library', vol. I, pp. 157-180.

100. H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), p. 846; Wodrow, *Analecta*, vol. II, p. 367, vol. iv, p. 152.

101. C. van Bijkershoek to C. van Eck, 6 Sept. 1703, UB Utrecht, MS 1000 7B3.

102. See Murdoch, 'Campbell, John,

Second Duke of Argyll and D Greenwich'.

103. In *Bibliotheca Cuningan continens selectissimos, rarissimi omni in lingua libros theologicos, juridicos, medicos, philosophos, geographos, chronologos, historicos, veteres ac recentiores, poetas, plurimi antiquae & primae antiquarios, numismaticos, oratores, literatores, criticos, lexicographos, bibliothecarios, epistolographos, miscellaneos. Hos omnes multae vigilantia ac labore collegit celum ac eruditissimus vir D. Alexander Cuninganius, jurisconsultus et eximius* (Leiden: Johannes van 1730), there are just over 40 books in Spain, of which 16 are law books folio 71, 180, 203, 213, 219, 235, 236, 239; lots quarto 185, 330, 331, 431. The content catalogue are: pp. 1-60, folio lots quarto, lots 1-1074; pp. 1-70 lots and lesser 1-2172. At the end of a "Catalogus II" the lots in which not belong to Cunningham. Give sequences of pagination, it is easy to cite by lot and whether folio etc catalogue is available in microfilm collection *Book Sales Catalogue Dutch Republic, 1599-1800* (Leiden: IDC, 1992-), fiche no. 202-206 (held in NLS as Mc. 1418). See *Book sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599-1800*, edited by Gruys & H. W. de Kooker (Leiden: IDC, 1997), p. 44 (accessible at http://www.idc.nl/pdf/097_gui). I am indebted to Dr Hillyard for references.

104. When in the Low Countries in 1697, he was sending back books trying to avoid payment of duties. See Cunningham to W. Carstares, 7 Aug. 1697, *Carstares' State-Papers*, 361.

105. See O. S. Lankhorst, 'Les livres aux enchères des livres à La Haye la première moitié du 18^e siècle', *Le magasin de l'univers: The 18^e century book market in The Hague*, p. 10.

Second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich'.

103. In *Bibliotheca Cuningamia, continens selectissimos, rarissimosque omni in lingua libros theologicos, juridicos, medicos, philosophos, geographos, chronologos, historicos veteres ac recentiores, poetas, inter quos plurimi antiquae & primae editionis, antiquarios, numismaticos, oratores, literatores, criticos, lexicographos, bibliothecarios, epistolographos & miscellaneos. Hos omnes multo judicio, vigilantia ac labore collegii celeberrimus ac eruditissimus vir D. Alexander Cuningamius, jurisconsultus et polyhistor eximius* (Leiden: Johannes vander Linden, 1730), there are just over 40 books printed in Spain, of which 16 are law books: see lots folio 71, 180, 203, 213, 214, 215, 219, 235, 236, 239; lots quarto 179, 180, 185, 330, 331, 431. The contents of the catalogue are: pp. 1-60, folio lots 1-572, quarto, lots 1-1074; pp. 1-70 lots octavo and lesser 1-2172. At the end there is a "Catalogus II" the lots in which did not belong to Cunningham. Given the sequences of pagination, it is easiest to cite by lot and whether folio etc. This catalogue is available in microfiche in the collection *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599-1800* (Leiden: IDC, 1992-), fiche no. 202-204, no. 118 (held in NLS as Mc. 1418). See *Guide: Book sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599-1800*, edited by J. A. Gruys & H. W. de Kooker (Leiden: IDC, 1997), p. 44 (accessible at http://www.idc.nl/pdf/097_guide.pdf). I am indebted to Dr Hillyard for these references.

104. When in the Low Countries in 1697, he was sending back books, trying to avoid payment of duty: A. Cunningham to W. Carstares, 20 Oct. 1697, *Carstares' State-Papers*, pp. 360-361.

105. See O. S. Lankhorst, 'Les ventes aux enchères des livres à La Haye dans la première moitié du 18^e siècle', in *Le magasin de l'univers: The Dutch*

Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade, edited by Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots, P. G. Hoftijzer and O. S. Lankhorst (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 199-210; Roger Chartier, 'Magasin de l'univers ou magasin de la république? Le Commerce du livre néerlandais au XVII^e e XVIII^e siècles', in *Magasin de l'univers*, pp. 288-307.

106. See, e.g., Lankhorst, 'Les ventes aux enchères des livres', pp. 201-202; Swift, 'Formation of the Library', vol. I, p. 260.

107. Wodrow, *Analecta*, vol. IV, pp. 152-153.

108. BL, MS Harl. 3778, fol. 156.

109. *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, vol. I, pp. 72-73. See Peter Heyworth, 'Wanley, Humphrey (1672-1726), Old English Scholar and Librarian', in ODNB.

110. For a preliminary study of his library, which was sold on his death to his nephew the Earl of Bute, and thereafter destroyed by fire, see R. L. Emerson, 'Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A.: The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)', in *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 2000), pp. 13-39. At p. 17 Emerson mentions Cunningham. Ilay succeeded his brother as Duke of Argyll in 1743.

111. Note the letter from Thomas Johnson, bookseller at The Hague, dated 11 June 1709, the addressee unknown, mentioning a catalogue for Lord Somers, found in the Blenheim Papers along with much material concerning Cunningham: BL, Blenheim papers, MS Add. 616657, fol. 78. See Geoffrey Treasure, 'Cowper, William, First Earl Cowper (1665-1723), Politician and Lord Chancellor', in ODNB; Stuart Handley, 'Somers, John, Baron Somers (1651-1716), Lawyer and Politician', in ODNB.

112. Codrington will be discussed below.

113. On Moore, see Peter Meadows, 'Moore, John (1646-1714), Bishop of Ely', in ODNB; John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 85-88.
114. A. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 1 May 1703, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fol. 143. Early in 1715, a catalogue of the law books at Saltoun was sent to the Netherlands for Cunningham: H. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 19 Feb. 1715, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fols. 83-84. This may have been to help Cunningham give further advice to Fletcher on his collecting, as well as for Cunningham's own interest.
115. See H. Wanley to J. Smith, 28 Aug. 1703, in *Letters of Humphrey Wanley*, p. 223.
116. See *The Moore Bede. Cambridge University Library MS Kk.5.16*, Preface by Peter Hunter Blair with a Contribution by Professor R. A. B. Mynors, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile. Ninth Volume (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1959).
117. N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 38-39 (no. 25). The manuscript is now Cambridge University Library (hereafter CUL) MS Kk.V.16.
118. See, e.g., Jayne Ringrose, 'The Royal Library: John Moore and his Books', in *Cambridge University Library: The Great Collections*, edited by Peter Fox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 79-89 at p. 87.
119. Wanley emphasises the purchase of these MSS at auction by Cunningham after the conclusion of the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697 in a way that suggests that the purchase was soon after the Treaty, even if the sale to Moore was perhaps later: Humphrey Wanley, *Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri Linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus* (Oxford: at the Sheldonian Theatre, 1705 [= [George Hickes], *Antiquae literaturae Septentrionalis liber alter*, vol. 2]), pp. 287-288; H. Wanley to J. Smith, 28 Aug. 1703, in *Letters of Humphrey Wanley*, p. 223. This suggests that Cunningham bought them in 1698 on his visit to Paris, and sold them, perhaps in 1701, to Moore. See McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, pp. 135-137.
120. CUL, MS Kk.V.13. See R. H. Rodgers, 'The Moore Palladius', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1969-1971), 203-216.
121. Ringrose, 'John Moore and his Books', p. 87.
122. P. E. Easterling, 'Two Greek MSS. of Spanish Provenance in Bishop Moore's Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 3 (1959-1963), 257-262.
123. *Ibid.*
124. (Madrid: Cosmas Delgadus, 1612); *Bibliotheca Cuningamia*, folio lot 215.
125. A. Cunningham to J. Logan, 22 Feb. 1709, CUL, MS Dd.3.64, fol. 56. Cunningham possessed a copy at his death: *Bibliotheca Cuningamia*, folio lot 71. There is not a copy in Cambridge.
126. For evidence, see A Cunningham to Sunderland, 8 Nov. 1703, BL, Blenheim Papers, Add. MS 61657, fol. 8.
127. McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, p. 80.
128. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 20 Oct. 1700, NSLB, LBr. 132, fol. 102-103.
129. See the description of his aims in *ibid.*
130. BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 130.
131. C. Codrington to Dr Charlett, 25 June [no year; but 1700], Oxf. Bod., MS Ballard 20, fol. 57.
132. A Cunningham to Earl of Sunderland, 8 Nov. 1703, BL, Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 8; 1 June 1706, BL, Blenheim Pa Add. 61657, fol. 22.
133. See generally, Swift, 'For the Library', vol. I, p. 251.
134. BL, Blenheim Papers, MS 61657, fols. 10, 30-35, 54-55, 75, 97-98, 102, 109, 111, 127-128.
135. Craster, *All Souls Colleg* pp. 68-69.
136. A. Cunningham to J. Lo Feb. 1709, CUL, MS Dd.3.64.
137. See the receipts dated fr 1718 to 4 June 1719, whereby booksellers acknowledge rece paid by the Earl through Cunr BL, MS Add. 61658, fols. 13, 28, and 29.
138. See BL, Blenheim Pape Add. 61657, fol. 168; A. Cunr J. P. d'Orville, 17 July 1726, O MS D'Orville 485, fol. 175.
139. A. Cunningham to Sunc Mar. 1720?, BL, Blenheim P Add. 61658, fol. 48.
140. BL, Blenheim Papers, P 61657, fol. 168 (probably 172 to Sunderland, [July 1720?], J Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 6 58-59; A. Cunningham to Sun 26 July 1720, BL, Blenheim P Add. 61658, fol. 60; A. Cunn Sunderland, 20 Aug. 1720, B Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. list at fols. 66-69); A. Cunnin Sunderland, 24 June 1721, B Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. Cunningham to unnamed, 23 BL, Blenheim Papers, MS A fol. 40.
141. *The Minute Book of the of Advocates: Volume 2*, 171. (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 19 A. Fletcher to A. Cunnin Aug. 1719, NLS, Saltoun Pa 16504, fols. 229-230.

132. A Cunningham to Earl of Sunderland, 8 Nov. 1703, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 8; Receipt, 1 June 1706, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 22.
133. See generally, Swift, 'Formation of the Library', vol. I, p. 251.
134. BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fols. 10, 30-35, 54-55, 69, 70, 73-75, 97-98, 102, 109, 111, 127-128, 170.
135. Craster, *All Souls College Library*, pp. 68-69.
136. A. Cunningham to J. Logan, 22 Feb. 1709, CUL, MS Dd.3.64, fol. 56.
137. See the receipts dated from 4 July 1718 to 4 June 1719, whereby various booksellers acknowledge receipt of sums paid by the Earl through Cunningham: BL, MS Add. 61658, fols. 13, 14, 16, 17, 28, and 29.
138. See BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 168; A. Cunningham to J. P. d'Orville, 17 July 1726, Oxf. Bod., MS D'Orville 485, fol. 175.
139. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, [20 Mar. 1720?], BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 48.
140. BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 168 (probably 1720); Greco to Sunderland, [July 1720?], BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fols. 58-59; A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 26 July 1720, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 60; A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 20 Aug. 1720, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 62 (see list at fols. 66-69); A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 24 June 1721, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 72; A. Cunningham to unnamed, 23 Aug. 1723, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61659, fol. 40.
141. *The Minute Book of the Faculty of Advocates: Volume 2, 1713-1750* (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1980), p. 23; A. Fletcher to A. Cunningham, scroll, 4 Aug. 1719, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16504, fols. 229-230.
142. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, [20 Mar. 1720?], BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 48; A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 26 July 1720, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 60. See *Bibliotheca Hulsiana, sive Catalogus librorum quos ... collegit ... Samuel Hulsius*, 4 vols. in 6 (The Hague: J. Swart and P. de Hondt, 1730).
143. See J. P. d'Orville to F. van Oudendorp, 27 Sept., 16 Oct. 1724, UB Leiden, MS Oud. 4, discussing a book catalogue, where Cunningham is also mentioned.
144. A. Cunningham to A. Fletcher, Lord Milton, 23 July 1726, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16533, fols. 233-234; A. Cunningham to A. Fletcher, Lord Milton, 6 Nov. 1727, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 3431, fol. 7; A. Cunningham to A. Fletcher, Lord Milton, Nov 1729, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16540, fols. 134-135; *Bibliotheca Duboisiana, ou, Catalogue de la Bibliotheque de feu Son Eminence Monseigneur le Cardinal du Bois*, 4 vols. (The Hague: J. Swart and P. de Hondt, 1725).
145. The letter A. Cunningham to A. Fletcher, Lord Milton, 23 July 1726, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16533, fols. 233-234 is addressed accidentally to Lord Minto, though clearly for Milton. The Elliots of Minto also possessed a (now dispersed) important library.
146. B. Hillyard, 'Thomas Ruddiman and the Advocates' Library, 1728-1752', (1990) 8 *Library History*, 8 (1990), 157-170 (at 163).
147. On the delays, see A. Cunningham to J.P. d'Orville, 7 June 1726, Oxf. Bod., MS D'Orville 485, fol. 165; A. Cunningham to J.P. d'Orville, 29 June 1726, Oxf. Bod., MS D'Orville 485, fol. 163.
148. A. Cunningham to J.P. d'Orville, 17 July 1726, Oxf. Bod., MS D'Orville 485, fol. 175; *Digestorum seu Pandectarum Imperatoris Justiniani libri quinquaginta ... Ex Florentinis Pandectis representati* (Florence: In

- Officina Laurentii Torrentini, ducalis typographi, 1553); *Digestorum seu Pandectarum Imperatoris Justiniani libri quinquaginta*, edited by Gregor Haloander, 3 vols. (Nuremberg: J. Petrejus, 1529).
149. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 20 Oct. 1700, NSLB, LBr. 132, fols. 102-103.
150. V. T. Harlow, *Christopher Codrington 1668-1710* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928; repr. New York: Hurst, 1990), p. 219.
151. McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, p. 137 note 120.
152. NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fol. 175.
153. BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 10.
154. See, e.g., BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fols. 73-75.
155. One certainly gets this impression from Logan's accounts: see, e.g., BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fols. 22, 30-35, 54-55, 61, 69-70, 73-75, 97-98, 102, 109v, 127v-128, 170-171.
156. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 8 Nov. 1703, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 8.
157. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 20 Feb. 1720, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fols. 45-46.
158. BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 168.
159. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, [20 Mar. 1720?], BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 48; A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 26 July 1720, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 60.
160. Naudé, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library*, p. 12.
161. Swift, 'Formation of the Library', vol. I, pp. 279-280.
162. BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 168.
163. See J. W. Cairns, 'The Origins of the Edinburgh Law School: The Union of 1707 and the Regius Chair', *Edinburgh Law Review*, 11 (2007) 300-348 (at 337-339, 341).
164. Nicolson, *English Historical Library*, p. vi.
165. T. Burnett to G. W. Leibniz, 20 Nov. 1705, NSLB, LBr. 132, fols. 149-150.
166. A. Cunningham to J. Logan, 22 Feb. 1709, CUL, MS Dd.3.64, fol. 56; A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 24 June 1721, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fol. 72.
167. A. Cunningham to J.P. d'Orville, 17 July 1726, Oxf. Bod., MS D'Orville 485, fol. 175.
168. Swift, 'Formation of the Library', vol. I, pp. 251-252. A Cunningham to Sunderland, 8 Nov. 1703, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 8 does allude to payment for government work.
169. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 8 Nov. 1703, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61657, fol. 8.
170. See A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 20 Feb., 20 Mar., 31 May, 26 July, 20 Aug. 1720, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fols. 45, 48, 51, 60, 62.
171. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 20 Aug. 1720, 24 June 1721, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fols. 62, 72. On Johnson, see H. L. Ford, *Shakespeare 1700-1740: a Collation of the Editions and Separate Plays with some Account of T. Johnson and R. Walker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935; repr. New York: B. Blom, 1968), pp. 46-56; John Feather, 'English Books in the Netherlands in the Eighteenth Century', in *Magasin de l'univers*, pp. 143-154 at pp. 151-154; Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 311-312, 329-330, 334, 351.
172. A. Cunningham to Sunderland, 31 May, 1720, 20 Aug. 1720, 24 June 1721, BL, Blenheim Papers, MS Add. 61658, fols. 51, 62, 72.
173. A. Cunningham to P. Burman, 28 June 1717, UB Leiden, MS Burm. Q.23.3.

174. H. Fletcher to A. Fletcher and 5 Oct. 1717, NLS, Saltoun MS 16503, fols. 196, 199-200.
175. NAS, Treasury Entry Book Britain (photocopy), RH 2/4/4.
176. See, e.g., H. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 15 Mar. 1718, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16504, fols. 15-16.
177. See Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 321-323.

174. H. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 20 June and 5 Oct. 1717, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16503, fols. 196, 199-200.

175. NAS, Treasury Entry Books North Britain (photocopy), RH 2/4/426, p. 37.

176. See, e.g., H. Fletcher to A. Fletcher, 15 Mar. 1718, NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 16504, fols. 15-16.

177. See Cairns, 'Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest', pp. 321-323.

178. See, e.g., A. Fletcher to A. Cunningham.

179. Emerson, 'The Library of Archibald Campbell', p. 15.

180. See McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library*, pp. 147-152, 153-224; Ringrose, 'John Moore and his Books', pp. 87-89; J. H. Baker, *A Catalogue of English Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. xiv-lxxiv.